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In January, WFM International President Lloyd Axworthy, along with three other former Foreign Ministers, met with UN Secretary-General António Guterres. The following is his description of the meeting.

“On Friday I met with the New UN Secretary-General António Guterres in the company of Madeleine Albright and other colleagues from the Aspen Ministerial Group, David Milliband and Knut Vollebæk.

We had the opportunity to have an open exchange with him and other senior UN officials on refugee issues, a subject that the Ministerial Group has been working on the past year.

The Sec-Gen focused on how important it is that the UN takes the lead in working out a preventative strategy for solving the conditions that generate the movement of people seeking security, food and water and basic rights. He clearly saw that the best way to offset the anti-immigration politics rampant in so many countries is to demonstrate concrete, collaborative action, and reform.

One of the ways is through reform of UN practices and policies. He particularly pointed out that in the case of Syria the major burden is being borne by the neighboring states like Jordan and Lebanon, with very few other states sharing responsibility. The UN must take the lead in organizing a more equitable global response.

There was also a dialogue on the application of new digital technology in the registration and service delivery of existing refugees, and how there can be greater participation of refugees themselves in finding innovative ways to meet their needs.

It was certainly the conclusion of our group after the meeting that Secretary-General Guterres will bring leadership and dynamism to his challenging task, but will also need strongly committed support to counter the inward looking nationalisms that undermine international efforts to meet global problems.”

And in May, Dr. Axworthy was announced as the chair of the World Refugee Council, which will provide research into new approaches for dealing with the global refugee crisis. The Council will be coordinated through the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI).
At least 10,000 European citizens, coming from all European countries, attended the March 25 “March for Europe!” organized by European Federalists.

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome, which established the European Economic Community and from which the process of European unification has, in the following decades, been consolidated. Seemingly, the political circumstances for a demonstration in favour of Europe were not as favourable as they could have been. Populism and nationalism are rising in all European countries and the European project is in question. But these same developments provide important reasons to demonstrate that European people favour a European federation.

In fact, the March 25 demonstration was preceded by two main events: one that took place on 24th March and the other one the same day as the demonstration. The first one, a European intellectuals’ forum, was arranged by Fabio Masini and Roberto Castaldi, and took place at the University of Rome. This initiative followed signature by 300 European intellectuals, such as Giuliano Amato, Yves Bertoncini, Stephan Collignon, Anthony Giddens and Miguel Maduro, of a manifesto calling for a more European unification, and whose title was “A genuine European Union to ensure welfare, security and democracy.” Key participants at the forum included Yuri Ratas, Prime minister of Estonia, Mario Monti and Enrico Letta, former Italian Prime Ministers, Edmond Alphandery, former French Minister of Economy and Markku Markkula, President of the European Committee of the Regions.

The manifesto calls upon Heads of State and Government to celebrate the Treaties of Rome and open the way to a re-foundation of the EU on the basis of the European Parliament’s recent proposals to strengthen EU institutions and policies, especially on foreign and security, economic and social policies. The manifesto also includes an articulation of an improved EU foreign policy: “We European citizens are aware that globalization is transforming the world. We need a European government to foster our common values and contribute to the solution of the global problems threatening humanity. The world needs an outward-looking cosmopolitan Europe to help build a more effective and democratic global governance to cope with climate change, peace, global poverty, and the transition to an environmentally and socially sustainable economy.”

On the morning before the march a forum on the future of Europe was held, on the theme, “Europe Fights Back: Re-gaining Vision, Rebuilding Trust, Relaunching Unity.” Dozens of regions, counties and municipalities were represented, many with their local banners, as well as dozens of European parliamentarians.

Among the speakers who took the floor at the forum were, Giulio Saputo, General Secretary of Young European Federalists (JEF), Pier Virgilio Dastoli, President of the Italian Council of the European Movement, Bálint Gyévai, General Secretary of Stand Up for Europe, Gianni Pittella, President of Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament, Sergei Stanishev, President of European Socialist Party, Guy Verhofstadt, MEP of Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, Benedetto Della Vedova, Italian Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Stavros Theodorakis, founder of Greece’s To Potami Party, Jo Leinen, President of European Movement International, Christopher Glück, President of JEF Europe, Guillaume Klossa, President of Europa Nova, Elmar Brok, President of Union of European Federalists, Alyn Smith, MEP and Giorgio Anselmi, President of European Federalist Movement. Alyn Smith, of the Scottish National Party, was welcomed by a standing ovation, in recognition of his passionate speech spoken in the hemicycle of the European Parliament, “Don’t leave us,” expressing the views of Scottish and English citizens against the Brexit.

The federalist demonstration, was joined by another demonstration (more than 5,000 people) in favour of Europe, mainly organized by trade unions, environmental groups and other organizations of civil society. Both demonstrations headed toward a common rendezvous: Rome’s Colosseum. Timed to coincide with a meeting of the EU Council, this means that at least 15,000 people have attended a demonstration in favour of Europe, sending a clear message to European leaders and publics that there is much support for a stronger European Union.
On Sunday November 6th, 2016, distinguished labour leader, Larry Brown addressed the annual fundraising brunch of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Manitoba Division.

It was tough stuff. Mr. Brown added concrete numbers to the litany mostly-bad news we hear in popular media. He advised the gathered activists that roughly one third of the number of people gathered to hear him that morning, say 80 people, controlled more wealth worldwide than is held by 50% of the planetary population. And it’s getting worse.

This was on top of the gloom over the policies of the U.S. president; a transnational assault on labour and labour rights; the continuing disregard for the health and welfare of indigenous people everywhere; the egregious increases in global military budgets and arms trade deals; the genocide of the Yazidi; political attacks on the International Criminal Court; the Russian supported perfidy of President Assad of Syria; the global heel-dragging on climate change and, for federalists of all persuasions, the tragedy of Brexit.

For World Federalists, all this grim news is nothing new. Save for the current situational details it is a case of “plus ca change, plus c’est la meme chose.”

We have long held to the mantra that global challenges require global solutions. Of course, not all global solutions are of equal merit. During the 2016 United States Presidential campaign, the apparent mutual admiration society between Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin has raised more than a few eyebrows on both the left and the right of the political spectrum, in the U.S. and internationally. It has brought to mind the sobering speculative proposition of Dr. Jerry Pournelle, still a widely respected voice in the genre of science fiction. In the 1980s, Pournelle imagined a not-to-distant future in which the United States and the then Soviet Union essentially divided the world between them for the sake of a putative peace. One shivers.

Globalization has seemed to many a chilling response to the planetary chaos which seems to grip the human community and endanger life on earth. Certainly the economic impact of globalization appears thus far to have increased inequity among nations and peoples, especially indigenous peoples.

And yet . . . As limiting as globalization has thus far proved to the hopes and aspirations of world citizens, there is some light at the end of one particular rabbit hole: the topsy turvy, long overlooked and often despised world view of religion.

First, of course, let me acknowledge the usual and necessary confessions and disclaimers – i.e. that religion has been complicit in much unforgivable violence and repression. Religion is also, however, foundational to virtually every system of ethics extant. In an emerging global village, it is clear that religion is not going away, even though it is in the process of radical transformation.

It is also in the process of developing a new relationship with global political processes. The legitimacy of the G8/G20 economic summit system may well be debated, especially by advocates of the United Nations and the concept of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly.

That is for another day, another spilling of ink.

At the current historical juncture, let us take these G-Summits as a given, as we do globalization itself and the reemergence in the global commons of religion.

Beginning in 2005, at Lambeth Palace in London, annual gatherings of world religious leaders have convened to address the G8 political leaders on the priorities of the world’s religious communities. Employing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which emerged in 2000 from then Secretary General Kofi Annan’s Millennium Forum as a “Rosetta Stone” (author’s description), religious leaders determined to keep the MDGs on the G8 agenda through at least one
full cycle of G8 summits. From 2005 in Lambeth, to Moscow, Köln, Kyoto/Sapporo, Rome, Winnipeg, Bordeaux and Washington, the meetings which are now referred to as the F8 Summits have largely succeeded in achieving that modest agenda.

The essence of the endeavour is something new under the sun. Positive discourse between “religion and the state” has emerged, without the political leadership being lectured or the religious leaders being compromised. In 2014, the Global Interfaith Summit process was renewed as the F20 Summits, thus far convened in Gold Coast, Istanbul and, with some constraints, in Beijing in August last. An F20 Summit is being planned for Berlin in July 2017, alongside the G20; and in an entirely new context, a Commonwealth Interfaith Summit is developing around the Commonwealth Games in Australia in 2018. The focus is now the Sustainable Development Goals.

And meanwhile, according to Professor Patrice Brodeur of the Université de Montréal and the King Abdullah International Centre for Interfaith and Intercultural Dialogue headquartered in Vienna, well over 6,000 centres of local interreligious dialogue have emerged and are being chartered in the last generation.

The better angels of every world religion and of all indigenous spiritualties have ever held that the unity in diversity of humanity and the health of the “oikumene” inform their very being.

To many of the first generation of world federalists, religion will seem a strange bedfellow. But it has taken all aspects of humanity to make the much tousled and globalized bed of the human community.

It will take all of us to strip and remake it.

The international community continues not only to be challenged by its failure to prevent armed conflicts before they occur, but also in addressing them in a timely and effective manner. The ongoing crises in Burundi, Syria and Yemen, to highlight a few, emphasize the need for renewed leadership and engagement in putting prevention up front.

A wide range of treaties and norms are available to address the root causes of armed conflict and prevent its recurrence. In 2015 the United Nations carried out high-level reviews of its Peacebuilding Architecture, UN Peace Operations and the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. The subsequent synthesis of these three reports provides a basis for renewed efforts in preventing armed conflicts, including the prevention of mass atrocity crimes.

The reviews drew linkages between the implementation of the Responsibility to Protect norm, the inclusion of women in peacebuilding and peacekeeping, and the ratification and implementation of the Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court as tools and mechanisms for the prevention of armed conflict and ensuring lasting peace.

They also underscored that systematic violations of human rights, in particular of women’s rights, and prevailing impunity for mass atrocity crimes, are among the root causes of armed conflicts and their recurrence. Further, they reminded us that participation of women constitutes a crucial dimension of broadening inclusion for sustaining peace and that peace negotiations and accords that are truly locally owned and inclusive of civil society and women have at least a 50% greater chance to succeed than those that do not.

The Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) norm offers a range of measures to reinforce national sovereignty and prevent the commission of mass atrocity crimes. RtoP is now widely understood to include three pillars of responsibility: (1) The responsibility of states to protect populations from mass atrocity crimes (genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing); (2) The wider international community’s responsibility to encourage and assist individual states in meeting that objective; and (3) If a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take appropriate collective action, in a timely and decisive manner and in accordance with the UN Charter.

Preventing and addressing armed conflict: The role of women in the implementation of the Responsibility to Protect

by Jelena Pia-Comella
Implementing RtoP is needed now more than ever if the international community is determined to prevent mass atrocities once and for all. Ensuring that the scope of the Responsibility to Protect norm includes a gender and accountability lens will further address the root causes of mass atrocity crimes, hence enhancing the RtoP preventive efforts. Through preventing discrimination and the violation of women’s rights, national stakeholders support the long-term prevention of atrocity crimes and their recurrence.

Furthermore, linking RtoP with the UN’s Women, Peace and Security agenda reinforces the international community’s ability to assist states to fulfill their responsibility to protect, under pillar two of the norm. United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325, which gave rise to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, was a landmark decision in addressing the gender gap in the peace and security arena. It recognized not only that women and girls are disproportionately affected by armed conflicts, but also that women are poorly represented in formal peacebuilding and peacemaking processes. Safeguarding women’s rights and their participation in peace and security is essential for the international community to effectively assist in promoting international human rights and humanitarian law and to strengthen national legislation and institutions to prevent mass atrocities. Subsequent UNSC Resolutions 1820 and 1960 went further in recognizing sexual and gender-based violence as a weapon of war, and fighting impunity for these crimes as necessary in ensuring gender justice and long-lasting peace. These resolutions underscore a new standard in multilateralism by not only recognizing the crucial role of women in mass atrocity crimes prevention, but also by drawing the linkages between peace, security and accountability.

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court is the first and, so far, the only international treaty that criminalizes and explicitly defines sexual and gender-based violence as crimes against humanity (Article 7(1) g); as war crimes (Article 8 (2) a (xxii)) and, to a certain extent, as genocide (Article (6) d). In this way, the Rome Statute not only ensures access to justice for women who are victims of the gravest crimes under international law, but also sets new standards for national legal systems.

The Rome Statute recognizes rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, and enforced sterilization as crimes against humanity and war crimes. In so doing it offers three main improvements in the fight against impunity: (1) by codifying these crimes in law; (2) by ensuring victims’ protection, participation and reparations in the Court’s procedures; and (3) by affirming that sexual and gender-based mass atrocities are in fact war crimes and crimes against humanity -- and not collateral acts of war. With these groundbreaking provisions, there is further assurance that the voices of women, often overlooked in prosecutions, can finally be heard in courtrooms across the world.

The International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICRtoP), a network of global civil society actors, works in partnership with governments, the United Nations and other networks to promote understanding and support of the RtoP norm. Additional measures advocated by the ICRtoP include:

- Coordinating and reinforcing support for universal ratification and implementation of the Rome Statute (in partnership with ICRtoP’s sister coalition, the Coalition for the International Criminal Court);
- Ensuring that National Action Plans on UNSC 1325 holistically address the four pillars of Women, Peace and Security: prevention, protection, participation, and relief and recovery;
- Ensuring that early-warning mechanisms are locally owned and include women's views and rights;
- Coordinating and reinforcing support for universal ratification and implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW);
- Carrying out awareness-raising campaigns on gender justice and recognizing that sexual and gender-based violence is not a collateral act of war but constitutes a crime of war;
- Strengthening the working methods of the UN Security Council to be more consistent and coherent in addressing and preventing mass atrocities;
- Mainstreaming the 1325 and RtoP agendas throughout all the decisions and resolutions of the UN Security Council.

Mediation workshop on strategies for effective engagement of women in the prevention and management of conflicts, held in May 2016 in Juba, South Sudan led by the Civil Affairs Division of the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS).

UN Photo/JC McIlwaine
Below are excerpts from a paper presented at the International Inequalities Seminar, London School of Economics, 21 March 2017.

“The work of a number of economists has documented the huge increase in inequality that has taken place in many parts of the world since the 1970s. This paper is concerned with the question of why economic inequality has increased so dramatically in recent decades.

The situation appears rather paradoxical because this upswing in inequality has taken place at the same time as a major spread of democracy worldwide. Democracy has long been assumed to lead to reductions in inequality. And yet in the post-1970s era we are seeing a significant increase in inequality in both the long-established democracies and also in the new ‘third wave’ democracies in Latin America, Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

Neoliberal globalization was initiated in the 1970s. A fundamental idea of neoliberalism is that ‘the economy’ is scientific and neutral and that the dynamics of growth are a technical matter that can be understood and modelled by calculations and formulae.

A key part of this is the idea that the ‘economic’ should be kept separate from the ‘political’. Thus neoliberalism calls for a re-structuring of the state in order to increasingly free the economic from political constraints. This idea, as I will discuss more below, has been fundamental in the post-1970s restructuring of the state. And in the process it has led to the removal of large areas of economic policy-making from democratic oversight.

In order to understand the rise in inequality that has occurred in the post-1970s period of globalization it is necessary to look at the way that democracy itself has changed in this period. A basic tenet of democratic theory is that “the fate of a national community is largely in its own hands” (Held 1995:13). In the context of the neoliberal globalization of production and finance in the post-1970s period, this is becoming less and less the case.

Instead, globalization has led to a process of economic de-democratization. I am not claiming that there has been a complete erosion of democracy, or that states have been washed away by global capital. Rather, decisions regarding the organization and functioning of economic matters have become less subject to democratic influence. I will discuss three major ways that this has happened – by the direct removal of certain economics matters from political control, by increasing restrictions on the policy options available to policy-makers, and by transformations in the structure of the policy-making process itself.

All of these changes add up to a really rather significant transformation in the nature of democracy. The policy-making prerogative of states has been redistributed ‘up’ to the supranational level, ‘down’ to lower state levels and ‘across’ to the market. And in contrast to the state, these new arenas of decision-making are largely insulated from democratic control. In this way economic issues have been de-politicized and increasingly removed from the arena of electoral politics. Furthermore, in each of the shifts that I have discussed the representation of capital in economic policy-making has been...
significantly increased, while that of labour has been correspondingly decreased. Thus I would contend that we’re not just seeing a transformation of democracy, as some scholars have argued, but rather that we are witnessing a process of de-democratization.

In all of the changes that I have documented, the representation of capital has increased while the representation of labour has decreased. Thus economic policies have increasingly been made in the interests of capital and the class compromise of the post-war period has been undermined. These structural, political changes, I contend, are the fundamental reasons that underlie many of the more proximate causes of the upswing in inequality.

If this analysis is correct, it has major implications for how we should go about tackling the contemporary rise in inequality. It implies first and foremost that in order to reduce inequality it is imperative to democratise economic policy-making at both the global and the national level. This would mean devising ways to both democratize global economic governance and to re-democratize national level economic governance. It could involve a process of bringing policy-making back from decentralised networks and into state structures at the national level, alongside the creation of state-like structures at the global level which would be able to regulate global capital for the good of society and through which policy alternatives, such as global social democracy, could be democratically debated - possibly in some sort of global parliament. Or it could involve devising ways to democratize de-centralised policy-making in national and global policy networks and in national and international financial organizations. However it is done, if we are serious about tackling inequality then we must be serious about democracy.”

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Yemen: Effective Humanitarian Aid Depends on a Peace Accord

by Rene Wadlow

The United Nations, together with the governments of Sweden and Switzerland who have often led on humanitarian issues in the UN system, held a high-level pledging conference in Geneva on April 25, 2017 to again draw attention to the deepening humanitarian crisis in war-torn Yemen. This is currently the largest food security emergency in the world. Some 60% of the population are in a food-insecure situation.

More than 3.5 million people have been displaced in the cycle of escalating violence. “We are witnessing the starving and the crippling of an entire generation. We must act now, to save lives” said Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, who presided over the conference. Realistically, he stressed that funding and humanitarian aid alone will not reverse the fortunes of the millions of people impacted. Diplomatically, he called for a cessation of hostilities and a political settlement with talks facilitated by the Special Envoy of the Secretary General, the Mauritanian diplomat Ismail Ould Chekh Ahmed.

UN officials and most diplomats are reluctant to call the armed conflict by its real name: “a war of aggression.” The aggression of the Saudi Arabia-led coalition (Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Qatar, Sudan, and the United Arab Emirates) against Yemen began on March 24, 2015.

The Saudi-led coalition is helped with arms and “intelligence” by the USA and the UK, which appreciate Saudi money for arms and do not want to antagonize a large segment of the Arab world when the conflicts of Syria-Iraq-Kurds-Turkey are still “on the table.”

However, the aggression of the Saudi coalition is what has turned an internal struggle for power between the current and the former presidents of Yemen into a war with regional implications, now drawing Iran into the picture.

Intellectually, the “political solution” is clear. There needs to be an end to the Saudi bombing and a withdrawal of its coalition troops. Then, the different factions in Yemen can try to develop some sort of inclusive government. The Swiss Foreign Minister, a co-host of the conference, hinted to the issue in suggesting very briefly that, if asked, Switzerland could provide expertise on forms of decentralization and con-federal government.

The effort to create a centralized Yemen government has failed. The future lies in a very decentralized government with great autonomy for the regions, taking into consideration the diverse tribal configuration of the country. With intelligence and patience – always in short supply – a single, highly decentralized State might be developed.

The most difficult first-step is ending Saudi-led aggression, after which an effective humanitarian aid and development program can be put into effect.
For well over half a century, proponents of a strong United Nations have called for reform that would enable the General Assembly to make binding and enforceable decisions on “important questions.” According to Article 18, paragraph 2 of the United Nations Charter, such matters “shall be decided by a two-thirds majority . . . of the members present and voting.” While I am not in favor of this clause, I recognize that it does give a significant voice to the many small to minuscule states (a couple with populations of only around 10,000) that constitute a great majority of the UN’s total membership.

Presently, it would be possible for only 65 states – the least populous, with just over a third of the total membership, but a combined population of only 1% of the world’s total – to block the wishes of the other 99%. Alternatively, the 129 least populous states – with just over two-thirds the total membership and not much over 8% of the world’s population – theoretically have enough collective votes to push through a resolution. Is it any wonder that GA resolutions are regarded as non-binding and are frequently ignored?

Charter reform to do away with the special privilege of the otherwise weak majority of UN member states would be exceedingly difficult. The same may be said in regard to reform of the increasingly ineffectual Security Council, especially so in respect to the permanent membership and veto privilege accorded solely to the P5 powers (China, France, Russia, U.S. and UK). Thus, despite the need for reform of both those bodies, let us, for purposes of this note, assume that the Charter will remain as is for the foreseeable future. Is there any way out of the present impasse in dealing with important questions with respect to which the SC is hopelessly divided, or in preventing the passage of ineffectual GA decisions by coalitions of states with small populations? Further, is there a way to make GA decisions binding and enforceable? In what follows, I hope to make the case that there is.

Consider the following proposal (shorn of all the introductory “Whereas” clauses):

Now, therefore, be it resolved [numbers/words in square brackets would be negotiable]:

In situations in which the Security Council either cannot or will not act effectively, certain resolutions of the General Assembly may be declared to be “binding and enforceable.” For a resolution to be so declared, it must be approved by a cohort of member states collectively accounting for at least [50%] of the world’s population, as per a stipulated date of record, which shall be updated every [ten] years; and must also be approved by a cohort of member states collectively accounting for at least [two-thirds] of the total votes allocated in a weighted voting formula agreed to by the General Assembly.

The weighted voting formula shall be an easily understandable mathematical equation, which may include both demographic and economic terms as well as a term relating to the sovereign equality of states. This formula shall be applied equally to all members. The empirical values used for the terms of the allocating equation will be updated at [ten-year intervals] in light of demographic and economic changes worldwide. The equation itself may be adjusted from time to time based on experience [but not more frequently than every ten years].

Failure of any state to live up to the letter of a binding and enforceable resolution shall, on the recommendation of the General Assembly, subject that state to punitive sanctions. Such sanctions may be progressively increased by either the Security Council or, should the Council fail to act, by the General Assembly, based on the severity and duration of that state’s non-compliance. [These sanctions may entail, inter alia, forfeiture of voting privileges in specified UN agencies, and may, in extreme circumstances, culminate in indicted individuals’ being subject to apprehension by armed police intervention.]
It has been over fifteen years since the first United Nations Security Council resolution (1325) to specifically address the women, peace and security agenda. In that time, sixty-three countries have developed National Action Plans (NAPs) — and sixteen new ones are in progress — to provide frameworks for viewing their approach and work in women, peace and security.

Canada’s first national action plan expired at the end of March 2016 and there has been a gradual process to develop the next one. The process was delayed while related federal government consultations — on international assistance and defence policy — took place over the summer of 2016.

Canadian civil society — particularly in the form of the Women, Peace and Security Network - Canada (WPSN-C) — has been eager to participate in crafting a NAP that addresses the shortcomings of the first C-NAP and learn from the lessons of other countries who have taken different approaches.

During the first few months of 2017, a consultation process — funded by Global Affairs Canada, administered by the World Federalist Movement - Canada, and organized by the WPSN-C — took place. The process was multi-faceted and included online and in-person components. The online aspect included a series of webinars — addressing defence policy, refugees, and feminist foreign policy and international assistance; background documents from both GAC and WPSN-C; a hosted Twitter conversation; and a survey. At the end of April, a two-day in-person consultation was held in Ottawa. More than seventy-five individuals, from both government and civil society, attended.

The form of the in-person consultation was influenced by previous work by the WPSN-C that examined the best practices and varying approached of other countries. A roundtable was held in Ottawa in September 2016 by the Embassies of the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, and WPSN-C with specific support from the Nobel Women’s Initiative. Following this discussion, WPSN-C produced a comparative document looking more broadly at the structure and content of NAPs (and their accompanying consultation processes, when held) from a number of countries, including Australia, Denmark, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, United Kingdom, and the United States.

Having considered different elements of the other donor country NAPs — their goals and objectives, focus countries, and monitoring and evaluation frameworks — and outreach to civil society representatives in a number of these countries, trends for improvement were identified. For example, there was general disappointment in consultation processes in the drafting of NAPs and ongoing civil society engagement and funding. Civil society representatives also felt that indicators were generally weak (this held true across different countries’ chosen indicators) and that the lack of a dedicated budget weakened the quality of implementation. As well, few NAPs included representation and/or involvement of diaspora and refugee women. (This was something particularly taken into consideration during the Canadian consultation. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada participated in the in-person consultation, along with civil society representation from refugee and diaspora communities. As well, one of the webinars specifically discussed refugees.)
Having reflected on these successes and challenges from other countries, the two days of discussion alternated between panel discussions with representatives from government and civil society and ‘work sessions’ in which participants brainstormed ideas, priorities, and suggestions and the topics covered included:

- Reviewing and consolidating understanding of the key lessons from the previous C-NAP;
- Identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the previous C-NAP, from the perspectives of the participants;
- Identifying priorities for the new C-NAP, including emerging issues and Canadian comparative advantages;
- Discussion on the scope and structure of the new C-NAP with participating government departments;
- Priority objectives for participating government departments as a result of small discussion groups with both government and civil society;
- Identifying strategies and possible indicators on possible C-NAP objectives.

Additionally, Hannah Bond from Gender Action for Peace and Security - United Kingdom (GAPS-UK), Mavic Cabrera-Balleza from the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP, New York) and Jacqueline O’Neill of Inclusive Security (Washington) participated in the consultation on two panels: Context and Opportunities for Canada and Lessons Learned on Building Effective WPS NAPs. Both of these panels are available to watch at cnapconsult.org.


The Women, Peace and Security Agenda – continued

The proposed changes do not require any revision of Article 18 or any other clauses of the existing Charter. The weighted voting proposal is flexible and responsive to demographic, economic and political changes. And they could be rescinded by a vote of the General Assembly after a trial period of a specified number of years.

The UN's small-state majority would continue to be able to block resolutions inimical to their interests. And the resolution’s specification that an economic term be included in the weighted voting formula should allay the fears of wealthy states that they could be regularly outvoted by populous states of the global South.

The possible forms of the weighted voting formula are virtually endless and it goes without saying that there will be much bickering before any agreement is reached. Nevertheless, I believe that the simple compromise solution discussed in Chapter 3 of my book would have a reasonably good chance of being adopted. The formula follows:

\[ W = \frac{(P + C + M)}{3} \]

Here, \( W \) indicates the weight of a member state's vote expressed in the form of a percentage of the total votes for all states;

\( P \) indicates a member state's population expressed in the form of a percentage of the total population for all member nations;

\( C \) indicates a member state's paid contributions to the regular UN budget over the past five years expressed in the form of a percentage of the total contributions for all states; and

\( M \) is a constant indicating a state's membership expressed in the form of a percentage of the total membership for all states (presently 1/193 or 0.518%).

The \( P \) term of the equation should gain favor among relatively poor, but populous states; the \( C \) term would be favored by relatively powerful states with large economies; and the \( M \) term would appeal to most of the numerous small states, be they wealthy or poor. All states would have to accept the necessity of a trade-off to reach an accord that maximizes the good of the whole.
Anniversaries often mark an opportunity for stock-taking, renewal . . . and occasionally reform. The year 2020, marking 75th anniversary of the United Nations, presents advocates of a more effective UN the chance to call for measures to strengthen the world body.

In 1995, at the time of the UN’s 50th anniversary (and soon after the end of the Cold War) there was much advance study and anticipation of ways governments could act to improve the UN system. Remember the Commission on Global Governance? But major powers were able to suppress movement toward any progressive reforms.

However, ten years later, in time for the UN’s 60th anniversary Secretary-General Kofi Annan led efforts that resulted in substantially upgraded UN Human Rights machinery, the advent of the Responsibility to Protect and other measures (enumerated in an October 2005 Outcome Document).

In addition to the 75th anniversary, the year 2020 will also be the occasion for several multi-year reviews of major treaties and processes, including the Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change. So why not capitalize on this important moment for the UN?

The UN2020 Initiative is canvassing the views of a variety of stakeholders -- civil society representatives, Member States and UN officials – to explore the inclusion of a UN reform preparatory process in preparations for the anticipated UN 2020 Summit Meeting. A May 4, 2017 consultation involved discussions among over 30 New York-based NGOs. The campaign has also met with over a dozen key governments as well as UN Secretariat staff.

Coordination for the project is provided by the WFM-IGP New York secretariat and WFM – Canada’s national office in Ottawa. Project partners include CIVICUS (the “world alliance for citizen participation”), The Stimson Center (a Washington-based think tank), and the Workable World Trust (Minnesota).

It is too early in the process to know whether the initiative will succeed. According to WFM Executive Director Bill Pace, “We’re encouraged by the kinds of hearings we’re getting. Senior officials and diplomats are taking the idea of a 2020 reform process seriously. Perhaps part of the interest is a reaction to Donald Trump and the U.S. threats to cut funding for the UN. At a time when powerful governments are demonstrating less support for multilateralism and the benefits of international cooperation, there are also a number of small and medium-sized states not willing to sit idly by while the UN is further marginalized and diminished.”

UN 2020: Will this be a Happy Birthday? by Fergus Watt

Fergus Watt is Executive Director of World Federalist Movement – Canada.
Joe Stiglitz probably needs no introduction as he is among the international elite group of economists and someone whose writings always demand one’s attention. This book could not be more timely, as Europe struggles with its identity. The French election results allowed us to breathe a sigh of relief, but the contentious background issues have by no means been put to rest. The future of the Euro is by far not the least of these issues.

Up until about five years ago, I never gave much thought about the Euro -- unless I was checking its conversion rate when travelling internationally. I just took it for granted that it was an essential component of an ever-evolving architecture of European-wide institutions. Like world federalists everywhere, I just took it for granted as an unmitigated good. I should not have been so sanguine. On this the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Maastricht Treaty, which launched the Euro, we really have no choice but to take a second hard look.

Was it a wise initiative, and what should be its future? What does Stiglitz have to say? Here is a sampling of quotes from his book:

- “… a fatal decision in 1992, to adopt a single currency, without providing for the institutions that would make it work. Good currency arrangements cannot ensure prosperity, but flawed currency arrangements can lead to recessions and depressions.”

- “The founders of the Euro changed the rules of the game. They fixed the exchange rate and they centralized the determination of the interest rate. They created new rules governing deficits and new rules governing the banking system. Hubris led them to believe that they understood how the economic system worked.”

- “It was a political project; it was supposed to enhance the political integration of Europe, bringing the people and countries of Europe closer together and ensuring peaceful co-existence. The Euro has failed to achieve either.”

- “Had they known back in 1992, when they signed up for the Euro, what they know now - and had the people of Europe been given a chance to vote on joining the Euro - it is hard to see how they could have supported it. But that is a different question from that confronting Europe today. That question is, having created the Euro, where do they go from here?”

- “The alternative, entailing ‘more Europe’, creating a Euro-zone that works, is almost surely the best path forward for Europe, but it appears too much for at least some of the countries in the Euro-zone to stomach.”

- “Many within Europe will be saddened by the death of the Euro. This is not the end of the world, as currencies come and go.”

This gives a flavour of what the book has to offer. Now let me fill in some of the gaps and summarize. The Euro works -- except when it doesn’t. And that’s the rub. Simply put: when the international/regional economy trends downward - as it most assuredly will do from time to time - the nations inside the Euro-zone will be extremely vulnerable. Fenced in with a fixed exchange rate, a single interest rate, and without any type of fiscal union to protect them, Euro-zone nations - and particularly its weakest members - have little ability to regenerate their economies. And as we have seen, when the rubber hits the road it only gets worse, as the Euro-zone powers that be then choose austerity to hopefully restore the balance sheet of its most vulnerable members. Everybody loses.

Does all this mean that the Euro is on its last legs or that it should be put out of its misery? Not necessarily. Even today, Euro-zone members generally agree that the single currency needs more integration. But the agreement ends there as they strenuously disagree over how. Stiglitz would prefer that the Euro be modified and/or enhanced but sees little or no appetite among European publics for the “more Europe” (fiscal and banking union) steps to do so. Then there are numerous proposals out there for splitting the Euro-zone into separate smaller Euros based on blocks of economies with more similar characteristics. There are options and question marks all over the place regarding both the Euro’s membership and its direction.

Don’t be surprised if there continues to be a lot of talk and no action. Muddling through -- until the next crisis -- will most likely be the way forward. That would be most unfortunate. I’m sure Joseph Stiglitz would tell his European friends that simply singing Ode to Joy -- the European Union’s anthem -- just doesn’t cut it.
In May 2017 I travelled to Windsor, Ontario, Canada to introduce the campaign for COPLA (Spanish acronym for the proposed Latin American and Caribbean Criminal Court against Transnational Organized Crime) at the Conference “Transnational Criminal Law in the Americas,” organized by the Transnational Law and Justice Network of the University of Windsor Faculty of Law.

Jacob Leon (Dalhousie University), presented a paper in which he analyzed the draft statute prepared by the COPLA legal experts team. The statute attempts to establish the basic structure of the Court, serve as a tool for debate and as a model for the international treaty that would create COPLA.

Inspired by the Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court, the COPLA draft sets out the seven core crimes that the Court would have jurisdiction over. It is based on the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime – the “Palermo Convention” – and its three supplementary protocols, as well as the Vienna Convention (1988). These instruments have been ratified by all states in the region. Similar to the Rome Statute, the COPLA is intended to be complementary with domestic law: the Court only acts when a government is either not able or not willing to do so. This, together with the focused subject matter and the smaller, regional membership, indirectly addresses some of the arguments raised by the international community when the Caribbean states (led by Trinidad and Tobago) pushed to include treaty crimes such as drug trafficking and smuggling within the ICC jurisdiction. The restricted jurisdiction and the goal of prosecuting the highest echelons (“cúpulas”) of the criminal organizations would increase the Court’s ability to enforce and investigate crimes such as the trafficking of drugs, people and weapons, money laundering and political corruption.

The draft statute proposes a very “economic” structure, avoiding the addition of expensive bureaucracy. Each country would appoint its candidates (a judge and a prosecutor), and would be expected to cover their expenses should one of them be chosen. The host country (to be determined in the first Assembly of State Parties) would provide infrastructure for offices. Each state party would provide access to a maximum security prison and designate one of its elite security forces to be available and on call for the Court.

Some legal experts and former officials attending the Windsor conference believed that more can be done to clarify and guarantee the financial sustainability of the new body. It was suggested that a small percentage of the asset forfeitures be set aside for paying operational costs. The Statute so far only assigns these as a reparation fund for victims and their families.

Regarding more sceptical views (Why would anyone want to create another doomed-to-failure institution? How will you get these countries to comply?), COPLA proponents believe that governments have no basis for opposing the establishment of this Court, considering their ratification of related instruments and the urgency of the matter.

Keynote speaker and COPLA enthusiast, Prof. Robert Currie (Schulich School of Law, Dalhousie University) suggests there needs to be more focus on transnational criminal law literature, and stresses the importance of educating domestic criminal justice systems on transnational crimes. By considering some of these crimes “petty”, we choose to ignore the enormous and disruptive impact they have on daily life. Transnational crimes still attract less attention compared to the amount of study given to international criminal law. The unique nature of these crimes means that establishing a connection between international law and domestic criminal codes is a key objective when drafting the statute.
The campaign so far

The COPLA campaign’s evolution has been anything but linear. It started out as a small NGO’s project looking to build civil society support in the region. However, receiving political endorsement from the Argentine government has given the project an undeniable boost. Last year, the Argentine Chamber of Deputies called on the government to “lead the efforts in the region towards the creation of such a Court,” following a previous resolution of support from the Senate. The Parliament of MERCOSUR also passed a declaration of support.

Argentine Vice-President Michetti was encouraged by initial support from the Presidents of Uruguay, Chile, Ecuador and Brazil (Dilma Rouseff at the time) when mentioning COPLA on her first regional tour of early 2016. The President of the Brazilian Supreme Court of Justice suggested organizing a seminar in Montevideo with regional leaders to start the discussions. For Michetti, COPLA is a logical and necessary step towards the restoration of the rule of law in the region.

The time has come for COPLA to be a truly regional initiative. Civil society and political leaders involved since the early stages know that progress is now tied to having their counterparts in the rest of the region adopt this campaign as their own and work toward strengthening essential civil society networks.

In Canada, we continue to meet with experts and aim to organize regional conferences where all stakeholders (government officials, media, academics, security forces, legal experts, representatives from regional and international organizations) will discuss how to build support in the most efficient way. We are thankful for the support and interest of Prof. Robert Currie, Jacob Leon, Prof. Sara Wharton and her amazing team at the Transnational Law and Justice Network at Windsor Law and all the global experts that were part of the Conference.

Transnational organized crime is at the root of the region’s most serious threats to human security. National authorities have been unable to significantly address the problem. With a COPLA, a vast percentage of the budget that states are currently allocating to security could be invested in health and education. Furthermore, there would be a better climate to receive foreign investment, as multinational corporations are currently wary of establishing their business and having to face extra costs for security.

COPLA is also a tool for regional integration, a chance for Latin America and the Caribbean to deal with regional problems independently of the United States, and thereby surmount their “backyard syndrome” and combat the criminal organizations that have infiltrated their political elites and judicial and security systems.

To learn more about the campaign and its supporters, please visit www.coaliciconcopla.org. You can join the COPLA campaign by signing the petition online. Soon the draft statute will be available (in Spanish) for citizens’ comments on https://www.justicia2020.gob.ar/ and an initial English translation is under development.
Ten years ago the Campaign for a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) was launched to advocate democratic representation of the world’s citizens at the United Nations.

Usually, UN bodies are composed of officials who are appointed by the executive branches of national governments. By contrast, a UNPA would for the first time give elected representatives and members of the opposition a formal role in the world organization. The assembly would directly represent the world’s citizens—not governments. Supporters envisage that it would act as an independent watchdog and as an engine for UN reform, including a progressive democratization of global governance.

According to the campaign, states initially could choose whether their UNPA members would come from national (or regional) parliaments, reflecting their political spectrum, or whether they would be directly elected. Eventually, all members should be directly elected. Step by step, the assembly should be provided with rights of information, participation and oversight vis-à-vis the UN and the organizations of the UN system.

The idea of a UNPA has been put forward again and again ever since the UN was created. Today, however, it is has become hard to argue against it since important regional organizations such as the European Union, the African Union, or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (which actually spans across the whole Northern hemisphere) all include a parliamentary component, and because a majority of UN member states are now democracies. The European Parliament which over decades developed into a legislative body of the EU is considered an important example to draw upon.

By now, a UNPA has been endorsed by thousands of politicians, former UN officials, distinguished scholars, cultural innovators, representatives of civil society organizations, and committed citizens from all walks of life. In particular, the campaign was supported by nearly 1,500 members of parliament from over 100 countries (around half of which are still in office). Among them are Federica Mogherini, today’s European Union Foreign Minister, Justin Trudeau, who is now Canada’s Prime Minister, and Gabriela Michetti, now Vice-President of Argentina. The full list is published on the campaign’s website.

One of the most important advocates was former UN-Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. When the campaign was launched he wrote that the establishment of a UNPA “has become an indispensable step to achieve democratic control of globalization. “Other former UN officials who took a stand include former Under-Secretary-Generals Ibrahim Gambari, Shashi Tharoor, Brian Urquhart and Heitor Gurgulino de Souza.

Ten current and former UN experts elected by the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva are on record as well. According to Maina Kiai from Kenya, who endorsed in 2016 and was until recently the UN’s rapporteur on rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association, “one weakness of the United Nations is that its member states are represented solely through the executive branch. The involvement of additional actors such as parliamentarians and civil society is critical to democratizing the UN.”

Recent additions to the ranks of UNPA Campaign supporters include several Nobel Laureates: the Dalai Lama (peace), John Hume (peace), Richard J. Roberts (medicine), Eric S. Maskin (economy), and Mohamed Fadhel Mahfoudh from Tunisia who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2015 on behalf of the Quartet for National Dialogue. “We need to act now and implement democratic principles at the largest scale of government if we want them to survive the recent rise of...
nationalism that is threatening peace and international understanding,” Mr. Mahfoudh stated when he endorsed the campaign in December 2016. All in all, the campaign has identified around 25 Nobel laureates who at some point have supported a citizen-elected UN body, among them Albert Einstein.

The overall goal of the campaign is to mobilize government support for the establishment of a UNPA. One possibility is a vote of the UN General Assembly according to Article 22 of the UN’s Charter, which allows the General Assembly to create subsidiary bodies. To get there, we advocate the proposal vis-à-vis parliamentarians and civil society organizations and work towards achieving popular awareness of a UNPA as a response to the global democratic deficit.

The adoption of a pro-UNPA resolution by the Pan-African Parliament, the African Union’s parliamentary body, was one of the highlights of the previous 12 months. In addition, the campaign organized two panels on the question of a world parliament that featured eight speakers at the conference on “New Topics in Global Justice” at Yale University.

Following numerous bilateral meetings in New York, an off-the-record information session on a UNPA was held in early May 2017 in collaboration with the permanent mission of Canada to the UN. Representatives of 12 government delegations participated.

At the meeting, representatives of civil society organizations, among them the World Federalist Movement, argued that a parliamentary UN body would make the UN engage directly with elected representatives in discussing global governance and thus help strengthen support for the UN’s work. An important new topic under consideration is the creation of a UN Parliamentary Network (UNPN) as a preliminary step towards a UNPA. This was advocated in the 2015 report of the Commission on International Security, Justice and Governance, chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and former Nigerian Foreign Minister Ibrahim Gambari.

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.

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Over the course of its existence, there have been 23 cases in nine situations brought before the International Criminal Court. Preliminary examinations are currently being conducted into situations in Afghanistan, Burundi, 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 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 are pending. Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo, 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 in October 2016 and sentenced in March 2017. Sentences ranged from 6 months to two years and 6 months imprisonment (with time served being considered) and, in addition, fines were levied of EUR 300,000 for Bemba and EUR 30,000 for Aimé Kilolo Musamba.

Central African Republic (II)

The second investigation in Central African Republic is still ongoing.

Côte d’Ivoire

The trial of Laurent Gbagbo and Charles Blé Goudé, who are in the Court’s custody and are accused of four 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 are pending.

Darfur, Sudan

There has been no change 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

Lubanga Dyilo has been convicted and sentenced to 14 years imprisonment. In October 2016, the Court approved and ordered the implementation of the plan submitted by the Trust Fund for Victims for symbolic collective reparations. The TFV will file reports on their progress every three months.

In the case of the Prosecutor v. Germain Katanga and Mathieu Ngudjolo Chui, Ngudjolo Chui was acquitted, while German Katanga was sentenced to twelve years. He has been transferred to a prison facility in the DRC. At the end of March 2017, individual and collective reparations were awarded to the victims of his crimes. Symbolic compensation of USD 250 was awarded to each of the 297 individual victims. Collective reparations are to take the form of support for housing, income-generating activities, education and psychological help. In May, the government of the Netherlands said that they would imminently underwrite the symbolic individual compensation through the TFV, while Katanga’s financial situation is monitored for future repayment. The trial of Bosco Ntaganda, which began in September 2015, on 13 counts of war crimes (including rape and sexual slavery of civilians and children and conscription of child soldiers) and 5 counts of crimes against humanity (including murder and attempted murder; rape; sexual slavery; and forcible transfer of population) continues. Over two thousand victims have been granted the right to participate in the case. An arrest warrant was issued for Sylvestre Mudacumura in 2012, but he remains at large.

Georgia

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

Libya

Arrest warrants remain open in the cases of Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi and Al-Tuhamy Mohamed Khaled.

Kenya

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

Mali

Ahmad Al Faqi Al Mahdi was found guilty of the war crime of attacking historic and religious buildings in September 2016 and was sentenced to nine years. The case is at the stage of determining reparations and/or compensation.

Uganda

The suspects Joseph Kony, and Vincent Otti remain at large.

In the case of the Prosecutor v. Dominic Ongwen, Ongwen was surrendered to ICC custody in 2015. His trial began in December 2016.

Other

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

Prior moves by South Africa and the Gambia to pursue withdrawal from the Court have recently been reversed. And in Zambia, where the government decided to consult people on whether the country should remain in the ICC, opinion sampling showed over 93% in favour of continuing as a part of the ICC. Thirty-four countries have now ratified the Kampala Amendments on the Crime of Aggression, the latest two being Argentina and Portugal in April.