

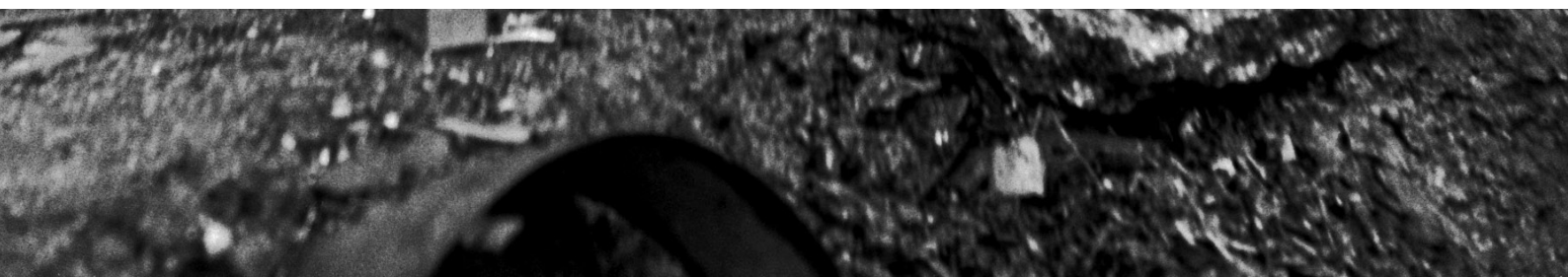


Dissemination Meeting and Policy Roundtable on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) 26 January 2011

Organised by the RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies
in collaboration with the Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute (JICA-RI)

CENTRE FOR
**NON-TRADITIONAL
SECURITY STUDIES**
A Centre of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
at Nanyang Technological University


jica
Research Institute



DISSEMINATION MEETING AND POLICY ROUNDTABLE ON THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT (RtoP)

SUMMARY REPORT

ORGANISED BY
THE RSIS CENTRE FOR NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY (NTS) STUDIES

IN COLLABORATION WITH
THE JAPAN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGENCY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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THE JOHN D. AND CATHERINE T. MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

26 January 2011
TOKYO, JAPAN

S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (RSIS)
NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY (NTU)
2011

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SUMMARY REPORT
of the
Dissemination Meeting and Policy Roundtable
on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP)
26 January 2011

The Responsibility to Protect¹ (RtoP) Dissemination Meeting and Policy Roundtable held in collaboration with the Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute (JICA-RI) in Tokyo, Japan, on 26 January 2011 was the first of two dissemination exercises to circulate the findings of the Responsibility to Protect Study Group convened by the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), in 2009. The meeting aimed to introduce possible policy entry points for operationalising the RtoP in Asia, and more broadly, promote an understanding of the RtoP and assist in operationalising the norm in Asian policymaking.

Among the topics examined by the Study Group were: (1) the role of major powers in East Asia in the advancement of the RtoP; (2) the potential of regional mechanisms – the ASEAN Charter and the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) Blueprint, as well as the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) and the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and the Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) – to promote and raise awareness of the RtoP.

Prominent participants included keynote speaker Professor Ramesh Thakur, former Senior Vice-Rector of the United Nations University, former Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN) and member of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, as well as Ambassador Koji Watanabe and Mr Tadashi Yamamoto of the Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE). Other participants at the meeting included state and non-state actors such as representatives from the Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, JICA Headquarters, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

The following section summarises the three main themes that emerged during the roundtable discussions.

- **Asia and other regions should actively engage in localising the RtoP norm and build on the ‘lowest common denominator’ that has been adopted at the UN level.**

Despite Southeast Asian countries’ in principle support for the RtoP – the concept that states have a responsibility to protect their citizens from genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity – there is still an overriding assumption in the region that the RtoP is not relevant to Southeast Asia given that conflicts in the region are not ostensibly of the nature or intensity to warrant its invocation.

¹ In January 2009, the UN Secretary-General released the report, *Implementing the Responsibility to Protect*, which argued for the implementation of the RtoP to prevent the four mass atrocity crimes of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. The report divided the RtoP into three strategic ‘pillars’: (1) the protection responsibilities of the state; (2) international assistance and capacity building; and (3) timely and decisive response (when states are unwilling or unable to protect their populations) through external diplomatic and economic intervention, with military intervention as a last resort. The RtoP concept is thus relevant to Asia as a preventative strategy against mass atrocity crimes.

It was further suggested that the three strategic 'pillars' lacked the specific parameters and clarity needed for implementation. In general, policymakers in Southeast Asia do not believe that the four RtoP crimes would occur despite the region having witnessed genocide by the Cambodian Khmer Rouge regime in the 1970s and ethnic cleansing in East Timor during the post-referendum period in 1999. According to Professor Ramesh Thakur, former Assistant Secretary-General of the UN and former Senior Vice-Rector of the UN University, while the four RtoP crimes serve as the 'lowest common denominator' agreed to by UN member states, regional contextualisation and action would be required for effective RtoP implementation at the regional and national levels. Therefore, the UN would welcome attempts by Asia and other regions to localise the RtoP concept and would support regional structures and mechanisms that facilitate the implementation of the RtoP. One of the mechanisms suggested was the establishment of a regional peacekeeping standing force that may be deployed for humanitarian emergencies. As ASEAN seeks to increase its international presence under the chairmanship of Indonesia in 2011, engagement with the UN on the RtoP presents a possible avenue for ASEAN to increase participation at the global level.

To achieve greater regional acceptance of the RtoP, proponents and research institutes in Asia may work on determining the threshold of circumstances that warrant RtoP intervention and embark on an academic exercise to assess individual cases for RtoP potential within the region. The RtoP norm may be deepened by incorporating insights gained from related areas of studies such as security sector governance, and lessons learnt from the past and present cases of internal conflict in Asia such as Aceh in Indonesia and Mindanao in the Philippines. These efforts to contextualise the RtoP would allow Asia to ensure regional ownership by developing the region's threshold, mechanisms and range of tools for intervention.

- **Identifying regional mechanisms and champions of the RtoP as well as civil society engagement are crucial for diffusion of the RtoP norm and its operationalisation.**

The RtoP norm has not diffused in Southeast Asia for three reasons. First, despite an energetic campaign by international advocates, the RtoP is still poorly understood and widely misinterpreted in the region. Second, partly because of this lack of understanding, the RtoP concept is still perceived as a challenge to the region's existing normative consensus and a potential threat to state sovereignty. Third, the norm lacks a powerful champion among those in regional or extra-regional governments and civil society movements across ASEAN member states. Norm diffusion would thus require the identification of regional mechanisms that can serve as possible entry points in regional political frameworks, the identification of regional champions to promote the RtoP and civil society engagement.

While RtoP advocates have been enthusiastic and positive about possible entry points for the RtoP within the framework of the APSC, it is important to note that while the APSC may provide broad support for RtoP implementation in ASEAN, its immediate utility for enhancing ASEAN's readiness and capacity to address the four specific crimes is problematic as the APSC is premised on the policy of non-interference and is designed to manage inter-state relations rather than intra-state relations.

Instead of the APSC, the newly established AICHR and the civil society movements in Southeast Asia – given their growing strength and influence – would provide potential avenues for incremental approaches to the acceptance of the RtoP concept. Despite criticisms that the AICHR 'lacks teeth' and that its decision-making process remains unclear, the AICHR's mandated functions as presented in its Terms of Reference are generally ambiguous. These 'ambiguities' arguably open the way for a more liberal interpretation of the

AICHR's functions and may be utilised as entry points for introducing RtoP elements to the region. In this regard, the following are opportunities that are available to influence the normative development of the AICHR: (1) the AICHR Declaration is in the drafting process and efforts can be made to incorporate RtoP elements within the Declaration; (2) the AICHR may seek situational reports from civil society to monitor potential conflict situations and may work together with civil society to develop early warning indicators.

The identification of strong regional champions and the engagement of civil society are essential in gathering national support for the RtoP. Currently, there is a lack of awareness and understanding of the RtoP and a tendency to conflate the RtoP with broader issues of development and poverty. In addition, states tend to take the position that separatist movements and violent political confrontation are matters of internal security that are unrelated to the RtoP. Support can be built up from the constituency level if regional champions (that have been identified) and civil society can be convinced of the utility and relevance of the RtoP.

- **RtoP complements Japan's peacebuilding initiatives and its diplomatic doctrine of human security.**

Japanese policymakers have been cautious about promoting the RtoP doctrine for the following three reasons: (1) Japan desires to attract support from countries critical of the RtoP for its bid to reform the UN and gain a permanent seat on the UN Security Council; (2) Japan is concerned that the RtoP would overshadow its own diplomatic efforts to promote human security, the country's core diplomatic doctrine; (3) the RtoP, as it was first articulated, would have excluded Japan from participating in UN collective security operations because of constitutional constraints on dispatching Japan's Self-Defense Forces (SDF).

The emergence of the RtoP carried the threat of sidelining Japan and highlighting the limits of its participation. In contrast, human security played to Japan's strengths in capacity building and allowed it to remain within its comfort zone of international participation.

Since 2005, significant developments have closed the apparent gap between the two doctrines which allows Japan's more active involvement in the promotion of the RtoP. Domestically, there are still voices of concern about expanding Japan's engagement with the RtoP. These parties warn that it will inexorably lead to the SDF's participation in coercive missions under the 'responsibility to react'. Therefore, the obstacle lies in reconciling human security with the RtoP such that the RtoP reinforces Japan's foreign policy to engage the SDF only in development assistance and capacity building. There are reasons to believe that the RtoP can be synchronised with Japan's peacebuilding initiatives. For instance, Japan could incorporate the RtoP within its peacekeeping commitments and seek to enhance its peacekeeping capacity through civilian contributions for state capacity building.

PROGRAMME

**Dissemination Meeting/Policy Roundtable
on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP)
26 January, 2011
Tokyo, Japan**

26 January 2011 (Wednesday)

- 08:45–09:05** **Registration**
- 09:10–09:20** **Welcome Remarks**
Professor Keiichi Tsunekawa
Director, Japan International Cooperation Agency
Research Institute (JICA-RI), Japan.
- 09:20–09:30** **Opening Remarks**
Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony
Head, Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies,
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang
Technological University (NTU), Singapore.
- 09:30–10:00** **Keynote Speech – The Responsibility to Protect: A New Fault-line
along the North–South Divide?**
Professor Ramesh Thakur
Former Senior Vice-Rector, United Nations University; and Former
Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations
- 10:00 – 10:50** **Session 1: RtoP in Asia – Conceptual Issues and Challenges**
This session will map out and understand the different stakeholders’
perception of the RtoP in Asia. Issues include: the extent to which the
RtoP has gained traction in Asia despite existing roadblocks, and the
challenges and obstacles in advancing the RtoP principles in Asia.
- Speakers:
- RtoP in Asia: Issues and Challenges**
Associate Professor Mely Caballero-Anthony
Head, Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies,
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang
Technological University (NTU), Singapore
- A Glass Half Empty? The Contested Diffusion of the
Responsibility to Protect Norm in Southeast Asia**
Dr David Capie
Senior Lecturer, School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and
International Relations, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand
- Q & A Session**
- 10:50 – 11:05** *Coffee Break*

11:05 – 12:20

Session 2: Operationalising the RtoP – Regional Mechanisms

This session examines the extent to which institutional developments have been conducive to the promotion of RtoP in the region, and the effectiveness of institutions, such as the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in promoting the RtoP.

Speakers:

The ASEAN Security Community and the RtoP

Dr Rizal Sukma
Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies,
Jakarta, Indonesia

ASEAN Human Rights Commission and the RtoP

Professor Herman Kraft
Executive Director, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies,
Philippines

Q & A Session

12:20 – 13:30

Lunch

13:30 – 14:45

Session 3: Country Perspectives on RtoP in Southeast Asia

This session examines the extent to which the RtoP has gained traction in countries in the region, and the challenges, obstacles and prospects in advancing the RtoP principles. Case studies include Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Speakers:

Thailand and the RtoP

Dr Keokam Kraisoraphong
Assistant Professor, Institute of Security and International Studies,
Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

Malaysia and the RtoP

Ms Elina Noor
Assistant Director, Foreign Policy and Security Studies
Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia

Indonesian Civil Society and the RtoP

Ms Lina Alexandra
Researcher, Department of Politics and International Relations,
Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, Indonesia

Q & A Session

14:45 – 15:45

Session 4: Country Perspectives on RtoP in Northeast Asia

This session is a continuation of session 3, which examines the traction the RtoP has gained in the region. Issues include: the role of major powers (China and Japan) in advancing the RtoP.

Speakers:

Japan and the RtoP

Professor Jun Honna

Professor of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto,
Japan

China and the RtoP

Dr Liu Tiewa

Assistant Professor, School of International Relations and Diplomacy,
Beijing Foreign Studies University, China

Q & A Session

15:45 – 16:00

Coffee Break

16:00 – 17:10

Session 5: Ways Forward in Advancing the RtoP In Asia

This final session aims to discuss the different stakeholders' understandings of RtoP, including sub-regional differences and how they relate to the global (UN) understanding of RtoP.

Speakers:

Professor Toshiya Hoshino

Osaka School of International Public Policy, Japan

Dr Rizal Sukma

Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies,
Jakarta, Indonesia

Professor Ramesh Thakur

Former Senior Vice-Rector, United Nations University; and Former
Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations

Mr Yang Yi

Director, China Institute of International Studies, and member of the
CSCAP Study Group on the Responsibility to Protect

Q & A Session

17:10 – 17:20

Closing Remarks

Mr Hiroshi Kato

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About the JICA Research Institute (JICA-RI)

Although international guidance and assistance have been provided to developing countries for years, solid answers remain elusive to their entrenched issues: armed conflict, macroeconomic instability, poverty and environmental degradation. **JICA Research Institute (JICA-RI)**, an affiliated research institute of a Japanese aid agency, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), has adopted four fundamental policies that it believes will foster comprehensive studies of these issues based on theoretical and field-based experience and data.

1) Towards incorporating a comprehensive perspective

JICA-RI will incorporate a comprehensive perspective in its cross-field research and analysis of development issues; encompassing individuals, society, the state and the market.

2) Towards integrating the past and the future

JICA-RI will conduct studies that build on the operational experiences and analytic results of JICA as well as of other development aid organisations worldwide. It will integrate past policy lessons into new JICA activities.

3) Towards unraveling East Asian experiences

JICA-RI will analyse the growth experiences of Japan and its East Asian neighbours and explore the applicability of these experiences to other regions. In so doing, it will carefully study the history and culture of each country or region to avoid mechanical application of models.

4) Towards open activities and collaboration with the international community

JICA-RI aims to be a research institute that is open to both Japanese and international partners, including researchers, aid-implementing organisations, governmental bodies, private-sector corporations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). It will promote joint research with these partners, publishing the results primarily in English.

Our Research

JICA-RI has identified four research areas:

1) Peace and Development

JICA-RI seeks to identify effective development assistance approaches to conflict prevention and to state-building in post-conflict situations. Peace and Development research projects are designed to be comparative analyses of political conditions that lead to armed conflict, and governance institutions conducive to durable state-building. In recent years, transborder security issues have also emerged. These include disease transmission, drug and human trafficking, and environmental degradation, which are difficult for countries to address individually. **JICA-RI** explores effective approaches to these, analysing regional and international efforts to tackle them.

2) Growth and Poverty Reduction

Japan and its East Asian neighbours are considered economic development success stories, having reduced poverty and realised growth. Africa, by contrast, stirs concern with regard to the sustainability of its economic growth. JICA-RI studies the reasons for successful growth and poverty reduction in Japan and East Asia and the reasons for Africa's vulnerability. It also looks for success factors that can be shared to help design development strategies for Africa from East Asian perspectives.

3) Environment and Development/Climate Change

Environmental degradation at regional and global levels is a threat to human security in developing countries. **JICA-RI** examines data and experience gained through its aid activities, along with findings of scientific research to devise policies for evaluating environmental damage, effective means to manage natural resources, and ways to mitigate or adapt to climate change.

4) Aid Strategies

JICA's fundamental purpose is to support human security and promote inclusive and dynamic development. As the research extension of JICA, **JICA-RI** pursues rigorous academic analysis of the effectiveness of various approaches to international development assistance. Particular attention is paid to capacity development aimed at improving multi-level capabilities covering individuals, organisations, governments and society. **JICA-RI** also tackles research themes related to post-Millennium Development Goals (post-MDG) aid agenda.

Our Output

Publications

The JICA-RI produces output such as working papers, policy briefs, hardcover books and other publications.

Networking

As a research institute affiliated with a development agency, JICA-RI's work is both policy- and operations-oriented, carried out together with various operational and academic organisations and other professionals committed to international development.

More information about JICA-RI is available at <http://jica-ri.jica.go.jp/>.

ABOUT THE RSIS CENTRE FOR NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY (NTS) STUDIES

The **RSIS Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies** conducts research and produces policy-relevant analyses aimed at furthering awareness and building capacity to address NTS issues and challenges in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond.

To fulfil this mission, the Centre aims to:

- Advance the understanding of NTS issues and challenges in the Asia-Pacific by highlighting gaps in knowledge and policy, and identifying best practices among state and non-state actors in responding to these challenges.
- Provide a platform for scholars and policymakers within and outside Asia to discuss and analyse NTS issues in the region.
- Network with institutions and organisations worldwide to exchange information, insights and experiences in the area of NTS.
- Engage policymakers on the importance of NTS in guiding political responses to NTS emergencies and develop strategies to mitigate the risks to state and human security.
- Contribute to building the institutional capacity of governments, and regional and international organisations to respond to NTS challenges.

Our Research

The key programmes at the **RSIS Centre for NTS Studies** include:

1) Internal and Cross-Border Conflict Programme

- Dynamics of Internal Conflicts
- Multi-level and Multilateral Approaches to Internal Conflict
- Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) in Asia
- Peacebuilding

2) Climate Change, Environmental Security and Natural Disasters Programme

- Mitigation and Adaptation Policy Studies
- The Politics and Diplomacy of Climate Change

3) Energy and Human Security Programme

- Security and Safety of Energy Infrastructure
- Stability of Energy Markets
- Energy Sustainability
- Nuclear Energy and Security

4) Food Security Programme

- Regional Cooperation
- Food Security Indicators
- Food Production and Human Security

5) Health and Human Security Programme

- Health and Human Security
- Global Health Governance

- Pandemic Preparedness and Global Response Networks

The first three programmes received a boost from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation when the RSIS Centre for NTS Studies was selected as one of three core institutions to lead the MacArthur Asia Security Initiative in 2009.*

Our Output

Policy Relevant Publications

The **RSIS Centre for NTS Studies** produces a range of output such as research reports, books, monographs, policy briefs and conference proceedings.

Training

Based in RSIS, which has an excellent record of post-graduate teaching, an international faculty, and an extensive network of policy institutes worldwide, the Centre is well-placed to develop robust research capabilities, conduct training courses and facilitate advanced education on NTS. These are aimed at, but not limited to, academics, analysts, policymakers and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Networking and Outreach

The Centre serves as a networking hub for researchers, policy analysts, policymakers, NGOs and media from across Asia and farther afield interested in NTS issues and challenges.

The **RSIS Centre for NTS Studies** is also the Secretariat of the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia), which brings together 20 research institutes and think tanks from across Asia, and strives to develop the process of networking, consolidate existing research on NTS-related issues, and mainstream NTS studies in Asia.

More information on our Centre is available at www.rsis.edu.sg/nts.

** The Asia Security Initiative was launched by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation in January 2009, through which approximately US\$68 million in grants will be made to policy research institutions over seven years to help raise the effectiveness of international cooperation in preventing conflict and promoting peace and security in Asia.*

CENTRE FOR
NON-TRADITIONAL
SECURITY STUDIES

A Centre of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
at Nanyang Technological University



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