**Suffering Sovereignty: Responsibility to Intervene for Responsibility to Protect**

Our group discussed what kind of challenges existed in peace-building and came up with the following ideas: impartiality and neutrality of actors, the way of cooperation sovereignty/intervention, difficulty in raising money for humanitarian support and sustainable development policy. We believe the biggest problem in peace-building is sovereignty/intervention because sovereignty is one of the constructing-factors of a nation. Furthermore, as Mr. Axworthy said, Responsibility to Protect is a new concept that can even exceed sovereignty. In our presentation, we will focus on the problems related to sovereignty and intervention.

The concept of sovereignty was established under the Westphalia – system. In international law, sovereignty is the legitimate exercise of power by a state. Under this concept, sovereignty possesses territory and its people to protect. All the states are guaranteed to have equal sovereignty, regardless of the size of land, population and military power. Therefore, in the U.N., all the membership countries possess one equal vote. Sovereignty also works in the context of national security. International law and UN Charter authorize all the countries to exercise self defense. However, there occurred more and more cases which privileges of sovereignty were abused against human security by states.

One of the examples is the Bosnian war. It was bloody inter-ethnic war during 1992-95 between Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Serbs - part of the break-up of Yugoslavia. The war left 250,000 people killed and more than 2 million displaced.

According to the ICISS report, the Responsibility to Protect has two basic principles. First is that state sovereignty implies the primary responsibility to protect its people. Second, when people are under serious harm, and the state is unwilling or unable to stop or avert it, then it becomes international society’s responsibility to protect them. With regard to military intervention, this concept justifies military intervention when there is a large scale loss of life or a large scale ‘ethnic cleansing.’

Here is one example of saving lives based on the concept of the responsibility to protect. There was a military government in Haiti since 1958. The government regulated the right of speech, created the secret police to suppress rebels. The secret police arrested, tortured, and killed a lot of people. This situation was seriously against human security. In order to protect the human security, American military and U.N Peacekeeping troops intervened in Haiti to turn over the government in 1995. At first they disbanded Haitian old institution of repression and created professional civilian police. Secondly, they made local and central parliaments and ran the presidential election. By intervening, the human rights were brought back and many lives were saved.

Although the responsibility to protect has been able to save lives, sovereignty still remains an issue today. In July 2006, hard rain hit North Korea, causing flood that believed to have killed nearly 10,000 people. However, North Korea rejected South Korea’s and Korean Red Cross’ offer for humanitarian support because of political reasons. More and more people can die from hunger if the situation continues, but sovereignty is slowing down
international support. Moreover, in Sudan, serious violation of human rights such as genocide is being put aside because of sovereignty. While the situation is getting worse in Darfur, the Sudanese government rejected a UN Security Council resolution to dispatch a UN force to the region. The Sudanese government says, “Sudanese people will not consent to any resolution that will violate its sovereignty.” Though the Sudanese government says it would send at least 10,000 troops, it could make matters worse, according to Western nations and human rights groups. Without solving the issue of sovereignty, too many people continue to suffer in many places around the world, including North Korea and Sudan.

What happens if we kept on prioritizing sovereignty over responsibility to respect in every single situation? Does the international society have to leave it up to the local government to rule even if its domestic affairs are unstable? What if there is genocide and hundreds or even millions of people are being killed elsewhere in the world? Can’t we do anything but stay as an outsider? To address you with the current issues, it is most likely that a very serious starvation will occur in North Korea this winter, if North Korea keeps on denying support from South Korea. This will definitely be violating human security, and it should not be neglected or disregarded to respect sovereignty. In this sense, human security is more important than sovereignty.

So, in order to protect human security, the international society is responsible to intervene. We cannot leave hundreds of thousands of innocent people die who are definitely in need of help. Responsibility to protect is the answer. However, to make RTP in practice, it is necessary to place principles to prevent states to abuse this concept as good reason. Four principles could be set out.

1. **Inspectors**: Before intervention, international society should organize inspectors.
2. **Non-Military options**: Non-Military options must be tried before the use of force.
3. **Military Intervention**: If non-military options don’t work, military intervention is done.
4. **The Right intention**: Whatever other motives intervening states may have, they must be to halt or avert human sufferings.

In conclusion, Human Security puts the individual at the centre of the debate, analysis and policy. He or she is paramount, and the state is a collective instrument to protect human life and enhance human welfare. The fundamental components of Human Security, the security of people against threats to personal safety and life can be put at risk by external aggression, but also by factors within a country including security forces. The reformulation of status Global order into the concept sovereignty is the main challenge in face of responsibility to protect. This is because if sovereignty is over focused, there is danger to human security.

Therefore, the international society has the responsibility to protect. In order for Responsibility to Protect to be put into action, there sometimes occurs the responsibility to intervene. However, to avoid abusing responsibility to intervene politically, we concluded that four principles should be followed. Intervening under these principles, the international society will be able to play a big role in peace building.

Human security is simple, yet, has profound consequences for how we see the world. How we organize our political affairs how make choices in public and foreign policy, and how we relate to fellow human beings from many different countries and civilizations. Therefore, Human security can give answer to suffering sovereignty.