Global Governance
– In Pursuit of a New International Order –

Summary of Policy Recommendations
—Towards Effective Global Governance in Response to “New Threats”–

1. To deal with today’s diversifying and globalizing “new threats,” not only military strength, but also a comprehensive security system that includes human security approaches and non-military responses is necessary. It is also necessary to strengthen cooperation among various actors involved in global governance, including the United Nations, its member states, regional organizations and civil society. Lacking other viable global institutions, we should, in addition, strive to reform the UN system to make it an effective player in global governance.

2. Cooperation between the US, which possesses overwhelming military force, and the UN, which possesses legitimacy, is essential for global governance. Reforms based on a recognition of the importance of mutual cooperation as the foundation of power and authority, the prerequisites of global governance, are required of both the US and the UN to enable them to cooperate effectively in global governance.

3. It is critical to enhance the legitimacy of the United Nations in supporting both coordination and cooperation among the international community and local activities in Afghanistan and Iraq. To this end, it is necessary to drastically reform the United Nations in response to a changing global situation. Specifically, not only is reform of the Security Council necessary, including a resolution of the issue of veto power, but also the incorporation of civil society and local communities into the policy-making process. Moreover, as the UN is conducting an increasing number of activities (peace-building, reconstruction, application of economic sanctions, etc.) that involve unprecedentedly large economic commitments and interests, improvement in UN governance is called for.

4. The EU, while committed to a UN-centered multilateralism, continues to cooperate with the United States. This suggests that it is important for Japan to promote
regionalism in Asia centered on human security, to enable it to balance a commitment to the United Nations and cooperation with the U.S. As fields for cooperation in which Japan’s experience can most effectively be employed, this research project has suggested that the most important are the development and transfer of environmental technologies and technologies that will assist in disarmament, in addition to the establishment of early warning and emergency assistance systems for large-scale natural disasters, such as earthquakes and tsunami.

I. Research Outline

The impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks forced the international community to strengthen its measures to respond to “new threats” such as terrorism. However, the international community was further jolted by the U.S. response to the events of 9/11. This response, in which the US intensified its unilateralist stance and initiated a “war on terror,” using its overwhelming military power to launch preemptive attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq, was indeed one answer to the question of how to deal with “new threats,” but it also shook the international norms that have functioned to limit the use of force. How should we address the “new threats” facing the peace and security of the international community? Establishing a fundamental orientation and functional guidelines for the international order in response to this question is an urgent task for the future stability of the international community.

Based on this conceptualization of the issues, NIRA considered the issues confronting actors in global governance from the perspective of both the US and the UN, at the same time as conducting a multifaceted examination of measures to address increasingly diversified and globalized “new threats,” based on current conditions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Given that the present situation cannot be dealt with effectively by traditional approaches based on action by nation states, the research project made proposals that look toward the establishment of global governance to respond to “new threats.”
Policy Proposals concerning Global Governance (System)

<Traditional Threats>
International Conflicts

<Current Threats Including “New Threats”>
- International Conflicts
- Internal Conflicts (e.g., failed States, Genocide)
- Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Radioactive Materials and Biochemical Weapons
- Terrorism
- Others

Comprehensive Strategy

Japan’s Active Role in Global Governance

UN Structure and Approaches Appropriate to “New Threats”

The US “War on Terror” and Global Governance

Policy Changes for Maintaining Security in Afghanistan and Iraq
II. Proposals (Details)

1. Towards the Establishment of Global Governance to Combat “New Threats”

- The current status of the post-9/11 “war on terror” in Afghanistan and Iraq has demonstrated that a traditional approach, based on the unit of the nation state, cannot effectively deal with “new threats” such as terrorism, internal conflicts and failed states. In addition to military power, a comprehensive security system that includes human security approaches and non-military responses is essential to dealing with today’s increasingly diverse and global “new threats.” It will also be necessary to strengthen cooperation among various actors, including the United Nations, the United States, the EU and civil society, and reform the UN system to make the institution compatible with all of these actors.

- Cooperation between the US, which possesses overwhelming military force, and the UN, which possesses legitimacy, is essential for global governance. However, the preemptive attack against Iraq, conducted in the absence of a UN resolution, has damaged the legitimacy of the U.N. The US avoided putting a resolution before the Security Council because it feared a veto, raising issues of how to ensure that the Security Council functions as a forum for international decision-making. Reforms based on a recognition of the importance of mutual cooperation as the foundation of power and authority, which are essential to global governance, are required of both the US and the UN.

2. The United States as an Actor in Global Governance

- The 9/11 terrorist attacks delivered an emotional jolt to the American public and it became the Bush administration’s top policy priority to prevent similar events. The background to this is the American tradition of demanding “absolute security.” However, it was only after World War II that the U.S. began maintaining a standing army and building alliances even in peace time. While the tendency towards unilateralism, preemptive attack, prioritization of use of military force and ideological orientation have been present throughout American history, they have become increasingly prominent in the Bush administration’s foreign policy since 9/11, and the issue is also how these policies have been implemented.

- While the United States played an important role in the establishment of the UN, it resents being restricted by the international body. The launching of preemptive or preventive strikes against Afghanistan and Iraq by the US in the absence of UN Security Council resolutions has threatened the international community’s rules regarding the use of military force. Establishing preemptive or preventive attacks as anti-terrorism policies opens up the possibility of arbitrary judgments by permanent members of the UN Security Council. In addition, it is dangerous to allow the use of military force without agreement as to what constitutes terrorism.
The U.S. president’s philosophy of diplomacy is key to the nation’s foreign policy; however, it can change significantly under the pressure of public opinion. The general swing towards conservatism in US politics forms the background to current US foreign policy, but there is also no doubt that the nation’s foreign policy is under the direct ideological influence of a specific political clique. It is necessary for Japan, at the same time as appealing to US public opinion through various channels including intellectuals, NGOs and think tanks, to establish relations of trust with the US in order to enable it to give advice to the nation as an ally.

3. Global Governance Issues as Indicated by the Situations in Afghanistan and Iraq

During the conduct of the “war on terror” in Afghanistan, assistance has been given to military cliques. In Iraq, the maintenance of order was entrusted to the Fallujah Brigade, composed of former Iraqi military and security personnel. These strategies have resulted in a subsequent deterioration of security. The number of casualties among the US forces and Iraqi citizens is increasing, and the restoration of self-government is an urgent matter. It is also necessary to shift the focus of the US forces from the “war on terror” to activities centered on peacekeeping and reconstruction assistance.

Local efforts will be supported by the legitimacy of the UN and cooperation between the UN and the US. To this end, the international community should avoid actions that will erode UN authority and should create an environment in which the UN can function.

Today’s global governance should be treated not only as an issue of world order, but also as one strongly interconnected with regional, national and local governance.

For example, stable local and national governance is essential to consideration of global governance. Afghanistan now has two vice presidents to enable policy to reflect the opinion of ethnic minorities.

In Iraq, Shiites and Kurds were quick to promote political organization based on religious sects and ethnicities and adapted themselves to a system representative of a multicultural society. On the other hand, for Sunnis, the task was to establish local-level governance and a political representative system. The form of governance must be carefully considered to ensure that conflicts between religious sects and between ethnic groups do not cause serious rifts during elections.

In addition, because the stability of regional governance impacts the stability of governance at various levels, it is necessary to promote talks with surrounding nations.

4. An Appropriate Role for the United Nations in the Twenty-First Century
As globalization progresses, questions are increasingly arising as to how global issues should be addressed. The effectiveness of global governance in the 21st century will depend upon systems based not only on the principle of power politics, but also on democratic principles, and which ensure accountability and transparency. In addition, given that frustration with ineffective functioning of the UN underlies the increasing tendency of the US towards unilateralism, the 60-year-old institution will be required to conduct a variety of reforms.

Wide-ranging reforms will be required in order to ensure the legitimacy of the UN. The policy-making process of the Security Council must be reformed and the issues of permanent members and veto power must be resolved. Civil society and local community must be incorporated into the policy-making process. As concrete measures, this research project proposes the establishment of a second General Assembly in which representatives of NGOs will participate (or a world assembly as a consultative subsidiary organ of the UN General Assembly) and a civil society forum to act as a subsidiary organ of the UN Economic and Social Council. It also proposes an expansion of the system (inspection panels and the ombudsman system) for dealing with objections emerging from areas in which the UN is conducting activities.

Given the increasing number of UN activities that involve significant economic interests, such as peacebuilding, the provision of reconstruction assistance and the application of economic sanctions, it will be necessary to improve the governance of the UN Secretariat (to prevent corruption and ensure accountability and transparency, etc.), reform the audit system and introduce monitoring and program evaluation by NGOs.

5. Japan’s Active Role in Global Governance

Japan should and must be more active in addressing global problems. In particular, the research team proposes that, based on the principle of human security, Japan should play an active role in comprehensive security projects that respond to various threats in peoples’ daily lives, such as absolute poverty, AIDS, and environmental problems. On this basis, Japan should review its foreign aid policies, promote reforms such as enhancing cooperation with civil society organizations (NGOs, etc.), and thus improve the evaluation of its overseas activities.

In the twentieth century, Japan’s diplomatic and security policies were torn between UN-centrism and the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. 21st century global governance will increasingly require international cooperation. The EU’s stance is UN-centric, but it also cooperates with the US. This suggests that it might be important for Japan to promote regional cooperation in Asia based on human security to enable it to balance a commitment to the United Nations and cooperation with the United States in the future. To this end, this research proposes that Japan enhance the fostering of human resources engaged in international cooperation, promote the development and transfer of environmental technologies and technologies that will assist in disarmament (fields in...
which Japan’s experience can be put to best use) and establish early warning systems and emergency assistance systems for large-scale natural disasters, including earthquakes and tsunami.

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