The World is in Trouble. What Is the UN Doing?

Kiyotaka Akasaka,

President of the Nippon Communications Foundation (nippon.com), Former UN Under-Secretary-General

October 21, 2024, Aoyama Gakuin Univ.

1, Current Pressing Global Issues

- Israel's conflict vs Hamas, Hezbolla and Iran
- Russian invasion of Ukraine
- Iran's nuclear development
- Multilateralism in crisis
- Climate change
- Food crisis
- SDGs
- Communicable diseases
- Women's rights and gender parity
- **AI**
- Economic inequalities
- Human rights, hate speech, disinformation







時事ドットコム

<u>UN Secretary-General's remarks at the Opening Segment of the Summit of the Future Plenary,</u>

22 September 2024

- bring multilateralism back from the brink.
- make global institutions more legitimate, fair and effective, based on the values of the UN Charter.
- our world is heading off the rails and we need tough decisions to get back on track.
- Huge inequalities are a brake on sustainable development.
- The climate crisis is destroying lives, devastating communities and ravaging economies.
- The United Nations Security Council is outdated, and its authority is eroding.

Democracy vs. Autocracy

In this November's U.S. presidential election, voters will be choosing between two different visions of America—and two vastly different visions of what role the country should play in global affairs.

The next president, no matter who it is, will have to contend with major foreign policy challenges, including Russia's war in Ukraine, the Israel-Hamas conflict in Gaza, the global migrant and refugee crisis, a warming planet, and competition with China—all issues that could shape voters' choices at the ballot box.

- The Foreign Affairs, November/December '24

2, Major Achievements of the UN in Recent Years

- MDGs and SDGs
- R2P(Responsibility to Protect)
- Climate Change (Paris Agreement 2015)
- WFP (The Nobel Peace Prize 2020)
- WHO (COVID-19, Polio, Leprosy, Ebola etc.)
- Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons







Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

(2005 World Summit Outcome)

Responsibility of state to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity



International community to assist states to meet obligations



Responsibility of international community to respond collectively in a timely and decisive manner

R2P - Incapacitated by the Veto at the Scurity Council



Jadaliyya



AP

UN SC Resolution1973 (3/17/2011)

The Security Council,
Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

"4. Authorizes Member States...., to take all necessary measures,....to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya..."

Global Humanitarian Overview 2024

PEOPLE IN NEED	299.4 M
PEOPLE TARGETED	180.5 M
REQUIREMENTS (US\$)	\$ 46.4 B
APPEALS	35



In 2024, nearly 300 million people around the world will need humanitarian assistance and protection, due to conflicts, climate emergencies and other drivers.



The <u>United Nations Development Programme</u> (UNDP), the <u>United Nations Refugee Agency</u> (UNHCR), the <u>United Nations Children's Fund</u> (UNICEF), the <u>World Food Programme</u> (WFP) and the <u>United Nations Population Fund</u> (UNFPA) have primary roles in the delivery of relief assistance.

3, The Ukraine War and the UN

UN Secretary-Genral



UN

UN General Assembly and Security Council



GA-193 members, no veto, non-binding resolutions



SC — 15 members, 5 PMs with a veto, binding resolutions

Humanitarian assistance

OCHA, UNHCR, WFP, UNICEF, IOM, UNFPA...

Justice







Secretary-General Antonio Guterres

Feb. 24, 2022

"in the present situation one thing is clear: the decision of the Russian Federation to recognize the so-called "independence" of Donetsk and Luhansk regions — and the follow-up — are violations of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine and inconsistent with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

White or Black?

- The war was not in conformity (consistent) with the UN Charter.
- The war was illegal (inconsistent) with the UN Charter.



When pressed on whether he viewed the invasion of Iraq as illegal, he said: "Yes, if you wish. I have indicated it was not in conformity with the UN charter from our point of view, from the charter point of view, it was illegal."

<u>Ukraine war: No chance for serious peace negotiations yet, says</u> <u>UN chief</u> <u>UN lews</u>



18 January 2023

Global perspective Human stories

The <u>UN Secretary-General</u> said that he did not believe that there was an opportunity yet, to organize "a serious peace negotiation" between the warring parties in Ukraine, nearly a year on from Russia's full-scale invasion.

"There will be an end...there is an end of everything, but I do not see an end of the war in the immediate future," Mr. Guterres said. "I do not see a chance at the present moment to have a serious peace negotiation between the two parties."

UN Security Council



UN Photo/Mark Garten | Security Council votes on draft resolution on Ukraine, 25 February 2022.

UN News
Global perspective Human stories

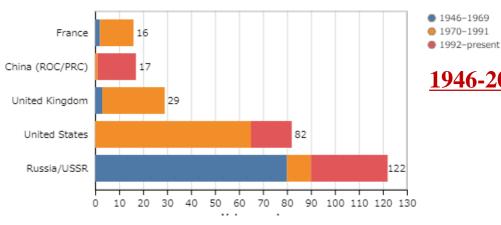
Russia vetoed a UN Security Council resolution on 25 February that would have demanded that Moscow immediately stop its attack on Ukraine and withdraw all troops, a move several Council members said was deplorable, but inevitable.

26 February 2022

Russia vetoes Security Council resolution condemning attempted annexation of Ukraine regions

30 September 2022

Vetoes Cast at the UN Security Council



1946-2022 (Sep.30)

Source: <u>"Security</u>
<u>Council - Veto List"</u>. Dag
Hammarskjöld Library
Research Guide.

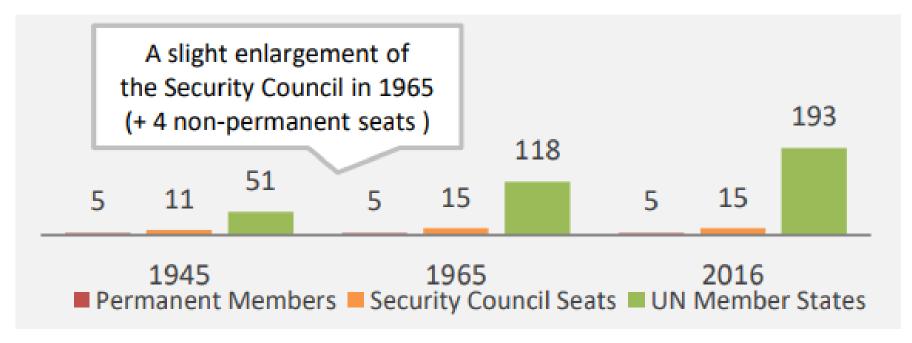
24 April 2024	Non-proliferation	Russian Federation	
18 April 2024	Admission of new members	United States	
28 March 2024	Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Russian Federation	
22 March 2024	The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	China Russian Federation	
20 February 2024	The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	USA	
8 December 2023	The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	USA	
25 October 2023	The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	China Russian Federation	
18 October 2023	The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question	USA	
30 August 2023	The situation in Mali	Russian Federation	
11 July 2023	The situation in the Middle East	Russian Federation	

2023-2024



UN Research Guides https://research.un.org > quick > veto

Number of UN Member States and Security Council Seats



Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan

Security Council Reform: Major Issues/Different Positions

	G4 (Group of Four) (%position presented in the IGN document in 2015)	AU (African Union) (%position presented in the draft resolution by Africa in 2005)	CARICOM (Caribbean Community)	L69	UFC (Uniting for Consensus)
Member	Brazil, Germany, India and Japan	54 African countries	14 CARICOM member states	India, Jamaica, PNG, Saint Vincent, etc.	Italy, Republic of Korea, Mexico, etc.
Permanent Seats	Latin Am	5 (status quo)			
Non- Permanent Seats	14 or 15 (+4 or +5) Africa(1 or 2), Asia- Pacific(1), Eastern Europe(1) Latin America and Caribbean(1)	15 (+5) Africa(2), Asia- Pacific(1), Eastern Europe(1) Latin America and Caribbean(1)	16 (+6) Africa(2), Asia-Pacific(1), Eastern Europe(1) Latin America and Caribbean(1), SIDS(Small Island Developing States)(1)		Up to 21 (+11) increase of non- permanent seats and creation of new category of membership based on longer term non- permanent seats
Veto	The new permanent members shall not exercise the veto-right until a decision has been taken during a review (15 years after the reform)	The veto should be abolished but so long as it exists, it should be extended to all members including the new permanent members	Same as the left In addition, efforts mu its use	ist be made to limit	Ready to consider formulas on how to best limit its use

**G4 expressed its support to the Common African Position (CAP) in the G4 Ministerial Joint Press Statement (September 2021).

<u>Issues to be discussed:</u>

- Categories of Membership
- Regional Representation
- Question of the Veto

- Size of an Enlarged Council and Working Methods of the Council
- Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly

Article 27 (3) of the UN Charter

3, Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Note: Chapter VI: Pacific Settlement of Disputes, Articles 33~38

Article 52 (3) The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

While it is obligatory to abstain from voting if the country is a party to the dispute, this does not apply to decisions taken under Chapter VII (economic and military sanctions). The practice of obligatory abstention has been rarely used, even in relation to decisions outside Chapter VII. Major players in the U.N. have been unwilling to pressure states to fulfill their obligation to abstain. Smaller states such as Liechtenstein and New Zealand have openly protested U.N. member states' failures to do so.

UN General Assembly

General Assembly Resolution Demands End to Russian Offensive in Ukraine March 2, 2022

General Assembly resolution demands end to Russian offensive in Ukraine



The UN General Assembly overwhelmingly adopted a resolution on Wednesday demanding that Russia immediately end its military operations in Ukraine. A total of 141 countries voted in favor of the resolution, which reaffirms Ukrainian sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.

UN General Assembly resolution demands end to Russian offensive in Ukraine, March 2, 2022

The UN General Assembly overwhelmingly adopted a resolution on Wednesday demanding that Russia immediately end its military operations in Ukraine.



In favor: 141

(Belarus, Nort Korea, Eritrea, Syria, Russia)

Abstention:35 (China, India, Iran, Iraq, Mongolia, South Africa. Vietnam etc.)

Source: UN News

UNGA resolution to suspend Russia in the Human Rights Council (April 7, 2022)



In favor:93

Against: 24
(Belarus, China,
North Korea,
Eritrea, Iran, Syria,
Vietnam, Russia,
etc.)

Abstention: 58
(India, Indonesia, Iraq, Malaysia, Mongolia, South Africa, Thailand, etc.)

UNGA resolution demanding Russia to reverse attempted annexation (October 12, 2022)



In favor: 143

Against: 5 (Belarus, Nort Korea, Nicaragua, Syria, Russia)

Abstention: 35 (China, Cuba, Eritria, India, Mongolia, Pakistan, South Africa, Thailand, Vietnam etc.)

General Assembly calls for immediate end to war in Ukraine

23 February 2023 The UN General Assembly called for ending the war in Ukraine and demanded Russia's immediate withdrawal from the country, in line with the UN Charter.



In favor: 141

Against:7 (Belarus, North Korea, Eritrea, Mali, Nicaragua, Syria, Russia)

Abstention: 32 (China, Cuba, India, Iran, Mongolia, Pakistan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Vietnam, etc.)

The Assembly President said that in this "new chapter of history", the world is facing "stark choices about who we are as an international community. These choices will either set us on a path of solidarity and collective resolve to uphold the tenets of the UN Charter," he said, "or a path of aggression, war, normalized violations of international law and collapsed global action." 22 UN News

General Assembly Adopts Landmark Resolution Aimed at Holding Five Permanent Security Council Members Accountable for Use of Veto April 22, 2022

United Nations

...without a vote, the Assembly decided that its President shall convene a formal meeting of the 193-member organ within 10 working days of the casting of a veto by one or more permanent members of the Council and hold a debate on the situation as to which the veto was cast.

<u>China, Russia Blast U.S. over N. Korea at U.N. Meeting on Veto Use</u>, 8, June 2022

The U.N. General Assembly on June 8, held a meeting for China and Russia to explain why they vetoed a Security Council resolution to strengthen sanctions on North Korea over its launches of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

While many U.N. members voiced criticism over North Korea's missile launches and the exercise of veto power by China and Russia, Beijing and Moscow criticized the United States, arguing that the country failed to address Pyongyang's concerns over security.

ICC judges issue arrest warrants against Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Maria Alekseyevna Lvova-Belova



March 17, 2023

Mr. Putin, President of the Russian Federation, is allegedly responsible for the war crime of unlawful deportation of population (children) and that of unlawful transfer of population (children) from occupied areas of Ukraine to the Russian Federation. The crimes were allegedly committed in Ukrainian occupied territory at least from 24 February 2022.

4, Climate Change and the UN

Kyoto Climate Change Conference - December 1997



Encyclopedia Britannica

Flaws of the Kyoto Protocol

- **◆** Hasty agreements on new ideas (GHGs, sink, emission trading, CDM);
- **◆** Inflexible approach to legally-binding emission reductions;
- ◆ Arbitrary decisions on emission reduction targets: Japan -6%, US -7%, EU -8%, Russia, NZ 0%)
- **♦** No obligatory action required for developing countries.

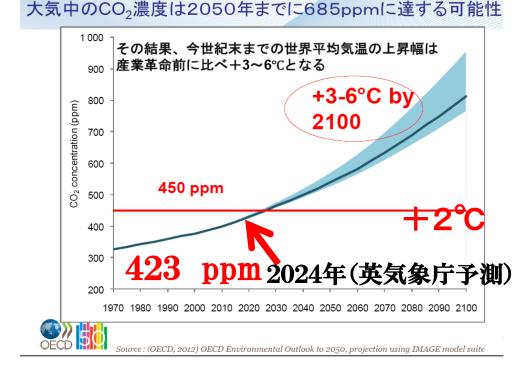
Paris Agreement COP21, 2015



Governments agreed:

- a long-term goal of keeping the increase in global average temperature to well below 2° C above pre-industrial levels;
- to aim to limit the increase to 1.5° C, since this would significantly reduce risks and the impacts of climate change;
- Since 2020, countries have been submitting their national climate action plans, known as nationally determined contributions (NDCs).

Global Boiling (地球沸騰化)



Findings Sound Alarm Over

Climate Change, Call for Stronger Measures

March 27, 2023

According to the IPPC's projections, if global warming continues, the temperature rise will exceed 1.5 C in the first half of the 2030s. By the end of the century, it is predicted to reach 3.2 C.



5, Views of the World about the UN

Special report | Global firefighting

The **Economist**

The UN has too much on its plate

Mission impossible - The Economist, June 20th, 2020

A broad criticism of the UN is that it simply does too much. It is, in effect, trying to save the world several times over. Its many aims may be wonderful, and interconnected, but it lacks the capacity to pursue them all effectively. It has taken on more than it was designed for. And the design itself needs a fresh look.

Le Monde

June 28, 2022

How the war in Ukraine highlights the UN's impotence

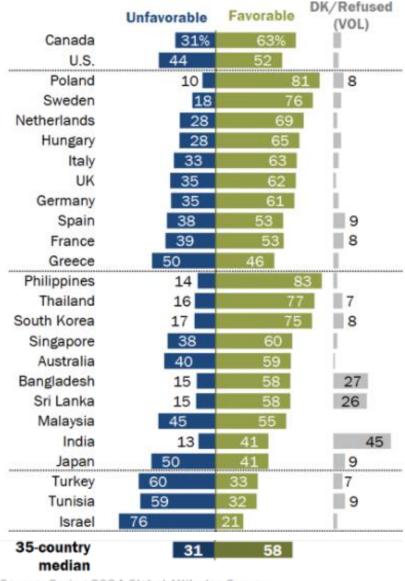
The organization has been weakened by the United States' loss of reputation under George W. Bush and Donald Trump, Russia's repeated use of veto in the Security Council and China's increasing global influence.



Most people in 35 countries see the UN favorably, but views have dipped in some places Summer 2024

In 22 of the 35 countries surveyed, majorities see the UN positively.

Views of the UN are less positive in some places. Half or more in Greece, Israel, Japan, Tunisia and Turkey express a negative opinion.



Source: Spring 2024 Global Attitudes Survey.

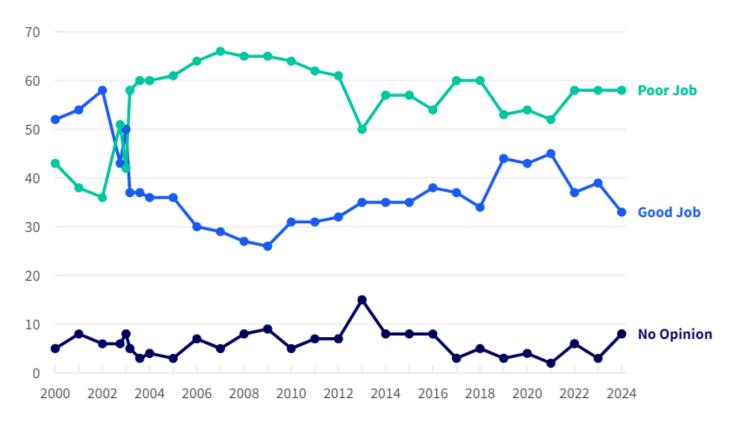
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Is the UN Doing a Good Job?

Just 33% of Americans think so, new Gallup poll shows

American support for the UN from 2000-2024

Gallup asked participants, "Do you think the United Nations is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face?"



Source: Gallup Gallup polled this question twice in 2002 and three times in 2003. In October 2002, March 2003, 2005, and 2017, Gallup asked a half sample. In 2013, it was asked on a Gallup Daily tracking survey.

5, How to Prevent the Collapse of the Global Order

UNSG Antonio Guterres (Address to the General Assembly, 19 September 2023)

We are inching ever closer to a Great Fracture in economic and financial systems and trade relations; one that threatens a single, open internet; with diverging strategies on technology and artificial intelligence; and potentially clashing security frameworks.

It is high time to renew multilateral institutions based on 21st century economic and political realities — rooted in equity, solidarity and universality and anchored in the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.

That means reforming the Security Council in line with the world of today.

It means redesigning the international financial architecture so that it becomes truly universal and serves as a global safety net for developing countries in trouble.

32



The new world disorder – If America pulls back from global institutions, others must step forward, the Economist, June 20, 2020

• The threat to the global order weighs on everyone, including America. But if the U.S. pulls back, then everyone must step forward, and none more so than the middling powers like Japan and Germany, and the rising ones like India and Indonesia.

• The UN is bureaucratic and infuriating. Nonetheless, the global order is worth saving. Multilateral endeavors like the UN, NATO and the NPT cannot ensure peace, but they do make war less likely and more limited.

<u>The Next Liberal Order – the age of contagion demands more internationalism, not less</u>

by John Ikenberry, Foreign Affaires, July/August 2020

The U.S. and other liberal democracies need to reconstitute themselves as a more coherent and functional coalition. The U.S. could work with its G-7 partners to expand that group's activities and membership, adding countries such as Australia and South Korea. It could even turn the G-7 into a G-10.

They should better monitor and respond to China's efforts to use international organizations to advance its national economic champions and promote its authoritarian mode of governance.

The Dangerous Decade – A foreign policy for a world in crisis

by Richard Haass, President of the US Council on Foreign Relations (Foreign Affairs, Sep/Oct 2022)

Instead of a single big idea, Washington should use a number of principles and practices to guide its foreign policy.

This shift would translate into a foreign policy that is based largely on alliances to deter Russian and Chinese aggression and selective partnerships of the like-minded to address global challenges that the US cannot ignore or handle on its own.

(Rather than universal multilateralism) Better to pursue realistic partnerships of the like-minded, which can bring a degree of order to the world, including specific domains of limited order, if not quite world order. Realism must trump idealism.

The spread of "mini-lateralism"



首相官邸



iStock

Quad: US, Japan, Australia, India

AUKUS: Australia, US, UK

US-Japan-Korea Summit





What the world can learn from Japan

The Economist, December 11, 2021



Japan is not an outlier – it is a harbinger. Many of the challenges it faces already affect other countries, including rapid aging, secular stagnation, the risk of natural disasters, ant the peril of being caught between China and America.

Japan is a major creditor and the third-largest economy. Its people live longer than the citizens of any other country. It is home to the biggest technology investor on the planet, a pioneering 5G firm, and a host of global brands, from Uniqlo to Nintendo. Expertise in robots and sensors will help its firms make money from a wide range of new industrial technologies. Geopolitically, Japan plays a pivotal role between China and America. It should not, in short, be a global afterthought.

What Can Japan Do for the World as a Harbinger?

- Initiatives for peace and disarmament
- Facilitating solutions to regional problems and conflicts
- Initiatives to promote SDGs
 - Aging issue
 - Universal health coverage (UHC)
 - Education and vocational training
- Environmental initiatives
 - Climate change
 - Reforestation
 - 3R initiative
 - MOTTAINAI
 - Natural disaster prevention and relief
 - Public transportation

<u>UN reform and Japan: Working as a mediator to build</u> international consensus

Asahi Shimbun Editorial: April 20, 2022

- While the reform of the UN Security Council should remain a goal, we need to consider the diverse functions of the UN.
- The Security Council has been unable to pass resolutions on sanctions against Russia, but it has provided a forum for discussion. If the Security Council cannot function, as demonstrated in this case, the General Assembly can play a certain role.
- The UN is a unique entity that shapes international public opinion. The UN also plays a significant role in addressing global issues such as climate change, infectious diseases, and sustainable development goals by sharing problems and setting norms for action and behavior.

Japan is a "middle power," having served as a non-permanent member of the Security Council more than any other country. Japan should use its accumulated contributions to peace and become a fair mediator that upholds the UN Charter and builds international agreements. Improving its multilateral dialogue skills will be a step toward reform. (translated by ChatGPT)