



## Insight Report

# Tokyo Conference 2025





International cooperation and restoration of peace  
on the 80th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations



The Genron NPO



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## **The About Tokyo Conference 2025**

Amid major changes in the geopolitical landscape and the economic balance of power on a global scale, we are witnessing the destabilization of the international order and the deterioration of diverse global issues, including risks to the world economy. Excessive globalization is triggering numerous economic and social issues, bringing about tension in relations between globalization and nation-states, and threatening the individual freedoms that are the very basis of liberal democracies. In advanced countries, populist moves are spreading and political leaders overtly call for protectionist and exclusionist policies. In such circumstances, how should the G-7 member countries, which have been sharing the common values of democracy, liberty and equality, address these challenges? And what should developing countries do?

The aim of the Tokyo Conference is to have the representatives of the leading think tanks in 11 major countries conduct dialogue on diverse issues facing the world today in an open forum in Tokyo, and to forward what will be agreed or what will be discussed at the forum to the world as a Chair's Statement.

At the same time, the contents of the discussions at the forum will be broadly delivered to civil society in Japan so as to generate debates among the public leading to the solution of problems, at home and abroad. Furthermore, we aim to create a multi-layered venue for public debate in Japan by bringing together diverse discussions on how to address global issues. With an international forum of its kind being organized in Tokyo, it is expected that Japan's opinions will be heard globally and that Japan's proactive contribution to the solution of issues facing the world will be shown more tangibly to international society.

Participating Think Tanks:

- 【Brazil】 Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)
- 【Canada】 Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)
- 【France】 French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)
- 【Germany】 German Institute for International Security Affairs (SWP)
- 【India】 Observer Research Foundation (ORF)
- 【Indonesia】 Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
- 【Italy】 Institute of International Affairs (IAI)
- 【Japan】 The Genron NPO
- 【Singapore】 The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
- 【United Kingdom】 Chatham House
- 【United States】 Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

# Tokyo Conference 2025: Schedule

Dates: Monday, March 3 -Wednesday, March 5, 2025

Venue: Tokyo Prince Hotel (3-31-1 Shiba-koen, Minato-ku,Tokyo, Japan)

## Monday, March 3

2:00pm-3:00pm     **Closed Session 1**

“How to defend democracy”

4:15pm-6:00pm     **Closed Session 2**

“What sort of global order should we be aiming to protect? ”

6:30pm-8:30pm     **Working Dinner**

Guest speaker: Gen Nakatani, Minister of Defense of Japan

## Tuesday, March 4

8:00am-9:00am     **Breakfast Session**

“What is expected from Japan in an increasingly divided world? ”

9:15am-11:30am     **Closed Session 3**

“The role of global governance and international organizations in a world of increasing conflict and division.”

11:30am-12:20pm     **Lunch**

12:30pm-6:30pm     **Public Forum**

“International cooperation and restoration of peace on the 80th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations”

12:50pm-1:50pm     **Keynote speeches**

1:50pm-2:50pm     **Panel Discussion**

3:00pm-4:30pm     **Session 1:** “Who will take the lead in international cooperation in the Trump era?”

4:45pm-6:15pm     **Session 2:** “Ending the war in Ukraine and rebuilding Gaza”

6:15pm-6:30pm     **Closing Session**

7:00pm-8:30pm     **Welcome Dinner**

Guest Speaker: Shigeru Ishiba, Prime Minister of Japan

## Wednesday, March 5

9:00am-10:30am     **Closed Session 4**

“How will the world confront the new Trump era?”

10:45am-12:15pm     **Closed Session 5**

“Trump’s Actions and Security Environment in Northeast Asia “

12:30pm-1:30pm     **Working Lunch (Wrap-up)**

# Tokyo Conference 2025 in Photos

*Public Forum (March 4, 2025)*









*Working Dinner (March 3, 2025)*



*Breakfast session (March 4, 2025)*



*Welcome Dinner (March 4, 2025)*





## Closed sessions (March 3-5, 2025)



## Chair's Statement

Tokyo Conference 2025 was held from March 3 to March 4, 2025. Thirty participants joined the discussions for this year's conference. They included representatives from think tanks in the nations of the G7; Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, alongside representatives from think tanks in Brazil, India, and Indonesia. They were joined by officials from the United Nations and other international organizations, as well as by other individuals in key positions around the world.

This year marks the 80th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, and of the founding of the United Nations. This historic juncture saw the Tokyo Conference engaged in the most serious discussions undertaken since its establishment eight years ago. During Tokyo Conference 2023, we described the failure of the international community to join forces to solve the problems the world faces a "critical moment in history," and called on the world to collaborate in resolving global problems without exacerbating conflicts already underway.

The Tokyo Conference continues to wave the flag of international cooperation because we believe the only sustainable way forward to a better future for our world is for us to work together. At the Summit of the Future held last September, the member states of the United Nations signed the Pact for the Future. The UN plan to reform the Security Council and other institutions of global governance was proposed in anticipation of actions to be taken by the international community this year, the 80th anniversary of the United Nations.

However, what we are witnessing this year is the opposite of reform. Some of the world's great powers do not recognize the value of multilateralism or of the United Nations and other international institutions, and are instead acting in narrow self-interest. Tensions have flared between the United States of America and Europe, which have led the world since the end of the Second World War, over which democratic values are the most important.

We recognize that the great powers must play a leading role in solving the challenges we face. However, if the resolution of such challenges is left solely in their hands, it could have dire consequences for the future. That is our concern.

After the Second World War, the international community aimed to construct a world upon a foundation of multilateralism and the rule of law, the latter being essential to the efficient and fair resolution of international disputes. This year, our goal was to discuss whether such a world remains possible.

Over this year's two-day conference, we discussed this from many different perspectives and identified two vital issues. First, we must not let history repeat itself. The post-war global framework was built in response to the global economic dislocation of the 1930s, and upon the enormous sacrifices made during the Second World War. However, we now find that the United Nations seems incapable of resolving conflicts, and that the free and open economic system that served as the backbone of the post-war global economy is under severe strain. The fact that over the last eight decades the international community has not been successful in implementing the reforms needed to keep pace with the rapidly evolving world is in itself unusual.

Second, at no other time in history has global unity been as necessary to the defense of the rule of law and multilateralism. During the conference, former Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida pointed out that multilateralism cannot be defended solely through the unity of the G7. That circle must be widened to include the emerging and developing economies, e.g. the countries of the Global South. Competition between the G7 and BRICS is increasing. The ten think tanks that make up the Tokyo Conference come from both sides of that divide, yet they have taken the initiative to gather here and engage in dialogue aimed at protecting multilateralism. More than ever, it is essential for us to work together to tackle the global crisis we face and overcome any conflict we encounter.

With these issues in mind, we focused our attention on the following four points. First, before taking any action, the international community must accept that the UN could be more effective in resolving conflict. The Genron NPO conducted a survey of Japanese experts and Tokyo Conference participants, and found that more than 80% of respondents believe that the United Nations is not functioning well, and that the global order founded upon UN-led multilateralism has already begun to break down. It is not only the geopolitical struggle between the great powers that has prevented the world from moving in line with the decisions of the United Nations. It is also due to the fact that the other major powers have not taken the lead in achieving sustainable global development and peace.

We expect the US to continue supporting the post-war free world, but recognize that a world that relies on the US alone is an unstable one. The international community must build a platform for the major powers to proactively work together for a better future, whether within the UN or outside of it, and at the very least, the ten democracies represented by the think tanks gathered for the Tokyo Conference should share the responsibility for achieving that.

In addition, we should respect the dedicated efforts of the many international institutions working on global issues, and shoulder the responsibility of ensuring they are able to achieve their goals. Naturally, it should be understood that if the global economy is unable to grow, it will also be



unable to meet the challenges it faces, and that this issue is exacerbated by the finite resources available. However, history has taught us just how dangerous the world becomes when national self-interest is placed over all else.

We must uphold the rule of law and respect for human dignity that form the basis of the global order, and the world must unite in addressing the many priority issues we face. Governance of international institutions should be redefined to enable them to focus their expertise on their objectives.

The enormous losses continue to mount in the Ukraine War. That war must be brought to an end, but the problem lies in how that is achieved. There is no hope for lasting peace in the region if negotiations focus only on perspective of the aggressor in that conflict and ignore the concerns of Ukraine and the rest of Europe. The entire world should be involved in bringing this war of aggression to a close, and neither the United Nations as an organization nor the international community as a whole should be excluded from that effort. These points also hold true when discussing the path to a permanent ceasefire in Gaza and the post-war treatment of that region. The international community should be involved in the peace process in Gaza, and regional voices should have a say in determining Gaza's future.

Finally, we should attempt to differentiate between "public sentiment" and "public opinion." With social media being flooded with "fake news" disguised as fact, discussions at the conference highlighted the need to recognize that a difference does exist. Public sentiment can be defined as those ideas stemming from emotional factors, while public opinion can be defined as those ideas based on informed discussion and predicated on having the will to actually resolve issues. It is important to listen to both, but here, public opinion is significantly more important when facing a global crisis.

By informing ourselves about global trends, by recognizing our own responsibility in finding solutions, and by all of us having a seat at the table to discuss the issues, we will see a growing number of voices with the will to resolve the challenges we face. The role of the Tokyo Conference is to share the innate potential of that sort of public opinion, not only with those attending the conference, but with people around the world.

On this, the 80th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the end of the most devastating war in human history, it is up to each and every one of us to work towards building a sustainable, peaceful world.

Tokyo Conference  
March 4, 2025

## List of Member Think Tanks

### 11 Global Think tanks Participated in the Tokyo Conference 2025



**Brazil**  
Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)

Centre for International  
Governance Innovation

**Canada**  
Center for International Governance  
and Innovation (CIGI)



**France**  
French Institute of International Relations  
(IFRI)



**Germany**  
German Institute for International and  
Security Affairs (SWP)



**India**  
Observer Research Foundation (ORF)



**Indonesia**  
Centre for Strategic and International  
Studies (CSIS)



**Italy**  
Institute of International Affairs (IAI)



**Japan**  
The Genron NPO



**Singapore**  
S. Rajaratnam School of International  
Studies (RSIS)



**United Kingdom**  
Chatham House / The Royal Institute of  
International Affairs



**The United States of America**  
Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

## List of Tokyo Conference Participants (Think Tank Representatives)



### France

#### **Thomas Gomart/ Director, French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)**

Dr. Thomas Gomart (PhD in History at Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and EMBA at HEC) is the Director of Ifri since 2015. He has published extensively on Russia, energy and digital issues, think tanks and country risk. Among his publications: *Notre intérêt national* (co-directed with Thierry de Montbrial), Odile Jacob, 2017 ; *L’Affolement du monde*, Tallandier, 2019 (Prix Louis Marin & Prix du Livre de géopolitique) ; *Guerres invisibles*, Tallandier, 2021. His most recent book – *Les ambitions inavouées*, Tallandier – was published in January 2023. Thomas Gomart has been a member of the Strategic Review Committee on the Strategic Review of Defence and National Security 2017 (French Ministry of Armed Forces). He is a member of the scientific committee of the Institute of Advanced Studies in National Defence (IHEDN) and of the editorial board of the French journals *Politique étrangère*, *Revue des deux mondes* and *Etudes*. He is Chevalier de l’Ordre national du mérite

**IFRI**, founded in 1979, is the principal institution for independent research and debate in France that is dedicated to the analysis of international affairs and global governance. Ifri’s policy-oriented research strives to illuminate international events and put them in perspective. It is primarily useful for political and economic decision-makers as well as academics, opinion leaders, and civil society representatives.



### India

#### **Sunjoy Joshi/ Chairman and Chief Executive, Observer Research Foundation (ORF)**

He began his career with the Government of India as a member of the Indian Administrative Service in 1983, serving in various capacities for 25 years when he left to join the Observer Research Foundation to pursue his primary interests in energy and environment. His last posting with the Government of India was as Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas. He has been Director of the Board of National Energy Companies such as ONGC, OVL, OIL and MRPL and has had wide experience in administering fiscal and contractual regimes for oil and gas. His experience of policy making and implementation cuts across the conventional as well as non-conventional energy sectors and covers issues related to water use, and its conservation and management. He has been Visiting Associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London and Distinguished Visitor to the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development, University of Stanford. Takes keen interest in social development as Vice President of the Mountain Children’s Foundation, a not for profit group working with rural children in the Himalayas. He speaks publishes and comments on the world of technology, energy, and development, framing them in the context of global shifts and the challenges to growth and employment faced by emerging economies. To generate serious interest on these subjects among a wider audience he has initiated a regular YouTube commentary on Global and Current Affairs called *India’s World* which attracts a diverse audience and remains the only one of its kind in Hindi on such diverse subjects.

**ORF**, founded in 1990, seeks to lead and aid policy thinking towards building a strong and prosperous India in a fair and equitable world. It provides non-partisan, independent, well-researched analyses and inputs to diverse decision-makers in governments, business communities, and academia and to civil society around the world. The mandate is to conduct in-depth research, provide inclusive platforms and invest in tomorrow’s thought leaders today.





## Italy

### **Ettore Greco/ Executive Vice President, Institute of International Affairs (IAI)**

Ettore Greco is Executive Vice President of the IAI and also head of the Italy's foreign policy and the Multilateralism and global governance programmes of the institute. He was also Director of the IAI from 2008 to 2017. He worked as visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution from January 2006 to July 2007. He taught at the universities of Parma and Bologna. From 2000 to 2006 he worked as correspondent for the Economist Intelligence Unit. From 1993 to 2000 he directed the IAI's program on Central and Eastern Europe. He was also Deputy Director of the IAI from 1997 to 2008. From 2000 to 2006 he was Editor of The International Spectator. He is the author of a number of publications on the EU's institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations and the Balkans. He has been a free-lance journalist since 1988.

**IAI**, founded in 1965, is a non-profit organization in Rome. The Institute's main objective is to promote an understanding of the problems of international politics through studies, research, meetings and publications, with the aim of increasing the opportunities of all countries to move in the direction of supranational organization, democratic freedom and social justice.



## Japan

### **Kudo Yasushi/ President, The Genron NPO**

Yasushi Kudo is the founder and president of the Genron NPO since its establishment in 2001. In 2005, he launched annual civil dialogue "Tokyo-Beijing Forum" and joint opinion poll between Japan and China, which have been conducted over the 19 years since then. In 2013, he newly launched a dialogue, the Japan-Korea Future Dialogue, between Japan and Korea and has conducted a comparative opinion poll on impression of each other's country. From 2012, Mr. Kudo has served as Japanese delegation of the Council of Councils, an international think tank network initiated by the Council on Foreign Relations. "The Asia Forum of Opinion Leaders" has also been established as a venue for open and free debate for intellectuals in Japan and Southeast Asian countries to jointly identify common challenges, and advocate solutions to them, while collaborating to bolster democracy and address challenges to democracy.

**The Genron NPO**, is a non-profit, independent think tank based in Japan. Established in 2001 as the only venue in the country for responsible and future-oriented debate, The Genron NPO has sought to strengthen democracy in Japan, promote peace and stability in Northeast Asia, and develop solutions for pressing global issues.



## Germany

### **Stefan Mair/ Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)**

Since October 2020, Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs and Executive Chairman of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP). 2010-2020 Member of the Executive Board of the Federation of German Industries (BDI), 2007-2009 Research Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), 1992-2007 and 2009-2010 research associate at SWP, until March 2001 head of the Middle East and Africa Research Division, 2001-2007 and 2009-2010 member of SWP's executive board. 1992 Doctorate, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich. 1989-1992 PhD scholarship at the IFO Institute for Economic Research, Munich, Developing Countries Department.

**SWP**, is a foundation which advises political decision-makers on international politics and foreign and security policy since 1962. Its services are orientated primarily towards the German government and Bundestag, as well as relevant international organizations such as the European Union, NATO and the United Nations.



### **The United States of America**

#### **James M. Lindsay/ Mary and David Boies Distinguished Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Policy and Director of Fellowship Affairs, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)**

James M. Lindsay is the Mary and David Boies distinguished senior fellow in U.S. foreign policy and director of Fellowship Affairs at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). His work at the Council focuses on U.S. national security policy, the U.S. foreign policymaking process, the domestic politics of U.S. foreign policy.

From 2009 to 2024, Lindsay was senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at CFR, where he oversaw the work of the more than six dozen fellows in the David Rockefeller Studies Program as well as CFR's fourteen fellowship programs. He has written widely on the American foreign-policy-making process and the domestic politics of American foreign policy. His latest book is *The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership*, co-authored with Ivo H. Daalder. His previous book with Ambassador Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize. Dr. Lindsay writes *The Water's Edge* blog and hosts *The President's Inbox* podcast.

**CFR**, is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, thinktank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries since 1921.



### **United Kingdom**

#### **Creon Butler**

#### **Research Director, Trade, Investment and New Governance Models, and Director, Global Economy and Finance Programme, The Royal Institute of International Affairs**

Creon Butler leads the Global Economy and Finance Programme at Chatham House, and is director for trade, investment and new governance models. He joined the institute in 2019, since when he has written and published on a wide range of global economic policy issues, including the interaction between macroeconomic policy and climate change, sovereign debt distress, the challenge of funding global health priorities, and the long-term implications for the international economic system of the pandemic and the war in Ukraine.

Before joining Chatham House, Creon served in the UK Cabinet Office as director for international economic affairs in the National Security Secretariat and G7/G20 'sous sherpa', advising the UK Prime Minister on global economic policy issues.

Creon first joined the Cabinet Office in 2013 as director in the European and Global Issues Secretariat and designed the UK's global Anti-Corruption Summit in May 2016. He was also the British deputy high commissioner in New Delhi from 2006 to 2009 and has served in senior positions in HM Treasury and the Bank of England.

**Chatham House**, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, founded in 1920, is an independent policy institute based in London. Its mission is to help build a sustainably secure, prosperous and just world.



#### **Canada**

##### **Paul Samson/ President, Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)**

Paul Samson is President of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). He previously held senior positions in the Government of Canada including assistant deputy minister-level roles with Global Affairs Canada and Finance Canada, and as associate deputy minister with Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. Among other positions, Paul served as Director for Egypt, Canada, and Ethiopia at the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and as Canada's deputy for finance at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. He was co-chair of the G20 Framework Working Group on the global economy during five different presidencies. Earlier in his career, Paul worked with Mikhail Gorbachev at Green Cross International in Geneva and held fellowships with Pacific Northwest Labs, the Peace Research Institute, Oslo and was a research fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Paul completed a Doctorate and an M.A. in international relations at the Graduate Institute, Geneva, and a B.A. at the University of British Columbia. He completed post-doctoral studies in global environment assessment at Harvard University.

**CIGI**, founded in 2001, is an independent, non-partisan thinktank with an objective and uniquely global perspective. Our research, opinions and public voice make a difference in today's world by bringing clarity and innovative thinking to global policy making. Its research programs focus on governance of the global economy, global security and politics, and international law.



#### **Canada**

##### **Rohinton P. Medhora/ Distinguished fellow, Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)**

Rohinton Medhora is Professor of Practice at the Institute for the Study of International Development at McGill University, and a former president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation where he remains a Distinguished Fellow. Previously, he was vice president of programs at Canada's International Development Research Centre. His fields of expertise are international economic relations, innovation policy, and development economics.

Rohinton sits on several non-profit boards, and is a member of the Commission on Global Economic Transformation co-chaired by Nobel economics laureates Michael Spence and Joseph Stiglitz. He previously sat on The Lancet and Financial Times Commission on Governing Health Futures 2030 and is a founding member of its successor, the Digital Transformations for Health Lab. In 2021-22 he chaired the Ontario Workplace Recovery Advisory Committee.

Rohinton received his doctorate in economics in 1988 from the University of Toronto, where he subsequently taught. He has published extensively in professional and non-technical journals and has produced several books.





## Indonesia

### **Rizal Sukma/ Senior Fellow, the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS )**

Dr. Rizal Sukma is a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta. Previously, he was Indonesia's Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Ireland and the International Maritime Organization (IMO), London, from 2016 to 2020. He joined CSIS in 1990 as a researcher and assumed the role of Executive Director in 2009 until 2015. Dr. Sukma also served as former Chairman of International Relations, Muhammadiyah Central Executive Board (2005-2015). Since receiving a PhD in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in 1997, he has worked extensively on such issues as Southeast Asian security, ASEAN, Indonesia's defense and foreign policy, military reform, Islam and politics, and domestic political changes in Indonesia.

Dr Sukma has served as a member of the National Committee on Strategic Defense Review at the Ministry of Defense, and as a member of the National Drafting Committee for the National Defense Bill (2000–2002) and the Armed Forces Bill (2002–2003). He was the first Indonesian to receive the Nakasone Award, in July 2005, and named one 100 Global Thinkers in 2009 by Foreign Policy magazine.

He has published three books: Security Operations in Aceh: Goals, Consequences, and Lessons (Washington, DC: East-West Centre, 2004); Islam in Indonesia's Foreign Policy (London: Routledge, 2003), and Indonesia and China: The Politics of A Troubled Relationship (London: Routledge, 1999).

**CSIS**, is an independent, non-profit organization in Jakarta. Its mission is to contribute to improved policy making through policy-oriented research, dialogue, and public debate. This is based on the belief that long-term planning and vision for Indonesia and the region must be based on an in-depth understanding of economic, political, and social issues, including regional and international developments. CSIS research and studies are channeled in various forms as independent input to government, universities and research institutions, civil society organizations, media, and business.



## Brazil

### **Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal/ President, Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)**

Professor Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal is President of the Getulio Vargas Foundation since August 2000. In 1980, he graduated in Civil Engineering from the Engineering School of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), but opted for an academic life and graduated in Mathematical Economics from the "Instituto de Matemática Pura e Aplicada", in 1982. Doctor degree at the "Escola de Pós Graduação em Economia" - EPGE of Getulio Vargas Foundation (1980-1982) and obtained the title of Doctor in Economics from Princeton University (USA) in 1986. At FGV, he held the following positions: director of FGV Business, 1992-4; general director of EPGE, 1994-7; and vice-president of FGV, 1997-2000.

**FGV**, founded in 1944, is world renowned center for quality education dedicated to promoting Brazil's economic and social development. With eight schools, two research institutes, technical assistance projects and a publishing unit, FGV is ranked one of the top thinktanks and top higher education institutions in the world.

## Keynote Speakers



### **António Guterres/ Secretary-General of the United Nations \*video message**

António Guterres, the ninth Secretary-General of the United Nations, took office on 1st January 2017.

Having witnessed the suffering of the most vulnerable people on earth, from refugee camps to war zones, the Secretary-General has centered his efforts on ensuring human dignity for all. In a period of unprecedented global challenges, he has drawn on his commitment to the UN Charter to mobilize people and launch action to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic, address the climate emergency, advance gender equality, and achieve ambitious 21st century reforms to enhance the Organization's vital efforts to secure peace, sustainable development, human rights and humanitarian aid.

Prior to his appointment as Secretary-General, Mr. Guterres served as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees from June 2005 to December 2015, heading one of the world's foremost humanitarian organizations during some of the most serious displacement crises in decades. The conflicts in Syria and Iraq, and the crises in South Sudan, the Central African Republic and Yemen, led to a huge rise in UNHCR's activities as the number of people displaced by conflict and persecution rose from 38 million in 2005 to over 60 million in 2015.

Before joining UNHCR, Mr. Guterres spent more than 20 years in government and public service. He served as prime minister of Portugal from 1995 to 2002, during which time he was heavily involved in the international effort to resolve the crisis in East Timor.

As president of the European Council in early 2000, he led the adoption of the Lisbon Agenda for growth and jobs, and co-chaired the first European Union-Africa summit. He was a member of the Portuguese Council of State from 1991 to 2002.

Mr. Guterres was elected to the Portuguese Parliament in 1976 where he served as a member for 17 years. During that time, he chaired the Parliamentary Committee for Economy, Finance and Planning, and later the Parliamentary Committee for Territorial Administration, Municipalities and Environment. He was also leader of his party's parliamentary group.

From 1981 to 1983, Mr. Guterres was a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, where he chaired the Committee on Demography, Migration and Refugees.

For many years Mr. Guterres was active in the Socialist International, a worldwide organization of social democratic political parties. He was the group's vice-president from 1992 to 1999, co-chairing the African Committee and later the Development Committee. He served as President from 1999 until mid-2005. In addition, he founded the Portuguese Refugee Council as well as the Portuguese Consumers Association DECO, and served as president of the Centro de Acção Social Universitário, an association carrying out social development projects in poor neighbourhoods of Lisbon, in the early 1970s.

Mr. Guterres is a member of the Club of Madrid, a leadership alliance of democratic former presidents and prime ministers from around the world.

Mr. Guterres was born in Lisbon in 1949 and graduated from the Instituto Superior Técnico with a degree in engineering. He is fluent in Portuguese, English, French and Spanish. He is married to Catarina de Almeida Vaz Pinto and has two children, a stepson and three grandchildren.



### **Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono/ Former President Of Indonesia**

Dr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (known as “SBY”) is the sixth President of the Republic of Indonesia, and also the country’s first directly elected President in the democratic era.

During his 2 (two) terms in office, Yudhoyono delivered what the World Economic Forum called "Indonesia's golden decade", a period between 2004 and 2014 that was marked by democratic development, political stability, high economic growth and resilience, conflict resolution and robust international role. Under his leadership, Indonesia became an emerging economy, a regional power, a G-20 member, and assumed important roles on issues ranging from climate change to post-MDG, terrorism to geopolitics, inter-faith to regional architecture, etc.

Yudhoyono's life story has been nothing less than phenomenal: a military officer who became a 4-star general, who became cabinet minister and then politician, who became President and then one of Asia's most respected statesmen. His time in office was hardly a breeze: he faced the destructive tsunami and a series of natural disasters, separatism, terrorism, financial crisis and more. But he managed to overcome these challenges with a steady hand: the country recovered from tsunami and other disasters, the conflict in Aceh was peacefully and permanently resolved in mid-2005; terrorist groups were disbanded and detained; and the economy rebounded. And at a time when democracies around the world were in distress, Indonesia's democracy steadily moved from strength to strength.

With a Ph.D. in agricultural economics, Yudhoyono relentlessly pursued his 4-track economic

program of “pro-growth, pro-job, pro-poor, and pro-environment”. His development mantra was "sustainable growth with equity".

As President of the country with the world's largest Muslim population, Yudhoyono has become a strong advocate for peaceful and moderate Islam, both internally as well as on the global stage. He devoted great efforts to develop closer relations between the western and Islamic world. He also staunchly promoted and became an architect of military reforms, and championed Indonesia's robust peace-keeping operations around the world.

After leaving his office, and especially when he lost his beloved wife in 2019, he pursued his

childhood passion in painting and volleyball. He established LavAni Volleyball Club in 2019, a prestigious and top rank club in Indonesia. In 2021, as a part of his healing process after the passing of his wife, Ani Yudhoyono, he started painting which continues to be mastered by him.





**Ahunna Eziakonwa/ United Nations Development Program Assistant Administrator and Regional Director for Africa**

Ms. Ahunna Eziakonwa is UNDP Assistant Administrator, and Director, Regional Bureau for Africa at the rank of Assistant Secretary General. She leads over 4000 staff implementing a \$1.2 billion annual development programme in 46 African countries. She is deeply passionate about equality, inclusion, reshaping narratives on Africa, mobilizing for youth entrepreneurs and the dignity of Africa's people. Her vision "Africa's Promise: The UNDP

Renewed Strategic Offer in Africa" employs an opportunity lens to development practice in Africa. She established the Africa Influencers for Development (AI4D) to ensure that Africa's Money works for Africa's Development; the Africa Young Women Leaders Initiative; Africa Innovates Magazine; and the Africa Borderlands Centre. She leads UNDP Africa socioeconomic response and recovery from COVID 19 and (Co) Chairs the UN Africa Regional Collaborative Platform which oversees implementation of the Secretary General's regional UN reform. She spent 10 years as UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator in Ethiopia, Uganda, and Lesotho. As Chief (Africa) at UN OCHA, she led response to natural disasters, emergencies and transitions to recovery. Before the UN, Ms. Eziakonwa worked for "Initiatives of Change" serving as international coordinator of its' "Creators of Peace – Women's Initiative". She is an alumni of Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School Executive Programme and has a Bachelors in Education from University of Benin Nigeria.



**Rajmund Andrzejczak/ Former Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces (2018–2023)**

He is a graduate of the Stefan Czarniecki Higher School of Armored Forces Officers in Poznań, the Czech Army Defense Academy, the National Defense Academy in Warsaw, and the Royal Defense Academy in London.

He began his military career in the 2nd Infantry Regiment in Giżycko, where he assumed his first assignment as the commander of a tank platoon. From 1993 to 1996, he commanded a tank company in the 15th Mechanized Brigade based in Giżycko. Between 1996 and 1998, he served in the reconnaissance and operations sections of the 4th Suwałki Armored Cavalry Brigade.

From 1998 to 1999, he served as Chief of Staff, and from 2001 to 2003 he was the deputy commander of the Polish "Lithuanian Peacekeeping Battalion (LITPOLBAT). Between 2003 and 2005, he commanded the 1st Armored Battalion of the Krechowicki Uhlans in the 15th Mechanized Brigade and led the Polish contingent on the Syrian-Israeli border as part of the UNDOF mission.

From 2003 to 2006, he served as the deputy chief of the G-3 Operations Section of the Land Forces Command. For the subsequent four years, he was the Chief of the Operations Section of the International Division during the Iraq War and the commander of the Polish Task Forces Brigade Combat Group White Eagle in Afghanistan.

Between missions, from 2008 to 2010, he served as the deputy commander of the 34th Armored Cavalry Brigade. From 2010 to 2012, he served in the 2nd Mechanized Corps as an assistant to the corps chief of staff.

In 2011, he was nominated for the rank of brigadier general, and in 2012 he assumed command of the 17th Wielkopolska Mechanized Brigade (Digital Brigade)



**Helen Clark/ Former Prime Minister of New Zealand and head of the UN Development Programme**

Co-Chair of the WHO Independent Panel for Pandemic Preparedness and Response; Member of The Elders; an advocate for multilateralism and nuclear disarmament.

Helen Clark was Prime Minister of New Zealand for three successive terms from 1999–2008. Throughout her tenure as Prime Minister and as a Member of Parliament over 27 years, Helen Clark engaged widely in policy development and advocacy across the international, economic, social, environmental, and cultural spheres. She advocated strongly for New Zealand’s comprehensive programme on sustainability and for tackling the problems of climate change. She was an active leader of her country’s foreign relations, engaging in a wide range of international issues.

In April 2009, Helen Clark became Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). She was the first woman to lead the organisation, and served two terms there. At the same time, she was also Chair of the United Nations Development Group, a committee consisting of all UN funds, programmes, agencies, and departments working on development issues. As Administrator, she led UNDP to be ranked the most transparent global development organisation. She completed her tenure in 2017.

Helen Clark came to the role of Prime Minister after an extensive parliamentary and ministerial career. Prior to being elected to the New Zealand Parliament in 1981, Helen Clark taught in the Political Studies Department of the University of Auckland, from which she earlier graduated with her BA and MA (Hons) degrees.

Helen continues to be a strong voice for sustainable development, climate action, gender equality and women’s leadership, peace and justice, and action on pressing global health issues. In July 2020, she was appointed by the Director- General of the World Health Organisation as a Co-Chair of the Independent Panel for Pandemic Preparedness and Response, called for by the World Health Assembly, which reported in May 2021. She chairs the boards of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, the Partnership for Maternal, Newborn and Child Health, and other public good organisations and initiatives and is a board member of others.

## Guest Speaker (Dinner on March 4)



**Shigeru Ishiba/ Prime Minister of Japan** \*video message

Nov. 2024 The 103rd Prime Minister

Oct. 2024 The 102nd Prime Minister

Elected to the House of Representatives (50th General Election)

Oct. 2015 Minister in charge of Overcoming Population Decline and

Vitalizing Local Economy in Japan

Minister of State for the National Strategic Special Zones

(until Aug. 2016) (3rd Abe Cabinet (Reshuffled))

Sep. 2014 Minister in charge of Overcoming Population Decline and

Vitalizing Local Economy in Japan

Minister of State for the National Strategic Special Zones

(until Oct. 2015) (2nd Abe Cabinet (Reshuffled), 3rd Abe Cabinet)

Sep. 2008 Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (Aso Cabinet)

Sep. 2007 Minister of Defense (until Aug. 2008) (Fukuda Cabinet)

Sep. 2002 Minister of State (Defense) (until Sep. 2004) (1st Koizumi Cabinet (1st Reshuffled), 1st Koizumi Cabinet (2nd Reshuffled), and 2nd Koizumi Cabinet)

## Keynote Speaker (Dinner on March 3)



**Gen Nakatani/ Minister of Defense of Japan**

Oct 2024 Minister of Defense (Ishiba Cabinet)

Aug 2022 Special Advisor to the Prime Minister for international human rights issue (2nd Kishida Cabinet (reshuffled))

Oct 2021 Special Advisor to the Prime Minister for international human rights issue (2nd Kishida Cabinet)

Oct 2015 Minister of Defense (3rd Abe Cabinet (reshuffled))

Dec 2014 Minister of Defense and Minister in charge of Security Legislation (3rd Abe Cabinet)

Nov 2005 Chair, General Council

Apr 2001 Minister of State for Defense (1st Koizumi Cabinet)

Jul 2000 Senior State Secretary for Home Affairs (2nd Mori Cabinet)

Sep 1997 Parliamentary Secretary for Posts and Telecommunications (2nd Hashimoto Cabinet (reshuffled))

Aug 1995 Parliamentary Secretary for National Land (Murayama Cabinet (reshuffled))

Feb 1990 Elected as a member of the House of Representatives

Dec 1984 Retired from the Ground Self-Defense Force

## Opening Remark



**Fumio Kishida/ Former Prime Minister of Japan, Chief Advisor of the Tokyo Conference**

He was former Prime Minister of Japan and former President of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). A member of the House of Representatives (elected 11 times). He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2012 to 2017.

## Closing Remark



**Ichiro Fujisaki/ President, Nakasone Peace Institute; President, The America-Japan Society; Former Ambassador to the United States of America, Japan**

Ichiro Fujisaki is President of the America-Japan Society, Inc. Born in 1947 and entered the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1969. He was the Ambassador to the United States from 2008 to 2012, after serving as Director-General of the North American Affairs Bureau, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Ambassador to the permanent mission of Japan to the international organizations in Geneva

## Guest Speakers



**Shannon K. O'Neil/ Senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair, Council on Foreign Relations**

Shannon K. O'Neil is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where she oversees the work of the more than six dozen fellows in the David Rockefeller Studies Program as well as CFR's fourteen fellowship programs. She is a leading authority on global trade, supply chains, Mexico, and Latin America. Dr. O'Neil is the author of *The Globalization Myth: Why Regions Matter*, which chronicles the rise of three main global manufacturing and supply chain hubs and what they mean for U.S. economic competitiveness. She also wrote *Two Nations Indivisible: Mexico, the United States, and the Road Ahead*, which analyzes the political, economic, and social transformations Mexico has undergone over the last three decades and why they matter for the United States. She has taught at Harvard and Columbia Universities, and began her career in emerging markets finance.



**Joaquim Levy/ Former Managing Director and World Bank Group Chief Financial Officer**

Joaquim Levy is an Executive VP (Director) at Banco Safra SA and former Finance Minister of Brazil, General Manager and CFO of the World Bank Group, President of BNDES, and CEO of Bradesco Asset Management. Dr. Levy is Co-chair of Latam and Chair of Brazilian Chapter of Gfanz, Co-chair of the Bretton Woods Committee Multilateral Reform Working Group, Board Member of World Resources Institute-WRI, Head of the Sustainable Development Council of São Paulo Industry Federation--FIESP and was a member of the UN Expert Group for Net Zero Recommendations for non-State Actors. He earned a PhD in Economics from the University of Chicago, a MS - Getúlio Vargas Foundation, and BS in Naval Architecture from UFRJ in Brazil.





**Jomo Kwame Sundaram/ Former Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Development of UNDESA**

Jomo Kwame Sundaram is Research Adviser at the Khazanah Research Institute. He is also Fellow of the Academy of Science, Malaysia and Emeritus Professor at the University of Malaya. He was UN Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Development (2005-12) and Assistant Director General for Economic and Social Development, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (2012-15). He received the 2007 Wassily Leontief Prize for Advancing the Frontiers of Economic Thought and honorary doctorates from several universities. The World Academy of Sciences has announced he will share the 2026 TWAS Award in Social Sciences. Jomo has authored and edited over a hundred books and translated 12 volumes besides writing many academic papers and media articles. He was Professor in the Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya until November 2004, Founder Director (1978-2004) of the Institute of Social Analysis (INSAN), Founder Chair (2001-04) of IDEAs, International Development Economics Associates ([www.ideaswebsite.org](http://www.ideaswebsite.org)), independent member of the National Economic Consultative Council (1989-91) and President of the Malaysian Social Science Association. He is on the editorial boards of several learned journals. Jomo studied at the Royal Military College (1967-70), Yale College (1970-73) and Harvard University (1973-77). He taught in Malaysia from 1974, and at Harvard, Yale, and Cornell. He has also been Visiting Fellow at Cambridge University and the National University of Singapore.



**David A. Chikvaidze/ Former Chef de Cabinet of the Director-General of UNOG, Vice President of Swiss Forum on International Relations, Associate Fellow at Geneva Center for Security Policy**

Dr David Chikvaidze has nearly four decades of experience in the foreign service and international civil service, specializing in the challenges of multilateralism, great power relationships, Eurasian geopolitics, and global security. As Chief of Staff to five Directors-General of the UN Office at Geneva (UNOG), he provided strategic advice and back-channel diplomacy. Fluent in four languages, he has negotiated and mediated on complex issues across diverse cultural contexts, participating in key talks on humanitarian aid and security in North Korea, Western Sahara, and the Iran nuclear program. Chikvaidze's career includes significant contributions to institution-building, such as establishing the prototype of the Geneva Peacebuilding Platform and modernizing the UN Library in Geneva. He frequently appears on television and before live audiences, has written, and lectured on multilateralism, has taught courses on diplomacy and geopolitics, and served as thesis advisor. He holds a Ph.D. in political science and is involved in various international and academic initiatives. Born in Tbilisi, he is a Georgian citizen with extensive global networks.

## Guest Speakers



**XIANG Lanxin/ Emeritus professor at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) in Geneva**

Lanxin Xiang is Professor Emeritus at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID), Geneva and Distinguished Fellow at the Henry Stimson Center in Washington, DC. He was Director of the Institute of Security Policy (ISP), China National Institute for SCO International Exchange and Judicial Cooperation, Shanghai. He is organizer of many track II dialogues between China and US and China and EU. Prof. Xiang was also a Visiting Fellow at the Belfer Center, Kennedy School, Harvard University. He was the third Henry A. Kissinger Chair of Foreign Policy and International Affairs at the Library of Congress, USA. He also held distinguished academic chairs at Fudan University, East China Normal University and Foreign Affairs University in China. In August 2025, he will assume the position of the Ngee Ann Kongsi Professor in International Relations at S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technology University in Singapore. A graduate from Fudan University, he holds MA and PhD in European Studies and International Relations from Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies Johns Hopkins University. Prof. Xiang's primary research interests are China's relations with great powers. He has published four books in English and six books in Chinese. His latest book, *The Quest for Legitimacy in Chinese Politics---A new interpretation*, is published in London, 2021.



**XU Bu/ Former President, China Institute of International Studies**

XU Bu, Senior Research Fellow, President of the Institute of International Development and Security Studies, Jiangsu University, and member of the United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Advisory Board on Effective Multilateralism, former President of the China Institute of International Studies, Secretary-General of the XI Jinping Thought on Diplomacy Studies Centre, graduated with a PhD in Law. He had previously served as Deputy Director-General of the Policy Planning Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Minister Counselor of the Chinese Embassy to Canada, Deputy Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Korean Peninsula Affairs, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to ASEAN, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Chile. He has published lots of articles in high quality academic journals, including *Foreign Affairs Review*, *The Journal of International Studies*, and *Contemporary International Relations*, and several articles on the *People's Daily* and *Guangming Daily*. He is also the author of *Say No to Wars: Comments on American Identity and International Politics and American National Identity and Its Impact*.



**Tadamichi Yamamoto/ Former Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Former Under Secretary General, United Nations**

Born in Hiroshima Prefecture in 1950. Joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1974, and since then has served in the UK, the Philippines, and the US Embassy. He was Chief Negotiator for the Uruguay Round Service Negotiations and Director of the First Southeast Asia Division, where he was in charge of Cambodian peace. He has previously served as Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Director of the First North American Division, North American Bureau, Political Minister at the Embassies of Japan to the Republic of Korea and the United States, Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Embassy of Japan to the United States, Consul General in Boston, Director General of the Public Relations and Cultural Exchange Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Permanent Mission of Japan to UNESCO, Government Representative for Assistance to Afghanistan and Pakistan, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Hungary. From October 2014, he served as Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), and from June 2016 until the end of his term in March 2020, he served as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan (head of UNAMA).



**Hiroyuki Suzuki/ Project Associate Professor, The Sultan Qaboos Chair in Middle Eastern Studies, The University of Tokyo**

Project Associate Professor at the University of Tokyo, Sultan Qaboos Chair in Middle Eastern Studies. He obtained an MA in March 2012 and a PhD in July 2017 from the University of Tokyo's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. His PhD thesis (in Japanese), titled *Hōki*

<Intifada>: *Senryōka no Paresuchina 1967–1993 (The Mass Uprisings—"Intifada"—and Occupied Palestine (1967–1993))*, was awarded the 9th Shigeru Nambara Memorial Award for Publication by the University of Tokyo Press in 2019. The text was published, using this fund, under the same title by the University of Tokyo Press in 2020.

He and his colleagues completed their translation of Rashid Khalidi's book *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917–2017* (2023, Hosei University Press) just after the Gaza War broke out.



**Shiro Armstrong/ Director of the Australia-Japan Research Centre**

Shiro Armstrong is Professor of Economics at the Crawford School of Public Policy at The Australian National University. He is Director of the Australia-Japan Research Centre, Editor of the East Asia Forum, and Director of the East Asian Bureau of Economic Research. He is also a Visiting Professor at Keio University, Research Associate at the Center on Japanese Economy and Business at the Columbia Business School, Visiting Lecturer at the University of Tokyo and Non-resident Fellow at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan. He is the recipient of the 2024 Nakasone Yasuhiro Award.

## Guest Speakers



### **Pascal Saint-Amans/ Former Director of the Centre for Tax Policy and Administration at the OECD**

Former director of the Centre for Tax Policy and Administration at the OECD; Professor of Taxes at Lausanne University

Pascal Saint-Amans is Professor of tax policy at HEC Paris and Lausanne University. He is partner at Brunswick and advises governments on tax policy and clients worldwide on policy and regulatory matters, including tax-related issues.

Prior to joining Brunswick, Pascal was director of the Centre for Tax Policy and Administration at the OECD where, working with G20 countries, he led the international tax policy reform, including ending bank secrecy or updating the rules for the taxation of Multinational Enterprises, known as the BEPS (Base Erosion and Profit Shifting) project. Pascal supported countries in designing their tax policies and provided technical assistance to developing countries. He launched the Tax Inspectors Without Borders Initiative.

Pascal graduated from the National School of Administration (ENA) in 1996 and was an official in the French Ministry for Finance for nearly a decade. He held various positions within the Treasury. He was also a member of the UN Group of Experts on International Co-operation in Tax Matters, becoming a "rapporteur" in 2006. Pascal also served as Financial Director of the Energy Regulation Committee between 1999 and 2002 and was responsible for the introduction of new electricity tariffs. He was awarded with the Order of Rising Sun, Gold Ray and Neck Ribbon.



### **Toru Yoshida/ Full Professor at the Faculty of Policy Studies, Doshisha University in Japan**

Toru Yoshida is a Full Professor at the Faculty of Policy Studies, Doshisha University in Japan, specializing in political science and comparative politics. After working at The Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), he earned his Ph.D. in Social Science from the University of Tokyo. He served as Associate Professor of European Politics at Hokkaido University from 2006 to 2021, held the position of Professor of the Japanese Chair at Sciences Po Paris from 2010 to 2011, and was a visiting researcher at the Center for French Studies at New York University from 2011 to 2012. He is currently an Associate Researcher at the Fondation France-Japon (FFJ) of EHESS. His publication (in English and French) includes "Populism in Japan: Actors or Institutions?" in D. B. Subedi et al. (eds.) The Routledge Handbook of Populism in the Asia Pacific, 2023; "Parliaments in an age of populism" in Cyril Benoit and Olivier Rozenberg, Handbook of Parliamentary Studies, 2020; "Populism Made in Japan: A new species?" in Asian Journal of Comparative Politics, Vol.4 No.3, 2019; « L'alternance de 2009 au Japon : La mutation d'un régime de parti dominant ? » in Philippe Aldrin, Luci Bargel, Nicolas Bue, Christine Pina (sous la dir.), Politiques de l'Alternance : Sociologie des Changements de politiques, Ed. du Croquant, 2016.





**CAI Liang/ Director of Center for Asia-Pacific Studies, SIIS**

His research interests focus on Sino-Japanese Relations, Strategic Culture of China. His most recent publications include, "Foreign Strategic Vision of Japanese 'Neo-Nationalism' and Its Plight", Contemporary International Relations, (July 2012), "Analysis of Agricultural Interest Groups' influence In Japanese Politics—Also on the "JA" political impact in the anti-TPP activities", Japanese Studies, (Sept 2012), 'An Analysis on the "Strategic Hedging" by Abe's New Cabinet', Journal of International Relations, (Oct 2013), "The Analysis on a Symbiotic International System and the Capacity of Building of Chinese Foreign Policy's Image", International Review, (Jan 2014), "An Analysis of Abe's Policy of 'Separating Politics from Economy'", Japanese Studies, (May 2014), "Three Characteristics of 'Active Pacifism' of Shinzo Abe Administration", Forum of World Economics & Politics, (Sept 2014); "The Development of Present Symbiosis: From Peaceful Coexistence to Community of Shared Destiny", Journal of Social Sciences, (Sept 2014), "Shinzo Abe's Lifting Bans on Japan's Collective Self-Defense: Purposes, Path and Impacts on Sino-Japan Relations", Northeast Asia Forum, (Nov 2014) etc. Publications: Research of ODA to Shanghai in Japan (December 2010) Japan's MD Diplomacy Towards China After WW II (July 2014)



**Hyoung-zhin Kim/ Visiting Fellow, Institute for Future Strategy, SNU / PhD student, National**

**Graduate Institute for Policy Studies and Visiting Fellow, Waseda University, Japan  
Former Deputy National Security Advisor, Office of National Security, South-Korea**

Dec.1999 First Secretary, Korean Embassy in the People's Republic of China  
Aug.2002 Assistant Secretary, Office of the President  
Jul.2003 Director, North America Division 1, MOFAT  
Dec.2005 Minister-Counsellor, Korean Embassy in the United States of America  
Aug.2009 Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade  
Jun.2010 Director-General, North American Affairs Bureau, MOFAT  
Feb.2012 Visiting Fellow, University of Tokyo, Japan  
Mar.2013 Secretary to the President for Foreign Affairs, Office of the President  
Mar.2015 Deputy Minister for Planning and Coordination, MOFA  
Feb.2016 Deputy Minister for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, MOFA  
Jan.2017 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Belgium and Korean Mission to the European Union  
Jan.2020 Ambassador for International Relations, Seoul Metropolitan Government  
Jan.2021 Deputy National Security Advisor, Office of National Security  
Jun.2022 Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Future Strategy, Seoul National University (SNU)

Oct.2023 Visiting Fellow, Institute for Future Strategy, SNU / PhD student, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies and Visiting Fellow, Waseda University, Japan

**AWARDS:**

Dec.2013 Lieutenant of the Royal Victorian Order, UK

Dec.2022 Order of Service Merit, Yellow Stripes, Republic of Korea

## Guest Speakers



**Yuji Miyamoto/ Chairman, Miyamoto Institute of Asian Research,  
Former Ambassador to the People's Republic of China**

Yuji Miyamoto served at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the Director of China Division, Fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), Consul General of Japan in Atlanta, USA, Director-General of the Arms Control and Science Affairs Bureau, Ambassador to Myanmar, Ambassador in charge of Okinawa, and Ambassador to China between 2006 and 2010.



**Petra Sigmund/ German Ambassador to Japan**

“Petra Sigmund studied sinology, political science and economic policy studies at Heidelberg University, the Free University of Berlin and the People’s University in Beijing. She joined the Foreign Service in 1994 and has held various positions since then. From 2004 to 2006, she was Head of the Trade Promotion Office at the German Embassy in Beijing. Between 2006-2010, she was in charge of EU relations at the German Federal Chancellery in Berlin. She was the spokeswoman of the German Embassy in Paris between 2010 and 2013. From 2015 to 2017, Ms. Sigmund held the post of Head of Division for East Asia at the Foreign Office, before her appointment to Deputy Director General for East Asia, Southeast Asia and the Pacific (2017-2019) and the promotion to Director General for Asia and the Pacific (2019 – 2024). Since August 2024, she has been the Ambassador-designate of the Federal Republic of Germany to Japan. She speaks German, English, French and Chinese.”



**Raymond Gilpin/ Chief Economist, Head, Strategy, Analysis and Research, Regional Bureau for Africa, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)**

Dr. Raymond Gilpin is Chief Economist and Head of the Strategy, Analysis and Research Team at the Regional Bureau for Africa, United Nations Development Program in New York. In this capacity he provides leadership on all matters related to economic analysis, strategy, and research in UNDP's Africa bureau, and manages the bureau's network of economists. Prior to joining UNDP, he was the academic dean at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies in Washington DC and economics director at the United States Institute of Peace, where he also chaired the taskforce on business and peace and managed the web-based International Network for Economics and Conflict. He has also worked at the African Development Bank, the World Bank and the Central Bank of Sierra Leone, where he served as research director. Dr. Gilpin was inducted into the Martin Luther King Collegium of Scholars at the historic Morehouse College in Atlanta in 2015 in recognition of this work on economics and peace. He holds a doctorate in development economics from Cambridge University in the UK.

## Conference Report

# Tokyo Conference 2025

Public Forum.....

*International cooperation and restoration of peace on the  
80th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations*

Keynote Speeches

Panel Discussion

Session 1

**Who will take the lead in international  
cooperation in the Trump era?**

Session 2

**Ending the war in Ukraine and rebuilding Gaza**

## Keynote Speeches

**Keynote Speaker:**

**António Guterres** (Secretary-General of the United Nations) \*video message



### **The Tokyo Conference: An important platform to advance the Pact's objectives and drive multilateralism into the future**

"This year marks the 80th anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the founding of the United Nations. This milestone is a crucial opportunity to reaffirm enduring principles that emerge from one of humanity's darkest hours: peace through dialogue, respect for human rights and international law, and the promotion of social progress and sustainable development," he said. "Japan is a leader in advancing these values and the pillars of multilateralism," he continued. "Your commitment to international cooperation stands as a powerful example that our nations can transform historical legacies into positive change."

The Secretary-General went on to mention the Pact for the Future, which was adopted by the member states of the United Nations as part of the effort to reform global governance to meet the needs of the 21st century, including reform of the Security Council and international financial architecture. He emphasized that the Tokyo Conference also plays a vital role.

"By bringing together government leaders and diverse voices from around the world, the Tokyo Conference offers an important platform to advance the Pact's objectives and drive multilateralism into the future," he said.

He concluded his address by calling on the world to "Seize this moment to strengthen the foundations of trust, solidarity and cooperation and write a new chapter in our shared journey towards lasting peace, dignity, and progress."



***Keynote Speaker:***

**Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono** (Former President of Indonesia)



**Taking humanity further by reforming the UN and rebuilding multilateralism**

Former Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was next to speak and offered an assessment of the current global situation.

"We are living in a turbulent world which is becoming increasingly fragmented, marked by rising geopolitical rivalry, growing mistrust, and less cooperation. Confidence in the rules-based world order is seriously shaken. There is a widespread sense that the world is not well and heading in the wrong direction," he said. Yudhoyono stressed the importance of the Tokyo Conference as a forum for discussing international cooperation and the restoration of peace on the 80th anniversary of the United Nations, which was founded to create a better world.

"The UN is...a grand effort to replace a ruthless, anarchic world where might was right, where any strong country could arbitrarily invade and annex the territory of another country with impunity. It represented a grand effort to replace the jungle of violence with a rule-based international order, where nations, great and small, rich and poor, are equal. Where nations have mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Where nations commit to resolve their disputes by peaceful means and without the use of force. What a beautiful world that would be." However, he pointed out that the ideals upon which the United Nations was founded have not yet been brought to fruition.

"The bad news is this multilateralism today is in crisis," he said, and pointed to recent actions by the Trump administration, to geopolitical conflicts constraining multilateralism and regional cooperation, and to the growing perception that there is a double standard at play in the application of international laws and norms. He summed up the issue succinctly.

"'Me-ism' rather than 'we-ism' is rapidly growing," he said, and warned that the continued failure of multilateralism will have dire consequences. "The cost to World Peace and the survival of human race would be too great." However, Yudhoyono also believes that a way forward can be found.

"The world desperately needs imaginative statesmanship. Leaders who have the wisdom to connect the local and the global, who are courageous...and take bold actions, who encourage...and can be solution providers to our problems and not make our problems worse," he said. "I am convinced that we have plenty of these leaders in the global south as well as the global north."

Yudhoyono offered some concrete and exhaustive proposals for implementing reform. "The first solution to the weakened multilateralism is this: strengthen the United Nations, the embodiment of global multilateralism. Cure the paralysis of the Security Council by liberating it from the veto power of the P5. Empower the General Assembly, enhance peacekeeping operations, and create stable funding systems so that no major power can intimidate the UN by threatening to withhold funds."

Next, Yudhoyono described how countries could play leading roles in bolstering multilateralism, and called on countries to take the initiative to promote cooperation based on the founding spirit and ideals of the United Nations.

"I do believe that the most effective multilateral landscape is one where various countries can take the lead in the particular field of their interest and strength. For example, in tackling climate change, Indonesia can lead in protecting and expanding forest cover to strengthen the world's carbon sink. Japan can lead in climate technology cooperation. The European Union can help with climate funding or the carbon market. China can lead in electric vehicles."

Yudhoyono concluded by calling on all to take on this challenge. "Multilateralism may be very complex, may take a longer time, and may be exhausting, but the overall result would be much better than unilateralism. As the African proverb says, 'If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together.' So, let us go far together."

***Keynote Speaker:***

**Ahunna Eziakonwa** (UNDP Assistant Administrator and Regional Director for Africa)



**Unlocking Africa's immense potential requires a "new multilateralism"**

Ahunna Eziakonwa is Assistant Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme and Head of the Regional Bureau for Africa. Eziakonwa began her keynote speech with a somewhat pessimistic appraisal of the current state of global poverty and inequality. However, she tempered that with a more optimistic outlook on the immense potential of Africa.

"The continent's young people are leading the way with dynamism, creativity, and hope. Africa's young entrepreneurs are seizing new opportunities and forging ahead with ideas and businesses that are transforming lives and revitalizing communities. Africa's fashion industry, for instance, is estimated to be \$31 billion (USD). Its sports industry is valued at \$12 billion and the film industry is worth around \$5 billion and growing. In addition, the continent's ICT sector is valued at \$30 billion, and the potential is massive."

Eziakonwa emphasized that earning enough from trade is the only way that African countries will be able to "wean themselves off of dependency of the aid framework," reverse their crippling debt, and invest enough in addressing poverty. To do so, the current overdependence on imports must be resolved.

"Creating avenues for African exports to access lucrative global markets and fast-tracking regional industrialization to reduce their reliance on expensive imported food and manufactured goods is the only sustainable way to guarantee sustainable progress," she said.

Eziakonwa described her concerns about the connection between economic disparity and domestic conflict, and the currently stagnant state of multilateral cooperation.

"The UNDP's 2022 Human Development Report highlights increasing global mistrust and deepening uncertainty which contribute to an atmosphere of fear and polarization...this dynamic fuels a contentious political atmosphere and deepens intergroup animosity in Africa. This translates into the persistence of political violence and upsurge of intercommunal strife," she explained. "Africa yearns for a new multilateralism, ladies and gentlemen, not one that is based on handouts, but one that's based on a handshake."

She went on to explain that this "new multilateralism" she refers to must be one that "acknowledges Africa's immense potential and facilitates the continent's economic and financial sovereignty through fairer trade, through more affordable development financing, through the technology driven public private partnerships that boost entrepreneurship and create meaningful jobs and shared prosperity."

Eziakonwa believes that the world is a much different place than it was 80 years ago, when it was faced with building a new world order, and that today the focus must be on "forestalling global disorder that a retreat from multilateralism could portend."

"The discussions we're having today matter, and we must redouble our efforts to usher in a new multilateralism that is effective and inclusive," she concluded.



**Keynote Speaker:**

**Rajmund Andrzejczak** (Former Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces)



**As a "center of gravity," how should Poland face Russia?**

Retired General and former Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces Rajmund Andrzejczak began his keynote by referring to Prussian general Carl von Clausewitz, who once described war as a system, and by explaining how that applies to the current geopolitical situation. "We are dealing with three systems, each becoming increasingly turbulent, unpredictable, and dangerous: China, the Middle East, and Russia," Andrzejczak said. "To manage these dangerous systems, we must define and protect these key centers of gravity."

He explained that each of those systems has its own "center of gravity," and noted that in the case of China, that center of gravity is located in Taiwan, which Andrzejczak believes must not be lost, under any circumstances.

"Losing Taiwan would not only reshape the balance of power in the Pacific, but also send a clear signal to authoritarian regimes that military aggression and coercion are effective strategies," he said. "It would destabilize global supply chains, particularly in the semiconductor industry, which is crucial for the world's economy and technological advancement. Militarily, it would embolden regional security partnerships. Economically, it would disrupt markets and trade routes affecting countries far beyond. Politically, it would weaken democratic resilience and embolden other revisionist powers. This is not just a regional issue; it is a global challenge that demands a firm, coordinated response from the free world."

Regarding the Middle East, Andrzejczak described its center of gravity as being located in Israel, which "serves as a barrier against Iran and its proxies." He explained that another potential crisis

in this region can be found in "Iran's nuclear aspirations and its use of non-state actors Hamas, Hezbollah, and Yemeni Houthis to support terrorism."

He next turned to the system surrounding Russia, the center of gravity of which he described as being found in Ukraine and Poland, and expressed his concerns regarding their future. "Currently, discussion about ending the war do not constitute a real plan. Because today there's no plan," he said. "It seems that America's Russian policy prioritizes short-term tactics over grand strategy. It may offer short-term gains, but sets the stage for a larger system, with transforming conflicts likely to happen as Moscow reconstitutes its land forces and the U.S. military is pulled into the Pacific."

For Andrzejczak, the risk is illustrated by Poland's history with Russia. "For five centuries, we have struggled against Russia's imperial policies of expansion, plundering, destruction, and genocide, (from the) Kievan Rus, (to the) Muscovites, Tsarist Russia, Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. The Russians do not honor agreements, do not follow the law, and do not share our values. If we stop the war now on their terms, they will be convinced that using military force is an effective and legitimate political tool and that the West is weak, and then they can push for even more." He spoke about a conversation he had with Valerii Zaluzhnyi, current Ukrainian Ambassador to the UK and former Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. When asked to define what "victory" would mean in the Ukraine War, Zaluzhnyi responded, "Victory will come when Russia can never return."

Andrzejczak pointed out that treating Russia has always been a mistake historically, and noted that the "so-called reverse Kissinger model" of "binding Russia and drawing it away from China" may not work as the positions of the actors involved are still unknown. He noted that Europe's slow response to Russian aggression in Georgia and Crimea aggravated the situation in Ukraine, as did increasing Europe's energy dependency on Russia. He also warned that the current plan to bring about a ceasefire could result in what he described as a "bad peace." However, while using the UN as a tool for diplomacy is still viable, Andrzejczak believes that it is not the only tool available and that such tools should be explored, as, "The recent meetings at the UN Security Council show that nations have not united against evil."

He pointed to developments in the Asia-Pacific with more meaningful relationships being built between the US, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, and Singapore. He also mentioned the Three Seas Initiative, an effort on the part of Poland, the Baltic states, and other partners that aims to strengthen regional cooperation to prevent potential threats, before concluding with praise for Japan's investments in security and in gaining a better understanding of geostrategic implications in the region.

***Keynote Speaker:***

**Helen Clark** (Former Prime Minister of New Zealand) \*video message



**Multilateralism has been protected and fortified in the past; reform is still possible for the future**

The final keynote was provided in the form of a video message from Helen Clark, former Prime Minister of New Zealand and current member of The Elders, the international humanitarian group of former heads of state founded by Nelson Mandela.

"It would be an understatement to say that the world is experiencing significant geopolitical volatility and tension," she began, and pointed to US President Donald Trump. "The new United States administration appears to be calling into question fundamental principles of multilateralism and international law which have helped underpin global security for the past 80 years," she said. "For example, President Trump's proposals for a future for Gaza without its people fly in the face of international law and they also jeopardize prospects for settlement of the Israeli Palestinian conflict. For Ukraine, the prospect has been raised of Russia, the aggressor, deciding the country's fate together with the United States, with neither Ukraine nor European representatives at the table."

Clark warned that the Asia-Pacific needs to keep its eye on developments in those regions. "The developments in the Middle East and Ukraine conflicts can't be just dismissed as peripheral concerns. After all, North Korean troops have been deployed on Russia's front lines...Asian states

can show much needed leadership in protecting the multilateral system and the strong body of international law, which has been built over the past eight decades." She continued by explaining that awareness about the dangers posed by nuclear weapons must be understood both by states that maintain a nuclear arsenal, and by states that benefit from the shelter of a nuclear umbrella. That being said, Clark also recognizes that risk minimization will suffice if complete de-nuclearization is not yet possible. This would revolve around four critical areas: "adoption of a no first-use doctrine, de-alerting as many weapons as possible from their current high states of readiness, dramatically reducing the number of nuclear weapons currently deployed, and reducing the overall number of warheads to the lowest level possible."

Clark noted that there is a commonality between the various challenges the world currently faces, from climate change to pandemics and regulation of artificial intelligence. "The common thread running through all these existential challenges is that they can only be managed effectively through multilateral cooperation. No nation can address them effectively by itself, regardless of how large it is, how big its economy is, or how militarily powerful it is," she said. That is why Clark believes that states that value international law must defend the institutions and frameworks which are so central to it, including the International Court of Justice, the International Criminal Court, and the UN Charter itself.

"The international system must also be updated to reflect the world of the 21st century," she continued. "The most glaring reform needed is for a more representative and effective Security Council. We must not return to a "might is right" world order dominated by spheres of influence. We need to defend and update the international system now, not abandon it."

Clark wrapped up her remarks with a positive outlook for the future, pointing to several historical examples of the successful implementation of reforms to multilateral institutions and mechanisms.

"Protecting and reinforcing multilateralism might seem a daunting challenge, but it isn't impossible. We've done it before. Cooperation is not just a utopian aspiration; it has been seen to work, and we need it now more than ever," she concluded. "In the words of Nelson Mandela, the founder of the Elders, 'It always seems impossible until it is done.'"

## Public Forum -Session 1-

### Who will take the lead in international cooperation in the Trump era?

3:00pm-4:30pm

Providence Hall, 2F, Tokyo Prince Hotel

#### Moderator

**Yasushi Kudo**

President of The Genron NPO, Japan

#### Panelists:

**Tadamichi Yamamoto**

(Former Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Former Under Secretary **General**,  
**United Nations**)

**Jomo Kwame Sundaram**

(Former Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Development of UNDESA)

**Sunjoy Joshi**

(Chairman, Observer Research Foundation)

**Shannon K. O'Neil**

(Senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair, Council on  
Foreign Relations)

**Paul Samson**

(President, Centre for International Governance Innovation)

**Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal**

(President, Getulio Vargas Foundation)

**James M. Lindsay**

(Mary and David Boies distinguished senior fellow in U.S. foreign policy and director of  
Fellowship Affairs)

**Creon Butler**

(Director, Global Economy and Finance Programme, The Royal Institute of International  
Affairs (Chatham House), United Kingdom)

**Rizal Sukma**

(Senior Fellow, the Centre for Strategic and International (CSIS) in Jakarta)

**Stefan Mair**

(Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP))

**Xu Bu**

(Former President, China Institute of International Studies)\*online



## Public Forum Session 1:

### ***“Who will take the lead in international cooperation in the Trump era?”***



James Lindsay is a Distinguished Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Policy and Director of Fellowship Affairs at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in the US, and he opened the Session 1 discussion at the Open Forum.

"It's important to understand that US foreign policy is changing in a fundamental way and it's not going to change back any time soon," he began. "Trump has made it clear for decades that he rejects the world order that the United States created out of the ashes of WWII, and would reject the premise of this conference about the importance of multinational organizations and multilateral cooperation."

Lindsay went on to explain the difference between Trump's first and second administrations. "This time around, Trump knows how to be president. He also has advisers who will enable him to act on his impulses rather than constrain them," he explained, before warning the gathering that the situation may deteriorate even further.

"This disruption will continue and it may even escalate. President Trump sees the world not as a place where you get ahead by cooperation or talking about win-win solutions. He has a 'dog-eat-dog' view of the world, where the strong do what they will and the weak suffer as they must. He is not bound by sentimentality. He is not bound by agreements. I've lived in Texas. Let me put it in a 'western' metaphor. Don't expect the sheriff to come riding into town to save the day or save the town's folk. It's going to be up to the townsfolk to save this order that they see great value in."

Stefan Mair, Director of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs) agreed with Lindsay's assessment. "I think we have to be prepared for the whole thing to escalate further. I think we have to realize that we are on our own, that we have to take responsibility for our own security. I don't see us as being in a hostile relationship (with the United States)," he said, before suggesting that Europe's current stance toward China may be one that will be effective with the US as well.

"We talked about China being a rival and a competitor and a partner to us, and perhaps we have to apply the same approach increasingly to the United States. We will be rivals on many issues, especially, of course, on trade and probably also on technology. We will compete on several issues, and we still have good reasons to be partners on several issues. The question is really whether this kind of partnership we still offer to the United States will be taken up by the Trump administration."

Mair also expressed his hope that the US will understand that the EU must take steps to protect itself. "All the European leaders have been quite clear that we still consider the United States to be an essential partner, but we have to take responsibility for our own security."

Session moderator Yasushi Kudo (President of the Genron NPO) asked Mair how Germany feels about the US recently failing to fulfill its commitments to multilateral cooperation. "How should the (other) Western countries respond without the United States? Do you we take on the burden that the US used to shoulder?" Kudo asked.

Mair answered, "I think we have to accept that the United States will not be available for at least the next three years for any kind of reform of multilateralism or any kind of multilateral action, and it can't be replaced by any other country. China is perhaps the only one that has the potential to replace it, but I think it is unwilling to do so, and we aren't really wishing that it will. I think it will be a variety of countries, most of them represented here on the panel, who have to take responsibility to engage in this."

### **Addressing issues without the US not a realistic approach**

Paul Samson is President of the Centre for International Governance Innovation in Canada, which will host the G6 leaders' summit this June, and he spoke about what could be expected from this year's summit. "I think the expectation should be that it will be a difficult meeting. However, there may be an opportunity for some common issues to be identified where the G7 can be useful. Perhaps even an expanded G7. I think that would be an interesting question. Defining what that interest is, I think, is going to be difficult. It probably could be around some issues like technology cooperation, digital platforms were mentioned earlier, the emergence of quantum

technologies...these kinds of issues are very much common interests across the G7 as they relate to security."

Samson was asked whether the current rift will impact the G7's maintenance of the global economic system, which it has done through economic cooperation between the G7 members, and Samson did not rule out the possibility that there will be an impact. "Something like foreign exchange rates, the financial sector, without the United States at the table, it's not easy for the others to advance the issues. But they may have to do so if there is a complete vacuum," he said.

Chatham House Global Economy and Finance Programme head Creon Butler said, "I think we have to take what President Trump says on its face value. It could turn back after a couple of years or four years, but I don't think it will ever go back to what it was before."

Butler went on to clarify the potential UK reaction to the imposition of tariffs by the US. "In our responses to the US, we're actually going to follow the key norms that the WTO has. We're going to preserve MFN (most-favored-nation) treatment in the way we respond to tariffs that the US may put on us. We will follow WTO rules. We will file WTO disputes and so on...I doubt that the US will step out of the WTO, partly because it's a way of continuing to influence the way it operates."

### **What do the BRICS countries think about Trump 2.0?**

Xu Bu, former Director of the China Institute of International Studies, attending the session remotely, lamented the current situation, saying, "When we are commemorating the 80th anniversary of the end of WWII and the founding of the United Nations, it's really painful for the international community to witness the leading country, the only superpower, retreating from international institutions, the principles, and rules which it once promoted and upheld."

He called on nations to be patient in dealing with the various issues the world faces today, before being addressed by Kudo, who said, "Under the first Trump administration, President XI Jinping said at DAVOS that China was going to be a leader in the free market. But this time, China appears to be quiet. Why is that?"

"I don't think China is being quiet," Xu answered. "Instead, China has been promoting peace in Europe. China has been upholding international norms and regulations regarding trade and regarding financial cooperation. We strongly support the WTO being at the center of dealing with economic and trade issues. Unfortunately, tariffs are being weaponized and the world economic and trade situation is becoming more fragile. That is really the big threat. Not only for the developing countries, but for developed countries."

Sunjoy Joshi is Chairman of India's Observer Research Foundation, and he provided another perspective from a BRICS nation. "There's no doubt about who is going to be leading in the Trump era. The US is not going to give up its leadership. It has no intention. Trump is very clear about that. He is the undisputed leader of the world," he said. "I like Mr. Lindsay's analogy of the Wild West about there being no sheriff in town. Sorry, but there is a new sheriff in town. He rides a very high horse. He has a very loud whistle. He insists that everyone in the town needs to shed fat, put on some muscle, and start policing their own area."

"That generally seems to be the message: 'This is how you're going to do it. Don't come running to me. You had better start paying me for all that has been done. There's a price for what I do.' This is a form of international cooperation. This is the 'New World Order.' This is Trump's version of the new order which is going to come into play," Joshi said.

At the same time, Joshi believes that there are many agreements that are now under threat, from digital taxation to climate change, and that cooperation will become more plurilateral in form rather than disappear outright. "There are going to be intense negotiations between parties with the US, and amongst themselves, and how those negotiations play out is something that must be watched extremely carefully over time," he warned.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Real, President of Brazil's Fundacao Getulio Vargas (Getulio Vargas Foundation) brought up the international foreign exchange reserves held by different countries, and concluded, "Clearly the Euro area is not paying enough to the Americans. From an American point of view, I would say that. If I were an American, I would see this huge current account deficit. It's not only the fault of China; it's the fault of the rest of the world. The point is that the Americans cannot sustain such a current account deficit forever. On the other hand, the main problem in Europe is the dependency of the Euro on the current account surplus of Germany, but that...is in dollars."

### **No need to question US involvement - More important to integrate "non-G7 voices" and build a global architecture**

Rizal Sukma is a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Indonesia, one of ASEAN's most influential members. He addressed how multilateral efforts may change in the future.

"Multilateralism is still very important, but I don't think that we should continue with this assumption that international cooperation only happens if the US is engaged. We need to go beyond that. It depends on the nature of the challenges we face. Not all issues need to be resolved

through cooperation between 100 nations. You need to go to other multilateral forums. The framework of cooperation varies from one region to another," he said.

He also argued that people should re-think how the current discussion is being presented. "I have the sense that the whole discussion is framed within the need to juxtapose BRICS on one hand and the G7 on the other. I don't think that's helpful. We need to think about how we can integrate all of those non-G7 voices out there, especially among the emerging economies, into the architecture of cooperation at the global level and also at the regional level."

Japan's Tadamichi Yamamoto formerly served as the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Afghanistan, and he provided a perspective of the arguments against multilateralism being made by US President Donald Trump.

"(The G7 has) been relying upon the generosity or the benevolence of the United States for security. The US has been helping many countries' economic growth with an enormous trade deficit, accepting goods and other things into their country. The US has been generous and has been carrying the responsibility of managing this current free democratic international framework. Even in the United Nations, the US has been the biggest beneficiary of the UN system, and has used it really well for its own foreign policy purposes. This is the Pax Americana. What (Trump) is saying is that the Pax Americana is no longer viable. It may be possible, but it must be redefined," Yamamoto said. "The G7 - or the G6 - will have an enormous responsibility to come up with solutions that will be sustainable."



CFR Vice-President Shannon K O'Neil vice president provided an answer to the question: How do we protect and sustain multilateralism?



"I would say there are two paths forward," she said. "One is to at least preserve the big multilateral institutions - the UN, the WTO - and make sure they don't disappear. But if you want to move forward and find some sort of solution or improvement on the many of the issues that face the world, I would say it's smaller groups of countries - or others...businesspeople, civil society organizations, cities, other levels of government - that come together. They come together in what are often called plurilateral institutions or 'minilateral' institutions. These can be regional, or 'coalitions of the willing' around particular issues, zeroing in on issues that have a global impact: things like climate change, global health, financial stability, commercial relations, and the like."

### **New non-aligned movement committed to pacifism needed**

Jomo Kwame Sundaram, former Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Development of UNDESA, was speaking about the US and its relationships with other countries when he quoted late US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who once said, "it may be dangerous to be America's enemy, but to be America's friend is fatal."

"I think we have to think realistically," he continued. "It forces us to be more realistic about the motivations and shed some of our prejudices. I would recommend a third force, which I would call... the 'second non-aligned movement,' a movement that is not aligned with the US or the West, or with China and the Russian Federation. We need a non-aligned movement which is committed to pacificism and committed to development."

Simonsen Leal noted having some concern about the depth and breadth of the US' current diplomatic strategy. "I see one thing that worries me a little bit. I don't know how profound is the strategic scope of American diplomacy these days. On the other hand, Russia's is very profound. It still has nuclear weapons, and it has a doctrine," Simonsen Leal said.

O'Neil added to that when she said, "I do see a very strategic plan on foreign policy coming out of China. There's a very strategic plan at home...and across a whole host of areas, in particular, on the economy."

Kudo brought the Session 1 discussion to a close with a broad overview of some of the major points made. "When dealing with global-scale challenges, we must raise the level of global governance (to meet those challenges.) We touched briefly upon what the necessary direction for cooperation, and what sort of multilateral effort is needed to ensure cooperation happens. I think there was some potential in what we heard today."

## Public Forum -Session 2-

### Ending the war in Ukraine and rebuilding Gaza

4:45pm-6:15pm  
Providence Hall, 2F, Tokyo Prince Hotel

#### Moderator

**Yasushi Kudo**

President of The Genron NPO, Japan

#### Panelists:

**David A.Chikvaidze**

(Former Chef de Cabinet of the Director-General of UNOG, Vice President of Swiss Forum on International Relations, Associate Fellow at Geneva Center for Security Policy)

**James M. Lindsay**

(Mary and David Boies distinguished senior fellow in U.S. foreign policy and director of Fellowship Affairs)

**Rajmund Andrzejczak**

(Former Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces)

**Stefan Mair**

(Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP))

**Thomas Gomart**

(Director, French Institute of International Relations)

**Lanxin Xiang**

(Emeritus professor of history and international relations at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) in Geneva)

**Creon Butler**

(Director, Global Economy and Finance Programme, The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), United Kingdom)

**Sunjoy Joshi**

(Chairman, Observer Research Foundation)

**Paul Samson**

(President, Centre for International Governance Innovation)

**Rizal Sukma**

(Senior Fellow, the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta)

**Hiroyuki Suzuki**

(Project Associate Professor, The University of Tokyo)

## **Public Forum Session 2: Ending the war in Ukraine and rebuilding Gaza**



The discussions in Session 2 of the Tokyo Conference Open Forum primarily touched upon the difficulties surrounding achieving a ceasefire in Ukraine and re-constructing Gaza. This report covers some of the primary points made about the Ukraine War and briefly addresses the Gaza situation. For a more thorough summary, please see the Japanese version.

James Lindsay of the Council on Foreign Relations opened the session by addressing what he believes is the current policy objective of the US when it comes to the Ukraine War.

"His main objective is very clear in that he's seeking a...reset of US relations with Russia," Lindsay began. "He is not seeking the restoration of all of the territory that Ukraine has lost since 2014. He is not seeking reparations and he is not looking to provide a US security guarantee. (The Trump administration) has argued that that Ukraine needs to compensate the United States for the amount of money it has invested in the war effort over the past three years. President Trump has regularly exaggerated that number."

Lindsay called the ceasefire proposal, which would include US control over Ukrainian resources, as "built on sand" as there is little verifiable knowledge about the types and amounts of minerals to be found in Ukraine. He also criticized Trump's argument that a security guarantee is unnecessary because having an economic agreement in place will deter Russia from resuming

hostilities, saying, "The presence of American investments in Ukraine or in Russia did not prevent the Russians from invading in 2014 or again in 2022."

Later in the discussion, session moderator Yasushi Kudo (The Genron NPO) asked Lindsay to clarify his stance on ceasefire negotiations with only Russia at table.

"The belief is that working on a deal with Russia, the benefits that would come from that would swamp any sort of things lost by agreeing to some ceasefire," Lindsay responded.

"I think it's easy to understand why both the Ukrainians and European countries would object to decisions being reached about issues that profoundly affect their security interests by Moscow and the United States."

### **Ukraine security guarantees are essential, but who will provide them when bilateral agreements and the 'coalition of the willing' cannot?**

Stefan Mair (German Institute for International and Security Affairs) provided a German perspective of the situation. "Perhaps we have a ceasefire, but after the decision made by Donald Trump, we might also end with a dictated peace or unconditional surrender in Ukraine, and this would have catastrophic effects on European security," Mair explained. His concern is that a ceasefire achieved in this way will "encourage other authoritarian leaders to resort to military ambitions and invade other countries because...nobody will hinder them from doing so."

Mair explained that Ukraine security must be addressed in the run-up to a ceasefire. "Donald Trump has excluded Ukraine from joining NATO. And I must admit that Europeans didn't have a consensus on that. What is left are security agreements, the bilateral security agreements between Ukraine and 20 countries right now, the coalition of the willing, but I'm quite reluctant to call them guarantees because these are agreements. I think they don't have really high credibility."

Mair believes that it is equally important to define what territory will be controlled by whom post-ceasefire, and the Trump plan based on the present frontline will not be effective. "The Russian government has openly rejected this idea. There's a lot of talk that countries like China, India, and others should fill the gap, but I don't see that working at the moment. I think this ceasefire is quite complicated just (in terms of) the security guarantees."

### **Ceasefire negotiations must be based on core principles**

David A. Chikvaidze (Former Chef de Cabinet of the Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva) reminded the audience of the significance of the war in Ukraine.

"We need to be conscious of the fact that war with the stated aim of destroying another country and people has returned to the European continent. Worse still, this war was initiated by a permanent member of the Security Council, who has special responsibility for peace and security. We are not in a 'World War,' mercifully, but we are certainly in a world at war. The appearance of North Korean troops on the European continent is another dangerous step down this road," Chikvaidze said. "Ending the war in Ukraine needs a mature, open minded, balanced approach, deeply rooted in core principles of statecraft, international human rights law, human decency, and pragmatism. There is a dwindling window of opportunity for a seasoned, determined, and creative diplomacy based on stable judgement and statesman-like approaches to international affairs."

**First, ceasefire and rearming; second, restoration of sovereignty; third, medium-to-long term path to EU membership**

Creon Butler (Chatham House) described three things that Ukraine needs in order to guarantee its future. "One is a pause. Ukraine definitely needs a pause to the conflict in order to reconstruct and also to rebuild its army, to develop its defense industries, and so on. Secondly, it needs to preserve its sovereignty. What is completely unacceptable is for the US to be able to depose the duly-elected Ukrainian president. And finally, Ukraine needs a medium-to-long-term economic track for EU accession, both in terms of governance and in terms of economic development. Although this is potentially costly to the EU, in the long term this could be an extremely good deal for the EU in the same way as Poland was an extremely good deal for the EU. Ukraine (must move) fast enough in terms of developing its own defense capabilities with the support of the EU so that it is able actually to become sufficiently strong that Russia doesn't want to have another go."

Butler also praised the developments that occurred in Ukraine after the annexation of Crimea. "If you look at the period from 2014 to 2022, it was quite remarkable what the Ukrainians achieved in circumstances that weren't very politically positive, in terms of domestic reforms, health service reform, financial reform, and strengthening the army, enough actually to resist Putin's first attack. Given that opportunity to rebuild their society, their economy to do the things they need to do, to become sufficiently strong that Russia won't have another go, it's certainly a possibility, and the EU needs to think how it can sustain that."

**Peace talks can only begin after a settlement**

Rizal Sukma (Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta) explained that the prevailing opinion in his own country of Indonesia regarding the war in Ukraine is similar to that of the US,



namely, that it is not in their best interests to get involved. Sukma feels that Ukraine and Europe as a whole should "resolve this problem in their own backyard."

That being said, Sukma stands against the invasion itself. "I think Indonesia and a few other countries within South Asia have a stance that is very clear. The invasion of another sovereign state is not acceptable. It's against international law, and is against any international norms enshrined in the UN Charter."

Sukma also expressed strong concerns about the recent European-led resolution condemning Russia as the aggressor in the Ukraine War, a resolution that the US voted against, along with Russia, North Korea, Israel, and other countries.

"How we recognize and respect the international law, respect the international norms, and then respect the international principle has been turned upside down," he said, before concluding that, "Any peace talks can start only after there is a settlement."

### **Russia already at war with Europe - What is Europe willing to do to ensure its security?**

Thomas Gomart (French Institute of International Relations) provided another European perspective of the current situation. "First of all, Europe is not at war with Russia, whereas Russia is at war with Europe," he said, referring to not only the invasion of Ukraine, but also to Russia-linked "hybrid attacks" in other European countries, including cyberattacks on France in the run-up to the Olympic Games.

"Why does Putin want to destroy Ukraine?" Gomart continued. "First, to achieve so-called 'denazification and demilitarization.' Second, he wants to cut transatlantic relations. And third, he wants to extend Russian influence in Europe, to defeat Europe symbolically. Europeans want to be at the table when European security is the topic. I think that's reasonable."

Gomart believes that issues remain on the European side, noting that the extent to which Europeans are willing to produce their own security, and to propose security guarantees to Ukraine, is still unknown.

"The debate is difficult, because you have some countries which do think that it's possible for Europeans to act by themselves, backed by the US to some extent. France and the UK are clearly on this line. Other countries are very cautious and it is understandable, but at the end of the day, if there is no support or security guarantees provided to Ukraine, if Zelenskyy is killed, or if there is

election with a puppet from Moscow, I think that Europeans should prepare themselves for the next phase. It won't stop at Ukraine."

### **Three wars being fought in Ukraine, and diplomacy is the only answer**

Sunjoy Joshi (Observer Research Foundation) argued that the situation in Ukraine is more complex than previously described. "The problem always has been that three separate wars are being fought in Ukraine," he said. "The first war is about the Russian aggression of a sovereign nation. The second war is about the security architecture of Europe, about Europe, European rivalries and fears which are a hangover of the Second World War. The third war is the war about resetting the global international order. The second and third wars are far too large a burden for the innocent people of Ukraine to carry...these wars have to be negotiated differently."

With this in mind, Joshi was critical about current attitudes toward the war. "There has to be separate conversations regarding the security architecture of Europe. Europe will have to settle it by different means. Do not push Ukrainians into this meat grinder. It is reprehensible," Joshi said. "How peace has to come to Ukraine has to be rethought. For all the three wars, we need to get back at the table and stop sacrificing Ukrainian lives. It is going to be diplomacy that is going to sort it, not war."

### **West has "mismanaged" Europe since Cold War, NATO expansion at root of Ukraine War**



Lanxin Xiang (Geneva Graduate Institute) spoke about the necessity of having a mutual understanding of the causes of the war before being able to find a way to stop it. "You cannot

have a serious solution unless both sides come to some kind of consensus. You cannot end the war without knowing how the war started," Xiang argued, before stating his belief that the issue is a larger structural one. "From a Chinese perspective, this is a complete failure on the part of the western world. It is a mismanagement of the post-Cold-War 'ecumenical peace.' Somehow, after the end of Cold War, ideology became very insignificant."

Xiang believes that Putin is attempting to, "remove ideological elements" from current great power relations, and countries must attempt to see the situation from the Russian perspective - i.e., that Ukrainian membership in NATO results in a power imbalance. "You want Russia to integrate somehow with Western European culture, but you reject Western European culture. That's the Westphalian basic principle of great power relationships based on a balance of power," Xiang said. "Putin says, 'You have stepped on my red line so many times and you ignore Russia completely.' In that sense, I think Putin has a point."

Xiang then provided a few proposals for managing a ceasefire in Ukraine. "One I would say is the Panmunjom approach. In practical terms, you have a demilitarized zone. The Kashmir (approach would be one that resembles how) India and Pakistan have instituted a line of control. Or you have a Cyprus approach with UN peacekeeping. I think the Panmunjom approach and the UN approach are the best."

### **Only way forward may be bringing Ukraine into the EU**

Paul Samson (Centre for International Governance Innovation) argued that a precondition of achieving peace in Ukraine is for Russia to not win.

"Russia has lost half a million troops. It hasn't got what it wanted. I don't see how Russia would come out thinking it got a win for sure," he said, and noted that to prevent another invasion, security guarantees must be put in place. The only way forward is, "if the European Union, or European countries and the UK, mobilize a common defense as a result of this, with or without some kind of security guarantee in the background. Not NATO membership for Ukraine, but perhaps EU membership."

### **Confusion within NATO, and possibility that both Russia and Ukraine refuse to accept Trump peace plan**

Retired General Rajmund Andrzejczak (Former Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces) described NATO as being in a state of confusion, contrasting NATO'S 2010 Strategic

Concept, which placed Russia as a "partner," with the 2022 Strategic Concept which described Russia as a "threat." He explained that this confusion was aggravated this year.

"NATO is based on the principles of (combatting the threat of) Russia, and we see the biggest security provider going to the table criticizing Ukraine. Even in the UN Security Council there was no single word about Russia being the aggressor," Andrzejczak said. "The probable short-term tactical objectives of President Trump are to do...a reverse Kissinger. Keep the Russians closer, far away from China, and build a bigger potential in confrontation. That missing strategical perspective is the big confusion."

Andrzejczak described the current Russian perspective by providing an explanation of how victory in war is generally determined, and stating that Russia has yet to fulfill any of those conditions.

"(Clausewitz described) three conditions to win a war and to call victory. First is to seize terrain. Second is to destroy the enemy's army. The third one is to break the will of the enemy nation. Look at this from the Russian perspective. Okay, have they seized the entire Ukraine? It's only 20%. It's a lot, of course, because they have important infrastructure and also resources, but it's only 20%. Next, is the Ukrainian army broken? I don't think so. And is the Ukrainian nation's will broken?"

Regarding Trump's peace plan, Andrzejczak explained that achieving peace requires all parties to agree to honor the plan, and he does not believe Russia is committed to peace. "Do we believe the Russians really need and want peace and a ceasefire? I'm not sure. Let's think the unthinkable. What happens the very next day (after a ceasefire is signed between only the US and Russia) if Zelenskyy says 'I don't want to stop. I'm going to fight. That's my national obligation. I've got potential. I've got an ammunition. I've got the European Union support.'"

The impact of such an eventuality will be felt far from Europe, Andrzejczak believes. "The side effect, which is very bad for everybody from Western civilization, will be the perception of the US as an unable and ineffective negotiator, and will be definitely used by Russian propaganda the very next day."

### **Addressing the Gaza issue**

The discussion turned to Gaza, and Hiroyuki Suzuki (University of Tokyo) criticized the Trump administration's proposal to forcibly locate Palestinians outside of Gaza while the US takes

possession of the Gaza strip. "This solution will only result in a yet another Palestine problem," Suzuki said. "Reconstruction can only take place when the residents of Gaza are in Gaza. An organization with no ties to the US, Israel, or its allies is needed, one that can act as a third-party mediator. However, Israel's dislike of the UN and Trump's distrust of it are preventing the UN from filling that role."

Suzuki is concerned that, "While the organizational strength of the United Nations has never been as fragile as it is now, the United Nations has never been as needed."

He also described that the situation is difficult for Japan as an ally of the US. "How should Japan, a US ally and liberal democracy itself, respond to repeated US proposals that are clearly unacceptable when considered from a liberal perspective?" he asked. "This is one of the more difficult points to consider."





# Media Coverage

## Numbers of Media Coverage

The Tokyo Conference 2025 was covered by various media organizations. A number of international and major Japanese media reported the conference.

Yomiuri Shimbun, March 13, 2025

2025年(令和7年)3月13日(木曜日) 12版

# 国連80年 今こそ結束

## 東京会議2025

「東京会議2025」で決まる参加国 (4日、国連本部で)

「国連80年 今こそ結束」のテーマは、国連の歴史と未来を振り返り、世界の平和と発展のために国連が果たすべき役割を再確認することにある。会議では、国連の創設から80年経った今、世界はどのような状況にあるのか、国連が直面している課題は何か、そして国連がどのようにしてこれらの課題を解決していくべきなのか、について議論が行われる。また、国連の改革についても議論が行われる。国連の改革は、国連の機能を強化し、世界に貢献できるようにすることである。国連の改革は、国連の組織、運営、資金調達などについて行われる。国連の改革は、国連の未来を決定する重要な会議である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。

**多国籍主義 日本が柱**

「国連80年」の節目に、日本は「多国籍主義」を柱として、世界の平和と発展に貢献していく。日本は、国連の創設から80年経った今、世界はどのような状況にあるのか、国連が直面している課題は何か、そして国連がどのようにしてこれらの課題を解決していくべきなのか、について議論が行われる。また、国連の改革についても議論が行われる。国連の改革は、国連の機能を強化し、世界に貢献できるようにすることである。国連の改革は、国連の組織、運営、資金調達などについて行われる。国連の改革は、国連の未来を決定する重要な会議である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。

**連携の道に 戻ろう**

「国連80年」の節目に、日本は「連携の道」に逆行しないよう努める。日本は、国連の創設から80年経った今、世界はどのような状況にあるのか、国連が直面している課題は何か、そして国連がどのようにしてこれらの課題を解決していくべきなのか、について議論が行われる。また、国連の改革についても議論が行われる。国連の改革は、国連の機能を強化し、世界に貢献できるようにすることである。国連の改革は、国連の組織、運営、資金調達などについて行われる。国連の改革は、国連の未来を決定する重要な会議である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。

**核ではなく道徳で**

「国連80年」の節目に、日本は「道徳」を重視して、世界の平和と発展に貢献していく。日本は、国連の創設から80年経った今、世界はどのような状況にあるのか、国連が直面している課題は何か、そして国連がどのようにしてこれらの課題を解決していくべきなのか、について議論が行われる。また、国連の改革についても議論が行われる。国連の改革は、国連の機能を強化し、世界に貢献できるようにすることである。国連の改革は、国連の組織、運営、資金調達などについて行われる。国連の改革は、国連の未来を決定する重要な会議である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。

**中国、中東、露と対峙**

「国連80年」の節目に、日本は「中国、中東、露」と対峙する。日本は、国連の創設から80年経った今、世界はどのような状況にあるのか、国連が直面している課題は何か、そして国連がどのようにしてこれらの課題を解決していくべきなのか、について議論が行われる。また、国連の改革についても議論が行われる。国連の改革は、国連の機能を強化し、世界に貢献できるようにすることである。国連の改革は、国連の組織、運営、資金調達などについて行われる。国連の改革は、国連の未来を決定する重要な会議である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。

**アジアが指導力を**

「国連80年」の節目に、日本は「アジア」の指導力を発揮する。日本は、国連の創設から80年経った今、世界はどのような状況にあるのか、国連が直面している課題は何か、そして国連がどのようにしてこれらの課題を解決していくべきなのか、について議論が行われる。また、国連の改革についても議論が行われる。国連の改革は、国連の機能を強化し、世界に貢献できるようにすることである。国連の改革は、国連の組織、運営、資金調達などについて行われる。国連の改革は、国連の未来を決定する重要な会議である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。

**新たな改革が 必要**

「国連80年」の節目に、日本は「新たな改革」が必要であると主張する。日本は、国連の創設から80年経った今、世界はどのような状況にあるのか、国連が直面している課題は何か、そして国連がどのようにしてこれらの課題を解決していくべきなのか、について議論が行われる。また、国連の改革についても議論が行われる。国連の改革は、国連の機能を強化し、世界に貢献できるようにすることである。国連の改革は、国連の組織、運営、資金調達などについて行われる。国連の改革は、国連の未来を決定する重要な会議である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。

**覚悟問われる局面**

「国連80年」の節目に、日本は「覚悟問われる局面」に直面している。日本は、国連の創設から80年経った今、世界はどのような状況にあるのか、国連が直面している課題は何か、そして国連がどのようにしてこれらの課題を解決していくべきなのか、について議論が行われる。また、国連の改革についても議論が行われる。国連の改革は、国連の機能を強化し、世界に貢献できるようにすることである。国連の改革は、国連の組織、運営、資金調達などについて行われる。国連の改革は、国連の未来を決定する重要な会議である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。国連の改革は、世界に貢献するために必要である。

# 対ロシア 国防費5%の現実

「私たちがこれ見れば、これは歴史のデジャヴ（既視感）です。第1次世界大戦が勃発した1913年、ドイツ・ランドはナチス・ドイツとソ連に攻め込まれ、まさにそれと英米・ソ連によるヤルタ会議などで戦後処理が話し合われ、ポーランド不在の場で（東部領土をソ連領となす）の運命を決められました」

ウクライナが領土をあきらめさせられ、ロシアの侵攻を招き入れる結論にな

前ポーランド軍参謀総長  
ライムンド・アンジェイチャクさん

1967年生まれ。戦車部隊などを指揮した後、イラク戦争中に国際部隊の作戦部門長を務め、アフガニスタンでもボーランド部隊を指揮した。18～23年に軍制服組トップの参謀総長。

[illegible]

も欧州は再打たず、22年にウクライナへの金品輸送が始められた。ロシアは、「備前」機敏かつ大胆な行動結果を得たかとと解釈した。

「08年当時、ポーランドの大統領は、今日はヨシ、その翌日は、ルルト國、そして次はポーランドに攻め寄せました。ポーランドは、ロシアの脅威と見做すのは、ロシンの脅威と見做すのは欧州の最優先で、ポーランドは割れれば、欧州の安寧は崩れる。」

平和をどう保つかは、提議して議論する。一数字は、現実を語る。ゼレンコは重宝と欧州諸国は重要なこと。ウクライナは自衛隊を養成するために、自由民衆を教育しています。ところが、支那艦は

[illegible]

第2次世界大戦の反省のもとで築かれた世界秩序が、崩壊の危機に面している。大国が「力の政治」を押し通し、国連も機能しない。こんな不確実な世界に、どうあらがえばいいのか。担ってきた立場も国も異なる、2人の視点から考える。

(聞き手 編集委員・奥寺淳)



岸アンジェイチャクさんとユドヨノさんは、国際秩序について話し合う「東京会議」(宮論NPO主催)出席のため来日した。

り、世間の安否保障と平和は力オスに陥ります。世界は力オスに陥ります。世界の状況は深刻で、全ての国連加盟国が声を大にし、決して許さないという意思を示さなければなりません」

——具体的には、

「例えば、常任理事国五カ国のうち一カ国が武力行使にかかわっているよう方

す。ロシアが侵略した占領地を認めたら、国際秩序が崩壊しませんか。

スが得られるまで忍耐が求められます。ウクライナ、ゼレンスキー大統領の声を聞く必要があります。同時にプーチン氏の懸念にも耳を傾けることが求められます」

取から1年になる1月に開かれた国連の緊急特別会合でも、グローバルサウスの声は即時停戦でした。残念ながらその声は届かず、安保理の考えを要することは

「第一、國連安理會理事理事の常任理事國ロシアがウクライナを侵略するなど、國際秩序が崩壊の危機で、  
「第2次大戦後、武力で他國を侵略してはいけない」という國際秩序に、世界は同意しました。侵略や武力の威嚇があれば、それを止める、ベナールティを科すルールです。常任理事國（常任英日仏中）が特にその責任を負いますが、現実には機能していません」

「多国間主義は絶死の状態です。このような状態が続けば、強い國（安理理事）が拒否権を持つ（常理理事）による一國主義がはびこ

元インドネシア大統領  
スシロ・バンバン・ユドヨノさん

1949年生まれ。陸軍に入り、第2軍管区司令官などを歴任し、陸軍大将。政治・治安担当調整相を経て、04年に初の直接選挙で第6代インドネシア大統領に選ばれ、14年まで務めた。

[illegible]

「下ラフン」米大統領が戦争を止めるために行動を起こし、ロシアのプーチン大統領も協賛する意思を示しているのは驚きです。ですが、米ロだけが主導権を持つ「話合」には正しくない。国連事務総長は提案した、一つの解決策を示す加盟国の意思をまとめることです。加盟国が声を上げれば、確実に強い影響を持つでしょう。」

「……どういった停戦が望ましいですか。」

「まず、条件はなしで戦闘

[illegible]

「拒否権」覆せる仕組み 国連に

で、ホスニア・ヘルツェゴビナ紛争で停戦監視の軍事オブザーバーとして現地に駐留した経験があります。

（新興・進歩国）は、どんな役割が果たせますか。我々は、世界の平和と安定に強い懸念を持っていて、双方の利益になります」



# 日本、国際協調の旗頭に

「東京会議」きょうから

世界11か国の調査研究機関の代表らが国際情勢を議論する「東京会議2025」（言論NPO主催、読売新聞社後援）が3月5日に開催される。

言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は読売新聞のインタビューで、国際協調の機運が後退する中で、日本が修復の旗頭になるべきだと訴えた。

——会議のテーマを「国連創設80年に問われる国際協調と平和の修復」とした狙い

言論NPO代表

工藤泰志 氏



は。

今年は第2次世界大戦が終わって国連が創設されてから80年の節目だが、グローバルガバナンス（統治）は崩壊の危機にある。国連安全保障理事会の常任理事国であるロシアが国連憲章に違反してウク

ライナを侵略し、誰も止められない。米国のトランプ大統領は国際協調に価値を認めず、自国の利益を優先して取引している。ウクライナの停戦交渉で、侵略した側の言い分に同調するだけでは、停戦後も地域の平和は不安定にな

くどう・やすし 東洋経済新報社で「論争東洋経済」編集長などを務める。2001年に非営利調査研究機関「言論NPO」を設立し、代表に就任。17年から毎年、東京会議を開いている。66歳。

る。戦後に作り上げた国際協調は、何としても守らなければならない。

——今回の会議の特徴は。

国連のアントニオ・グテレス事務総長がビデオメッセージを寄せてくれるほか、新興・途上国「グローバル・サウス」の声を聞くため、インドネシアのスシロ・バンバン・ユドヨノ元大統領や、インド、ブラジルの有識者も参加する。

——日本の役割は。

資源や食料が十分でない日本こそ、国際協調を率いる旗頭にならなければならない。世界の有識者が日本から声を上げる意味が、これほど重いことはない。

（聞き手 上村健太）

NHK, March 4, 2025



## トランプ政権下の国際協調 都内でアジアや 欧米の専門家が議論

2025年3月4日 21時20分

トランプ大統領



この中で、インドネシアのユドヨノ元大統領は「私たちは他国との軍事同盟には参加しないが、安全保障や経済発展のため重要な役割を果たすことを望んでいる。発展途上国も資源を効率的に活用し世界の課題の解決のために取り組まなければならない」と述べて、ASEAN＝東南アジア諸国連合が果たす役割に期待を示しました。

また、カナダのシンクタンク「国際ガバナンス・イノベーションセンター」の代表は、「アメリカが本当に望んでいることや世界の問題を、率直に評価し、それらに対処するため、世界的な対話を前に進めていく必要がある」と述べて、対話を重ね問題を解決していくことの重要性を強調しました。

フォーラムでは最後に「議長声明」が発表され、「自国利益だけを優先する世界がどれだけ危険かは、世界の歴史が教えている。私たちが守るべき世界の秩序は、法の支配の貫徹と人間の尊厳であり、優先された課題に世界が力を合わせることだ」などと訴えました。

Kyodo News, March 4, 2025

## 多国間主義巡り東京会議 「対話による平和を」

2025/03/04

🔍 ✕ 📺 📷 🗑



「東京会議2025」で映し出された、国連のグテレス事務総長のビデオメッセージ＝4日午後、東京都内

世界各国の専門家らが国際情勢を議論する「東京会議2025」が4日、東京都内で開かれ、国際協調と多国間主義の重要性を確認した。国連のグテレス事務総長はビデオメッセージで、今年が国連創設80周年に当たるとし『対話による平和』という不朽の原則を再確認する重要な機会だ』と訴えた。

開会に際し岸田文雄前首相が登壇。トランプ米大統領の再登板を念頭に「自国第一主義が世界で強まっている」と懸念を示した上で「今ほど、法の支配の貫徹や多国間主義を守るために、世界の結束が必要な時はない」と述べた。

東京会議は民間非営利団体「言論NPO」が主催。欧米などの政府首脳経験者らが参加した。(共同)



## Nippon TV, March 4, 2025

岸田前首相 米露進めるウクライナ抜き停戦交渉に危機感

0テレ

2025年3月4日 17:38



アメリカのトランプ大統領がウクライナへの軍事支援の一時停止を指示するなど、ロシア寄りの姿勢を鮮明にする中、岸田前首相は4日、都内で開かれたフォーラムであいさつし、ウクライナ抜きでアメリカとロシアの交渉が進むことに危機感をあらわにしました。

岸田前首相「ウクライナの停戦交渉に侵略されたウクライナの声が反映されず、侵略した側の言い分に同調するだけでは、この地域の平和は不安定なままです」

民間団体「言論NPO」が4日に都内で開いたフォーラムで、岸田前首相はこのように述べ、アメリカのトランプ大統領がロシアのプーチン大統領とウクライナ抜きで停戦交渉を進めようとしていることを念頭に、危機感をあらわにしました。

岸田前首相はまた、台湾の武力統一も排除しないと中国などを念頭に、「他国を侵略し現状を変更しても、それを世界が止められないということが、アジアでの間違った行動を誘発する可能性がある」と述べ、鐘を鳴らしました。

最終更新日：2025年3月4日

## TV Asahi, March 4, 2025

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「多国籍主義は危機に」トランプ政権の自国第一主義などに懸念相次ぐ 東京会議

[2025/03/04 21:21]

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言論NPOが主催する「東京会議2025」が「国際協調と平和の修復」をテーマに関かれ、各国が協調して取り組む多国籍主義がアメリカのトランプ政権などに脅かされているという懸念が示されました。

4日、都内で開かれた東京会議2025で冒頭、あいさつした岸田前総理大臣は「世界を描るがしているのは多国籍主義や国連などの国際機関の価値を認めず、自国利益を優先する声が強まっていることです」と強調しました。

トランプ大統領の自国第一主義などを念頭に懸念を示しています。

ロシアとウクライナの停戦交渉について、岸田前総理大臣は「侵略されたウクライナの声が反映されず、侵略した側の言い分に同調するだけでは、この地の平和は不安定なままです」と述べ、国連など国際社会の関与も検討すべきだと指摘しました。

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ANTARA, March 6, 2025

## Former president SBY pushes multilateralism at Tokyo meet

March 4, 2025 22:06 GMT+700



Indonesia's 6th president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), alluded to a global leadership crisis while emphasizing the need to strengthen multilateralism in his keynote speech at the Tokyo Conference 2025 in Tokyo, Japan, on Tuesday (March 4, 2025). (ANTARA/HO Tim Media SBY)

Jakarta (ANTARA) - Indonesia's 6th president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), alluded to a global leadership crisis while emphasizing the need to strengthen multilateralism in his keynote speech at the Tokyo Conference 2025 in Tokyo, Japan, on Tuesday.

He stressed that international cooperation is essential for addressing global conflicts and climate change and achieving the sustainable development goals, according to a statement received from his media team in Jakarta the same day.

"We live in a world plagued by turmoil, where confidence in a rule-based order grows weaker and weaker," he said.

The former Indonesian president then cited the ongoing conflicts in Ukraine, Palestine, Congo, Sudan, and Myanmar as proof that the international community has yet to achieve true peace despite the formation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945.

He also criticized the United States for its withdrawal from the Paris Agreement and the World Health Organization.

"When a country withdraws, another must be ready to fill in ... The world is in need of bold, broad-minded leaders that are capable of offering solutions instead of making things worse," he stressed.

He said that to strengthen multilateralism, the world needs to reform the UN Security Council by restricting the veto rights of its members, intensifying peacekeeping operations, and ensuring stable funding for the UN.

The retired army officer argued that collective efforts from international entities are crucial for tackling global issues, noting that no country in the world has the ability to unilaterally overcome global challenges.

"We have no other option but to cooperate to avoid climate catastrophe, prevent a world war, and reduce human suffering," he said.

The Tokyo Conference was organized by Genron NPO, an independent, non-profit think tank based in Japan.

Secretary-General of the UN, Antonio Guterres, and former prime minister of New Zealand, Helen Clark, joined the event virtually.

The event focused on international cooperation and peace restoration efforts in commemoration of the 80th anniversary of the UN.

Rakyat Merdeka, March 6, 2025

Di Konferensi Tokyo 2025

## SBY Serukan Kolaborasi Antar Negara

Reporter : BOY SAKTI HAPSORO

Editor : WIDIA SAPUTRA

Internasional



Kamis, 6 Maret 2025 07:30 WIB



Presiden Keenam Republik Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) berbicara dalam Konferensi Tokyo 2025, di Jepang, Selasa (4/3/2025). (Foto: Instagram)

**RM.id Rakyat Merdeka** - Presiden Keenam Republik Indonesia, **Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)** menyerukan pentingnya kerja sama, kemitraan dan kolaborasi antar negara di **Konferensi Tokyo 2025**, di Jepang, Selasa (4/3/2025).

Di hadapan ratusan peserta dari berbagai negara, Ketua Majelis Tinggi **Partai Demokrat** itu memberikan pidato kunci yang menggambarkan dunia dalam kondisi terpecah-belah.

"Multilateralisme saat ini sedang dalam krisis. Benar bahwa tidak ada lagi Perang Dunia sejak 1945. Tapi kini, lihat di Ukraina, Gaza, Kongo dan Sudan, dan yang lebih dekat, perang sipil di Myanmar," kata SBY, dalam keterangannya, Rabu (5/3/2025).

SBY menjelaskan, situasi terpecah belah ini terlihat dari gambaran Amerika Serikat (AS) sebagai negara yang menciptakan Perserikatan Bangsa Bangsa (**PBB**), justru mundur dari sejumlah perjanjian multilateral. Dalam analisisnya, persaingan geopolitik menghambat kerjasama kawasan dan multilateral.

Baca juga : **OJK Minta Masyarakat Selalu Waspada**

"Ke-aku-an (me-ism), dan bukannya ke-kita-an (we-ism) yang berkembang cepat. Dewan Keamanan PBB lumpuh, gagal menghentikan genosida di Gaza maupun perang di Ukraina. Ada persepsi kuat tentang standar ganda dalam penerapan hukum dan norma internasional," tegasnya.

Dalam sudut pandang SBY, PBB adalah gabungan dari kegagalan. Hal itu, tercermin dari berbagai perang yang masih berlanjut saat ini, dan keberhasilan dengan munculnya negara-negara merdeka dari bayang-bayang kolonialisme maupun konflik yang dipecahkan PBB.

## About The Genron NPO

The Genron NPO is a non-profit, independent think tank based in Japan. Established in 2001 as the only venue in the country for responsible and future-oriented debate, The Genron NPO has sought to strengthen democracy in Japan, promote peace and stability in Northeast Asia, and develop solutions for pressing global issues. The institution was founded by Yasushi Kudo, the former editor-in-chief of a political journal titled “Ronso Toyo Keizai.” The advisory board of The Genron NPO consists of 13 prominent Japanese leaders from various fields. The institution is representative of the Japanese intellectual network, with over 7000 registered experts and more than 500 Japanese opinion leaders involved in its activities. The Genron NPO is a member institution of an international think tank network, the Council of Councils, since its establishment in 2012.

### Our Missions:

#### **Strengthen Democracy with the Power of Debate**

The Genron NPO is the only institution that has taken such initiative to conduct research and the evaluations of party pledges made in every general election, and evaluate each administration’s performance in 12 policy areas annually to monitor their progress.

#### **Conduct Civil Diplomacy to Promote Peace and Stability in Northeast Asia**

Concerned about the absence of effective inter-governmental diplomacy in Northeast Asia, The Genron NPO established the “Tokyo-Beijing Forum” as a platform for civil diplomacy amid heightened Japan-China tensions in 2005. Each year, over 3000 people attend the forum, which has served as a unique bilateral platform for substantive intra-regional discussion for the past 13 years, and the forum has been widely covered by media outlets. President Xi Jinping has acknowledged our Track II diplomacy, calling it “non-governmental diplomacy”.

The Genron NPO also established the “Japan-Korea Future Dialogue” in 2013, and the “Japan-U.S.-China-ROK dialogue” on Northeast Asian security and public opinion in 2015. Recognizing the importance of public attitudes towards regional affairs for the implementation of pragmatic solutions, we also conduct annual multinational opinion polls in Japan, China, and South Korea. The Japan-China public opinion poll in particular is the only periodical dataset existing that analyzes public opinion in China over the past 13 years.

#### **Organize Cross-Cutting Platforms to Discuss Pressing Global Agenda**

The Genron NPO continuously strives to facilitate responsible domestic and international dialogue to tackle pertinent challenges facing the international community. In March 2017, we launched the “Tokyo Conference,” the first discussion platform in Japan that addresses global agenda with top international think tanks representing 10 major countries. With the intention to protect common international norms such as democracy and individual freedom as the basis of international cooperation, the results of the debates at the Tokyo Conference were synthesized into a proposal that was submitted to the Japanese government and the Italian government as the 2017 G7 host.

## Our Initiatives:



### **Global issue**

#### **The Tokyo Conference**

The Tokyo Conference is to discuss the solution to the issues the world faces today from the stand point of fostering the norms and principles such as individual freedom, democracy and multilateralism as the basis for the international cooperation and global order.



### **Peace in Northeast Asia**

#### **Tokyo-Beijing Forum and Asia Peace Conference**

A prime Track 2 dialogue between Japan and China, and a multilateral dialogue among Japan, the US, China, and South Korea for preventing conflict and building peace in Northeast Asia region.



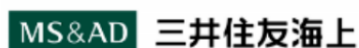
### **Democracy**

#### **World Democracy Dialogue**

The Genron NPO has initiated the debate over the state of democracy in Asia and around the world. The discussion aims at analyzing the challenges to democracy, and mapping and clarifying the future direction of Asian and global democracy.

## Our Sponsors

The Genron NPO wishes to thank these sponsors of the Tokyo Conference 2025.



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