

【Report】

Tokyo Peacebuilding Forum 2024

“Restoration and Maintenance of International Peace and Order”

Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan

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



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< Morning Plenary >



GPAJ Vice President **Naoko KUMAGAI** opened the Opening session and invited GPAJ Special Advisor Yasushi **AKASHI** to make opening remarks.



In his opening remarks, **Yasushi AKASHI** welcomed the participants and highlighted the significance of the President of the International Criminal Court **Tomoko AKANE**'s appearance and a keynote speech by Mr. **Motoo NOGUCHI**, Former Ambassador for International Judicial Cooperation (2018-20) and Prosecutor and former UN International Judge of the Cambodia Khmer Rouge Trials (Phnom Penh, 2006-12). Akashi also found it significant that the Forum would examine the Pact for the Future, which had been adopted by the Summit of the Future in New York in September 2024.

According to **AKASHI**, the Pact for the Future rightly referred to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the eradication of poverty as the most significant global challenge, as well as the need for gender equality, investing in people, and addressing climate change. Among the risks to peace was the need for the total elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Reference is also made to digital and emerging technologies, including artificial intelligence. Concerning the expansion of the Security Council seats, he said that it should be, at most, a total of 25 seats in order to keep its effectiveness. Akashi thought the General Assembly demonstrated its political and moral strength when the Security Council became ineffective regarding the Ukraine and Gaza wars. He concluded that the Pact for the Future had many significant references to the current global situation and the future roles to be played by the UN and other international institutions

At the beginning of his keynote speech, Ambassador Noguchi read the message from the ICC President Akane on her behalf. The message included the followings: The rule-based international order is at serious risk and the ICC is one of a few tools to pursue justice. The ICC will never give in to political pressures. ICC as judicial institution will continue to abide by the mandate with integrity and determination. The ICC conducts criminal proceedings in line with



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international fair trial standards with the Prosecutor and the Judiciary as completely separated entities with different mandates. The ICC gives victims the rights to be represented by counsel in court, to express their views, and to request reparations for the harm they have suffered. Justice cannot be only about punishment and retribution. There must be something tangible for the victims, the survivors, to help them rebuild their lives. Strong cooperation and support from States Parties matter significantly. But it is also important to have a strong voice of support from civil society and from all those who care about building a more just world.



In his keynote speech, Ambassador **Motoo NOGUCHI** first explained the role of the International Criminal Court (ICC) through its history and challenges. He explained that the first international trials took place in Nuremberg and Tokyo after WWII, while they have been criticized as representing the victors' justice. After some decades of interval and the end of the Cold War, the UN Security Council established the ICTY (1993) and ICTR (1994), which signaled the beginning of international trials. Mixed tribunals were set and carried out in Cambodia, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, East Timor,

Lebanon, and other post-conflict countries. The ICC was established in 1998 as the permanent court and started its operation in 2003. Except for complex rules related to the exercise of jurisdiction, the ICC was empowered to address past, present, and future crimes. The challenges ICC faces is that it is not a UN organ, and its jurisdiction is limited to 124 of 193 UN member states that have signed the Rome Statute. Among the UN Security Council's permanent members, China, Russia, and the United States have not become ICC members. The lack of universality and power to enforce its decisions, including the collection of evidence and the execution of arrest warrants, have limited the ICC's effectiveness.



Following the presentation, panel commentators provided their views and comments. **Tadamichi YAMAMOTO**, GPAJ Vice President, first pointed out the challenges faced by the ICC in terms of lack of jurisdiction over the crimes committed by leaders of countries that were not ICC members and gave the example of the Russian leader committing the crime of aggression. The lack of legitimacy of the ICC also created problems in dealing with war crimes and crimes against humanity that took place in Afghanistan.

The killing of civilians, torture, and the destruction of cultural property in Afghanistan constituted war crimes that were serious violations of the laws applicable in armed conflict.



Ambassador **Takahiro SHINYO** stressed that the international community was in a severe crisis because the culture of impunity prevailed in many parts of the world as serious crimes were committed without any response from the international community. He then compared the Pact for the Future and the BRICS Summit of 35 countries in Kazan, Russia, for their coverage of global issues. He regretted that the Pact mentioned impunity only once and the rule of



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law twice. It was noteworthy that the ICJ issued arrest warrants against Putin and Netanyahu. Mongolia's failure to keep its commitment as an ICC member seriously threatened the justice system. The General Assembly should honor the ICC, and the Security Council must make a meaningful reform and establish special tribunals against Putin and Netanyahu. He concluded that justice and not power should be the foundation for the management of the international community.



Vesselin **POPOVSKI** was also critical of impunity. He found the need to hold trials against those who have committed serious crimes. The ICC is one of many options available, and he referred to a special tribunal and even a domestic court that can try convicts of another country as a Senegal court tried a convict from Chad. In his view, Secretary-General António Guterres should not have gone to the meeting in Kazan, Russia, as it weakened the legitimacy of the ICC.

Takaaki MIZUNO was shocked by Israel's action to make the Secretary-General of the United Nations persona non grata. In his view, the situation can be seen as balancing the rule of law and the political reality, necessitating political leaders to shake hands with devils. Mizuno then asked Noguchi, who replied that only the Security Council can refer the case to the ICC. **Ken**



INOUE questioned the applicability of the ICC's jurisdiction to parties that had not accepted the Rome Statute. At the same time, **NOGUCHI** clarified that the ICC Rome Statute is a compilation of customary laws that had jurisdiction over the crime committed against citizens of Ukraine, which is a signatory to the Rome Statute.



In conclusion, **Sukehiro HASEGAWA** summarized the key points. The ICC has been established as an independent and permanent court that complements national criminal justice systems. It aims to hold individuals accountable for atrocities and to contribute to the prevention of such crimes in the future. While the ICC has 124 signatory countries, many countries, notably the United States, Russia, and China, have not accepted the Rome Statute, making the ICC able to extend its jurisdiction over these countries.



< Panel 1 : Peacebuilding by Development Organizations >

In this panel, discussions were made on peacebuilding approaches by development organizations and the ways of advancing their activities, moderated by Mr. Koji Sakane and Mr. Daiki Inoue, both directors of GPAJ.



Ms. **Hideko Hadzialic**, UNDP Representative in Japan, highlighting current trends in violent extremism and conflict, introduced how UNDP is engaged with various partners, local, national and regional levels in peacebuilding initiatives.

Mr. **Yoshifumi Yamanaka**, Senior Deputy Director at JICA Peacebuilding Office, highlighted JICA's focus on trust-building and ownership in its peacebuilding activities, discussing specific characteristics of JICA's approaches.



Dr. **Yosuke Nagai**, Executive Director of Accept International, elaborated on the organization's efforts to rehabilitate former combatants from violent extremist groups and support their rehabilitation and reintegration into society.

Ms. **Chihiro Arima**, Program Officer for East Africa Region of Reach Alternatives (REALs), presented its comprehensive approach that includes "changing people," "changing system," and "changing society," providing details on their specific conflict prevention activities.



During the panel discussion with participants, there was an exchange of opinions regarding the challenges faced by each organization. The discussion also focused on how various institutions involved in peacebuilding can produce results and contribute to creating a world without conflict, especially in the current context of frequent conflicts. The presenters shared a common understanding of the importance and difficulty of sustainably securing project budgets.



Ms. **Hadzialic** underlined the importance of supporting and partnering with civil society as was highlighted in the UN General Assembly Resolution (2022) on Peacebuilding. Mr. **Yamanaka** pointed out that through promoting the nexus between peacebuilding, development and humanitarian activities, it is essential to co-create peacebuilding experience in each layer; regional, national and community level. Dr. **Nagai** noted that because their project supports former combatants belonging to violent extremism, gaining public understanding for funding is challenging; however, he stressed the importance of support for these marginalized young individuals. In addition to the importance of strengthening strategic peacebuilding structures and promoting understanding of peacebuilding activities, Ms. **Arima** suggested that further consideration is needed on how to measure the impact of conflict prevention.



In conclusion, while various organizations are involved in peacebuilding with diverse approaches and innovations, it was acknowledged that the reality remains far from achieving peace in the world. The need for further exploration of methods and mutual cooperation to produce tangible results was emphasized as this session came to a close.



< Panel 2 : Forgotten Refugees: How Best to Support Them? >



Mr. Akio Nakayama began his presentation with a global overview of crisis-driven human mobility. He noted that increasing insecurity and reduced humanitarian aid in the host country drive Rohingya refugees to undertake dangerous sea journeys to third countries. This reflects a global trend of mixed migration flows by both sea and land, often facilitated by smuggling networks. He also introduced the IOM's Missing Migrant Project, which documents migrant deaths and disappearances along dangerous migration routes worldwide. Despite

significant obstacles to an effective response to forced migration—such as donor fatigue and the disproportionate burden placed on neighboring host countries—the international community has made some positive steps. These include the adoption of two global compacts on refugees and migrants, as well as the launch of the Action Agenda on Internal Displacement. For future action, he emphasized the importance of increased responsibility-sharing by developed countries, including enhanced financial commitments, technical support, and expanded resettlement opportunities. He also stressed the need for a more active role from non-traditional resettlement countries like Japan. During the Q&A session, Mr. Nakayama addressed concerns about rising anti-refugee sentiments, missing migrants, and the need for education and awareness raising to combat disinformation. He underscored the need for caution regarding anti-refugee and anti-migrant rhetoric employed by right-wing politicians who exploit public frustration. He also stressed the critical need to increase aid to neighboring host countries to prevent further movement of refugees, and to learn from successful practices implemented by local governments such as the Intercultural Cities programme.

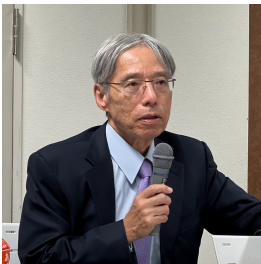


Mr. Yuichi Kubota presented the causes and consequences of the armed conflict between the Pakistani government and pro-Taliban militants in the northwestern region of Pakistan (former Federally Administered Tribal Areas, FATA) and the internally displaced persons caused by this conflict, based on questionnaire surveys that he previously conducted. The FATA has seen an influx of Taliban militants since the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan in 2001. The Taliban militants have created new conflicts by associating with pro-Taliban

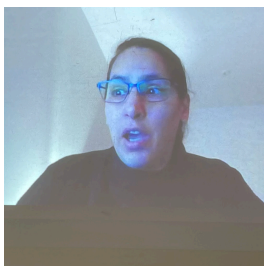
factions in Pakistan. In response, the Pakistani government conducted counterinsurgency operations in the FATA, which resulted in millions of internally displaced persons seeking refuge in neighboring provinces and other settlements within the region. The results of questionnaire surveys indicated that internal displacement (or avoidance of displacement) was caused by the provision of public services by the rebel forces. It was further argued that internal displacement made changes in people's gender attitudes. In the FATA, women's rights and freedoms were much more restricted than those of men, and their opportunities for education and employment were also limited. On the other hand, those who experienced internal displacement were found to have more egalitarian gender perspectives, largely as a result of internalization of norms and values in the places they relocated to. International organizations/actors such as WFP, UNHCR, and UNDP, as well as the Japanese government,



have provided assistance for IDPs, including the provision of shelter, (non-)food items, and medical supplies. The government of Pakistan also implemented assistance programs such as cash transfers in the areas most affected by the conflict. However, the scale of public services for FATA residents remains at the same level as before the escalation of the conflict, and is not necessarily sufficient at present. From this perspective, it was pointed out that in providing assistance to IDPs in the region, it is necessary to plan and implement programs that fully take into account the individual's experiences during the conflict and the changes in their lives during displacement.



As discussant, **Mr. Kazuhide Kuroda** made two sets of comments, first summarizing a study tour conducted on Myanmar refugees and displaced persons in Thailand in August 2024 under the auspices of GPAJ's Refugee Crisis group; and the trend in the third resettlement countries. On the Myanmar refugees, key issues are funding shortage and the likelihood of the current situation to remain. Given that the refugees have no formal status in Thailand, provision of assistance encounters more operational challenges and Thai authorities' low profile approach makes it difficult to carry out effective fund raising efforts particularly in the context of so many crises in the world competing for humanitarian support. While the refugees termed "displaced persons" and refugee camps "temporary shelters" though a substantial number arrived as far back as 40 years ago, even with a stabilized situation in Myanmar it would not likely to prompt their immediate return. In this environment, local NGOs and other support organizations are doing their utmost with limited means and it is hoped that their efforts would receive more support. As Mr. Kuroda recently returned from the United States, he informed that the migrants and refugee issue has become very contentious in the US and other western countries making it much more difficult for the refugees to be resettled in these countries. Opportunities for Myanmar refugees in Thailand who hope to relocate out of Thailand have lessened considerably and, as a result, he added that local resettlement and assimilation option should receive more attention and support.



Ms. Forough Jonghani commented that, as outlined in the two presentations, the impact of conflict on gender norms, women's rights, and the attitude shift towards more egalitarian gender roles post-conflict is of utmost importance when thinking about forgotten refugees. It's worth considering the perspective of widows in such scenarios, as they often face unique challenges and vulnerabilities during conflicts and displacement. Widows may struggle with economic hardships, the loss of social support networks, and increased risk of exploitation or abuse. Understanding and addressing the specific needs of widows within the broader context of conflict and displacement is crucial for developing effective support programs and interventions. Furthermore, given the disruption caused by conflict, widows specifically in the FATA region may face increased economic insecurity, social isolation, and limited access to essential services. Support programs for widows in conflict-affected areas thus must focus on economic empowerment, psychosocial support, legal assistance, and access to healthcare and



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education. As such the Communities for Afghan scheme is highly relevant in the context of fostering community support and integration for Afghan refugees and internally displaced persons in Northwestern Pakistan for example. The 'Communities for Afghans' programme is a partnership between the civil society (sponsor group volunteers) and the UK Government to build a community led pathway for families fleeing Afghanistan. Schemes like this play a crucial role in addressing the needs of vulnerable populations, including widows, and promoting social cohesion in conflict-affected areas. By emphasizing community engagement and support, the scheme contributes to creating a more inclusive and supportive environment for those affected by armed conflict and displacement, highlighting the significance of local initiatives in humanitarian responses and post-conflict recovery efforts.



< Panel 3 : Outcome of the Summit of the Future: Pact for the Future >

The presentation and discussion of the Summit of the Future's outcome centered around the actions identified in the Pact for the Future, in which the heads of State and Governments of the UN members pledged a new beginning in multilateralism by ensuring that the United Nations and other key multilateral institutions can meet the mounting challenges and deliver a better future for people and planet.



Mr. **Shigemi ANDO**, Director of the Global Issues Cooperation Division, International Cooperation Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, found an achievement in adopting the Pact for the Future, which identified the five actions. They were (1) sustainable development and financing for development, (2) international peace and security, (3) science, technology and innovation, and digital development, (4) youth and future generations, and (5) transforming global governance. While noting the need to find common ground for the safety of women and children, securing human dignity, and establishing the rules for digital development, Mr. Ando identified the UN Security Council reform as the most urgent and vital action. He said that the commitment of the United States remained essential for any reform to take place, despite accusations made of its application of double standards in the Gaza crisis.



In a subsequent discussion, Ambassador **Takahiro SHINYO** referred to the Pact as a good starting point but also represented the interests of the Global South, mainly African countries. As the Pact stated, the most critical role of the United Nations was maintaining international peace and security, not development. He also found it regrettable that human security was not mentioned in the Pact and the rule of law only twice. He then compared the Pact with the declaration of the BRICS Summit meeting held in Russia in October 2024.



Ambassador **Tadamichi YAMAMOTO** agreed that the Pact was a good starting point and that the United States's role was critically important. He thought Secretary-General António Guterres was concerned about the divide emerging between two groups: one around the US and another led by China. He considered the current Security Council composition did not reflect the world's reality.



Professor **SHENG Hongsheng** clarified that China favored the international law-based order stipulated in the UN Charter, which differed from the rule-based law developed by Western countries. China was interested in the Summit of the Future and in formulating a mutually beneficial pact for the future by adopting a “Live and Let Live” approach rather than a winner-takes-all system.



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Mr. Georgios KOSTAKOS called for Japan to take more active leadership and responsibilities in multilateral diplomacy, emphasizing human security. To make a transformational change, Japan and Germany should not insist on permanent seats. He advocated the establishment of a global resilience council.



Vesselin POPOVSKI found the Russian intervention at the last moment to stop the adoption of the Pact an isolated act meant to seek the attention of member states. He questioned whether the Summit was successful as the commitment to reform the Security Council after 31 years of debate did not produce any specific new agreement on its composition and the use of veto. He regretted that no visionary ideas emerged from the Summit.



Yuga Yamamoto explained that several students reviewed the statements made by delegates to the Summit and found the divide between developed and developing countries and the need to change financial architectures to generate more funds to support development efforts.



During **the subsequent discussion** among the participants, they focused on the issues of international peace and the Security Council reform. **Takahiro SHINYO** thought international peace and security should be the top priority action among the five actions listed by the Pact. **Hideko HADZIALIC** mentioned the significance of the nexus between development and peace as SDG, AI and other development activities contributed to international peace and security. She called for a holistic understanding of development, saying that good governance entails development and development entails governance.



SHINYO also compared the outcomes of the UN Summit in New York and the BRICS Summit held in Kazan, Russia, which referred to democracy and multilateralism. **Tadanori INOMATA** thought the Zero-sum game approach hindered the maintenance of peace for development and common goods. **Ken INOUE** thought China had the responsibility to act as nothing could be changed in the UN, which, he noted, was the product of the WWII victors. The Japanese government should play a more helpful role by focusing on culture, sports, and arts

and trying to forge common values in the international community.



Concerning the Security Council reform, Tadamichi **YAMAMOTO** pointed out that the Security Council did not reflect the contemporary real world, and **SHINYO** emphasized the need for realistic reform. Echoing **SHINYO**, **POPOVSKI** did not consider any use of having more permanent members, while **SHENG** found the need to prevent the tyranny of the majority. Responding to some of the questions, Shigemi **ANDO** first referred to a presentation by the Kenyan delegate in the General Assembly, expressing her disapproval of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. It was noteworthy that she told the Russians that African leaders agreed not to try to change by force the national borders that former colonial powers had drawn. MOFA Director then expressed his view that the opposite of the rule of law was ruled by force. Concerning the Security Council reform, he noted that the expansion of the Security Council was necessary to address the root cause of the Security Council's failure to act, i.e., the abuse of veto power. Japan's presence in the Security Council had a significant meaning, as Japan had been making valuable contributions not only financially but also to UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities, as Sierra Leone, Chair of the C-10 group of African countries, recognized.



At the end of working session 3, **Sukehiro HASEGAWA**, the moderator, summarized the key points made during the session. The Summit of the Future's achievement was the world leaders' agreement on the significant challenges humanity faced and what the United Nations and the international community should do together to address the challenges, including the threat that AI and digital development can pose. The Pact for the Future was a good starting point. Still, it mainly reflected the views of the Global South developing countries, especially those in Africa, concerned with the lack of financial resources for development and the need for an institutional decision-making process. There was a significant agreement on the need to expand the membership of the Security Council. However, no tangible agreement was made about the number and categories of the increased seats, mainly due to the insistence of G4 and AU members to add permanent seats for themselves, including two for African countries.



< Panel 4 : Middle East Crisis: Views from Global South >



In this panel, Mr. **Koji Sakane** and Dr. **Arbenita Sopaj**, Directors of GPAJ, served as moderators, discussing the current Middle East conflict, particularly focusing on humanitarian crisis caused by Israeli attacks on Gaza. They explored how Global South perceive this situation.

As introductory, Sakane provided an overview of chronology of conflict between Israel and Palestine and its neighboring countries, and explained the current humanitarian crisis in Gaza. He also addressed public opinion in Arab countries and Palestine regarding this situation and governance in Gaza.



Following this, Dr. **Akihiro Seita**, UNRWA's Health Director, detailed the impact of Israeli attacks in Gaza and UNRWA's activities under such circumstance, providing short movies on local situation. Dr. Seita expressed deep concern over the repeated inhumane attacks occurring on the ground. He pointed out that despite UNRWA's provision of many public services in Palestine, including food distribution, shelter, and medical services, a bill was passed in Israel to halt UNRWA's operations. He emphasized that stopping the activities of UN General

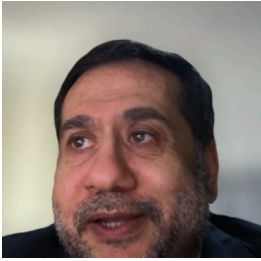
Assembly-mandated organization by UN member state is very dangerous act as it undermines the principle of multilateralism.





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Dr. **Ghassan Elkahlout**, Director of the Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies in Qatar, emphasized that the current brutality is not an isolated incident but rather part of a long-standing pattern of violence repeatedly carried out by the Israeli army against the occupied Palestinian territories over decades. He expressed deep concern over the persistent lack of accountability for these actions and the absence of strong, cohesive action by the international community, including Arab governments. Dr. Ghassan highlighted efforts by countries such as South Africa to hold Israel accountable for its actions at the International Court of Justice regarding Gaza. He also stressed the urgent need for the international community, including Japan, to take decisive measures to stop the continuous violations of international humanitarian law (IHL) and drive meaningful change to ensure accountability and justice.



Mr. **Osamu Miyata**, Chairman of the Center for Contemporary Islamic Studies in Japan (CCISJ), explained Japan's distinct approach to supporting Palestine compared to Western countries. He raised concerns about Japanese military technology being used in weapons supplied to Israel. Introducing Dr. Tetsu Nakamura's longstanding support in Afghanistan, Mr. Miyata underscored the significance of Japan rebuilding trust with countries in the Global South.



During discussions with participants, questions were raised regarding perspectives from other Arab nations like Egypt, future prospects for a "two-state solution," and UNRWA's activities.



The panel concluded with a recognition among participants that it is crucial to continue addressing the current situation in the Middle East and take concrete actions to change the situation.



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**< Panel 5 : Closed Session with the ICC President H.E. Judge Tomoko Akane
“Unprecedented Challenges Facing the International Criminal Court
at the Age of War” >**



It was a closed session in Japanese with H.E. Judge Tomoko Akane, President of the International Criminal Court. Subsequent to her statement and the keynote speech by Judge Noguchi in the opening session in the morning, this panel started with President Akane’s introductory remarks for about 15 minutes, followed by Q&A with the participants for about 80 minutes. There were active questions and comments from the participants of both in person and remote, and President Akane responded each question or comment in detail and frankly as far as her position allowed. Though she was participating remotely from The Hague, the Netherlands, there was no logistic problems including the internet connection.



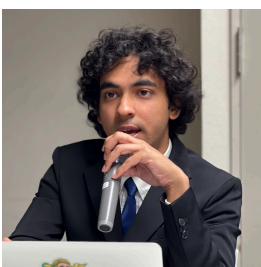
<Panel 6 : Future Leaders Panel: The Impact of Youth on Peace and Conflict>



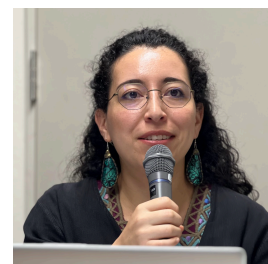
Given the increasing importance of youth engagement in addressing both global and local challenges, particularly in the context of peacebuilding efforts, this panel brought together promising undergraduate and PhD students to present their current academic research and share insights on youth involvement in peace processes and decision-making. The panel was moderated by Mr. **Maciej Witek**, GPAJ Director, and Mr. **Daiki Inoue**, GPAJ Director.



The event opened with pre-recorded remarks by Ms. **Elizabeth Gamarra**, GPAJ Director, who highlighted the significance of youth-driven change in global peacebuilding. She emphasized the importance of collaboration across generations and platforms to create a more peaceful world.



Following this, Mr. **Syed Ahlan Jadid** (undergraduate student in International Relations at Tokyo International University), Ms. **Silvia Luz Gonzalez Marquez** (Ph.D. candidate in Peace Studies at International Christian University), and Ms. **Tokoyo Okubo** (Ph.D. candidate in International Relations at International Christian University) presented their research. Mr. Jadid discussed democratic backsliding in Bangladesh, focusing on the role of youth in revitalizing the anti-discrimination national movement. Ms. Marquez explored how a persecuted religious minority became a generation of peacebuilders, underscoring the potential of youth and the role of religion in peacebuilding. Ms. Okubo addressed post-9/11 peacebuilding in Afghanistan, highlighting the need for a nuanced perspective in peacebuilding efforts. She also pointed out youth as bridges as well as impacts of their local involvement and balanced approach.





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Following the presentations, Mr. Witek facilitated a panel discussion. During this time, speakers and participants explored concrete actions that youth can take to foster a more peaceful world, as well as how local peacebuilding initiatives can inform broader international structures and norms.

Lastly, Mr. Inoue delivered closing remarks and concluded the event. He emphasized the importance of continuing the discussion on and actions of peacebuilding, with current generations fostering the efforts that will be carried forward by future generations.





(Picture from the reception)



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