

活動報告

SUPRI Project Annual Report April 2018 - March 2019

Group 1 “Human Security and SDGs”

Group Members:

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Research Subject

“Achieving Sustainable Development Goals and Mitigating Climate Change through Humanitarian Competition”

The research group in SUPRI on Sustainable Development (Popovski, Tamai and Ishii) between May and October 2018 prepared and submitted Category B application for Kaken hi grant with the title “Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals and Mitigation of Climate Change through Humanitarian Competition”. The proposal investigates whether the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change (PACC) represent new type of international agreements that manifest a shift towards what T. Makiguchi in 1903 defined as ‘humanitarian competition’. It assesses attitudes towards the SDGs and the PACC in selected countries testing the hypothesis that because these agreements are based on voluntary commitments - transparent, reviewed over time, and facilitated by global mechanisms - states can utilize ‘humanitarian competition’ to

implement these agreements.

Scientific Background

The prominent Japanese philosopher and educator T. Makiguchi, who defined the Value-Creating Education (SOKA), in his book *Geography of Human Life* (1903) examined various forms of competition—military, political, economic—and argued that these competitions exhaust human energy and do not produce peace and happiness. He introduced a new type of competition — humanitarian - accepting the need and reality of competition, but ensuring that it is conducted on the basis of human values, combining humanitarian concerns with competitive energies. Makiguchi regarded this shift as a qualitative transformation, moving from a winner-takes-all mode of competition, to a conscious co-operative win-win mode. ‘humanitarian competition’ effectively reconciles co-operation and competition. Makiguchi’s ideas did not materialize during the 20th century, as a result of being marred by devastating World Wars and a prolonged Cold War. This project investigates whether the SDGs and the PACC, based on ‘soft law’, may give rise to such hopes in the 21st century, substituting internationally imposed obligations and sanctions.

The SDGs are a perfect example of ‘soft law’ that states adopt without entering into classical ‘hard law’ international treaty-making process. They represent a different approach from previous agreements, transforming the global governance, as the co-operation does not stop when the goals are reached, on the opposite, the SDGs introduce new practices in a complex political process that can bring new actors, new ideas and new action for sustainability.

The PACC combines ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ law, inviting states to co-

operate without establishing sanctioning mechanisms. In this book, *“Implementation of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change”* (Routledge 2018), Popovski argues that the traditional top-down approach, exemplified by 1997 Kyoto Protocol, was unfit for the future global climate change regime, as states were naturally reluctant to accept obligations decided by outside bodies, and to face sanctions in case of non-compliance. The PACC can be seen as a new type of international agreement, based on bottom-up commitments along with the facilitation of the implementation of these commitments. Gradually the ‘sanctions committees’ are transforming into ‘facilitation committees’.

Research Question and Hypothesis

Can the SDGs and the PACC be implemented through the evolution of ‘humanitarian competition’? The hypothesis is that these agreements signal a shift towards humanitarian competition, because states voluntarily pledge nationally determined commitments (NDCs) that can be reviewed over time facilitated through transparency, technology transfer and global funds. As far as these agreements do not envisage sanctions for non-compliance, states are expected to comply driven by humanitarian reputational considerations. The implementation of these agreements aim to protect and improve not only the life of own citizens, but also the life of all people on the planet, which fits into Makiguchi’s ‘humanitarian competition’.

Significance and Originality

The impact of the project will be significant in showing paths to

solutions to dangerous global challenges. The research is original and first-hand, as nobody has ever yet explored the SDGs and the PACC through the prism of ‘humanitarian competition’. The novelty is also that the new type of international agreements allow for non-state actors — companies, philanthropists, civil society, academia - to take important part together with state actors. The research includes successful experiences from municipal authorities often significantly outpacing national counterparts, operating through vehicles like C-40, a network of the world’ s megacities committed to addressing climate change. The SDGs and PACC are conducive to long-term normative agenda-setting: they provide states with individual freedom to interpret and enact self-determined goals, but within an articulated long-term collective agenda, facilitated by interaction, communication, and information sharing.

Research Plan

The project assesses evolving attitudes towards the SDGs and the PACC both in developed and developing countries and shows how some states can plan for more ambitious, not only minimal, commitments, with the flexibility to adjust those commitments down, -if they find that their methods are not working, or to account for a change in government, change in domestic priorities, etc. Other states can make modest commitments first and then adjust those up, if they find their methods are working better than expected, or if domestic priorities shift in favor of policy enactment. The research will look not only at governments but also at how business and civil society are instrumental in implementing the agreements. No state, even the most powerful, is able to fix climate change, inequality or ecological

damage, without acting in the mode of ‘humanitarian competition’.

The project runs for four years 2019-2023 and collects successful examples of how states abide by the new agreements without pressure from monitoring or sanctions. In regular workshops top scholars bring latest knowledge on how the SDGs and the PACC can be implemented and how countries signal preference to less formal and more flexible international agreements, where instead of sanctions facilitation emerges, where transparency and accountability replace monitoring and verification. The research methodology includes documentary research, analysis of latest policy decisions, and travel to developing countries to assemble views and allow for a rigorous brainstorming. The project will result in articles in peer-reviewed academic journals and, op-eds in significant newspapers. Its website will constantly be updated, mapping the progress in implementing the SDGs and the PACC. The investigators will write annual reports on the progress and present papers at conferences to disseminate the project’s findings.

The investigators have a remarkable record in similar collaborative research projects. Popovski initiated, developed and completed over twenty such projects and published them in edited books or articles in journals. He is capable of intellectually leading the project, to organize its work, bring into it world-class scholars and confidently guide them on how to contribute to achieve the project’s objectives. His publications include *‘Emotions in International Politics: Beyond Mainstream International Relations’* (Cambridge University Press 2016); *‘Spoiler Groups and UN Peacekeeping’* (Routledge 2015); *‘Access to International Justice’* (Routledge 2015); *‘International Rule of Law and Professional Ethics’* (Ashgate 2014); *‘Legality and Legitimacy in Global Affairs’* (Oxford University Press 2012); *‘After Oppression: Transitional Justice in Latin*

America and Eastern Europe' (2012); '*Norms of Protection: Responsibility to Protect and Protection of Civilians*' (2012); '*Blood and Borders: Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of the Kin-State*' (2011); '*Human Rights Regimes in the Americas*' (2010); '*Democracy in the South: Participation, the State and the People*' (2010); '*Engaging Civil Society: Trends in Democratic Governance*' (2010); '*Building Trust in Government*' (2010). Popovski co-edited the book '*World Religions and Norms of War*' (2009) which became the UNU Press' all-time bestseller.

Apart from books, Popovski published 'Win-win Formula for Reforming the UN Security Council' (*Oxford Yearbook of International Law and Jurisprudence* 2016), a critical assessment of 25 years of fruitless negotiations to enlarge the Council's membership, proposing a Model '8+8+8' that gained global recognition and is often cited. He has also challenged well-established notions: his article 'De-Mythologizing Peacekeeping' (*Journal of International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 19, No. 1-2, 2015) questions two axiomatic perceptions about peacekeeping - that it is 'Chapter six and a half' and that it must become 'robust', offering alternatives to these conceptual confusions. Popovski published 'Raphael Lemkin: Inventing and Codifying Genocide' (*Jus Gentium* Vol. 3, Issue 1, 2018, pp. 181-215) criticizing the excessive glorification of Lemkin in the legal literature. His article 'Fighting the Colonel: Sanctions and the Use of Force' (*Jindal Journal of International Affairs* Vol. 1, Issue 1, 2011, pp.149-162) reveals how the sanctions on Libya produced the opposite effect and made Gaddafi even more dictatorial.

Co-investigator **Hideaki Ishii** brings into the project his expertise in Development Economics, and Economics of Peace and Disarmament. He has published extensively on extreme poverty, on widening gap between rich and poor, on environmental degradation, climate change, overpopulation, illicit arms trade, and

other such occurrences that endanger human dignity and hinder socio-economic development. He investigated the negative impacts of military expenditures on economic development and advocates that it is imperative to transfer resources away from military to developmental programs and to integrate development and security policies, previously planned and implemented separately. Ishii also explored a new type of human security and global governance which encourage all countries to confront common threats together with shared awareness, responsibility and action to realize the well-beings for all, combining economic development, social inclusion, and environmental sustainability. In recent years, Ishii, as a member of the board of Toda Peace Institute, engaged in various projects on climate change and conflict, human security and global governance, arms control and disarmament. This opportunity has enabled him to create and expand his network with leading scholars, policymakers and practitioners around the world. Among his publications are: ‘Thoughts on a Significance of Human Security with a focus on Disarmament, Development and Peace’ (*Soka University Peace Research*, vol.20, pp.1-43, 2014); ‘Realizing a Decarbonized Society through Japan-China Cooperation’ (Joint Research Policy Proposal with Masahiro Kawai, Japan National Press Club, June 2008). ‘Some Thoughts on the Economics of Peace and Disarmament’ (*Soka University Peace Research*, vol.18, pp.5-42, 1997). ‘The Pursuit of Real Security in a Changing World — New Concepts and Perspectives’ (*Soka Economic Studies Quarterly*, Vol.25, pp.133-161, 1996). ‘On the Economics of Disarmament and Peace — New Research Fields and Future Directions’ (*Soka Economic Studies Quarterly*, Vol.26, pp.137-148,1996). ‘New Vision of Security for the Next Century — from Disarmament, Development, Environment and Human Rights Perspectives’ (*Journal*

of *Soka Women's College*, vol.20. pp.17-62, 1996).

Co-investigator **Hideki Tamai** is an expert in International Relations and Peace Studies. His research examines and promotes Human Security in terms of norm entrepreneurship and in terms of policy making and implementation [‘Development of Japanese Government Strategy of Peacebuilding in Post-Cold War era’ (*Sociologica*, Vol.34, No.1-2, 2010); ‘Issues with Human Insecurity in Japan: the Case of US Military Bases in Okinawa’ (*Soka University Peace Research*, No.29, 2015)] He has also been studying Global Governance for Human Security, For example his analysis of the UN Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS) presented it uniquely as a novel type of international regime from the perspective of constructivism [‘Forming of a Human Security Regime and International Organization’ (Yamamoto et.al. eds., *International Organizations and International Institutions*, Shigakusha, Inc. Tokyo, 2017)] Prof. Tamai will be highly instrumental for this project as he will be the best to examine how major actors in the international arena may or may not obey the SDGs and PACC from perspectives of Global Governance or Human Security Studies. Tamai is also very experienced in leading many international conferences, such as the International Symposium “Human Security in Asia”, “Global Governance for Human Security” [*Soka University Peace Research*, No.30-31, 2017], and “Building a Peace Community in Asia in 2017” [*Proceedings of Peace Forum in Okinawa 2017*]. He will play an important role in presentations of the research achievements in conferences and symposia.

We invited **Masashi Nakayama** to join us in drafting and executing this project, having in mind his international legal experience and solid academic achievements. Nakayama published extensively on the following questions: How can international law play a role for

peace and how does “rule of law” apply at international level? How can the realization of human dignity become a central contributor to international peace? Do we need to search for a new form of international law in order to enhance the UN’s role in global governance and serve the interests of humanity?

This project is conceived as a natural and smooth continuation from previous works undertaken by the investigators. The SDG slogan ‘Leave No One Behind’ is also a core postulate of human security. All investigators have done research that extensive in quantity, as well as significant in quality. Working at the same University - Soka - they can coherently work together in the next years to examine and reveal how ‘humanitarian competition’ can be a driving force towards the implementation of the new type of international agreements. All four investigators possess both individual strength and collective synergy, they have expert knowledge and ability built throughout their long and highly recognized academic careers. Also the facilities in Soka University will be the best possible research environment for this project, as no other University in the world carries out so committedly the legacy of Makiguchi invention and definition of ‘humanitarian competition’.

Other research activities of the cluster on Sustainable Development

In July 2018 Popovski took part in the Annual Meeting of the ACUNS in Rome, Italy, and presented a paper ‘Soft Law’, seeking feedback from the ACUNS participants. With other Japanese academics (Shoji, Takeuchi) members of ACUNS, Popovski is planning to develop more knowledge on soft law agreements, such as

SDGs, PACC, R2P, Global Compact on Migration etc.

In September-October Popovski undertook a field visit to Delhi, India, to have meetings in universities and think tanks and had discussions with academics, researchers and policy makers, consulting with them how to enrich and contextualize the project proposal on the SDGs and the PACC to the needs of developing countries.

During the reporting period (April- December 2018) Popovski collaborated with Prof. Aigul Kulnazarova and completed the editing of the *“Palgrave Handbook on Global Approaches to Peace”* (Routledge 2019). He also published the chapter ‘Renovating the Principal Organs of the United Nations’ for the book ‘Just Security in an Ungoverned World’ edited by W. Durch, J. Larik and R. Ponzio (Oxford University Press 2018) and the chapter ‘The Future of Law and Ethics’ for the book *‘Future Courses of Human Societies: Critical Reflections from the Natural and Social Sciences’*, edited by G. Kleber (Routledge 2018).

In December 2018 Popovski presented the Keynote Speech at the Tsukuba Educational Model United Nations (TEMUN) on ‘Conflict Resolution and Sustainable Development’

In January 2019 Popovski participated in the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland, an annual gathering of top policy makers, economists, governance experts etc.