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Summary Record
Session 1
Asian Perspectives
On
Making, Keeping, and Sustaining Peace



Director-General HU Wenli, Vice-President of the UN Association of China, made the following presentation.

It is a great pleasure to meet with friends, old and new, at this roundtable session. This year, the theme of the roundtable session is *“Asian Perspectives on the Challenges of Making, Keeping, and Sustaining Global Peace.”* I think that the current international peace and security situation is indeed worrying and worthy of our attention and reflection.

The world today is not a tranquil place: changes unseen in a century are fast evolving, major-country competition is intensifying, geopolitical conflicts are escalating, the global security governance system is woefully lagging behind, and traditional and non-traditional security threats keep flaring up. All countries are confronted by multiple risks and challenges rarely seen in history, and human society faces multiple security dilemmas like never before.

It is our expectation that all countries can enhance solidarity and cooperation under the UN flag to cope with risks and challenges and build a world with lasting peace and common prosperity. However, certain countries are keen on unilateralism, hegemony, and power politics in international relations. They organize groups such as AUKUS and QUAD to serve their own interests, taking a selective approach to participate in the UN-

led multilateral system. In this context, we need to consider what future we expect to shape with visions for our generation and generations to come. I would like to share my viewpoints on addressing the pressing peace and security challenges here.

First, the UN is imperfect but still indispensable for safeguarding world peace and security. We must bear in mind that the essence for the UN to be working well lies in that all member states practice true multilateralism, firmly uphold the international system with the UN at its core, the international order underpinned by international law and the basic norms of international relations underpinned by the UN Charter.

Second, the historical trends of peace, development, and win-win cooperation are unstoppable. Major countries should take the lead in upholding equality, cooperation, and the rule of law. Hegemonic, bullying and domineering practices should be rejected, and joint efforts should be made to build a framework of major-country relations featuring peaceful coexistence, overall stability, and balanced development.

Third, political consultation and dialogue are the only way to settle hotspot issues peacefully. Support should be extended to the parties involved to settle their disputes and differences through dialogue and consultation. The international community should speak up for justice, cool down hotspots and deflate tensions.

Fourth, traditional and non-traditional security challenges require a collaborative response. It is important to promote global strategic stability, oppose the practice of small circles and group politics, and defuse nuclear war risks. Combined efforts are needed to combat terrorism and safeguard data security, bio-security, and the stability of supply and scientific and technological chains.

Dear colleagues,

As a responsible country and a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China firmly adheres to the path of peaceful development, opposes hegemonism, and always takes maintaining world peace and tranquility as its own responsibility.

China is committed to the path of peaceful development. China has never started a conflict or war or taken a single inch of foreign land. To this day, China remains the only country that has committed to peaceful development in its Constitution. No matter how

much it develops, China will never seek hegemony, expansion, or sphere of influence or engage in an arms race but remain a defender of world peace.

China is committed to the international arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation processes. China has joined over 20 multilateral arms control treaties and firmly upheld the international nuclear non-proliferation regime. China will continue to promote international cooperation on arms control and build a global nuclear security architecture featuring fairness and win-win cooperation and play its part in maintaining global strategic stability.

China is committed to following a Chinese approach to resolving hotspot issues. China believes in promoting peace through talks. Guided by its emphasis on addressing both the symptoms and root causes, its call for the involved parties to meet each other halfway, and its pursuit of fairness and justice, China has made unremitting efforts for the political settlement of hotspot issues such as the Iranian nuclear issue, the Korean Peninsula, Syria, and Palestine. Recently, China released a paper stating its position on the political settlement of the Ukraine crisis and communicated with all parties regarding the political settlement. This is another manifestation of China's commitment to promoting peace.

Dear colleagues,

Asia has been maintaining a relatively stable status quo, but it is far from being peaceful and tranquil. There are prominent security risks and challenges we have to face.

The world has been suffering the aftermath of NATO's expansion in Eastern Europe. Now, the trend of NATO's expansion into Asia is also constantly strengthening. I'd like to raise two questions. First, what is the real purpose of NATO's extension to Asia? Second, what will be the consequences? I have to point out that what NATO is peddling is nothing but interventionism, militarism, and hegemony customized in accordance with Washington's agenda. If that is bought by regional countries and they let NATO into the region, it will shatter the region's hard-won peace and stability. So, countries with wise minds should reject instead of embracing NATO's unwarranted strategy of eastward outreach in Asia.

In addition, the US often engages in joint military exercises, indiscriminately applies unilateral sanctions, and interferes in the internal affairs of other countries in Asia under the pretext of maintaining regional peace and security. These are by no means helping Asia solve peace and security issues but rather intensifying existing contradictions and adding new factors of instability. Asian countries should remain vigilant in this regard, resolve differences and disputes through strengthened dialogue and cooperation, and promote regional peace and development.

To that end, it is significant for Asian countries to reflect and contribute ideas and solutions to addressing the challenges of making, keeping, and sustaining global peace. Last year, China launched the Global Security Initiative, presenting an innovative solution to address the complex and intertwined security challenges with a win-win mindset. I believe the Initiative points the way for the international community, including Asia, to address issues of peace and security. With good offices of China, Saudi Arabia, and Iran have restored diplomatic relations and reopened embassies. This is a successful practice of the Global Security Initiative and also fully demonstrates the vitality of the Initiative.

Dear colleagues,

Next year, China, Japan, and the ROK will work together in the UN Security Council. I think that our three countries should use the platform to uphold equity and justice, advocate dialogue cooperation, reject confrontation and double standards, and contribute Asian wisdom to the Council's work and live up to the world's expectations through concrete efforts. We, three civil society organizations on UN studies, could also explore opportunities to cooperate in this regard.

Peace never comes easily. To address all kinds of traditional and non-traditional security challenges, we should cherish the hard-won peace, rebuild trust and revitalize confidence in multilateralism, and strengthen solidarity and cooperation. United under the banner of a community with a shared future for mankind, the torch of peace could and will be passed on from generation to generation. Thank you.



YAMADA Tetsuya, President of the Japan Association of UN Studies (JAUNS), noted first that the declaration of a state of emergency on COVID-19 has been lifted, and normal life is finally returning on a global scale. Thanks to this return to normality, we are now able to gather in person today at this Annual Meeting. I would like to congratulate and express my appreciation to ACUNS, particularly its Secretariat, for holding this occasion in this way.

The past three years or so have exposed the importance as well as the fragility of international cooperation based on multilateralism. While “no one left behind” is the key phrase of the SDGs, we have witnessed many people left behind in vaccination or in medical care. This has happened mainly in developing countries but it has also become clear that various disparities exist in developed countries. Once again, this has come to restore international solidarity.

There is no doubt that, in addition to public health, there are other matters in which we need to regain international solidarity. That is the matter of “international peace and security.” Immediately after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, a draft resolution submitted to the Security Council was vetoed by Russia, as a matter of course. On 25 February 2022, the UN once again exposed its own limitation.

As the General Assembly resolution on 4 March made clear, Russia’s behavior is outrageous. It is not merely because of its ongoing inhumanity but because it has totally repudiated the most fundamental pledge of the post-World War II international order, which was agreed upon at Yalta in February 1945, together with the US and the UK. This pledge stated that the Great Powers would not try to change international borders by force. The principle of territorial integrity is a fundamental norm to be observed worldwide. If ignored, it fails to establish security in the context inter-State relation. Furthermore, the security of each and every person living within their borders would be lost. At the heart of “freedom from fear” is the “security of knowing that our borders will not be violated.”

At present, there is no indication as to when Russia will abandon its violent ambitions. We are not quite sure whether Putin, whose arrest warrant has already been issued by the International Criminal Court, is the appropriate person to sit at the peace talk table. At this point in time, Ukraine seems to refuse to negotiate with a war criminal and this would complicate further the future peace in the region. In relation to this Meeting, the

significance and role of the UN in the international order that will be rewritten after the post-Ukrainian war is also uncertain. Even now, the UN is deploying peace operations worldwide, providing humanitarian assistance, helping refugees and internally displaced persons, and evoking public opinion worldwide to achieve the SDGs. To that extent, the UN may continue to have a unique role to play. However, it should not be forgotten that the overriding objective enshrined in Article 1(1) of the Charter, “to maintain international peace and security,” has been trampled upon by the very country that created the UN.

What then are the underlying norms to be observed by Member States under the UN in the post-Ukrainian war international order? It would probably converge, albeit controversially, with the idea of the “rule of law” or “rule-based international order.” Then, what exactly are the “laws” or “rules” here? A look at the UN website shows that the emphasis is put on human rights. Indeed, the achievement of international guarantees of human rights is one of the UN’s objectives. However, this is certainly an important part, but not all, of establishing international order through the UN.

Japan became a non-permanent member of the Security Council last January and immediately assumed the Presidency. Also, in the same month, it held an open debate on the topic of “the rule of law.” Japan did so because it thought there may be different views on the priority of “laws” and “rules” to be observed among the Member States. Accordingly, Japan tried to establish a consensus on how important the principle of “the rule of law” is when we think about the future international order, even if there are diverse views on which laws, rules, or norms to be observed first.

Let us read Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter again. We would find that the UN has, in fact, many, in some cases irreconcilable, objectives and principles. While some provisions are aimed at embodying liberal values, others are based on and seem to defend traditional views of international order. The only permissible path towards the establishment of an international community, or the “rule of law” in the international order, is not to focus exclusively on some of these provisions but to achieve a balance between all of them, and for this purpose, to be discussed further by the Member States.

In doing so, the key article seems to be Article 2(2). It provides that “All Members, to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.” We must note that this paragraph was not inserted by the Big Powers but by a small country

from Latin America. This fact clearly shows that middle or small-sized countries had hoped to achieve a new international order based on, or conducted by, the principle of “good faith.” It means that observing rules or laws in good faith would be the very fundamental norms to be strictly observed.

As Article 2 as a whole exists for “in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1”, each clause of Article 2 must be interpreted in the direction of achieving the UN’s objectives. Furthermore, the principle of “good faith” is not a special obligation under the Charter alone: Article 31(1) of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties of 1969 reaffirms the interpretation of treaties with good faith as a general rule. Also, the Declaration of Principles of Friendly Relations of 1970 subdivides the “good faith” principle into three: obligations under the Charter; obligations derived from generally recognized principles and rule of international law; and obligations under international agreements based on them. There is no doubt that this “good faith” is at the root of the rule of law in the international community.

As mentioned earlier, the prohibition of war does not merely serve as the basis for stable inter-State relations. It is also the basis for the security of people living within their respective borders. It is almost 30 years since the concept of “human security” was born. It is true that “human security” has an extremely diverse range of meanings and has been criticized for being ambiguous as an academic concept. However, the conceptual substance of “human security” is nothing other than the realization of the “welfare” or “well-being” of each and every human being. In this light, “human security” is an extremely simple yet difficult to fully realize the idea that brings together the various values and interests that everyone yearns to realize.

A post-Ukrainian UN would be forced to undertake a number of reforms. For example, the veto power of the Security Council has changed in nature from merely a ‘privilege’ to one that entails ‘responsibility,’ as evidenced by the General Assembly resolution adopted in April last year. Also, just as the General Assembly suspended Russia’s membership in the Human Rights Council, it may now demand greater transparency and accountability in selecting members of various organs and bodies consisting of the Member States. The Security Council may be no exception. Discussions on reforming the Security Council began immediately after the end of the Cold War but have yet to reach a successful conclusion. I am not in a position to answer with confidence which particular candidate country or countries are truly suitable for a new permanent or quasi-

permanent seat.

Let me close my remarks by pointing out one last thing that must not be forgotten when we consider the future international order or the role of the UN therein. The UN in 1960 is different from that of 1945. Furthermore, the UN in 2001 is different from that of 1990. The change is in the names of countries that have increased their presence among the Member States. Whose voice should we listen to more carefully and seriously now? How can it be echoed in the UN as a whole? The year 2022 will be remembered as the UN's most testing year. But, like the League of Nations, the United Nations is also a product of crisis. Now that the international community is once again facing a crisis, it is time to deliberate on the appropriate form for the UN for this century by paying due attention to various voices appropriately. I hope that this year, or at the latest next year, will be the beginning of the rebirth of the UN.



Professor Dong Ju CHOI, President of the Korea Academic Council on the UN System (KACUNS), explained the following development.

1. A. Brief history of UN-ROK Relations

The longstanding association between the Republic of Korea (hereafter ROK) and the United Nations (UN) dates back to the early years of the organization. In 1947, the UN General Assembly established the UN Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) to provide assistance during the establishment of the ROK. Following the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, the United Nations Command (UNC) was established to restore peace and security on the Korean Peninsula. This initiative marked a significant milestone in the history of the UN, being the first of its kind.

Subsequently, the Korean issue became a highly contentious topic of debate between the Western nations and the pro-Soviet bloc at the UN after the armistice in 1953. The ROK's attempts to join the UN were repeatedly blocked. However, in 1991, with the waning influence of the Cold War on international politics, the ROK and the DPRK were finally granted simultaneous admission to the UN.

The ROK's survival in the face of aggression 70 years ago, along with its subsequent pursuit of economic development and democratization with the support of the United

Nations, serves as a testament to the efficacy of multilateralism. This realization instills in us a deep sense of responsibility for upholding the principles enshrined in the UN Charter. Consequently, my government is committed to actively engaging in the pursuit of this noble objective.

The United Nations has continuously supported the ROK through sub-organizations such as UNESCO and UNICEF. With UNESCO, ROK received a steady supply of textbooks for primary schools. With regards to UNICEF, ROK had been provided with the essentials for our developing children, including but not limited to formula or food, medicine, and some clothes for children. Another significant contribution was made by UNDP Seoul Office, which operated from 1963 to 2009 (formerly known as the UN Technical Assistance Board Office). The closure of the UNDP Seoul office in 2009 marked ROK's initiative to become an active donor country.

With the election of South Korea to a seat in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), there is great promise for enhanced cooperation among these three countries. The seat at the UNSC will foster further critical discussions, especially related to North Korea. However, one question remains: what roles and responsibilities will ROK be tasked with?

2. Changing Policy Environments for ROK UN Diplomacy

In recent years, the concept of connectivity has gained significant attention in the realms of diplomacy and economic integration. The world we live in today is characterized by a higher degree of interconnectedness across all sectors of society. Connectivity has rapidly progressed in various domains, including infrastructure development, transportation links, financial cooperation, customs facilitation, trade and investment facilitation, information technology (IT) and digital connections, energy networks, and people-to-people educational, institutional, and socio-cultural linkages. However, amidst intensifying great power tensions, a fragmented international order, and global crises that transcend borders, there have been increasing attempts to disrupt these connections.

Countries have employed measures such as tariffs, sanctions, and regulatory or coercive actions to impede economic transactions and limit the movement of people and information across borders. Consequently, connectivity has become a pervasive and widely debated term in policy circles and the research community. Given its significance as a guiding principle in the current strategies of major global actors, the primary objective of this Special Issue is to examine the objectives and broader implications of

connectivity endeavors, particularly in relation to region-building efforts in the Indo-Pacific and Europe.

Within UN circles, connectivity is closely intertwined with sustainable development. Connectivity initiatives and projects must align with the realization of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which includes the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by all United Nations Member States. In all its forms, connectivity must be rooted in economic, fiscal, environmental, and social sustainability, adhering to international standards and guided by key principles such as a level playing field, free and open trade, inclusiveness, fairness, and transparency.

China, a prominent emerging donor in multilateral frameworks in East Asia, has been seeking to shape the discourse on post-conflict peacebuilding. Within the realm of UN initiatives, it is anticipated that the Chinese government will continue to want to collaborate with powerful leaders in both Western and African countries to establish a new paradigm. Such a perspective has both been informed and recognized by major donors, garnering recognition in academic circles over the past five years. Now, discussions on post-conflict reconstruction interventions require continued dialogue of the “triple nexus”: the intricate interplay between humanitarian action, development, and peace efforts.

3. A Path Ahead of ROK

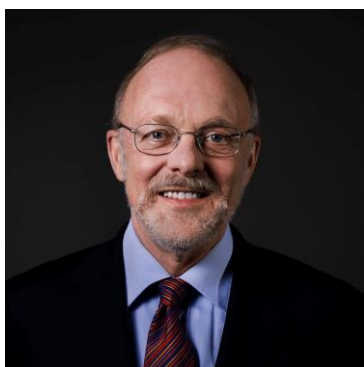
ROK strongly supports universal values such as freedom, human rights, and the rule of law, which are closely linked to the principles outlined in the UN Charter. It reaffirms its commitment to the Charter, which is a universally applicable document that does not allow for arbitrary interpretations made by a single party.

The citizens of the ROK take great pride in securing a non-permanent seat on the board for the third time. This achievement signifies two important aspects. Firstly, it highlights ROK's current position as a "global pivotal middle power" under the Yoon Suk Yeol regime, playing a central role in addressing globally significant issues. Secondly, it provides an opportunity for ROK's "value diplomacy," which emphasizes support for anti-authoritarian regimes, to diversify and neutralize its policy stance within the multilateral framework by engaging in emerging security issues beyond traditional security concerns.

As the three countries (ROK, USA, Japan) have consistently maintained policy

collaboration at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) and sometimes at the Security Council (SC) since ROK became a UN member in 1991, we can expect a continued joint approach in raising concerns regarding global security issues such as the Russia-Ukraine conflicts and Sudan's current turmoil. While the three countries will continue to address the North Korean issue, it is important to note that the Nuclear Summit, initiated and hosted by ROK, has shed light on the global society's understanding of the North Korean nuclear threat. ROK's ongoing efforts in conjunction with other SC members regarding the North Korean nuclear issue and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) will undoubtedly enhance ROK's diplomatic capabilities in deterring nuclear provocations.

While the North Korean issue remains at the center of ROK's UN diplomacy, there are additional responsibilities as a member of the Security Council for the next two years. Firstly, ROK needs to actively participate in and contribute to the reform of the UNSC system alongside other members. Secondly, being in a favorable position, ROK should initiate and institutionalize its values at the UN level, drawing upon its successful experiences in economic growth, democratization, innovative and transparent market systems, and advanced science and technology. ROK, often referred to as a "global pivotal state," aims to promote value diplomacy based on two key principles: liberal democracy and sharing successful experiences for the benefit of the global society.



Professor Franz Baumann, Vice President and President-elect of ACUNS, commented on the previous speakers' presentations by noting that Russia's unprovoked attack on Ukraine egregiously violated core tenets of the UN Charter, namely the inviolability of borders, the peaceful resolution of conflict, and self-defense as the only permissible use of military force. Attacking civilian targets, raping women, torturing captured soldiers, and abducting children, especially

by a permanent member of the Security Council, shakes the very foundations of the rules-based international order. Considering the crucial global challenges ahead, those supporting multilateral cooperation should ensure a return to the norms enshrined in the UN Charter.



In his concluding remarks, **Professor HASEGAWA Sukehiro, Moderator of the session**, highlighted the differences and commonalities in the perceptions of the three national speakers of East Asian countries. While the Japanese and Korean speakers advocated the importance of liberal democratic values such as freedom and human rights, the Chinese speaker emphasized the need to ensure justice, equality, and fairness in addressing multiple peace and security risks and challenges. They acknowledged the need for international solidarity and the rule of law as a key instrument for maintaining the inter-state relationship, while their understandings of what constituted the rule of law differed somewhat. The three speakers agreed on the importance of addressing multiple risks and global crises through multilateral cooperation centered around the United Nations. They noted that the three countries would be members of the UN Security Council in 2024. In this regard, Professor Hasegawa called upon the delegates from China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea to work closely together to address global issues and reform the UN system, particularly the Security Council. Based on his long working experience within the UN system, he expressed his belief that the three countries could make a difference in changing the UN system if they collaborated in contributing ideas and solutions to the challenges and formulating policies that enhance the security of human beings of the increasingly integrated or interconnected world.