



# 24TH ASIA-PACIFIC ROUNDTABLE

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**STRENGTHENING COMPREHENSIVE AND  
COOPERATIVE SECURITY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC**

**“Making the Responsibility To Protect (RtoP)  
Work in the Asia Pacific”**

***Two Approaches of Protection: RtoP and Human  
Security  
(PowerPoint)***

*by*

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# Two Approaches of Protection: RtoP and Human Security

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# Back to the Basics: Why R2P?

## 3 Needs for RtoP

1) Potential and actual need to protect populations from catastrophic human rights/humanitarian situations

⇒ Need to prevent or stop genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, crime against humanity

2) Practical need to build states' capacity (when states exist) to better promote and protect their populations

⇒ Need to foster “(state) sovereignty as responsibility”

⇒ RtoP, therefore, contributes to *strengthen* state sovereignty

3) In times of crisis, practical need to fill the lacunas lying between past experience of “inaction” (Rwanda) and “illegal but legitimate intervention” (Kosovo) on the part of international community

⇒ RtoP urges the international community's “responsibility” to act collectively, legal and legitimately.

# Back to the Basics: Why R2P?

## 3 Tests of RtoP

- 1) Protection test : Can a state and the international community extend the necessary and effective protection to the populations under severe stress to prevent or stop atrocious situations?
- 2) Responsibility test : Do we (as a stakeholder in a state as well as in the international community) have a capacity and will to fulfill the respective responsibility to foster protection mandate?
- 3) R2P approach: Is R2P approach the best (or better) option among the available/existing approaches?

# Two Approaches of Protection

Sec. IV, United Nations World Summit Outcome Document (2005)

## **Responsibility to Protect (paras. 138-139)**

- Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.
- The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate (means) ....

## **Human security (para. 143)**

- We stress the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair. We recognize that all individuals, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential.

# Two Approaches of Protection

What is “Human security”? - Broad definition -  
(from 2003 *Human Security Now* report)

“to **protect** the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment.”

Human security means **protecting** fundamental freedoms — freedoms that are the essence of life. It means **protecting** people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival livelihood and dignity.”

# Two Approaches of Protection

What is “Human security”?

3 elements of human security approach:

- 1) Focus on “threats” to fundamental human freedoms.
- 2) These threats are “securitized,”  
considered as “insecurities” to human freedoms  
beyond “human development” and “human rights”.
- 3) people-centered protective approaches are taken  
as opposed to state-centered protective approach.

# Two Approaches of Protection

Protection of Populations in Various Situations

**Human Security approach  
(Broader sense)**

**RtoP approach  
to 4 specified  
situations**

**Human Security approach  
(Narrower sense)  
to pervasive situations**

- e.g. - global financial/economic crisis  
- health threats (pandemic)  
- food insecurity  
- climate change-related hazard



# Two Approaches of Protection

Protecting populations, but two different avenues .....

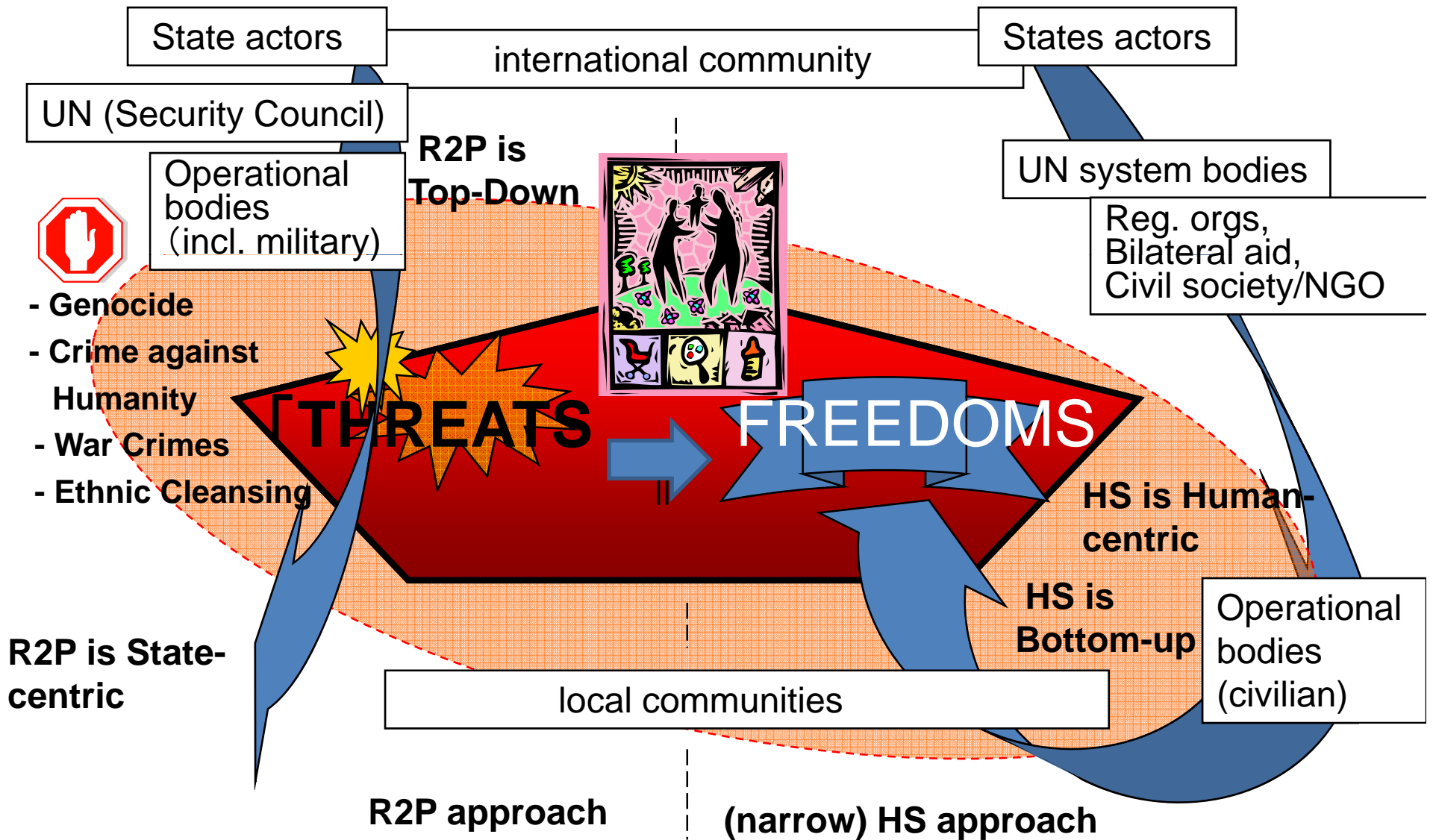
## R2P approach

- 1) Targeting 4 specified situations
  - genocide
  - war crimes
  - ethnic cleansing
  - crime against humanity⇒ focus on mass atrocities / more macro situations
- 2) Reference to state/ international responsibility
- 3) Essentially Top-down protection approach
- 4) Using “all appropriate and necessary means”
- 5) Security Council action needed

## Human Security (Narrow sense): Japan & Friends of HS approach

- 1) Targeting 3 critical/ pervasive situations
  - freedom from fear (survival)
  - freedom from want (development)
  - freedom to live in dignity (HR)⇒ focus on individuals/communities more micro situations
- 2) Reference to state role, not responsibility
- 3) Essentially Bottom-up protection approach
- 4) Using primarily civilian means  
(= **no use of force** envisaged)
- 5) Security Council action not prerequisite.

# Two Approaches of Protection



# Two Approaches of Protection

\* Actions listed are indicative and not exhaustive.

actions		Protection actions		
		Softer < -----	----- >	Harder
HS situations (broader sense)		National Efforts	Int'l Assistance / Capacity Building	Decisive Response
More critical ↑ ----- ↓	<b>R2P sits.</b>	Genocide	Int'l responsible cooperation  State CB support	Peace Enforcement (w/ UN authorization) ----- "coalition of willing" (w/ or w/out UN authorization)
		War crimes		
		Ethnic Cleansing		
		C-A-Humanity		
	"Threat to International Peace and Security" situations	Peacekeeping (incl. preventive deployment)	Peacekeeping (w/ robust mandate)	
More pervasive ↓ ----- ↑	<b>HS situation (narrower sense)</b>	Early warning		
	"insecurities" in	Humanitarian actions		
	survival	Preventive actions		
	development	Peacemaking		
	human rights	Post-conflict Peacebuilding support		
		Development assistance		
		Individual empowerment support		

# How to Protect Populations?

**Goal:** enhancing real freedoms of the populations under serious threats.

Can we pass the test?

1) Protection: Need to mix actions to reach out/access to people.

- ┌ legal protection
- ├ socio-economic protection
- └ physical protection

2) Responsibility: Need to secure the sense of responsibility.

- Simple **diffusion** is not enough. (Everyone should act. But...)

- Simple **demission** is not constructive. (No one will act.)

⇒ "authoritative **distribution** of responsibility" necessary

(legitimate/legal authorization to fulfill responsibility)

⇒ further conceptual/political/operational/institutional reforms are in order (including the UNSC reform)

# Conclusion

In order to make RtoP work in the Asia Pacific....,  
and in order to better protect populations in various situations :

- 1) Clearly separate RtoP approach with (narrow) HS approach.  
⇒ They are different. And each approach has merit of its own.
- 2) Not to overuse RtoP but to “relativize” it.  
⇒ There may be cases in which RtoP objectives can be secured by not using RtoP concept explicitly.  
⇒ In order for the RtoP concept to be truly effective, better to limit the use of RtoP only when it deems fit well.  
⇒ It, however, does not prevent us to use RtoP concept as deterrence to dissuade perpetrators from atrocious acts.
- 3) RtoP needs to further refine to deal with non-state actors.
- 4) RtoP can be used as a meta-analytical tool (as much as an operational tool) to self-test us if the state actors and international community have fulfilled vital protection responsibilities.