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mondial

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The Prevention Up Front Alliance: Strengthening civil society capacity to prevent armed conflict

by Jelena Pia-Comella

Jelena Pia-Comella is Deputy Executive Director, World Federalist Movement – Institute for Global Policy



At the United Nations the new Secretary-General has identified “preventing conflict and sustaining peace” as an overarching framework that cuts across the three pillars of the UN’s work: peace and security, sustainable development and human rights. In his January 10 inaugural address to the Security Council, he introduced some of the broad contours of this approach: “The United Nations was established to prevent war by binding us in a rules-based international order. Today, that order is under grave threat. [...] We spend far more time and resources responding to crises rather than preventing them. [...] The challenge now is to make corresponding changes to our culture, strategy, structures and operations. [...] Prevention is not merely a priority, but the priority. If we live up to our responsibilities, we will save lives, reduce suffering and give hope to millions.”

When one thinks of the many ways the United Nations system can be improved, the prevention of armed conflict ranks prominently.

The Prevention Up Front (PuF) Alliance brings together three civil society networks in partnership with the Government of the Netherlands: the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), the Coalition for the International Criminal Court (CICC), and the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICRtoP). The latter two coalitions are coordinated by the World Federalist Movement-Institute for Global Policy (WFM-IGP).

One of the 25 partnerships that the Government of the Netherlands has with civil society organizations, the PuF Alliance provides a comprehensive approach to conflict prevention throughout its three strategic goals: strengthening conflict prevention mechanisms and infrastructures; reducing impunity; and increasing access, political space, and opportunities for civil society.

The goal of strengthening conflict prevention mechanisms and infrastructures applies in selected regions on the norms and institutions relevant to the area, as well as linking the national, regional, and global contexts. The Alliance will also strengthen early warning mechanisms to address the risk factors and indicators for violent conflict and mass atrocities and increase the understanding, consensus, and mainstreaming of the Responsibility to Protect within national policies.

Reducing Impunity is about providing access to effective justice and redress at national, regional, and international levels by contributing to a stronger and more effective international justice system, including through encouraging ratification and national implementation of the Rome Statute and calling on the International Criminal Court to comply with the highest standards of fairness, effectiveness, and independence.

The third goal of the Alliance is increasing access, political space and opportunities for civil society to engage the political process at all levels, from national to global. This means supporting civil society organizations in finding ‘politically smart’ ways to strengthen incentives and build up critical momentum for political space and constructive civil society participation. An example would be contributing to the protection of human rights defenders. Specific strategies and capacities depend on the regional context and actors.

These goals are supported by capacity development and inclusivity. Enhancing capacity development for CSOs and mainstreaming inclusivity and gender equality are both cross-cutting approaches. The Alliance defines ‘inclusivity’ as engagement with all social and interest groups affected by conflict, particularly women. This approach specifically focuses on the key role of women as agents of change in conflict

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ICC activates jurisdiction over crime of aggression

by Fergus Watt



Fergus Watt is Executive Director of World Federalist Movement – Canada.

Marathon up-to-the-last-minute diplomatic negotiations in New York recently led to a historic decision to “activate” the International Criminal Court’s jurisdiction over the crime of aggression. The negotiations took place at the ICC’s December 4-14 meeting of its Assembly of States Parties.

While the Court has since its inception had jurisdiction to prosecute those who commit genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, the Court’s founding treaty also provides that the Court may assert jurisdiction over a fourth category of crimes – aggression. However, negotiators of the Rome Statute made adoption of the ICC jurisdiction over aggression subject to agreement on a definition of aggression and on conditions for the activation of ICC jurisdiction for the crime.

At a 2010 review conference in Kampala Uganda, ICC parties agreed on amendments to the Rome Statute that satisfied the requirements for including aggression among the ICC’s core crimes. Those amendments stipulated a requirement for ratification by 30 governments, and also a political decision, by a minimum of two-thirds of states parties, to “activate” the Court’s jurisdiction over aggression, no earlier than seven years following the Kampala review conference.

The crime of aggression includes “the planning, preparation, initiation or execution, by a person in a position effectively to exercise control over or to direct the political or military action of a State, of an act of aggression which, by its character, gravity and scale, constitutes a manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations.”

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The Prevention Up Front Alliance – *continued*

prevention and peacebuilding. The Alliance will also work to ensure that women have access to justice and participate in conflict prevention and dialogue processes.

The Prevention Up Front Alliance’s theory of change is focused on engaging networks of civil society organizations to become more effective in lobbying and advocacy, and better equipped to open up space for effective civil society engagement in these policy areas with international and regional organizations, national governments, and the general public. This will increase the chances that conflicts will be resolved before violence escalates, that impunity will be reduced and that populations will be better protected, which will lead to a higher likelihood for sustainable peace, justice and human security in conflict and post-conflict societies. In order to lobby and advocate effectively there needs to be sufficient political and institutional space for civil society to engage effectively.

The geographical focus of the Alliance will be on capacity building relevant to the low- and lower-middle income countries in five regions: Europe, Middle East and North Africa (MENA), East and Central Africa, West Africa, and South East Asia.

Additionally, the Prevention Up Front Alliance will implement a Planning, Monitoring, Evaluation (PME) and Learning framework based on an existing system currently used by GPPAC.

The Prevention Up Front Alliance can be viewed in the context of “Human Rights Up Front,” an approach initiated by former United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. Human Rights Up Front is meant to address concerns that cut across the UN’s three pillars of peace and security, development, and human rights and broker cultural change across the UN system, by encouraging staff to “take a principled stance and to act with moral courage to prevent serious and large-scale violations.”



ICC activates jurisdiction – *continued*

[Click here
to read the final
Resolution on
Aggression](#)

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Earlier this year the number of ratifications (30) required to codify the Kampala amendments to the Rome Statute was surpassed. 34 states have now ratified. However, the fragility of the Kampala compromise became clear this Spring when several states, led by the UK and France and including Canada, Norway and Japan circulated a paper seeking “clarifications” of the Kampala amendments at the time of any decision to activate the Court’s jurisdiction.

The main point of contention revolved around questions relating to the application of ICC jurisdiction over states parties that had not ratified the aggression amendments. UK, France, Canada et al argued that the amendment should apply only to states that ratify the amendments. Other states (e.g. Liechtenstein, Switzerland) argued that the amendment would apply to all states parties, as agreed at Kampala, and that if states desired not to be subject to the Court’s jurisdiction over the crime of aggression they could utilise the “opt-out” provisions of the Kampala agreements that allow states to file a declaration with the Court’s registrar

and be exempt from the Court’s jurisdiction over this crime.

The compromise language that was agreed in New York reflected for the most part the views of the group of states led by the UK and France. It confirms that the amendments “enter into force for those States Parties which have accepted the amendments one year after the deposit of their instruments of ratification.”

Members of the NGO Coalition for the ICC have historically been divided on whether to support the Court’s adoption of jurisdiction over the crime of aggression. In a press release following the ASP, CICC convenor Bill Pace said that, “With this historic activation, for the first time since the post-WWII trials in Nuremburg and Tokyo, an international court may be able to hold leaders individually criminally responsible for the crime of aggression. The Coalition congratulates all those who have strived for this fourth ICC crime to be activated and looks forward to a strengthened Rome Statute system and global order based on the rule of law.”

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**See www.wfm-igp.org for program information,
how to register, and more.**

Update from the ICRtoP: recent developments on the Responsibility to Protect at the United Nations

by Brittany Roser



Brittany Roser is the Communications and Outreach Associate at the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect. The ICRtoP secretariat is based at the WFM-IGP office in New York.

On 6 September 2017, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) convened the ninth annual informal interactive dialogue on the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP), where Member States, panelists, and civil society organizations shared statements on RtoP and the recent report by the Secretary-General on the implementation of the norm through the strengthening of accountability for prevention.

The following day, the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICRtoP), the Stanley Foundation, and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung partnered to hold a breakfast meeting for participants to reflect on observed developments from the dialogue, share recommendations, and discuss opportunities in an informal, not-for-attribution setting. Participants from 15 civil society organizations, representing all regions of the world, met for discussions with the United Nations (UN) Special Advisor to the Secretary-General on the Responsibility to Protect, Dr. Ivan Šimonović.

Participants focused on three important reflections from the dialogue: 1) space for civil society participation in the dialogue has been improved due to procedural changes in the format of the dialogue, which allowed greater opportunity for civil society voices to be heard; 2) there is concern about a noted trend towards a polarization in Member States' views on RtoP, especially regarding the resulting effect on advocacy opportunities on behalf of support for the norm; 3) the new and innovative ways of discussing RtoP, particularly through the thematic focus on accountability for prevention, are encouraging for the advancement of the norm.

The resulting recommendations focused on ensuring that attention is given to the importance of related thematic areas, such as the incorporation of a gender lens in atrocity prevention, and propositions on how to support RtoP by developing tools within the existing framework. This includes adding atrocity prevention within the Universal Periodic Review process in the UN Human Rights Council and including RtoP on the UNGA's formal agenda. Lastly, participants put forth recommendations on how to mobilize the implementation of the norm through strengthening available legal tools for atrocity prevention, such as

international humanitarian and human rights treaties, which can be used to set precedent and thereby deter future perpetration of atrocity crimes.

RtoP added to the UNGA formal agenda for the 72nd session

On 15 September, the UN General Assembly voted in favor of including RtoP on its formal agenda for the 72nd session, with 113 Member States in favor, 21 against and 17 abstentions (42 Member States did not participate). The ICRtoP has been involved in advocacy for and discussion on the formalization of the inclusion of RtoP since the first UNGA resolution on the norm in 2009. This year in particular, the ICRtoP advocated for support of the Australian and Ghanaian-led initiative,



Brazilian peacekeeper on patrol in Haiti.

U.S. Navy photo

which led to the formalization of RtoP on the UNGA's agenda for the current session.

The inclusion of RtoP on the formal agenda is an important step forward, particularly for both the mainstreaming of the norm throughout the UN system and the domestication of the norm at the regional and national levels. By including the RtoP as a formal agenda item, the UN could be required to report on the implementation of the norm. Also, it will require Member States to develop and produce formal, on-the-record statements on RtoP, which will likely lead to

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Update from the ICRtoP – *continued*

greater direct input from capitals. This should increase the discussion on atrocity prevention outside the UN framework and bring RtoP to focus in regional and national contexts. It also demonstrates a commitment by many Member States and an acknowledgement of the prioritization of the protection of populations from atrocity crimes, particularly in a time of frequent gridlock in the Security Council.

The UNGA and RtoP in 2018 and beyond

The ICRtoP has already begun bilateral discussions with Member States, UN representatives, and civil society organizations to start strategizing on how to capitalize on the momentum gained in 2017, with the aim of institutionalizing RtoP permanently on the UNGA formal agenda, in line with the recommendations of the Secretary-General and the

2005 World Summit outcome document. The ICRtoP would also like to see the continuation of the annual UNGA dialogue on RtoP and the preparatory panels informing the writing of the Secretary-General's annual report on the norm.

Furthermore, it is vital that civil society continues to play a role in every step of this process, including through participation in the upcoming discussions throughout the UNGA's 72nd session and beyond. The ICRtoP strongly encourages the UN and Member States to acknowledge the crucial role of civil society in the advancement of RtoP and the prevention of atrocities, especially in early warning and early response and the promotion of accountability.

Lisa Schüller
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Update: The Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly

by Lisa Schüller

The Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) has recorded numerous positive developments since May 2017. A significant milestone was reached in August when the 1500th member of parliament endorsed the campaign. On this occasion, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on External Affairs of India's Lok Sabha, Shashi Tharoor, reiterated his support and congratulated the campaign "on its sustained efforts to make a UN Parliamentary Assembly a reality."

Calling for a "world parliament" to enable democratic representation of the world's population and strengthen the United Nations' legitimacy, the campaign appeals for "a gradual implementation of democratic participation and representation at the global level."

The UNPA campaign has a great number of supporters all over the world, including not only individuals such as former UN officials, distinguished scholars, cultural innovators and representatives of civil society organizations, but also parliamentary institutions. Only six months after the campaign was launched in 2007, the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) adopted a resolution in favor of the UNPA and has since been a strong advocate. In a second resolution adopted in May 2016, the PAP called on the African Union governments to support

a UNPA. In October 2017, the coordinator of the UNPA campaign, Andreas Bummel was invited to the opening ceremony of the 5th ordinary session of the PAP. Addressing the parliament's plenary, he congratulated the PAP on its "pioneering role" and referred to the UN's upcoming 75th anniversary in 2020 as "a good opportunity to put reform proposals such as a UNPA onto the agenda."

In addition to the PAP, the European Parliament has also proven to be a supporter of the UNPA on various occasions. In a resolution adopted in July 2017, it once again endorsed a UNPA and called on the Council of the European Union to foster discussions on its creation at the 72nd session of the UN General Assembly that started in September 2017. The European lawmaker Jo Leinen had suggested to include the topic in the resolution, stressing that "through the establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly citizen-elected representatives of all people are provided with a real voice in the global system." He stated that, unlike the G20 summit, a UN parliament would include all UN member states, providing real democratic representations of the world's citizens. Mr. Bummel pointed out that the resolution once more points out the necessity of a "serious debate on this issue and that the representative body of the EU citizens would



like to see EU governments play a proactive role on this topic.”

In August, the UNPA received yet another noteworthy endorsement when the President of the Commission on Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Chamber of Deputies of the Dominican Republic, Victor Suárez Díaz, declared the Commission's support of the efforts for “a UN Parliamentary Assembly both at the global level as well as from our region in the Caribbean”. Fernando Iglesias, Council Chair of the World Federalist Movement expressed his appreciation and stated that following previous endorsements from Argentina, “the Dominican Republic's parliament could become the second one in the Latin American and Caribbean region to support the initiative of giving a real voice to the citizens of the world.”

Another meeting at which the UNPA campaign was represented took place in The Hague in May. Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA) organized a roundtable on the topic of increasing democratic representation and accountability at the UN. The event was hosted by the House of

Representatives of the Netherlands and supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. In the course of discussions regarding possible ways of improving the democratic representation and accountability at the UN, the creation of a UNPA was also debated. Mr. Bummel gave a presentation on the establishment of a UNPA based on Article 22 of the UN Charter.

Further strong encouragement was given from the German United Nations Association which expressed its support of a UNPA in a catalogue of demands on German UN policy published prior to the German federal elections in September. Moreover, a workshop on global democracy and a UNPA was held at the alternative “Global Solidarity Summit” organized by civil society in advance of the G20 meeting in Hamburg in July. In June, a Guinness World Record was dedicated to world peace, global democracy and a UNPA when more than 700 women from India and various countries came together to knit the world's longest scarf as a powerful message of peace and solidarity.

The proposal for a Latin American and Caribbean Criminal Court against Transnational Organized Crime reaches the United Nations General Assembly

by **Florencia Gor**

This past September the Vice President of Argentina gave new impulse to the campaign during her speech at the opening of the United Nations General Assembly.

The campaign for the establishment of a Latin American and Caribbean Criminal Court against Transnational Organized Crime (known as COPLA, its Spanish acronym) was initiated four years ago, when the Argentine NGO Democracia Global hosted a panel to discuss supranational approaches to the critical situation of violence and crime in the region.

Since then, it has received the endorsements of a significant number of parliamentarians, public prosecutors and academics, and has built strong civil society support around the world.

The envisioned Court, based mainly on the 2000 United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo Convention) and its three supplementary Protocols, would prosecute the leaders of criminal organizations. The tribunal would be complementary with domestic law and would initially have jurisdiction over seven core crimes, including

drugs and human trafficking, money laundering and transnational bribery.

The proposal also includes a regional agency to coordinate intelligence efforts, share information among national prosecutors' offices, protect witnesses and harmonize legislation among the member countries.

In 2014, the Argentine Senator Gabriela Michetti was the first politician to publicly join the campaign, presenting a resolution in the Senate that was unanimously approved. Now, as Argentina's Vice President, she has confirmed the President's willingness to lead efforts in the region towards the establishment of the Court. In her September statement at the opening of the 72nd UN General Assembly, Michetti said, “The fight against drug trafficking is one of the three pillars of the President's program. Redoubling the international commitment to tackle this scourge is essential. In this sense, we are working to find the consensus to constitute a Latin American tribunal against organized crime in our region.”



Past-President of Democracia Global Argentina and a current member of the Executive Committee of WFM – Canada.

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For more information, please visit www.coalicioncopla.org and refer to previous articles published in Mondial (editions of December 2014 and June 2017). For further statistics and more information regarding the situation in the region please see “The costs of Latin American crime”, *The Economist*, February 25th, 2017.

Three Argentine Ministries have taken the lead and are coordinating efforts at the national level: Justice and Human Rights, Foreign Affairs and Security. Their representatives presented the initiative at a public event on November 16th, together with the Director of the campaign, newly elected parliamentarian Fernando Iglesias and Prof. Christian Cao, who led the team that worked on the draft statute. Held at the University of Buenos Aires Law School with extensive media coverage, the presentation was attended by prestigious members of the legal, political and academic fields. Other members of the government, including the Speaker of the Senate, have recently briefed the Secretary General of the OAS, the Latin American Parliament (PARLATINO) and the Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly (EUROLAT) about COPLA.

Despite the progress made by Latin American and Caribbean countries in several socioeconomic areas over the last few years, the region remains the most violent in the world. Its homicide rate of approx. 24 per 100,000 population is four times the global average. The region holds only 9% of the world's population but accounts for one third of its murders.

COPLA side event at the UN

In December the Argentine mission at the UN and the aforementioned ministries co-sponsored a side event during the meeting of the Assembly of State Parties to the International Criminal Court. This offered a unique opportunity to present the COPLA proposal to legal experts from civil society organizations and other UN member states, particularly some of the Caribbean countries that fought so strongly for the establishment of the ICC and had wanted to include some of these crimes in the Rome Statute back when discussions started in 1989. Their enthusiasm and experience are invaluable at this stage. The mission also aims to host a meeting next year to generate further discussions and coordinate a roadmap with representatives of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean Countries (GRULAC).

In an era marred by resurgent nationalism and threats to multilateral agreements, COPLA represents an opportunity for supranational cooperation that would greatly improve citizens' quality of life. Criminal organizations understand the globalized nature of the world in the 21st century and are using it on their advantage. Unilateral approaches can never effectively put an end to their practices.



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Young World Federalists gather for annual Ventotene Seminar

by Becky Luff



Becky Luff is a council member of WFM-IG representing the UK based Federal Union.

Every September, young federalists gather on the idyllic Italian island of Ventotene. Situated 25 miles off the Western coast of Italy, between Rome and Naples, and home to about 700 people, Ventotene plays a significant part in the history of the transnational federalist movement.

On the nearby island of Santa Stefano, 700 opponents of Mussolini were exiled between 1939 and 1943. One of these prisoners was Italian communist Altiero Spinelli, who during his imprisonment wrote the “Ventotene Manifesto” in which he outlined his vision for a federal Europe and inspired federalist movements across Europe and the world.

Following a suggestion by Altiero Spinelli himself, what became the “Altiero Spinelli” Institute of Federalist Studies began organizing annual youth seminars on the island in 1982.

The seminar took two forms – an Italian seminar and an International seminar for participants from across Europe. In recent years, participants from outside of Europe have also been invited to participate.

This year, for the first year, with generous donations from the Workable World Trust and World Federalist Movement, there was an inaugural “Towards World Federalism” pre-seminar for participants attending the Ventotene seminar from outside of Europe. Organized in association with One World – an Israeli global democracy and justice organisation – the aims of the seminar were to bring together non-European participants to get to know each other, and learn about the ideas of world federalism, before joining the Young European Federalist (JEF) participants for the main seminar on Ventotene. Enormous thanks must go to One World’s Directors Dena Freeman and Oded Gilad for their work in proposing, organising and running the inaugural pre-seminar.

The pre-seminar took place in a beautiful Italian villa on the outskirts of Formia (the location of the port for the boat to Ventotene). With only a day and a half for the seminar, we had a packed programme to get through. Topics included introductions to world federalism and international institutions, with focused discussions on climate change, inequality and economic justice. As well as exploring existing institutions, we also discussed arguments for reform, as outlined in Joe Schwartzberg’s book “Transforming the United Nations System.”



Pre-seminar participants from outside Europe at Formia.

With participants from India, Argentina, Ecuador, Israel, Canada, the US and Italy – one of the highlights of the seminar was to meet and share experiences of living in different places, and to bring fresh perspectives to the ideas of world federalism and global democracy. Following the intense day and a half of the pre-seminar, together we travelled to Formia to join the European participants on the boat to Ventotene.

As mentioned, the Ventotene seminar has been held for over 30 years, with the aim of gathering young federalists to think and discuss federalist ideas and proposals through lectures and working group discussions. The working group discussions were the highlight for myself and many of the world participants, as they provided the opportunities to respond to the ideas outlined in the lectures, and to learn what federalism means to people from different



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Ventotene Seminar – *continued*



political and cultural backgrounds. In a somewhat less formal approach, the customary International Night – where each participant presents food, drink and performance from their home – also offered a delicious and entertaining cultural exchange.

Anyone who has been to Ventotene will know of the unique charm of the island. It is breathtakingly beautiful, and the local residents are incredibly friendly (especially given the invasion of 100+ young people continuing their enjoyment of the island well into the early hours each night). This year the friendliness of the local residents was exemplified by the organization of a dinner in the town square on the final evening of the seminar for the whole island and its visitors, followed by fireworks and dancing (complete

with a giant conga line led by a delighted Nonna). It was one of those exceptional events that will remain in the memories of all those who had the fortune to attend.

For many members of JEF - the Young European Federalists – the Ventotene seminar is a formative event. Tales of the beauty, friendships, and inspirational discussions are passed down the generations of activists. For world federalists, we have a lot to learn from the European federalist movement, both in terms of organising and policy development. For European federalists, voices from outside Europe can be important in widening and challenging their perspectives. The Ventotene seminar provides such an opportunity, and should be treasured for the unique experience it offers its lucky participants.

World Federalist Boot Camp

WFM, partnering with the Workable World Trust and the Istituto Spinelli, is offering full financial support to emerging federalists for participation at the 35th Ventotene International Seminar, taking place the first week of September 2018.

The seminar consists of young activists, primarily drawn from the leadership of JEF (Young European Federalists) and members of the World Federalist Movement. The Altiero Spinelli Institute generously covers registration, board and accommodation for the event. Travel costs are subsidized by the World Federalist Movement with support from the Workable World Trust.

Imagine a week bathing in the Mediterranean and listening to world leaders in the fields of peace, justice and federalism -- all while meeting talented and energetic youth who share your drive and passion to make the world a better place. This is where leaders of the future are made.

Individuals interested in attending the seminar should contact the Ventotene Committee of WFM (ventotene@wfm-igp.org) before May 1st, 2018.

Submissions should include:

- ▶ Applicant's CV
- ▶ A description of the candidate's education, interest and engagement with federalism.
- ▶ A motivational letter telling us why you think you are deserving of such a once in a lifetime opportunity.

Democracy Without Borders: A new approach towards world federalism

by **Andreas Bummel**



Andreas Bummel is International Secretary-General of the Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly.

For many decades, world federalists have been exploring paths and instruments to achieve their dream of a peaceful, democratic and sustainable world that is united in all its diversity. There is agreement that there are many different and complementary approaches. Under the name of Democracy Without Borders a new effort is now underway.

As a step toward the rule of law, the entry into force of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2002 was a tremendous success for the World Federalist Movement (WFM). Using its pivotal role as secretariat of the NGO coalition for the ICC, WFM and its director Bill Pace in no small part contributed to the creation of the court.

Now that the ICC exists, a group of like-minded world federalists in Germany deliberated on what they believed would have to be the next milestone from a federalist point of view. The group considered long-time proposals such as a standing UN Peacekeeping Force or Security Council reform but finally settled on the creation of a UN Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA).

Following a rationale that was developed by world federalists at around 1990, a UNPA was perceived not as a final goal but as a first step – and a tool – in a long-term process of global integration and democratization. At the same time, the group recognized that although the proposal was supported here and there, there was no sustained effort to push it forward.

Thus, in 2003, the Committee for a Democratic UN, in short KDUN for its German name, was established as a single-issue organization that would focus entirely on advocating a UNPA. Four years later, following intensive preparation and coalition-building, KDUN and its partners worldwide, many from within the WFM family, launched the international Campaign for a UNPA. Today, the campaign is the world's leading network that advocates a parliamentary body at the UN.

In the course of our work we increasingly felt that there is a connection between national and global democratization that cannot be ignored. How will it ever be possible to achieve a democratic world parliament – and world federalism – if some of the largest countries in the world remain autocracies or one-party dictatorships? On the other hand, how can national democracy – where it exists – remain stable and vivid if it is being undermined by opaque international institutions and decision-making?

Recent waves of nationalist populism in many parts of the world constitute a threat to democracy – one that is fed in part by popular resentment and opposition towards a global order that is dominated by a tiny kleptocratic elite. At the same time, we believe that the rise of autocratic governments in some countries is also a reaction to an increasing demand for more freedom and democracy – but one that is being suppressed.

We concluded that the overarching issue that we are actually dealing with is democracy promotion. What is needed, however, is a holistic perspective that spans from the local to the global levels and at the same time embraces the dimensions of representation, participation, deliberation and co-decision. In February 2017 KDUN, the German member organization of the World Federalist Movement, decided to continue its work under this new perspective and changed its name to Democracy Without Borders (DWB).

Democracy Without Borders can be read in two ways: in terms of developing democracy beyond the nation-state, and in terms of exploring how democracy as such can be strengthened, innovated and revived at all levels.

While a UNPA remains a key objective of DWB as an organization, we now see it as part of a broader agenda centered around democracy.

DWB's mandate includes a commitment to promoting "a strong collaboration of all forces that support the establishment and strengthening of democratic principles at the national, regional, and international levels."

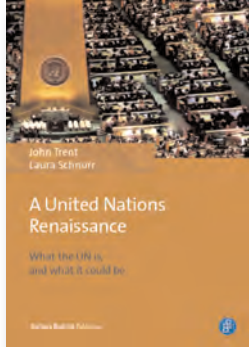
We think that for world federalists it is a key task to ally with democratic forces all over the world and promote an understanding that fighting for democracy at the national level is only part of the struggle. A democratization of global institutions needs to be part of the equation.

In this sense, DWB will try to engage with existing initiatives such as the international Coalition for Democratic Renewal that was launched in October 2017 in Prague, and many others.

It is our hope that over time the name and perspective of Democracy Without Borders will enable us to reach new audiences, to develop new projects, to collaborate with new funders, and to win a critical level of supporters and members. We are already in discussion with groups and activists in several countries who are interested in establishing national DWB organizations.

Visit
www.democracywithoutborders.org
for more information

A number of recent books provide insights into reform of the United Nations, a plan for peace, reflections on federalism, and the history and future of the prosecution of war crimes.

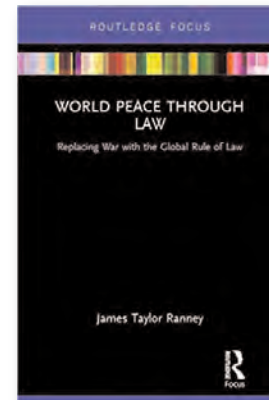


A United Nations Renaissance: What the UN is, and what it could be covers a lot of ground. Co-written by John Trent, chair of the Board of Directors of the World Federalist Movement - Canada and Laura Schmurr, who works on social innovation with the J.W. McConnell Foundation, begins with an overview of the United Nations, its history, and how it has developed. The book continues with chapters addressing specific areas of the UN's work (the Security Council, social and economic development, human rights etc.). In each case, the book discusses not only how the UN operates, but also how it has innovated over the years, and possible future reforms.

A United Nations Renaissance: What the UN is, and what it could be
John Trent and Laura Schmurr - Barbara Budrich Publishers, January 2018

World Peace Through Law: Replacing War with the Global Rule of Law is by James Taylor Ranney, a professor at Widener University School of Law. He offers a three-part proposal based on the idea that the use of alternatives to war is the solution to the problem of peace. His proposal combines arms reductions, particularly the abolition of nuclear weapons; a system of global alternative dispute resolution (ADR); and sufficient mechanisms for enforcement, including a UN Peace Force. The core for Ranney are the alternative dispute resolution mechanisms: compulsory negotiation, mediation, arbitration, and adjudication by the World Court.

World Peace Through Law: Replacing War with the Global Rule of Law
James Taylor Ranney - Routledge, September 2017



The collection of essays, *Federalism: A Political Theory for Our Time*, brings together the most significant essays published in The Federalist Debate between 1999 and 2015. Edited by Lucio Levi, Giampiero Bordino, and Antonio Mosconi, the book broadly addresses “federalism as political thought which aims to abolish war and build peace through law” through a wide-ranging selection of essays that address trends in contemporary history, international relations, and multilateral institutions, both in Europe and internationally.

Federalism. A Political Theory for Our Time
Lucio Levi, Giampiero Bordino, and Antonio Mosconi, editors
P.I.E-Peter Lang S.A., Éditions Scientifiques Internationales, September 2016

The final book of our current selection is *Human Rights after Hitler: The Lost History of Prosecuting Axis War Crimes* by Dan Plesch, who is the director of the Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy at SOAS, University of London. The book discusses the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC) and addresses the long forgotten war crimes prosecutions against Hitler and other Axis war criminals, including some indictments of perpetrators of the Holocaust made while the death camps were still operating. The UNWCC's files were long kept secret and Plesch addresses the precedents they set regarding issues that remain of importance today, including torture and sexual assault.

Human Rights after Hitler: The Lost History of Prosecuting Axis War Crimes
Dan Plesch - Georgetown University Press, April 2017



Migration, refugees and the need for global governance reforms

by Lloyd Axworthy



Lloyd Axworthy is currently Chairperson of the World Refugee Council, as well as a member of the Commission on Global Security, Justice and Governance, and international Co-President of the World Federalist Movement – Institute for Global Policy.

According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the number of forcibly displaced persons – over 65 million in 2016 – is higher now than at any time since the end of the Second World War. Of this total, the number seeking safety across international borders as refugees topped 22.5 million.

The causes are numerous. Some people move in search of new economic opportunities. Others move to escape armed conflict, poverty, food insecurity, persecution, terrorism, or human rights violations and abuses. Still others do so in response to the adverse effects of climate change, natural disasters (some of which may be linked to climate change), or other environmental factors. Many move for a combination of these reasons.

The geographic distribution of refugees places unequal burdens on UN member states. 90 percent of the world's refugees are hosted by 10 neighbouring states, most of which have scarcely the resources to look after their own people, let alone the needs of destitute refugees. Furthermore, countries hosting some of the largest concentrations of refugees are also heavily reliant for their internal security on UN peace operations. Examples include South Sudan, Central African Republic and Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Consider for example the pitiful plight of the half-million Rohingya refugees who have now fled Myanmar for Bangladesh. Unprotected and largely unprovided for, they represent a powerful rebuke to the flawed international framework for dealing with refugees and internally displaced persons.

The way the world comes to grips with the rising number of refugees needs a major re-set. The institutions, practices and conventions on refugees and migration are still rooted in the post-World War II era and are inadequate to meet the demands of today.

For example, the whole system of funding refugees, based primarily on donor government pledging, is really kind of archaic. Furthermore, many of the legal instruments, like the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, the 1951 Refugee Convention, and in a peacekeeping context the Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians, are weak and/or out of date. We need a new, much more coherent multilateralism.

On 19 September 2016, the UN General Assembly held a one-day summit on “Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants” and set a new

agenda for responding to large movements of people crossing frontiers. The ensuing “New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants” included a plan of action, “Towards a Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration” that sets out a framework for positive responses. A new “Global Compact” is expected to be discussed and adopted at the UN in 2018.

But while the UN appears to demonstrate a growing awareness of the cross-cutting nature of these challenges, there is not always the will to make the changes necessary.

As Canada's Foreign Minister, I was involved in efforts like the Landmines Treaty and the International Criminal Court, which made me realize that there are limitations within UN structures to the degree of freedom to think and act outside the box. A lot of interests are at stake. Ultimately the UN needs to be the place where change happens, but it's not the place where the best thinking is going to be done on the kinds of normative and institutional changes that are necessary.

The World Refugee Council (WRC) that I am chairing -- supported by Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and the government of Canada -- hopes to come up with recommendations for significant reforms, as well as mobilizing the political will needed to implement them.

The WRC brings together an independent group of global leaders and innovators to advance new solutions to the global refugee crisis. The Council is presently conducting regional consultations around the world, with a view to developing research and recommendations on structural reform, including how best to manage refugee movements, deploy emerging technologies for improved protection, promote innovative financing models and identify opportunities for strengthening the international legal regime on refugees.

Our report, expected in 2019, will build on the UN's Global Compact. But we also want to move beyond declaratory statements and exhortations to governments and agencies. We aim to generate a multistakeholder, politically participatory base for working on, and hopefully implementing, much-needed reforms.



Our planet needs a strong government

by Dominique de Buman, Swiss MP

Our planet faces numerous challenges, such as armed violence, corruption, destruction of the environment, violation of the freedom of religion or of other rights. And this list is not exhaustive -- far from it.

So often, humanity surpasses the limits of what is acceptable or sustainable! We are informed about these excesses thanks to the worldwide expansion of information and transportation. The losses are immeasurable.

Numerous summits and conferences take place, more and more frequently, in order to find remedies to this situation. It is especially the case for the finances and the environment: G8, G20, COP21, Financial Stability Forum, and others. But it appears that these meetings have no legitimacy, nor any efficiency as they are originating in the sovereign will of all the states of the world. There is no control about the application of the decisions taken and many participating states – and not the least important of them – don't take any concrete measures to implement after the end of the diplomatic formalities.

The only way to place all the states on an equal level and to ensure that the governments are taking their world-wide responsibilities would be to transform the UN into a true world government invested with a real power and instruments to apply this power, including armed forces. Today, the Security Council's masquerade, which gives a veto right to the great powers, destroys any possibility to take energetically the salutary common actions.

Last year in May, Pope Francis appealed for the exercise in common on the world level the responsibilities devolved to the governments.

The idea of a government for the planet had already been expressed in 1970 by Pope Paul VI as he visited Sydney. The idea was formerly developed in 1963 by Pope St. John XXIII in his encyclical "Pacem in Terris" and later by his successor Pope Emeritus Benedict XVI in the encyclical "Caritas in Veritate." And we should not forget that Pope Pius XII accorded his support in 1951 to the participants of the Rome Congress of the "World Movement for World Federal Government," as the "World Federalist Movement" was called at the time.

This is a meritorious task. The Swiss government, the Swiss Federal Council can provide leadership and set an example: to develop a project of this sort on the international scene, as a logic consequence of its good will policy, and especially in conformity with the Swiss model which associates all forces in the search for the common good.

Ed. Note : The article was written by Mr. Dominique de Buman, a member of the "National Council," one of the two Chambers of the Swiss Parliament. Mr. de Buman is this year's vice-president of his chamber and will probably be elected president in 2018. Mr. de Buman is member of the Christian Democratic Party of Switzerland. The article was published December 2016 in "Politik," the newspaper of the Swiss Christian Democratic Party. Thanks to Rolf Haegler of the Swiss World Federalists for translating and forwarding the article.

Join Our Global Movement

The World Federalist Movement - Institute for Global Policy has Member Organizations (MOs) around the world that are dedicated to spreading the ideas of World Federalism. Currently our MOs are working on diverse issues such as raising support for the International Criminal Court, strengthening the European Constitution, creating a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, and reducing small arms trafficking.

In addition to the WFM Member Organizations and Associate Organizations, WFM-IGP's programs CICC and ICRtoP also have thousands of members around the world. For more information on their members, please visit www.coalitionfortheicc.org and www.responsibilitytoprotect.org.

WFM-IGP also welcomes your individual membership in our global efforts to promote the principles of international democracy, federalism, global governance and human rights.

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By Monique Cuillerier

The International Criminal Court is currently engaged in nine preliminary examinations, has eleven situations under investigation, and is pursuing twenty-five cases that involve fifteen defendants.

The preliminary examinations are currently being conducted in Afghanistan (likely to soon transition to a full investigation), Colombia, Gabon, Guinea, Iraq/UK, Nigeria, Palestine, Ukraine, and Registered Vessels of Comoros, Greece, and Cambodia.

Central African Republic (I)

This situation was referred to the Court by the Government of the Central African Republic in 2004. Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo was found guilty of two counts of crimes against humanity (murder and rape) and three counts of war crimes (murder, rape, and pillaging) in March 2016. Appeals and victims' reparations remain pending.

Bemba, Aimé Kilolo Musamba, Jean-Jacques Mangenda Kabongo, Fidèle Babala Wandu, and Narcisse Arido, were found guilty of offences against the administration of justice allegedly committed in connection with the case above and received sentences ranging from six months to two years, along with fines of EUR 300,000 for Bemba and EUR 30,000 for Aimé Kilolo Musamba. The case is now at the appeals stage.

Central African Republic (II)

The Government of CAR referred this situation to the ICC in May 2014. The situation focuses on alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity committed since 1 August 2012, in the context of the conflict between Muslim Séléka and Christian anti-balaka groups. The situation continues to be investigated.

Côte d'Ivoire

The trial of Laurent Gbagbo and Charles Blé Goudé began in January 2016. Both are accused of four counts of crimes against humanity and remain in the Court's custody. The case against Simone Gbagbo remains at the pre-trial stage as she is not in the Court's custody.

Darfur, Sudan

There has been no changes in the four cases concerning the situation in Darfur, Sudan where the suspects, Ahmad Harun, Ali Kushayb, Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir, Abdallah Banda Abakaer Nourain, and Abdel Raheem Muhammad Hussein, remain at large.

Democratic Republic of the Congo

In 2012, Thomas Lubanga Dyilo was convicted and sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment. In December 2017, a decision set the amount of his liability for collective reparations at US\$10,000,000.

In the case of the Prosecutor v. Germain Katanga and Mathieu Ngudjolo Chui, Ngudjolo Chui was acquitted in 2012, while Katanga was sentenced to twelve years in 2014, and was transferred to a prison facility in DRC the following year. In March 2017, individual and collective reparations were awarded to the victims of his crimes.

The trial of Bosco Ntaganda continues. Ntaganda is accused of 13 counts of war crimes, and five counts of crimes against

humanity. Over two thousand victims have been granted the right to participate in the trial.

An arrest warrant was issued for Sylvestre Mudacumura in 2012, but he remains at large.

Georgia

At the end of January 2016, the Prosecutor opened an investigation into crimes allegedly committed in and around South Ossetia, Georgia in 2008.

Libya

The cases of Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi and Al-Tuhamy Mohamed Khaled remain in the Pre-Trial stage, pending their transfers to the Court.

Kenya

Arrest warrants for Walter Osapiri Barasa, Paul Gicheru and Philip Kipkoech Bett for various offences against the administration of justice remain outstanding.

Mali

In September 2016, Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi was found guilty of the war crime of intentionally attacking historic monuments and religious buildings in September and was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment. The case is in the victims' reparations stage.

Uganda

The suspects Joseph Kony and Vincent Otti remain at large and their case remains pending.

The trial of Dominic Ongwen began in December 2016 and the Prosecution continues to present their case. Over 4000 victims have been granted the right to participate in the trial.

Other

To date, 124 countries have ratified the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

At the end of October, Burundi, under preliminary examination by the Court since 2015, withdrew from the Rome Statute, the first country to do so.

However, the Office of the Prosecutor had already been asked for, and granted, the authority to begin an investigation into the situation in Burundi. This investigation was made public in November.

Additionally in November, Prosecutor Bensouda requested judicial authorization to commence an investigation into the situation in Afghanistan.

The annual meetings of the ICC Assembly of States Parties took place December 4 to 14 in New York.

This year's ASP meeting included the elections for six judges, six members of the Committee on Budget and Finance, and a Registrar. Planning has begun for the July 2018 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Rome Statute.

At the December Assembly, states parties adopted a consensus resolution on the activation of the jurisdiction of the Court over the crime of aggression, which will come into effect as of 17 July 2018.