

January 11, 2005

TRIGGER PAPER for DISCUSSION

Introduction

Notwithstanding numerous differences in circumstances, Japan and Europe are two major global players sharing some interests and values in the functioning of the international system. We also share some domestic agenda including population decline and changes in demography. Yet, policy coordination, not to mention policy discussions, between the two still have much room for improvement, which was manifested, for example, in the process leading up to the US attack on Iraq in March 2003. There is an emerging consensus that Europe and Japan have significant opportunities to work more closely together as was reflected in the 2001 Japan-EU Action Plan. In order to promote intellectual discourse and collaboration between Japan and Europe, the Japan Foundation, the European Policy Centre and the National Institute for Research Advancement acting as the lead institutions will host the first Japan-EU Think Tank Roundtable on January 13-14th 2005 in Tokyo, bringing together leading European and Japanese think tanks, researchers, and scholars. It is intended that this will be the first in a series of roundtables addressing public policy issues.

The focus of our discussion at the first roundtable will be “global governance.” We will seek to assess the prospects and possibilities of strengthening and expanding Japan-EU cooperation on issues of global governance.

In this short trigger paper, we, the co-convenors, sketch some of the key issues which we believe to be worth discussing at the roundtable. These issues are grouped under two headings: “Responding to the UN High Level Panel Report”, and “Building blocs to global governance”, with sub headings of a) strengthening International Institutions, and b) regional cooperation for these International Institutions with an introduction on global governance.

What is global governance?

The term global governance has been widely used for the past three decades (if not longer), but its meaning varied depending upon users and context. There is no clear agreed definition of global governance. According to Professor Yozo Yokota, Chair of the NIRA Study Group, global governance is a term initially used by the UN system, particularly the World Bank. Governance, or rather good governance, was first used as a criterion by the World Bank in lending to accumulated debtors. Good governance includes rule of law, prevention of corruption, sound financial, economic and fiscal management, etc. As a consequence, borrowers and some experts on development criticized the World Bank and the advanced countries for their one-sided application of good governance criteria and demanded good governance of international institutions by using the phrase “global governance.” Since that time, global governance has been used to mean good governing capacity on global issues not limited to financial and economic ones.

In the context of this roundtable, we will focus on good governance on global issues that transcend national borders, ranging from conflicts, terrorism, natural disasters, infectious disease, and economic well-being to the environment. With the advent of globalization, policy agenda have been losing the demarcation of domestic and international, which naturally demands more transnational cooperation. Threats to human beings are becoming uncertain, unpredictable and diversified. Dr Cameron asks in his paper, “if the era of the Westphalian state is nearing its end, what will the guidelines for international relations in future.” That certainly is one aspect of today’s global environment. On the other hand, in coping with global issues, there is a solid reality that the Westphalian states are still major actors. The evolving situation is that states are not the sole actors in international relations. Amongst states, the United States is a hyper power and has taken some unilateral steps acting as if it is a quasi global government. Given these circumstances, what kind of structures do we need for global governance? How can we protect our safety and create a peaceful and safe environment for us?

The roundtable seeks to provide viable policy recommendations on global governance to Japan and the EU, and also to the United Nations.

Responding to the UN High Level Report

In September 2003, mindful of new and evolving threats being different from those anticipated half a century earlier when the Institution was created and its charter drafted, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan created the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change to recommend how the UN should respond to the changing global environment. The Panel launched a report in December 2004 entitled “A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility.” The panel forwarded a new vision of collective security to help the world face “interconnected” and “transnational” threats advanced by globalization in the 21st Century.

Kofi Annan is expected to prepare his recommendations based on the report and they will be discussed by heads of state when they meet at the UN Summit in September. The Japan-EU Think Tank Roundtable will provide a first opportunity for think tankers and other scholars from Japan and Europe to critically examine the report and to recommend what should be done in the future for international peace, stability and prosperity.

The report defines “threats” as “any event or process that leads to large-scale death or lessening of life chances and undermines States as the basic unit of the international system.” They are divided into six clusters of threats. Those are (1) economic and social threats, including poverty, infectious disease and environmental degradation; (2) Inter-State conflict; (3) Internal conflict, including civil war, genocide and other large-scale atrocities; (4) Nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons; (5) terrorism; and (6) transnational organized crime.¹On terrorism, it is worth noting that the Panel has defined terrorism and has opened the way forward for a convention on terrorism to be agreed. Dr Cameron has indicated that the European approach is that

¹ United Nations, *A more secure world: Our shared security- Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change*, 2004. pp. 23.

terrorism must be fought on all fronts using a variety of policies. As for Japan, it too considers that we need to address measures to cope with terrorist attacks as well as fundamental causes and deterrence. Effective way to prevent and respond to terrorism is the key question the Roundtable may wish to take up in the discussion.

The panel makes the case for the promotion of a “**comprehensive**” **collective security system** centered on a strengthened United Nations, which significantly differs from the concept of “collective security system” in which “States join together and pledge that aggression against one [state] is aggression to all [states]”.² The report marked the departure from the traditional idea of “state” security towards a more liberal idea of “people’s” security based on a capable state system.

In approaching crisis and conflicts, the panel first and foremost underscores wide ranging **prevention and peacebuilding**. When prevention fails, the panel recognizes the need to **use force** and provides five principles as the guidelines for the use of force (seriousness of threat, proper purpose, last resort, proportional means and balance of consequences). And importantly, the use of force should be authorized only by the UN Security Council.³ This guideline is not new, it substantially borrows from the famous report compiled by The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), *The Responsibility to Protect (R2P)* (2001). Despite its comprehensiveness and sophistication, the problem is that the principles of humanitarian intervention, whose declaration was hoped for by the General Assembly and Security Council, remain undelineated. The panel strongly recommends that the UN’s capacities to decide to use force should be strengthened to meet the deadline for effective deployment of the Blue helmet peacekeepers. Although it is ideal for the UN to have such capacity, the panel also recognizes the UN’s inability to cover all operations under all circumstances, and encourages regional organizations to develop standby battalions to reinforce UN missions, such as the European Union did.⁴

The roundtable ought to discuss what should be relevant criteria and applicable international law for the use of force, befitting today’s threats and going beyond R2P recommendations. In the report, the UN, especially, the Security Council is expected to play a role of providing legitimacy for actions including the use of force. Can we, however, expect the Security Council to be that effective?

On the very subject of UN reform, the Panel’s report advanced two proposals for enlarging the Security Council membership that would bring the UN one step closer to more democratic governance. In Japan, the mass media has focused on the reform of the Security Council, although it is only a part of the Panel’s 130 page long report. Japanese government obviously supports the proposal to increase the permanent seats by six. What is the position of Europe? How can we move forward for an actual reform of the Security Council? It also recommends revitalizing the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. Can we make these institutions more effective? What sort of the United Nations do we think is fit for 21st century?

² *Ibid*, pp.1

³ *Ibid*, pp.61.

⁴ United Nations, *A more secure world: Our shared security- Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change*, 2004. pp. 68.

In summary, it appears that the panel proposed the prospect of a liberal global order based on the promotion of norm and regime building. However, the report falls short of delineating what is a global order required today. It has also illuminated the unsatisfactory level of enforcement and implementation, and leaves room for further discussion.

Responding to the report, Kofi Annan stressed interconnectedness, and the complex and unpredictable nature of today's threats in his article in *The Economist*. He also reiterated that in today's world, any threat to one is truly a threat to all. Annan also agreed that we must get serious about prevention and emphasized the development side of the formula.

Some criticized the Panel's report by saying that information included are either copied or redistributed from other preceding reports, instead of recommending a revision of the Charter. The Panel recommends that actions ought to be with the UN Security Council approval but which is hard to get. We hope that the roundtable will discuss global governance of peace and security, using the Report by the High Level Panel as a start.

Japan is also cognizant of the changes in the security environment. In 2004 the Japanese government reviewed its security and defence policies in response to evolving threats, and launched the National Defence Program Guideline (NDPG). In revising NDPG, the Council on Security and Defence Capabilities was created in 2004 to discuss how Japanese security and defence policies should be revised. The Council published its report entitled "Japan's Visions for Future Security and Defence Capabilities" in October 2004. The Report examined how the international security environment has changed, what kind of threats Japan faces in the new environment, and what kind of security policy and defence forces are needed to protect Japan and its people. It recognizes a wide spectrum of threats, from attacks by non-state entities to traditional inter-state warfare. The latter comes from the security environment in which Japan is located, namely a region that contains two nuclear powers (Russia and China) and one nation with an ongoing ambition to develop nuclear weapons (North Korea). Instability on the Korean Peninsula and the possibility of armed clashes across the Strait of Taiwan cannot be ruled out. It recommends the security strategy for Japan be an integrated one based on a three-fold approach that includes (a) Japan's own efforts, (b) cooperation with an alliance partner and (c) cooperation with the international community to defend the homeland and at the same time to strive to improve the international security environment. The Report also emphasizes preventing the emergence of threats by improving the international security environment. It gives peace building as an example of Japan's shared role with the international community and suggests dispatching various types of human resources including SDF, police, government administrators, ODA-related organizations, representatives from private enterprises and non-governmental organizations (NGO)s and others. Initiatives undertaken via ODA and other financial-assistance programs to counter infectious diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, or efforts to achieve human security, including help in raising education standards and training human resources as well as projects to eliminate poverty, are also important activities for preventing conflicts and bringing stability. This emphasis on Peacebuilding and human security is worth noting in discussing global governance in the 21st century. It also recommended that historically, international peace cooperation has been regarded as an incidental duty of

the Self Defense Forces (SDF), but given the growing importance of such cooperative efforts, peace cooperation should be made one of its primary missions. The report also recommends enhancing the Japanese Police force's international cooperation activities.

The roundtable may wish to address peacekeeping and peace building efforts in the context of global governance. Japan with its experiences of Cambodia and East Timor and Europe with its experiences in South East Europe, for example, would be able to shed further light to what can be done in the future.

Mindful of the earthquake and tsunami that hit Indonesia and Indian Ocean on December 26 2004, the roundtable may find it fruitful to discuss joint approaches to these natural disasters as well in terms of prevention, information sharing, and networking..

As Dr Cameron suggested in his paper, the EU, Japan and the US all profess support for "effective multilateralism." Effective multilateralism is a phrase often used by the EU. Even President Bush in his speech at Halifax, Canada soon after his re-election stated that "my country is determined to work as far as possible within the framework of international institutions and we're hoping that other nations will work with us to make those institutions more relevant and effective in meeting the unique threats of our time." The roundtable will discuss what does effective multilateralism mean in terms of strengthening the institutions of global governance?

Building Blocs to Global Governance

Strengthening International Institutions

In improving global governance, its building blocs, namely existing international institutions, should be strengthened and better coordinated. Do Japan and the EU share common interests in reforming and strengthening the WTO? Since the mixed results in Seattle and Cancun a number of countries are concluding FTAs and EPAs in Asia and elsewhere. Would a network of FTAs result in a global system or would they be spoilers to the WTO? Is the US not clearly using trade policy for political purposes i.e. FTAs with Singapore, Jordan, Morocco? Is this the best way to promote international trade and investment?

The roundtable will explore a way forward for other international institutions. Voices critical of the G8 are increasing. What is its relevance in today's world? How does it contribute to improved global governance? Should it be abolished, expanded to G20 or reformed? There is also increased attention on the role and performance of the IFIs. How should they be adapted to meet the challenges of the 21st century?

Regional Cooperation: Relevance of the EU Model to East Asia

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the Asia Pacific created regional structures such as Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference (APEC) and ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), although they pale as frameworks for regional cooperation in comparison to the EU. And the EU is of course a member of the latter. Since the

Asian monetary crisis in 1997, East Asia has started to explore its own regional structure to avoid similar crises in the future. East Asia moved toward its own self-help mechanism. This mechanism first took the form of the ASEAN+3 where ASEAN invited the heads of state to join the ASEAN Summit meeting. The 3 are Japan, The Republic of Korea and China. This evolved into a regular meeting, in 1999 issuing the first joint statement on East Asia cooperation, inaugurating the Chang Mai Initiative in the effort to stabilize the monetary market in 2000, and holding more than 40 official meetings in various functional areas within the framework.

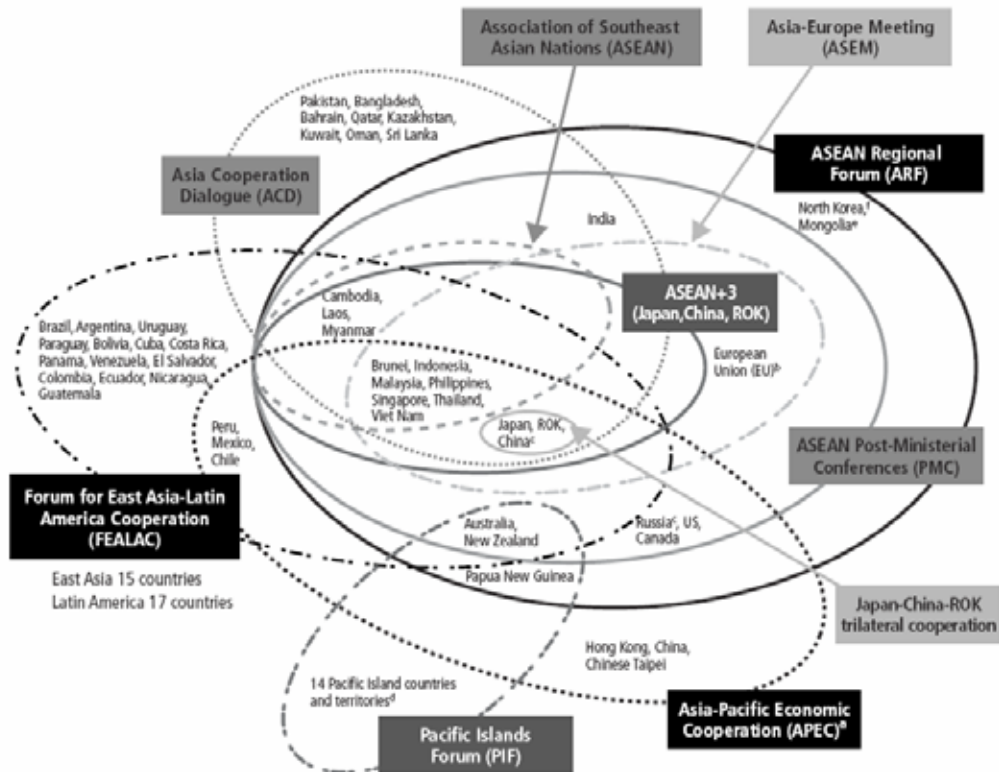
The East Asia Vision Group (EAVG), which was established as the consulting body for the ASEAN+3 Summit, announced the Vision of East Asia Community in 2001 with over fifty recommendations. Although some resisted the idea of East Asia community, the ASEAN+3 Summit in 2004 agreed to hold East Asia Summit. In the past several years, with China becoming more proactive in promoting multilateral regional cooperation, there has been rapid movement towards regional cooperation not only on economic but also on security issues, particularly non-traditional security.

Acceleration of regionalism on one hand, there are formidable challenges facing the realization of an East Asia community on the other. First, the diversity that East Asia embraces is much more formidable than that of the European Union or America. Geographically, Asia can be divided into at least seven sub-divisions and the geographical divisions get blurred by the inclusion of “pacific” nations as well. East Asia can also be divided into Southeast and Northeast Asia. There is no such identity as East Asians or Asians, only commonality being the use of chopsticks. Second the gap between the have’s and have-not’s is wide, ranging from the richest countries such as Japan and Singapore, to the poorest such as East Timor, Myanmar, and Laos. If economic integration is promoted without effective economic partnerships and cooperation, the division between the rich and the poor will increase not only between developed and developing countries but also between competitive industries or companies, which may cause regional destabilization.

In the area of security issues, despite the fact that the region faces formidable challenges from transnational terrorism and organized crime, and natural disasters such as tsunami, regional cooperation has lagged. So far, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) is the only place for the leaders’ discussions although its efficacy for problem solving is often questioned. ASEAN has proposed a security community to be built in 2003 and China has responded positively to the idea. Nonetheless, progress, if any is to be claimed, is at a snail’s pace. Compared to Europe where overt enemies no longer exist, the problems that may trigger inter-state conflict or territorial disputes still inhere in East Asia, such as the volatile situations surrounding the Taiwan-China relationship and North Korea. Regional alliance relations with the United States still have a major bearing.

Asia is now exploring whether we can build a community that shares interests and values. It is exploring whether a functional approach will lead us to an eventual regional structure of some sort.

Framework of Regional Cooperation and Interregional Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region



^a As for APEC, the ASEAN Secretariat, Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) and PIF participate in APEC as observers.
^b As for the EU, the EU Troika (foreign minister of the current presidency holder and the next presidency holder), High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Commissioner for External Relations of the European Commission participate in the ASEAN PMC. The presidency holder participates in the ARF. The 15 EU member countries and European Commission participate in ASEM.
^c China and Russia have been members since the first meeting of the ARF in 1994. They have participated in the PMC since 1996.
^d Pacific Island countries and regions that are members of the PIF include, besides Papua New Guinea, the 12 countries of Vanuatu, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Tonga, Nauru, Samoa, Fiji, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau as well as the two regions of the Cook Islands and Niue.
^e Mongolia's participation in the ARF was approved at the 5th ARF Ministerial Meeting in July 1998.
^f North Korea has participated in the ARF since the 7th ARF Ministerial Meeting in July 2000.

What are the challenges of the expanding EU? How is Europe grappling with its diversity including imminent coexistence with Islamic world, including the question of accession of Turkey to the EU? This is not a question foreign to Asia. Asia has Islamic part as well. European experience on this score would be very relevant. The roundtable would discuss whether the EU model has relevance in East Asia.

We hope the participants of the first roundtable will focus on several prominent issues and hammer out policy recommendations on global governance for a better world. The aim of our discussion at the First Japan-EU Think Tank is to explore the opportunities for Japan and Europe to work more closely on global governance, inter alia the reform of the United Nations. Some of our interests may diverge, but some including global peace and security is our converging interest. The EU identified Japan as a strategic partner in the 2003 European Security Strategy. But as Dr Cameron points out, there has been little real consultation on some of the most sensitive issues. This paper has only touched on some of the issues we might discuss, but it may at least provide a starting point to explore a very vibrant and exciting, if demanding, set of opportunities.

And we also hope that participants will come up with ideas for a way forward in building an epistemic community between Europe and Asia.

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