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**WHAT'S NEXT?  
CONTEMPLATING THE  
FUTURE OF GLOBAL  
GOVERNANCE**



Citizens for  
Global Solutions



WORLD FEDERALIST  
MOVEMENT - CANADA

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Cover image: Azzam, T. (2013), Klimt (Freedom Graffiti), the Syrian Museum. To learn more about the artist and his work, please see the back cover of this issue.

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# LETTER FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Winter 2025

Dear Reader,

The cover art that opens this issue of *Mondial* captures a moment of incomprehensible destruction juxtaposed with ineffable beauty. The multimedia creation holds a mirror to the viewer, asking us if we see first the suffering or the ray of light. The devastation or the embrace?

Syria's liberation in December 2024, as this issue was in development, "[marks a new dawn after decades of darkness](#)." The courage of the Syrian people to persevere in the face of unfathomable suffering can be a beacon of hope for all who feel the weight of the world's injustices today.

Our cover asks: "What comes next?" As for Syria, the answer to this question for global governance writ large is uncertain. Some articles in this issue unearth the threats that imperil the hopes of humanity, the rights of future generations, and the survival of the planet, such as the liquidity crisis confronting the United Nations (UN) and attacks on independent judicial institutions meant to end impunity for the gravest crimes.

These critical warnings are complemented by hopeful and solution-oriented contributions, including articles unpacking the opportunities created by the Summit of the Future (on which we reported in the [previous issue](#)), efforts to achieve accountability for the international crimes of slavery and the slave trade, and proposals for new judicial mechanisms to address sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping – the latter contributed by our youngest author, the winner of the inaugural [New Voices 4 Global Solutions](#) Youth Essay Contest.

Beyond these specific initiatives, this issue's authors also encourage our readers to consider new ways of thinking about our relationship to one another and to our planet, with strong arguments for embracing the concepts of world citizenship and an "Earth-Human Ecosystem."

Lastly, we are honored to once again include book recommendations that speak directly to this vision: "Abolishing War" by Winston Langley argues that an end to war is not an idealist vision but an achievable and indispensable mission for humanity. Dr. Langley's appeal is a fitting counterpoint to Roméo Dallaire's memoir, "The Peace: A Soldier's Journey," in which "he examines the darkness in human nature and the potential for personal and global recovery," in the words of the recommender.

As democratic world federalists, we believe that a future is attainable where atrocities are not tolerated and perpetrators held accountable, where mutual cooperation and strong global governance institutions can realize the UN Charter promise "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." As with the cover artwork's duality, we hope that profound challenges described by our contributors find ballast in the solutions they offer. The embrace in "The Kiss" inspired both Austrian Gustav Klimt, painting at a time of relative peace – which would shortly be shattered by the advent of World War I, and Syrian artist Tammam Azzam, creating art in the face of mass atrocity centuries later. Like the couple in their artwork, we must look to find comfort and support from our global community.

Your contributions make *Mondial* – as well as the initiatives described in its pages – possible. Please consider giving to sustain the journal and advance our shared mission.

In global solidarity,

The Editorial Board

# SOLVING THE UN'S LIQUIDITY CRISIS: RADICAL THINKING



**David R. Woollcombe**

David Woollcombe is the founder of Peace Child International. He has championed youth engagement for more than 40 years and specializes in making complex topics understandable to young people and others. Among his contributions to youth engagement in the vital issues of our time, David wrote and produced the play “Peace Child,” created the children’s edition of the Rio Agenda 21 “Rescue Mission: Planet Earth,” and organized the six World Youth Congresses. David now works as a consultant on youth employment, citizen diplomacy and climate change issues for a number of organizations in the United Kingdom and globally. He has stood three times as a Green Party candidate for Hertfordshire and represents East Herts as a Local Councillor.

In January 2024, United Nations (UN) Secretary General António Guterres wrote a [letter](#) to all UN Member State representatives that must have been uncomfortable for him to write. He told them: “Over the course of the last year, the cash situation [at the UN] has morphed into a full-blown liquidity crisis. As a result, I am forced to implement aggressive cash conservation measures to avert a default.” The core problem, he explained, was that “not all Member States pay their assessed contributions in full. In 2023, we collected only 82.3% of the assessments, causing our year-end arrears to rise from \$330m to \$859m. Additionally, we had to return \$114m to Member States as credits. We survived because we started the year with \$700m in cash reserves. We started 2024 with \$60m and now anticipate running out of all cash by August 2024.”

As of late November 2024, there was no confirmation of that dire prediction. One hundred forty-seven Member States have paid their [assessed contributions](#), leaving 46 that have not, of which the largest, the United States and China, owed \$3 billion and \$2 billion respectively.

This liquidity crisis comes at a time when the UN system is actually spending more than ever before: \$74 billion in 2022 — up from \$40 billion a decade

ago. The trouble is that over 80% of that budget is in “earmarked funds” that member states and others designate for spending through certain agencies, often on specific projects within those agencies. Administrative overheads and core salaries are paid for by “assessed contributions” — which is where the UN is seriously cash-stressed. The Secretariat has had to impose a hiring freeze and energy saving measures plus severely curtail official travel, use of consultants and construction projects.

Bad as the figures are, the reputational damage for the UN is perhaps worse: every day, staff and visitors to the UN see empty offices, positions unfilled, escalators turned off and meetings cancelled or transferred online to save funds. This gives rise to rumors, such as: “The UN is broke!” Very few Member States want that, and neither does the public. [Pew Research](#) found that, in 35 countries, “58% have a favorable, and 31% a negative view of the organization.” Despite the emergence of other entities, like the G20 and BRICS+, most agree that the UN is the only game in town and must be preserved. As the Secretary General says at the end of his letter: “We simply must find a lasting solution for these recurring liquidity problems.”

Let us review what he, and others, have suggested those “lasting solutions” might be.

## CURRENTLY CONSIDERED SOLUTIONS

The Secretary General’s solution is to “urge all Member States to meet their financial obligations in full.” The two words that he, as a diplomat, is far too polite to include are: “or else!” Currently, the “or else” lies in Clause 19 of the UN Charter, which states: “A UN Member State which is two full years in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions shall have no vote in the General Assembly.” This penalty is clearly too timid. In the businessworld, customers have to settle invoices within 30 days or face penalties and, ultimately, court proceedings. The UN should impose indicative penalties on Member States that fall three or six months in arrears—things like: exclusion from the Members’ dining room, chairmanship of committees or a loss of the right to vote in the General Assembly and Security Council. This might embarrass permanent representatives of non-paying Member-States sufficiently to urge their capitals to pay their dues.

International researchers and think tanks have several other solutions:

**1. Regulate earmarking / strengthen assessed contributions:** An essential first step. [The International Peace Institute’s Global Observatory](#) (IPI Global Observatory) reveals that 88% of the 2022 income of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) income was earmarked. For the UN International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), that number was 87%, and for the World Food Programme (WFP), 97%. This requires UN Agencies to become non-stop fundraisers and to engage in a competitive chase after voluntary contributions, which results in a “more atomized UN family, with more duplication

and turf wars.” It also, inevitably, leads UN Agencies to undertake projects for which funding is available, forsaking those that their mandates require. The Secretary General’s proposed “Funding Compact” demands that donors pool their earmarked contributions into interagency funds; but that idea has considerable pushback from both donor and recipient countries that prefer the cozy system of financial patronage that the current system gives them. At the very least, the Secretary General should require earmarked funds pay a higher percentage of their total to overheads.

**2. Mergers and “Delivering as ONE”:** [A FUNDS Report](#) by Stephen Browne and Thomas Weissman recommends setting up an Independent Funding Commission to identify duplication and recommend mergers. They point out that:

- Three UN agencies are responsible for Food & Agriculture: the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), and WFP;
- Six UN-related agencies collect data on trade: the International Trade Commission (ITC), UN Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), as well as the following bodies connected to the UN: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO);
- Twenty-nine agencies have programs on water; and
- Four agencies have programs on maternal health: UN Population Fund (UNFPA, UNICEF), UN Women, and the World Health Organization (WHO);

This results in meetings at which the leaders of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) leaders like myself watch aghast as hours of debate are wasted on discussions as to which agency has responsibility for what. “Stop it!” We want to cry. Sometimes they do, and talk piously about cost effectiveness and “delivering as one.” An early sign that they might actually do this is the planned move of some UN agencies to an expanded UN campus in Nairobi, as rents there are much lower than in Manhattan.

**3. The EU Method:** Several interesting ideas for new Funding Mechanisms were raised in a [2020 Publication](#) by Augusto Lopez Claros, Maja Groff, and Arthur Dahl, starting with that used by the European Union. The European Union (EU) system has each member state paying a fixed



*The UN Premises in Geneva feels the cold of reduced funding.*

percentage of their Gross National Income (GNI) plus value added tax (VAT) receipts. Payments are automatically deducted at source and Member States are not allowed to withhold contributions even if they disagree with policy. Also, the Budget is set for seven-year cycles whereas the UN operates on annual budgets. But, the EU is comprised of only 27 countries with long, shared histories, similar economies, culture,s and tax systems. Direct comparisons with the UN are thus probably fanciful.

4. **A Tobin Tax:** Another possibility explored by Claros, Groff, and Dahl—and many others before them—is the financial transactions tax proposed by James Tobin. It builds on the 1936 proposal of John Maynard Keynes for a general financial transaction tax which, he argued, would dampen the reckless speculation or “casino capitalism” of financial markets. Tobin himself did not give much thought to what to do with the annual revenue raised by the tax on transactions. But the tax’s supporters quickly did the math, and realised that a 0.05% tax on the world’s \$1.3 trillion daily transactions would yield approximately \$600 billion a year—more than enough to deliver on every UN mandate for peacekeeping, education, health-, shelter, water, and nutrition-for-all.
5. **The Schwartzberg Proposal:** The most promising proposal we have seen to date is also the simplest. As proposed by Joseph Schwartzberg in his 2013 study, [“Transforming the United Nations System: Designs for a Workable World,”](#) the UN would assess Member State contributions at a fixed percent of their peoples’ average per capita income. The result would be that wealthy countries like Liechtenstein, Monaco, and Qatar would contribute a lot more per capita than, say, China, Sierra Leone, or Nigeria. But everyone would consider it to be fair and it would eliminate the complexity that baffles this author and many of the diplomats to whom I have spoken. It would also eliminate the need for “earmarked funds,” which would allow the UN to pursue its core mandates, not the pet projects of wealthy individual Member States and their “donor darling” client states. The World Bank reports that total world income in 2023 was about \$100 trillion: 0.01% of this would be \$100 billion, considerably more than the UN spent last year.

## RADICAL SOLUTIONS—AND HOW TO MAKE THEM HAPPEN

At the first meeting of the UN General Assembly in London in January 1946, the British Prime Minister,

Clement Attlee, praised the authors of the UN Charter, saying how pleased he was that it was set up in the name of “we the peoples,” not “we the governments.” But he was mistaken; the UN is – and always has been – a “we the governments” organization. So, if “he who pays the piper calls the tune,” “we the peoples” cannot complain that we don’t get much of a say in how the organisation is run or the decisions it takes.

1. **Monetizing the UN:** In the run-up to the UN Summit of the Future, several calculated that the current global tax revenue is insufficient to meet the budget required to deliver the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals, or any of the other great missions that the UN has promised to deliver. So what might we the peoples do to raise the funds needed? Could we the peoples monetize the UN and thus take a bigger role in paying the UN piper and calling its tune?

Think about it. Although there is massive popular support for addressing the climate crisis, few governments dare to inflict any pain on the public or tax the fossil fuel companies that have been making a billion dollars a day in profit since the 1990s. Some governments also subsidize those companies to continue their fossil fuel production to the tune of \$5.23 trillion a year. We the peoples, especially young people, blanch in rage when they hear those numbers. The climate emergency demands that cash mountain be spent on ensuring the survival of future generations. One way of doing this would be to make the UN the hub of a global carbon trading scheme, like the one set up by the European Commission. It would trade government-to-government and business-to-business carbon credits, but it could go further and set up a Personal Carbon Budget (PCB) trading scheme. PCBs would take the current carbon emissions budget recommended by the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) required to stay below the 1.5 degree threshold, divide it between the 8 billion inhabitants of planet earth and trade it accordingly. Inhabitants of the industrialized north who want to maintain their high-carbon lifestyles would have to purchase carbon credits from individuals in the global south, thus transferring huge amounts of cash from north to south, and massively incentivising a rapid transition to renewable sources of energy, while simultaneously providing some economic and climate justice duly owed. It would also raise billions in handling fees by the UN. Fanciful? Probably. But the unhappy outcome of the Baku Conference of Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP) suggests that, in the lifetimes of the young people going



*UN Secretary General António Guterres and President Vladimir Putin met at the BRICS+ Summit, in Kazan, Russia, on October 24, 2024.*

through our schools and universities today, they will have to create new global institutions to deliver the very expensive climate solutions if future generations are to live in the safe, sustainable world that Secretary General Guterres described in his [letter to his great granddaughter](#).

**2. Create a new UN that Works!** Nowhere in that letter — nor in any of the discussions leading up to the Summit of the Future – did he or anyone raise this radical but obvious idea for a solution: creating a UN that -

- boldly addresses the growing conflict between the unipolar US-led G7/NATO alliance and the multipolar anti-Western BRICS+ alliance led by Russia and China.
- finds a way to override the vetoes of Russia and the US to end the carnage in Ukraine and Gaza;
- delivers a world free of nuclear weapons, as it has tried to do these last 80 years; and
- solves the climate crisis and delivers on its oft-repeated promises of education-for-all, health-for-all, and food & shelter-for-all.

Why should member governments, or anyone else, throw good money after bad at an organization that has so clearly failed to deliver the global services it was set up to provide? Sir Partha Dasgupta began his Biodiversity Review, an independent study commissioned by the government of the United Kingdom, by noting:

The UN, as presently constituted, is clearly not that infrastructure. Secretary General Guterres appeared to acknowledge that fact when he told a panel of young people at the opening of the Summit of the Future: “Our generation messed

up,” adding, darkly, “Great powers never give up their power; it has to be taken.” By this he meant, what we all know and which the Summit of the Future did not really address: we have to revise the UN Charter, eliminate the P5 Veto, and recognise the rights and voice of the global south. A UN paid for by the global north is never going to genuinely work for the interests of the majority of the world’s people. Likewise, a UN paid for by the elders of today is never going to prioritize the interests of future generations whatever the UN’s well-meaning [Declaration](#) says. So reform or re-invention is imperative. But how?

**3. Where to begin?** Tell a plausible story of how young people might make UN Reform happen. That is what “Peace Child” has done these last 40 years – and several of our stories have become self-fulfilling prophecies. The original “Peace Child” story told how a friendship between a young American boy and a Russian girl persuaded their presidents to become friends and end the Cold War. Within a decade, Reagan and Gorbachev had done just that and the Iron Curtain fell. In 2008, a “Peace Child” called “Kids on Strike!” was created by a youth group in Rochester, New York. It told a story of how kids came out on strike to force their governments to solve the climate Emergency. Ten years later, Greta Thunberg made the story real.

In the Pact for the Future, our governments promised to “safeguard the needs and interests of future generations.” So next year’s new P5 Peace Child Project will bring young people from each of the P5 nations to co-create a story that has the UN bringing together P5 leaders to explore solutions to the planetary boundary issues which they *must* solve together. How will they do it? Peace Child has faith that young people, guided by elder professionals, will figure it out. In 45 years, they have never let us down. And, at the heart of every Peace Child story is a UN-like body that is owned, financed and operated by “we the peoples” of the whole world – working to ensure that we are all “good ancestors” who prioritise the needs of generations yet unborn.



# THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES FALLS: THE IMPACT OF US SANCTIONS ON THE ICC



**Rebecca A. Shoot**

Rebecca A. Shoot is the Editor-in-Chief of *Mondial* and Executive Director of [Citizens for Global Solutions](#). She also serves in a pro bono capacity as Co-Convener of the Washington Working Group for the ICC and the [ImPACT Coalition on International Judicial Institutions](#). She previously directed the Rome Statute Campaign of Parliamentarians for Global Action and held senior leadership positions with the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative and the National Democratic Institute. She is admitted to practice law in the District of Columbia and speaks frequently on international justice issues. The views and opinions expressed in this article are those of the author alone.

On February 6, 2025, as this issue of *Mondial* was about to go to publication, a proverbial sword of Damocles fell, as the administration of President Donald J. Trump imposed sanctions on the International Criminal Court (ICC), with an individual designation against its Chief Prosecutor Karim Khan shortly following. The long-anticipated maneuver came after months of speculation on whether—and advocacy against—sanctions would be imposed through legislation. While Congressional attempts to pass sanctions legislation ultimately failed, the Trump administration ultimately did so through Executive Order (EO). Primary sanctions target ICC staff and their families, with more individual designations expected to follow. Secondary sanctions target those who assist or provide support to designated persons. The penalty for violating the EO is up to 20 years in prison and/or a fine of US\$1 million. Asset freezes and entry restrictions are tools intended to combat individuals and entities that constitute a threat to US national security. By applying these measures to a court that 125 countries—and on two occasions, the United Nations (UN) Security Council—have entrusted with providing accountability for atrocity crimes, the US has brought upon itself the stigma of siding with impunity over justice.

It is axiomatic that perpetrators of atrocities should want to undermine the ICC. In response to indictments of himself and senior officials, Russian President Vladimir Putin issued arrest warrants against the Prosecutor and Pre-Trial Chamber judges “merely for having faithfully and

diligently carried out their judicial mandate per the statutory framework and international law,” in the [words](#) of ICC President Judge Tomoko Akane. What is unfathomable is when governments that purport to be grounded on principles of justice and the rule of law imperil the Court’s existence. This is currently the “extraordinary situation” in which the ICC finds itself; according to President Akane, “being threatened with draconian economic sanctions from three institutions of [a] permanent member of the Security Council as if it was a terrorist organisation. These measures would rapidly undermine the Court’s operations in all situations and cases and jeopardise its very existence.”

## THE US AND THE ICC: A BRIEF PRIMER

Volumes have been dedicated to the US’s relationship with the ICC. Without attempting a comprehensive exploration of the subject, a brief recapitulation is useful to contextualize recent developments.

Notwithstanding the at-times vociferous American opposition to the ICC, the US has not been monotonal in its policy toward the Court. The US relationship to the ICC is complex and, while often marked by tension, the US has profoundly contributed to the ICC when deemed in its interest. The American Bar Association (ABA) sent an observer to the post-WWII [Nuremberg Trials](#), where a legal team led by Justice Robert H. Jackson worked with allies to prosecute Nazi leadership for crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

The ABA also participated actively as an Observer at the Rome Conference, as did many US nongovernmental organizations that comprise the Coalition for the ICC (CICC). The Rome Statute bears a strong imprint of US jurisprudence, attesting to the deep involvement in its drafting and negotiation by American diplomats and legal experts, including the first US Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes (now styled Global Criminal Justice), David Scheffer, who signed the treaty on behalf of President Clinton in the final hours it was open for signature at the United Nations headquarters.

The US influenced many aspects of the ICC's design, including the incorporation of the principle of complementarity, which gives precedence to domestic courts over the ICC. While the [American Service-Members' Protection Act \(ASPA\)](#) sought to protect US nationals from the ICC's reach, [recent years](#) have seen expansion of the "[Dodd Amendment](#)," enabling US cooperation with the Court in certain instances—notably with regard to the situation in Ukraine.

The US has directly or indirectly contributed to the arrest and surrender of suspects when doing so aligned with its foreign policy objectives, particularly in Africa. Broad cooperation with the UN and other partners enabled the arrest and transfer of the first two individuals surrendered to the ICC. More blatantly, in 2013, fugitive Congolese warlord Bosco Ntaganda walked into the US Embassy in Kigali and asked to be transferred to the ICC. Lord's Resistance Army commander Dominic Ongwen followed suit two years later, surrendering to US forces in the Central African Republic. The US government expanded its [Rewards for Justice Program](#) in 2013 to include individuals indicted by the ICC, offering financial incentives for information leading to the capture of ICC fugitives, including Joseph Kony and other warlords.

The US also strongly supported the two situations referred to the ICC by the UN Security Council—Darfur and Libya—and has called for others to be committed to the Court's justice, including the Syrian Arab Republic. The US joined 65 states to co-sponsor a [resolution](#) led by France to refer the ongoing alleged atrocities to the ICC, acting upon the recommendation of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, among others. It was ultimately vetoed by the Russian Federation and People's Republic of China.

Perhaps less visibly the US has made voluntary contributions to the [Trust Fund for Victims](#), an independent institution with a dual mandate to dispense reparations and provide assistance to victims, survivors, and communities affected by the atrocity crimes in the Court's jurisdiction. Except on occasions during the Trump administration, the US has utilized its Observer Status to participate in the Assembly of States Parties (ASP), the ICC's management oversight and legislative body (the US delegation attended but did not take the floor for a public statement at the 23rd

ASP in December 2024). US nationals count among the approximately 1000 staff members from 109 different countries serving in all of the Court's three organs, including as judicial clerks (such as the author did through the ICC's Visiting Professional Programme). And US government and private sector actors have provided expertise and capacity building in the face of cybersecurity threats, including a major attack on the Court linked to Russian malfeasance.

## THE ROAD TO US SANCTIONS AGAINST THE ICC

The United States' sanctions policy is a critical tool in its foreign policy arsenal, used to influence the behavior of foreign governments, entities, and individuals. Sanctions are basically intended to isolate an individual from their property as a punitive measure; they can target a variety of activities, including human rights violations, terrorism, cyberattacks, nuclear proliferation, and corruption. Well-known examples include "[Magnitsky sanctions](#)," which target the worst abusers of human rights. Typically implemented by the Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control, they can include asset freezes, trade restrictions, financial transaction bans, and travel prohibitions. These measures aim to exert economic and diplomatic pressure without resorting to military intervention, and are often designed to be dynamic, with mechanisms to lift or tighten restrictions depending on the target's behavior, thereby incentivizing compliance with US or international demands.

After months of fulmination by then-Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, in retaliation primarily for [pursuing investigations](#) in [Afghanistan](#) that could potentially implicate US nationals, the US announced the imposition of sanctions and travel restrictions on the Chief Prosecutor and a senior member of her team under the previous Trump administration. At that time, human rights organizations, legal experts (including the [President of the ABA](#)), [policy makers](#), and former diplomats from both US political parties [cautioned](#) that it was "uniquely dangerous, extreme, and unprecedented to utilize a mechanism designed to penalize criminals, their aiders, and abettors, against an independent judicial institution." A task force commissioned by the [American Society of International Law](#), led by the current and a former US Ambassador for Global Criminal Justice, Beth Van Schaack and Todd Buchwald, concluded that sanctions had "backfired" and Amb. Buchwald subsequently [explained](#) why "even a strong US reaction [to the ICC arrest warrants for Netanyahu and former Defense Minister Yoav Gallant] should not include sanctions."

With the precedent established, in 2024, following the Court's announcement of potential arrest warrants for Israeli officials for alleged crimes committed in the context of the armed conflict between Israel and

Hamas, the House of Representatives passed the so-called “[Illegitimate Court Counteraction Act](#).” Although the bill’s full scope was ambiguous, the legislative intent was to punish foreign persons who aid, materially assist, or provide financial support for efforts by the ICC to undertake certain investigations and prosecutions. The bill’s passage was the culmination of Congressional anti-ICC efforts after previous abortive legislative attempts and rhetorical grandstanding, including [a bipartisan open letter](#) to the President led by the nominee for the next Secretary of State, in which he and co-authors from both parties called upon Biden to use “any means necessary” to thwart prosecution of US or allied personnel for war crimes.

The Biden administration [strongly opposed](#) the bill while also criticizing the ICC’s engagement in the Palestine situation. The [previous Senate](#) did not vote on the legislation, amid contentious negotiations between Democratic leaders and Republican supporters in the Foreign Relations Committee, which contributed to obstruction of that body’s work for months.

At the outset of the 118th Congress, Republican leadership announced the intent to take up the legislation once again. Despite vociferous opposition, including statements by the [American Branch of the International Law Association’s Humanitarian Law Committee](#) and the powerful [New York City Bar Association](#), HR 23, passed the House of Representatives 243 to 140 (with one present vote). In an ironic twist, the floor debate coincided with the official state funeral of human rights champion President Jimmy Carter.



*The juxtaposition of the House vote on ICC sanctions and President Carter’s funeral was stark for many observers. Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Evenson.*

A flurry of advocacy coalesced as the bill reached the Senate. The Washington Working Group for the ICC coordinated an [open letter](#) signed by more than 130 civil society groups, faith-based organizations, and legal associations and held a press conference featuring a Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and eminences from situation countries attesting to the impact of the ICC for victims and survivors. A group of European Member States penned a leaked [démarche](#), urging against a “yay” vote. Even Microsoft, a partner of the Court, stepped up to lobby Democratic Senators.

Thanks in part to these efforts, the legislation failed to pass the necessary next hurdle in the Senate, with all but one Democrat voting against proceeding with the measure in a vote of 54-44 (Sen. John Fetterman, D-PA, was the lone exception with Sen. Jon Ossoff, D-GA, abstaining).

This was to be a short-lived and Pyrrhic victory. Not only would the Trump administration promulgate the EO just over a week after the failed Senate vote, but some Senate Democrats have indicated their willingness to accept a deal that would preserve much of the sanctions bill, with carve outs for US tech companies working with the ICC (but notably, not human rights defenders or victims advocates). Per Politico, Senior US Senator Lindsey Graham is “optimistic the Senate could still pass a bill that would sanction the International Criminal Court ... [Senate Majority Leader John] Thune has also signaled that the sanctions bill isn’t totally dead.”

## THE POTENTIALLY DELETERIOUS—AND PERHAPS DEVASTATING—IMPACT OF THE NEW SANCTIONS ON THE ICC

The earlier imposition of sanctions targeting the ICC was narrow—denoting two officials—and short-lived. Enacted just four months before Biden was sworn-in, there was the expectation (and eventual reality) that the Trump administration’s Executive Order imposing sanctions would be rescinded. Even in that brief period of time, the policy had profoundly detrimental consequences for the ICC’s ability to operate and serious legal questions were raised regarding its constitutionality.

Given the primacy of US banking and financial institutions—as well as the tendency of foreign institutions toward “over-compliance” with US policies—the ability of the Court to keep up its operations was hindered. For example, the Prosecutor’s mandated reporting to the UN was jeopardized amid uncertainty on her permissible travel to New York—even as state officials with outstanding arrest warrants traveled to participate in the same meetings with impunity. Later, reports also surfaced of [personal threats](#) against the safety of Madam Fatou Bensouda, then-ICC Chief Prosecutor, and her family.

Flouting of international law and direct opposition to the ICC may already be having a corrosive ripple effect. [States Parties](#) may have been emboldened to defy their legal obligation to arrest suspects-at-large, as exemplified by President Macron of France, an ICC State Party, announcing shortly before the last ASP (with its focus on State cooperation), that he would not comply with his country’s obligations regarding the arrest warrant on Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Mongolia, a State Party, recently failed in its obligation to arrest Putin on its soil. The UN Secretary General also has met with Putin while the latter is under indictment, [raising questions](#) of “non-

essential contacts.” There may not be a direct causal thread between the US actions and those of other States; however, there is a pattern of attrition in respect for the rule of law.

Adam Keith, Senior Director for Accountability at Human Rights First, [cogently outlined](#) the harms of sanctions on the ICC prior to passage of the relevant bill by the House of Representatives, which called out its sweeping scope. As Mr. Keith explains, this could include sanctioning close allied nationals and human rights advocates, creating vast liability beyond those specifically sanctioned, as well as a “long and arbitrary ‘do not investigate’ list.” US citizens who represent victims and survivors could be implicated for their work to help achieve justice for perpetrators of atrocity crimes. It would be a terrible irony if a tool designed to penalize gross violators of human rights could instead contribute to their continued impunity.

## WHY AND HOW TO DEFEND THE ICC

The ICC is not beyond reproach. Critiques of selective justice, administrative shortcomings, and politicization have dogged the institution since its inception. As a human invention, it is imperfect, but the Court is still the only hope for many. Today, the ICC, alongside other tribunals, regional mechanisms, and national courts, carries this hope through investigations and prosecutions that can help realize justice for atrocity victims and survivors from Sudan to Myanmar to Ukraine.

For their part, Court officials appear ready to stand against the intimidation. In her address at the 2024 ASP in December, President Akane delivered a stirring alarm: “We firmly reject any attempt to influence the independence and the impartiality of the Court. We resolutely dismiss efforts to politicise our function . . . *“The [current] circumstances . . . are only strengthening our determination. We will never give up to coercive measures, threats, sabotage or outrage. The Court, which upholds the principle of the rule of law, will continue pursuing justice and defending the dignity and the rights of victims of atrocities without fear and favour, while ensuring full respect of the highest standards of defence rights.”* As objective determiners of fact and rulers on matters of law, judges should never need to make such an appeal; their independence and autonomy must be upheld as sacrosanct. But when they do, their voices must not echo alone but should form the baseline for a chorus. Here, allies of international justice and believers in the rule of law have a critical role to play.

## WHAT CAN BE DONE

In 1995, the organization I now lead (then under a different name) was one of the first members of a group of approximately 25 human rights organizations advocating for a permanent international criminal court to hold individuals to account for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. It worked. That once scrappy

outfit is now the formidable [Coalition for the ICC \(CICC\)](#), which boasts thousands of member organizations in 150 countries.

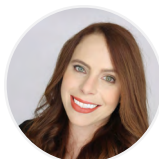
While only organizations are eligible for CICC membership, individuals can actively oppose a misguided policy that undercuts US principles and interests by contacting your representatives directly, through mobilization such as [Peace Action](#) has led for a national advocacy campaign. Legal associations also have an important role to play: here, the American Society of International Law, usually laconic on political questions, [has stepped up to the plate](#).

Two lawsuits were filed in US federal courts challenging the previous sanctions. Although they were rendered moot when the Executive Order was rescinded, they may bear revisiting today. In [Sadat v. Trump](#), plaintiffs challenged former President Trump’s executive order authorizing sanctions against people who assist the International Criminal Court in investigating or prosecuting war crimes and other gross human rights violations. The plaintiffs were human rights and legal professionals working with the ICC in ongoing investigations and prosecutions of gross atrocity crimes. They claimed the EO violated the First Amendment and overreached the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA). In [OSJI v. Donald J. Trump](#), et al, the Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI), with named plaintiffs who are law professors and international legal professionals, claimed violations of their First Amendment rights, as well as arguments around constitutional vagueness violating due process clauses of the Fifth Amendment, as well as other ultra vires violations of executive authority. These legal arguments bear revisiting now with reference to the new sanctions policy.

## CONCLUSION

At an historical moment when the global rule of law is besieged from multiple fronts, institutions like the ICC are needed more than ever to advance human rights protections and the universal goal of preventing future atrocities. The ICC represents and constitutes part of a global system of international justice of which the United States was a chief architect at Nuremberg and beyond. And yet, never since its inception has the Court faced such palpable existential threats that jeopardize the hope of an end to impunity for the most serious crimes of concern to the international community. Sanctions send a signal that could embolden authoritarian regimes and others with reason to fear accountability and seek to evade justice. Such actions jeopardize the ability of desperate victims to access justice, weakens the credibility of sanction tools in other contexts, and places the United States at odds with its closest allies.

# A TALE OF TWO SUMMITS: CIVIL SOCIETY'S ROLE IN THE UN'S SUMMIT OF THE FUTURE



**Hannah Fields**

Hannah Fields is the Communications Officer at CGS. She is also a communications and digital content specialist with over ten years of experience working in the nonprofit, global health, and higher education sectors. She has supported organizations, such as Mayo Clinic and the American Academy of Political and Social Science, with editorial projects, digital content management, and a broad range of communications outreach.

In the last issue of *Mondial*, we brought you a preview of the United Nations (UN) Summit of the Future. Conceptualized by UN Secretary General António Guterres in his 2021 [Our Common Agenda](#) report, the Summit was labeled as a “once-in-a-generation opportunity to reinvigorate global action, recommit to fundamental principles, and further develop the frameworks of multilateralism so they are fit for the future.”

Overcoming threats that it might be sidelined entirely, [130 heads of state and government](#) convened for the Summit at the UN headquarters in New York City in September 2024 to reinvigorate multilateralism and reform global governance. They also met in the shadow of devastating conflicts in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, and with looming urgency to address compounded environmental crises faced globally.

Despite the grim geopolitical outlook, an energetic buzz of advocacy preceded the Summit itself. While the Summit was originally foreseen as concurrent with the [Sustainable Development Goal \(SDG\)](#) conference the previous September, a longer onboard ramp allowed civil society to step up throughout the process despite obstacles.

Official access to Member State negotiations was limited throughout the lead-up to the Summit, and travel limitations (including visa restrictions and financial implications) further curtailed civil society participation. Yet, thanks to the commitment and mobilization of coalitions, such as the Coalition for the UN We Need (C4UN), a ripple spread from New York to Nairobi, where the first-ever

UN Civil Society Conference to be convened in Africa was held in May 2024.

The Nairobi conference was the first to be directly connected to a UN intergovernmental process and the first to occur in the Global South. Throughout the conference, dissatisfaction with the organizational inertia of institutions to enact meaningful change in the wake of polycrisis, permacrisis, and planetary crises was clear, ruling the global response as fundamentally broken. However, through wide-ranging delegations and conversations, multilateralism emerged as the key to ushering in a global collective response to current and future global challenges. This idea took shape in the creation of 20 multistakeholder [ImPACT Coalitions \(ICs\)](#) leading to the Summit of the Future. These coalitions represent civil society, international organizations, governments, and the business community meeting to address peacebuilding, international financial reform, funding community building, and more. These ICs also show the need for civil societies to regularly convene with multilateral institutions to ensure those institutions and their members progress effectively on commonly agreed priority goals and commitments.

Ultimately, more than 10,000 civil society representatives gathered on September 20 and 21 for the [Summit of the Future Civil Society “Action Days.”](#) During this time, many ImPACT Coalitions (several of which Citizens for Global Solutions (CGS) is [actively involved](#)) and other groups hosted dozens of side events, engaged in critical advocacy

with Member States, and met—often for the first time— with fellow advocates worldwide. A day or two before the conference, civil society could no longer realistically expect to influence its primary outcome documents: the [Pact for the Future](#) and its annexes, the [Declaration on Future Generations](#) and [Global Digital Compact](#), together meant to “protect the needs and interests of present and future generations.”

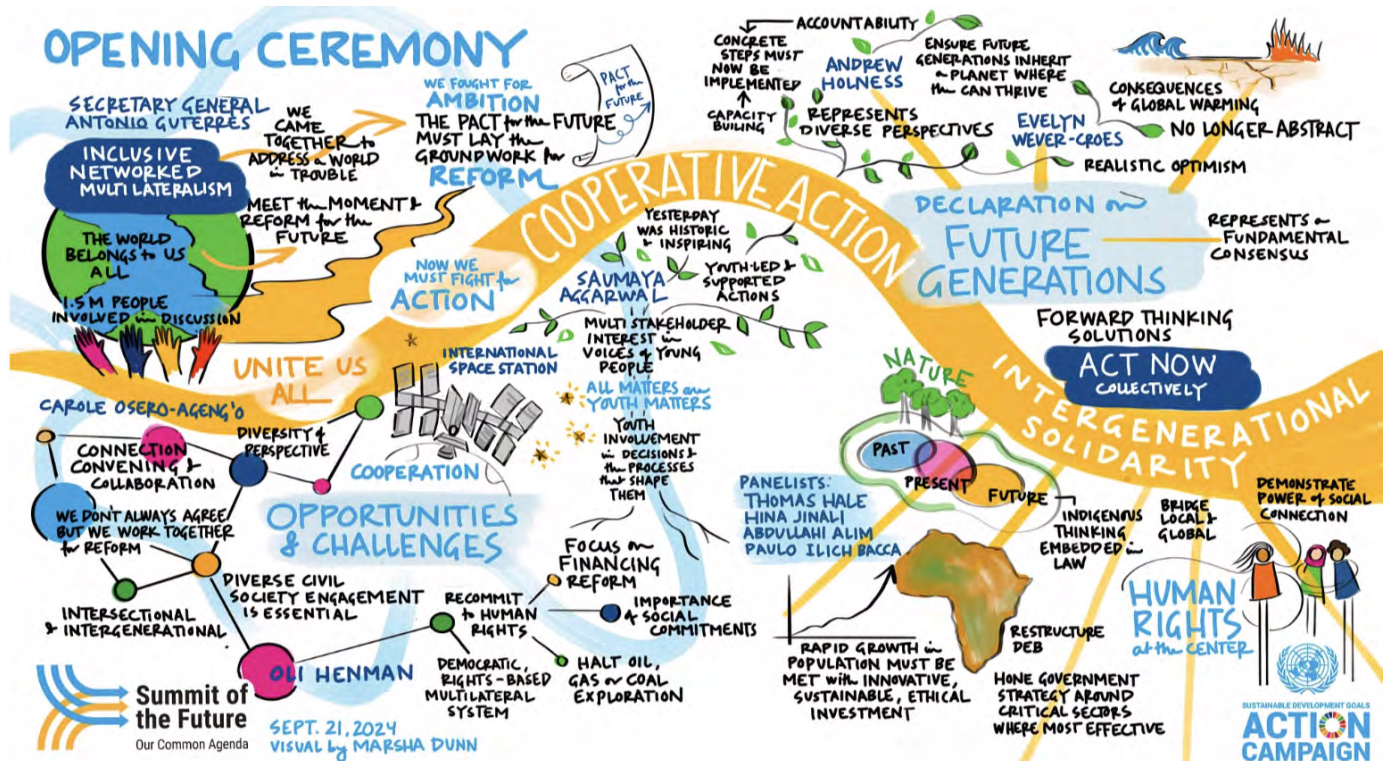
Conversely, this civil society meeting allowed participants to discuss the many themes outlined in the [first two revisions](#) of the Pact for the Future, which included 56 proposed actions and commitments by the UN’s 193 Member States. In these revisions, Namibian and German co-facilitators sought to ensure dedicated actions on gender equity, human rights, and sustainable development in the Pact’s five chapters. As demonstrated by the Action Days, the utilization and participation of civil society reveals an essential key for the UN to effectively go further in these areas and create future pathways to bringing about a more effective, accountable, and inclusive global governance architecture.

While addressing these ideals seems like a Sisyphean task, former UN Deputy Secretary General Mark Malloch Brown reflected on his years of experience, sharing that some ideas may take decades to implement but can still be implemented in the most unlikely situations: “There is a lazy default assumption that when the world’s politics are broken down, there is no point in trying to reform the multilateral institutions because they are going to mirror that political discord. As a veteran of this thing, I’ve seen

that you can squeeze through interesting reforms precisely because of that conflict.”

And conflict there was—notably in the form of the dramatic 11th-hour threat to derail the Pact led by Russia. A representative from the Russian Federation preceded the amendment by stating that “no one is happy with this text,” before presenting its objection to 25 provisions in the draft pact. This included asserting primacy of national jurisdiction and rejection of language on universal access to sexual and reproductive health rights, as well as gender empowerment more broadly. The amendment was immediately met with backlash, with the representative for the Republic of Congo, speaking for the [African Group](#), stressing that the adoption of such an amendment would not meet the Summit’s expectations of reaching solutions to today’s multiple, complex challenges through unity. He then proposed the amendment be rejected. His motion was adopted by a recorded vote of 143 in favor to seven against (Belarus, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Iran, Nicaragua, Russian Federation, Sudan, Syria), with 15 abstentions.

Despite the agitation of spoilers, the Pact was secured. Most notably, the [Summit’s 26-page outcome document](#) (on its third revision) recognized the need to redress the historical injustice and underrepresentation of Africa in the UN Security Council and laid out a roadmap for Security Council reform; it committed to protecting the needs and interests of future generations; it included the first international agreement on governance of artificial intelligence; and it called for increasing the voice of



Visual summary of the Opening Ceremony of the Summit of the Future. Source: UN SDG Action Campaign.

developing countries in the decision-making governance of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

Even so, multilateralism and the much-hoped-for ambitions of the Pact were only preserved with modest advances toward reform with room for improvement. Some disappointments included a watering down of language concerning international environmental governance (Actions 9 and 10) and the removal of Action 32, which would have facilitated critical tech transfers to developing countries while safeguarding intellectual property rights. The cutting of the term “Emergency Platforms” (Action 54) also came as a setback, as this hinders the use of a true multilateral system capable of convening both States and non-State actors to respond to global crises.

Heba Aly, coordinator of the [UN Charter Reform Coalition](#) and senior adviser at the [Coalition for the UN We Need](#) (C4UN), reflected on these disappointments. “[The Pact] could have been improved by Member States recognizing that the world is in crisis and needs a fundamental reset and that, ultimately, international cooperation and compromise are in the interest of all countries,” Aly explained. “This might have created an environment in which the more ambitious reforms proposed by civil society in the People’s Pact for the Future, organized by C4UN with inputs from a wide array of civil society actors, could have been explored. The Summit could also have been improved by allowing civil society to participate in the negotiations.”

The People’s Pact for the Future represents nearly two years of work among civil society organizations using online, regional, and global consultations to present a multilateral approach to meeting the needs of humanity and the planet today. It contains recommendations driven by five key objectives: a longer-term future orientation, global institution reform, a whole-of-society approach, meeting existing commitments, and building trust. In addition, the pact focuses on seven themes based on a combination of the pillars of the UN and tracks identified in the *Our Common Agenda* report. They include SDGs and development, UN Charter reform, environmental governance, human rights and participation, the Global Digital Compact, the global economic and financial architecture, peace and security, and UN and global governance innovation.

The People’s Pact also calls on the UN to recommit to the aspirations outlined in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The document states that the international community must shift from defending state centrism to “rebalancing decision-making to the local, national, regional, and global levels, under the principle of subsidiarity.” The People’s Pact will serve as a critical tool in advocacy and a barometer of progress as the Pact for the Future review conference looms in 2028.

It is in the People’s Pact where the importance of civil society becomes most evident, as a multilateral system cannot exist without its meaningful participation. Since their recognition as Major Groups and Stakeholders in 1992, civil society has played a significant role in the UN system, advocating for marginalized groups, shaping international agreements, and monitoring state compliance with UN resolutions. However, some Member States still view civil society as playing a more consultative role rather than recognizing the critical value of civil society as a partner in policymaking. The UN must be willing to evolve for the multilateral system to evolve, and invite – ideally, encourage—civil society to participate fully in its summits, resolutions, and reforms.

One example is the call for a comprehensive update of the UN Charter by civil society leaders and ImPACT Coalitions, such as the UN Charter Reform Coalition. The [UN Charter Reform Coalition urges](#) that Article 109 be invoked to call a charter review conference, thereby starting a deliberate diplomatic process that could fundamentally reshape and federalize relations between Member States. The UN Charter was intended to be a living document, and the Article 109 process is its built-in mechanism for comprehensive reconsideration of the [1945 negotiated text](#), including, but not limited to, the Security Council.

This Article 109 process should allow civil society to actively participate in what those changes might look like, as civil society is more closely aware and connected to what the world needs from a more equitable, effective, accountable, and inclusive United Nations. And for that, there is hope for a better future beyond the Summit.

“From New York to Nairobi to back again, we’ve seen a coming together of civil society with Member States to advance promises and aspirations of the UN Charter,” reflected CGS Executive Director Rebecca Shoot. “In doing so, we have renewed appreciation that our global governance institutions, indeed even the Charter itself, are not preserved in amber, nor are they so brittle or so fragile that if we touch them, they will break. We are reminded instead that they are human-made works in progress.”

Now that the space for action has been created, it is up to coalitions, Member States, and related organizations to work with the same energy and ambition to ensure the Pact’s most significant proposals and reforms are implemented. With the UN approaching its 80th anniversary in 2025, and a new Secretary General taking office in 2027, there are significant milestones to be both assessed and achieved leading up to the mandated September 2028 Pact for the Future progress review. These milestones can be best achieved when Member States allow broader constituencies, especially civil society, to have a seat at the table.

# RECTIFYING THE ROME STATUTE AND DRAFT ARTICLES ON PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY TO INCLUDE THE SLAVE TRADE



## Jocelyn Getgen Kestenbaum

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The slave trade is commonly misperceived as a historical crime. Yet, the scourge of the slave trade is present throughout the world today. Combatting these ongoing atrocity crimes is essential to ensure that human rights are upheld by the international community. The crime of the slave trade fills an impunity gap, especially in light of recent harms perpetrated by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) against the Yazidi in Iraq. Revitalization of the conceptualization of the slave trade as a crime under international law might ensure greater enforcement of one of the oldest core international crimes. Critical proposed amendments to existing international treaty law must be adopted with haste to close an unconscionable factual and legal gap in the international legal architecture. New proposals on the table now provide an opportunity to do so. This unique moment must be seized.

The slave trade prohibition is among the first recognized and least prosecuted international crimes. Codified in the 1926 Slavery Convention, the 1956 Supplementary Slavery Convention, Additional Protocol II to the Geneva Conventions (APII), the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the prohibition of the slave trade is a norm with the highest status under international law. Under no circumstances may states permit slave trade crimes within their borders.

It is important to distinguish between the slave trade and slavery, which are separate and distinct crimes. Both should also be differentiated as legal concepts from so-called “modern slavery,” a term which is used by governments (e.g. the British Parliament, US State Department) to refer to trafficking in persons, human trafficking, and forced or compelled labor. Indeed, practitioners have turned toward human trafficking as the penal framework to combat slavery crimes and related criminal conduct in the fight against “modern slavery.” And, while combating human trafficking is critical, it is separate and distinct from slavery and the slave trade.

Slavery and the slave trade were proscribed as international crimes in the 1926 Slavery Convention,





*“The Ark of Return – The Permanent Memorial at the UN in Honor of the Victims of Slavery” was created by architect Rodney Leon to honor victims of slavery and the transatlantic slave trade and was installed in 2015. Photo courtesy of Courtesy of Brett Jones, Charles E. Scheidt Human Rights Clinical Teaching Fellow, Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, Yale University.*

which defines slavery as “the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.” Conversely, the Convention defines the slave trade as “all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce [that person] to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a[n enslaved person] with a view to selling or exchanging [the person]; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a[n enslaved person] acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in [enslaved persons].”

By the time of the adoption of the Slavery Convention, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, domestic slavery, and slave trading had ceased in the Americas and the Caribbean. The drafters intended primarily to outlaw ongoing slavery in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, and to distinguish between slavery and forced labor in their colonies. If considered outmoded in 1929, why is it relevant to combat the slave trade today?

Despite its peremptory status as a mandatory crime under international law, acts of the slave trade continue with impunity, fueling contemporary conflicts around the world. Beginning in 2014, for example, ISIS fighters in Iraq and Syria enslaved and slave traded

Yazidi women and children in service of the Caliphate. Buttressed by a political ideology of gender inequality and religious superiority, ISIS arranged for its fighters to “buy, sell, or give as a gift female captives” who were “war spoils.”

The policy intentionally reduced into slavery “non-believing” women and children of all genders, permitting sexualized violence in the course of enslavement of Yazidi women and girls. ISIS often presented Yazidi women and girls “as a package” until girls reached the age of nine and, thereafter, sold them separately. The Committee for the Buying and Selling of Slaves carried out the Caliphate’s distribution of Yazidi females at organized slave markets. ISIS required fighters to pre-register for their slave purchases of females priced and sold according to their ages. Yazidis reported that, prior to their enslavement, they were registered by officials at holding centers in Syria, loaded onto trucks and moved to holding sites in Iraq. ISIS fighters documented names, ages, and marital statuses, and photographed the Yazidis at these holding sites. At times, ISIS auctioned Yazidi women and children online, replete with registration information, photos, and minimum purchase prices. Yazidi boys, also enslaved, were forced to convert to Islam, to perform forced labor, and to train and fight

with ISIS in military camps in Iraq and Syria.

The slave trade condemns perpetrators who acquire and intend to reduce all persons regardless of age, race, gender, immigration, or refugee status into slavery. Just as importantly, the slave trade prohibition outlaws all acts of exchanging or transporting a person already enslaved to another slavery situation. While slavery defines who is a slave and who is a slave owner, the slave trade defines how one is reduced to slavery, transported as a slave, and/or maintained in slavery and by whom. Thus, while these crimes occur in tandem, they are distinguishable crimes, able to be pursued separately.

International criminal law courts, including the International Criminal Court (ICC), often have indicated that acts of slave trade have occurred, describing kidnapping, abducting, transporting, holding, gifting, or related treatment of persons with the intent to reduce them or maintain them in enslavement. These cases, however, have not been able to characterize these acts as criminal as they have not resorted to customary international law or because the slave trade is missing from the Rome Statute, the ICC's foundational treaty, as an enumerated crime under both Article 7 (crimes against humanity) and Article 8 (war crimes). Further, this omission has made its way into the Draft Articles on Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Humanity ("Draft Articles") given its reliance on Article 7 provisions of the Rome Statute.

In this regard, Sierra Leone, a country with a profound relationship with the crimes of slavery and the slave trade, has shown leadership. Currently, the Vice President of the ICC's governing body, the

Assembly of States Parties, Sierra Leone has proposed amendments to the Rome Statute to include the slave trade as a crime against humanity and both slavery and the slave trade as war crimes in both international and non-international armed conflicts. These proposals are critical to close factual and legal impunity gaps toward more comprehensive redress for victims-survivors of the slave trade today and into the future.

Moreover, on April 11, 2023, the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Sierra Leone to the United Nations submitted in writing its proposal to include the slave trade as an enumerated provision in the Draft Articles on Crimes Against Humanity (CAH). It is imperative that the slave trade be incorporated in both the Rome Statute and a proposed standalone CAH treaty, as the former has criminal jurisdiction over persons while the latter could hold States to account for their crimes. Further, since neither Syria nor Iraq is a party to the Rome Statute, they are beyond the reach of the ICC. Such amendments will bring the Rome Statute and CAH Draft articles in line with customary international law regarding the slave trade.

Prohibition of the slave trade might redress ISIS-perpetrated crimes against the Yazidis in Iraqi domestic courts or other judicial forums. The slave trade—despite its underuse, its implicit position in certain international judicial statutes, and disconcerting absence in the Rome Statute—still constitutes a feasible, if not vital, legal tool for redress.

The slave trade is currently "missing in action" in international criminal law adjudication and redress. The time has come to restore it, beginning with the proposals made by Sierra Leone.



*Editor's Note: The Assembly of States Parties (ASP) to the ICC will consider the proposed amendments to the Rome Statute in 2025. Shortly after this article was drafted, for the first time in nearly two decades, members of the American Society of International Law (ASIL) are asked to consider for adoption a resolution relating to principles of international law and international relations regarding slavery and the slave trade.*

*To learn more about the Crimes Against Humanity treaty and get involved, please visit: [www.cah-treaty-now.org](http://www.cah-treaty-now.org).*

# ADDRESSING THE CRISIS OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE IN UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS THROUGH MOBILE GENDER COURTS



## Amarilyl Delayla Torres-Nuñez

Amarilyl Delayla Torres-Nuñez is an Anthropology and Zoology major at Ohio Wesleyan University and a proud first-generation college student. Driven by a passion for addressing complex cultural challenges, Amariyls aspires to a career focused on creating solutions for deep-rooted societal issues that impact communities around the world. With a strong commitment to raising awareness about critical topics like mental health, economic inequality, and women's rights, Amariyls is dedicated to shining a light on social issues that demand public attention.

For decades, United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations have symbolized hope and stability in some of the world's most fragile regions. Established to maintain peace, uphold human rights, and assist nations transitioning from conflict, these missions play an integral role in global security. Yet a troubling shadow looms over them: persistent allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) by peacekeepers. Despite the adoption of a zero tolerance policy in 2003 and numerous reports exposing the issue, SEA remains an alarming and persistent problem. In 2023 alone, more than 750 allegations of SEA were reported—220 more than in the previous year. These numbers highlight systemic failures within peacekeeping operations and underscore the urgent need for reforms to deliver justice for victims and accountability for perpetrators.

Peacekeepers are deployed to protect vulnerable communities in conflict and post-conflict zones, often where local systems are too fractured to provide adequate security or justice. However, the power imbalance between peacekeepers and the communities they serve has led to instances where protectors become perpetrators. This paradox not only violates the trust placed in peacekeeping operations but also perpetuates cycles of harm and exploitation.

A significant barrier to accountability is the immunity granted to peacekeepers in host states. Under current frameworks, troop-contributing countries retain criminal jurisdiction over their personnel. This arrangement, while intended to protect peacekeepers in dangerous environments, has proven to be a significant obstacle in prosecuting offenders. For instance, in 2015, 43 peacekeepers from Burundi were accused of SEA in the Central African Republic (CAR), yet none faced criminal punishment. This reflects both the systemic shortcomings of the current accountability structure and the cultural and institutional barriers within troop-contributing countries.

One of the most insidious forms of SEA is “survival sex,” where vulnerable individuals are coerced into exchanging sex for necessities such as food, shelter, or medical aid. In post-conflict settings, where economic desperation is rampant, such exploitation strips individuals of their agency and dignity. During the UN Mission in Haiti, numerous cases of survival sex were reported. Women were left raising children fathered by peacekeepers, often in extreme poverty and without support. One mother shared her despair: “My depression deepens every time my child complains of hunger.” The psychological scars and social stigmatization faced by these women and their

children underscore the profound human cost of SEA.

Despite its prevalence, survival sex is often neglected in international legal frameworks and accountability measures. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has highlighted the issue, but its recommendations have largely focused on prevention rather than prosecution. This lack of a clear legal mandate contributes to a culture of impunity, leaving survivors without justice or recourse.

The UN has taken steps to address SEA, beginning with the “[Zeid Report](#)” in 2005 prepared by the UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. This report documented widespread exploitation and provided recommendations for improved investigations and victim compensation. However, it fell short of addressing the root causes of SEA, such as the immunity conundrum. Subsequent efforts, including the Independent Panel Review in 2015 and the Security Council’s adoption of a resolution on SEA in 2016, have reinforced the expectation that troop-contributing countries investigate and prosecute offenses. Yet, the reliance on member states to uphold these responsibilities has proven inconsistent and insufficient.

Cultural and systemic challenges within troop-contributing countries further exacerbate the issue. In some cases, patriarchal norms and the normalization of sexual violence hinder effective prosecution. For example, in Burundi, where cultural stigmas and institutional weaknesses are pervasive, none of the 43 accused peacekeepers in CAR faced criminal sanctions. This underscores the need for an alternative mechanism to address SEA allegations and ensure justice.

One promising solution lies in the adaptation of mobile gender courts, as seen in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). These courts, operating within local justice systems, have successfully prosecuted cases of sexual violence with a 75% conviction rate for sexual crimes between 2009 and 2011. In 2011, a mobile court in the city of Fizi on the eastern border of the DRC prosecuted and convicted four senior military officials for SEA crimes, demonstrating its potential to deliver justice in challenging contexts.

Expanding this model to address SEA in peacekeeping operations could bridge the accountability gap. Mobile gender courts staffed by UN personnel, troop-contributing country representatives, and local officials would ensure that trials meet international human rights standards while being accessible to survivors. By operating within the host country, these courts could address cultural nuances and reduce the risk of impunity. Moreover, they could provide a framework

for prosecuting cases of survival sex, which are often overlooked in traditional justice systems.

Survival sex poses unique challenges that require specific legal and institutional responses. Defining it as a form of violence against women under international law, such as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW), would provide a basis for criminal prosecution. DEVAW defines violence against women as “violence that results in or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm,” a definition that encompasses survival sex due to its coercive nature and harmful consequences.

UN mobile gender courts could integrate this framework, prosecuting survival sex as a violation of human rights. This would not only provide justice for survivors but also set a precedent for holding peacekeepers accountable for all forms of SEA. By addressing survival sex explicitly, the UN would fill a critical gap in its accountability mechanisms and reaffirm its commitment to protecting vulnerable populations.

The rising allegations of SEA by peacekeepers undermine the credibility of the United Nations and erode trust in its peacekeeping missions. These violations of human rights are not isolated incidents but systemic failures that demand comprehensive reforms. The establishment of mobile gender courts and the prioritization of survival sex in accountability measures are vital steps toward restoring the UN’s moral authority.

Implementing these solutions will require significant investment, political will, and collaboration between the UN, troop-contributing countries, and host states. However, the cost of inaction—measured in the continued suffering of survivors and the erosion of trust in international institutions—is far greater. By addressing SEA with urgency and resolve, the UN can fulfill its mission to promote peace and security while upholding the dignity and rights of those it seeks to protect.

*Amarilys Delayla Torres-Nuñez won the inaugural CGS New Voices 4 Global Solutions Essay Contest, earning a prize that provided her the opportunity to attend a prestigious international conference in Italy.*

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# WORLD CITIZENSHIP: A RECENT PHENOMENON WITH ANCIENT ROOTS



**David Gallup**

David Gallup specializes in human rights, world citizenship, and world law education. He is President and General Counsel of the World Service Authority a global public service human rights organization founded in 1954. He is also a Board Member of Citizens for Global Solutions, creator of the World Citizen Club initiative, and Convenor of the World Court of Human Rights Coalition.

Currently, every national government in the world establishes citizenship based on the legal principles of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*. Some countries only consider someone to be a citizen if their parents, grandparents or earlier relatives were citizens—the right of the blood (*sanguinis*) or inheritance. Other countries allow for citizenship by birth “in the country”—the right of the land (*soli*). While others allow for both.

Over the years, humans have dreamed of a united humanity and some have claimed that status. Ancient Hindu texts, Socrates, Dante, Tennyson, Bertha von Suttner, Lola Maverick Lloyd, and others have considered the concept of cosmopolitanism as a mission for humanity. Jean-Paul Sartre wrote, “*Nous sommes des sous-hommes à la recherche de notre humanité*” (We are sub-humans searching for our humanity).

These concepts of human unity were established prior to science confirming that humans all share the same DNA—that we are all related. Sages, wisdom-givers, and teachers shared this holistic thinking long before any official acceptance of biological equality between human beings at the scientific level. The global recognition of our one human species is a more recent phenomenon



**Alexandre MacIsaac**

Alex MacIsaac is the Executive Director of the World Federalist Movement - Canada. Involved in world federalist projects since 2017, his academic background in global public policy and work experience in administering federal elections were critical in solidifying his commitment to democratic reform.

than many may be aware. Less than a century has passed since intergovernmental organizations were created with the intention to peacefully unite humanity, such as the League of Nations and the United Nations. Those early 20th century leaders did not have the benefit of instant communications where anyone in any corner of the world can connect online beyond any man-made borders as empowered individual world citizens.

Not only do our human technology and communications unite us, but also our status as world citizens unites us. Both the *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* principles affirm our world citizenship status. We are all born on Earth – the land is our home planet. We are all born of human parents—our DNA is homo sapiens.

Citizenship is our engagement with, and exercise of, our rights and duties within a particular communal framework—which now happens to be global. World citizenship also includes a feeling of membership in the community of humans, and an ability to participate in governing our world.

Every day we interact with individuals throughout the world community, either online, through travel, or in



Learn more about the World Service Authority  
and World Citizenship.



*Garry Davis, "World Citizen Number One," displays his passport in 1957.  
Source: World Nationaal Archief (Netherlands).*

person. Every day we also interact with our natural environment. The world community today is now more globalized than ever; in all aspects of human endeavor, except for national politics, we exist in one world. How do we ensure that our interactions in this one world remain peaceful, just, equitable, and sustainable? With a common allegiance to global democratic institutions, to protecting humanity as a whole, and to safeguarding the Earth, world citizenship links us all together for the good of the one and the many.

From social and economic perspectives, considerations of the "good of the one and the many" and "global public goods" challenge the us-versus-them mentality of unabashed competition and ever-increasing growth that negatively affect the human work force and the natural environment. Formerly self-centered economies and the well-being of national populations have been reframed as a universal whole, shedding light on social justice and sustainable economics and their application in a globalized context. Our fate is intertwined, whether in terms of justice, economics, climate change, world wars, or other global calamities.

When humans interact within the framework of separate, competing nation-states, governments inherently raise concerns over migration (the movement of people), trade (the movement of goods), and capital (the movement of money). National leaders feel compelled to establish strict border controls, not only placing restrictions on human travel but also on the exchange of goods and services. These restrictions and self-imposed barriers between people lead to violations of human rights, trade wars, and potentially to violent conflict.

The modern world federalist and world citizen movements were born out of the disunity, lawlessness, and devastation of the Westphalian border system

and two world wars. To move beyond such unstable, unsustainable, and violent interactions, political thinkers and activists developed plans for organizing humanity under the global rule of law, such as the League of Nations, the United Nations, and world federal government. The Universal Postal Union, for example, provides structure for humans to communicate with each other in a peaceful and efficient manner.

The world federalist and world citizen movements continue to educate the world public about the importance of coming together as a united humanity both as how we see ourselves and how we govern our world.

According to former WWII bomber pilot and World Citizen Garry Davis, we humans need to reclaim our sovereignty as individuals linked to a united humanity and begin to govern our world together. We need to develop and implement the global identity and institutions of law that will help humans live together peacefully with each other and sustainably with the Earth. This global identity is world citizenship, and those global institutions, such as a World Court of Human Rights, comprise the yet-to-be fully functioning global governmental system.

We can all reaffirm our status as world citizens because we each have the right to choose our own political allegiance as per Articles 15 and 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. When you claim world citizenship you do not give up any other allegiance; you simply add an allegiance to humanity and the Earth.

As an organizational partner to the World Federalist Movement-Canada and Citizens for Global Solutions, the World Service Authority provides the service of issuing documents of global identity and travel such as the World Citizen Card and the World Passport. The World Passport represents the inalienable human right of freedom of travel on planet Earth, even if that innate right is not always recognized consistently by all nations. The World Passport is premised on the fundamental oneness and unity of the human community.

By identifying as world citizens legally, politically, and officially, we can begin to unite humanity under the banner of universal rights and world federation. Rights are innate and unalienable. Rights are universal and inclusive whereas national governments are partial and exclusive. The level at which we must claim our rights is global.

We know that we only have one world. For now, it's our only home. To achieve this vision of a united humanity, we must each recognize that the world is our country, and we are all world citizens.

# TOWARD AN EARTH-HUMAN ECOSYSTEM



**Emlyn Koster**

Emlyn is an Earth-Human Ecosystem synthesisist. Born in the Suez Canal Zone with UK, Canadian, and US citizenships, his honors include chairmanship of the Geological Association of Canada during its 50th anniversary and appointments include honorary professor in the Institute of Evolutionary Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, which is near the UNESCO Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site.

## A MOMENTOUS CHALLENGE

In a 1950 BBC Radio lecture series, “The Nature of the Universe,” the University of Cambridge astronomer Fred Hoyle began: “Once a photograph of the Earth, taken from outside, is available, we shall, in an emotional sense, acquire an additional dimension . . . let the sheer isolation of the Earth become plain for every man whatever his nationality or creed, and a new idea as powerful as any in history will be let loose . . . And I think this not so distant development may well be for good, as it must increasingly have the effect of exposing the futility of nationalistic strife.” Sadly, these visionary projections soon became mostly idealistic.

After her groundbreaking 1962 book “Silent Spring,” the American environmentalist Rachel Carson issued a grave appeal: “The more clearly we can focus our attention on the wonders and realities of the universe about us, the less taste we shall have for destruction.” The 1969 technology-minded “giant leap for mankind” declaration from the Moon by a National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) Apollo 11 astronaut with an estimated worldwide audience of 600 million was followed in 1970 by the first Earth Day demonstration in the United States with an estimated 20 million participants distressed about environmental deterioration.

An explosion on board NASA’s 1970 Apollo 13 mission to the Moon became a reminder of the need

in a mission-driven organization to resolve a severe challenge to its viability. Across society, “Mission control, we have a problem!” became a popular saying. In search of a balanced approach to crises already plaguing the planet, the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development [defined sustainable development](#) as “meeting the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” In the same vein in 1994, British entrepreneur John Elkington [urged corporations](#) to embrace a planet, people, and profit triple bottom line approach in pursuing environmental, social and financial sustainability.

In 2015, [the Rockefeller Foundation—Lancet Commission on Planetary Health](#) warned: “By unsustainably exploiting nature’s resources, human civilization has flourished, but now risks substantial health effects from the degradation of nature’s life support systems in the future.” Undaunted, the United Nations (UN) unanimously embraced a 2015-2030 plan with 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a response to the global challenges of poverty, inequality, and environmental degradation. On the 50th anniversary of Earth Day in 2020, a former UN official [opined in The New York Times](#) that civilization had become estranged from nature. In fact, many of the Earth System’s dire problems — such as human-caused sea level rise and extinctions of other life forms — are ineffectively tackled by baseline notions of sustainable development. In 2023 the UN Secretary General declared that the siloed efforts comprising the 2015-2030 vision are imperiled, and

he called upon the General Assembly [to formulate a rescue plan](#). Although the 2024 Summit of the Future and its primary outcome document, the *Pact for the Future*, did not result in a new plan for 2030 and beyond, an integrated SDGs approach, already in preparation, [was announced](#) that will focus on “synergies and trade-offs, nature-based solutions, and just transitions toward a sustainable future.”

## A COHESIVE APPROACH

The term Anthropocene [was introduced at the dawn of the 21st century](#) by the Dutch Nobel laureate Paul Crutzen. He anticipated that it would become shorthand for the crucial relationship between nature and humankind. In 2016, Simon Dalby, a Canadian political economist [surmised](#): “The Anthropocene is a key theme in contemporary speculations about the meaning of the present, and the possibilities for the future . . . How the Anthropocene is interpreted, and who gets to invoke which framing of the new human age . . . matters greatly for both the planet and for particular parts of humanity.” In 2017, Yadvinder Mahli, an ecosystem scientist at the University of Oxford [observed](#): “The Anthropocene has spilled out of its natural sciences origins to become a cultural zeitgeist... about how to understand and respond to human domination of the Earth.” And in 2019, Stephen Jackson, an American climate adaptation specialist [highlighted observations](#) of the Prussian explorer Alexander von Humboldt centuries earlier: “Nature would persist in the absence of humanity, but



*“The Earth in Our Hands,” represented by this icon, was a joint exhibition at the Deutsches Museum co-organized with the Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society. Image courtesy of the Museum’s Head of Research.*

humanity cannot exist without nature . . . the fusion of science and humanism can address contemporary challenges.”

In 2019, Dictionary.com defined existential as “grappling with a sense of survival of our planet, loved ones, our ways of life.” By early 2020, in addition to growing outbreaks of violence, the pandemic-struck world was anxious about climate warming, glaciers and ice sheets melting, oceans rising, and ecosystems dwindling. Not only are the Earth’s enveloping shells of air, water, ice, land, soil, and life interconnected, they form an unbreakable continuum. These demonstrable facts underscore why climate change should not be described or interpreted as being in isolation from other natural dynamics.

Between 2009 and 2019, when the pure-to-applied transformation of geoscience was underway, the Anthropocene Working Group, a constituent body of the International Union of Geological Sciences might have framed a purpose that was mindful of humanity’s intensifying disruptions throughout the Earth System. In March 2024, it became world-wide news that the umbrella body had [rejected the Group’s proposal](#) that the Anthropocene be denoted as a new epoch beginning with mid-20th century atmospheric atomic bomb tests. Instead, more meaningfully, a gradational approach beginning about 12,000 years ago as the last Ice Age ended encompasses humanity’s intensifying impacts on the Earth’s natural functioning. Attracting wide scholarly interest as well as public attention, the Anthropocene positions geoscience to make a significant holistic contribution to Earth governance. And more meaningful as a socio-scientific term than the “Earth System,” the [“Earth-Human Ecosystem” conveys our planetary reality in an ongoing Anthropocene context](#) with its need for an ecological mindset.

In 2023, the UN Secretary General declared: “If ever there was an illumination of the short sightedness of our prevailing economic and political systems, it is the ratcheting up of the war on nature... the potential for science, technology and innovation to be applied to the SDGs is vastly untapped and institutional.” Increasingly, scientific insights are relegated by powerbrokers not only to a back seat but scorned. The UN, non-governmental organizations, cultural and religious institutions, the private sector, and especially the sciences and humanities, must together confront the problems that have emerged from disassociating culture and nature. The following big-picture definitions, assembled from professional and public sources, clarify that the natural world and human nature are intertwined.



**NATURE** (from the Latin word *nātūra*, a term derived from the verb for birth and meaning essential qualities and innate disposition)

This term encompasses the Earth's evolved landscapes, biodiversity, ecosystems and natural forces in air, land and sea environments. During its 4.6-billion-year history, the Earth has undergone five mass extinction events of natural causes with a sixth one underway because of humanity's selective consumption of animals and plants, depletion of habitats, and altered food chains. Of the 2.2 million species so far described, about 6,500 are mammals and of these about 6% are primates. As many as 20 human species used to exist including *Homo neanderthalensis* until about 40,000 years ago. With *Homo sapiens* moving, mixing and diversifying since adventurous subgroups left Africa 50,000-70,000 years ago and settled in isolated regions of other continents, the biological difference between any two humans today is only 0.1% of their DNA, making race a social, not biological, construct. Geology, biology, botany, zoology, and anthropology comprise the natural sciences with their growing focus on transdisciplinary understanding of environmental disruption over human history. The shorthand for these cumulative impacts is the Anthropocene.

**CULTURE** (from the Latin word *cultus* meaning to live and care and the French word *colere* meaning to tend to the Earth, to till and grow)

This term spans the evolved and learned characteristics of *Homo sapiens*, most conspicuously a large and complex brain, an ability to make tools, and capacities for sentience, languages, art, and innovation. Indigenous peoples represent subgroups who settled where their journeys ended, out of Africa beyond ice sheets and ocean barriers. Isolated from other evolving cultures and societies, these First Nations developed and sustained unique traditions, intergenerational communications, and environmentally sensitive lifestyles. Today's culturally diverse Indigenous peoples total some 470 million people in over 90 countries. As non-indigenous societies evolved, so too did their technologies, cultural practices and social mores become distinct. Through adventurism and colonialism, Old World societies sought to subjugate indigenous peoples for the purpose of exploiting new sources of wealth. The cultural and social impacts on Indigenous communities globally have been significant, and frequently ruinous. Across today's fractious world with 8.2 billion people, diasporas are scattered subsets of residual initial populations. Social anthropology, sociology, and the humanities are focused on evolving characteristics with surging interests in injustice and traditional ways of knowing. The heritage, behaviors,

artifacts, norms, rituals, ceremonies, and institutions of Indigenous and Western peoples comprise the mosaic of humanity in a global Anthropocene context.

## ANOTHER "GIANT LEAP" OPPORTUNITY

In 1994, the American astronomer Carl Sagan emotively recalled in "Cosmos": "When Voyager 1 was about four billion miles away as the spacecraft was departing our planetary neighborhood for the fringes of the Solar System, it turned around for one last look at its home planet . . . Look again at that dot. That's here. That's home. That's us. On it everyone you love, everyone you know, everyone you ever heard of, every human being who ever was, lived out their lives."

According to NASA's current timeline, [a second human landing](#) on the Moon is expected before the end of this decade. Surely, its 'giant leap' declaration should emphasize stewardship of the Earth 2.5 times more populous than when Apollo landed in 1969. Next time, we must demand that all stakeholders embrace the [holistic platform of the Earth-Human Ecosystem](#) approach. The time is right, because we are increasingly familiar with the Anthropocene as shorthand for the existential threats to our survival. Anthropocene realities underscore the necessity of a global rescue plan which blurs the traditional boundaries of disciplines and understands the interconnections between the Earth's sub-systems.

Such reasoning is not new. Ahead of this century and an ocean apart, the prescient minds of Aldo Leopold and James Lovelock emphasized humanity's need for environmental ethics and an understanding of the Earth as a singular self-regulating ecosystem. We can no longer afford to ignore their outlook, nor the science that brought it to our attention.

### DONATE TO THE CGS EDUCATION FUND



The CGS Education Fund is a registered 501(c)(3). Your tax-deductible donation supports our vision of a democratic world federation by funding coalition building, advocacy for human rights and global governance, and programs that foster collaboration and collective action.

### DONATE TO THE CGS ACTION NETWORK

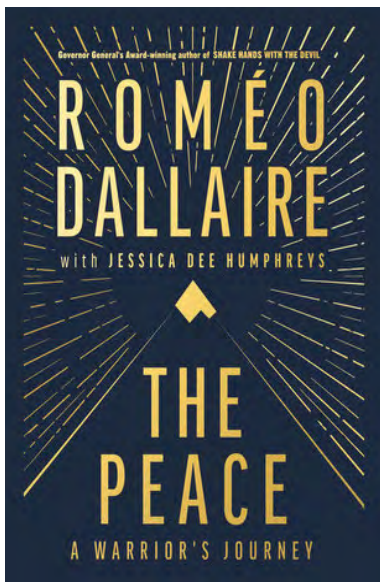


The CGS Action Network is a registered 501(c)(4). The mission of the CGS Action Network is to build political will in the US for global cooperation and democratic international institutions that respect the rights of individuals, peoples, and nations. Donations to the CGS Action Network are not tax-deductible.

# THE PEACE: A WARRIOR'S JOURNEY



Recommended by Erica Wilson  
World Federalist Movement – Canada (WFM-Canada)



"The Peace: A Warrior's Journey." By Roméo Dallaire, Penguin Random House, 2024.

In "The Peace: A Warrior's Journey," Roméo Dallaire recounts his harrowing role as the Force Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) during the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Tasked with preventing violence in an environment quickly descending into horror, Dallaire was caught in a nightmare of bureaucratic barriers, lack of support, and overwhelming brutality. With limited resources and dwindling international commitment, he witnessed unimaginable atrocities as an estimated 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed in just 100 days. The genocide represented one of the greatest failings of the United Nations and for Dallaire, the beginning of a profound philosophical journey.

Dallaire structures his memoir around Dante's "Divine Comedy," using the allegorical journey to guide readers through Hell, Purgatory, and The Peace. In Hell, Dallaire recounts the unfolding genocide through the spectrum of motivations that contributed to the atrocity and his own anguish as he bore witness to unspeakable brutality. In Purgatory, he grapples with the struggle to find meaning and healing, questioning humanity's responsibility toward one another and the systems in place that should—but often don't—protect the vulnerable. His journey culminates in The Peace, akin to Dante's Paradiso, where he details his eventual reconciliation with his mission and purpose to commit himself to advocacy, seeking to inspire an empathetic global framework that can prevent future atrocities.

The structure is not merely literary. It serves as a powerful lens through which he examines the darkness in human nature and the potential for personal and global recovery.

Dallaire leads us through Hell by exploring the behaviours that forge the very essence of Hell—an environment steeped in war, genocide, and human suffering. These behaviours include deceit, disinterest, self-interest, ignorance, fear, othering, hate revenge, and denial.

Dallaire examines these traits individually but also connects them to the failures within international relations. He underscores how these forces drive the self-serving agendas and betrayals that haunt diplomatic efforts, fueling cycles of indifference and, ultimately, complicity in atrocity. Dallaire offers his reflection on the traumatic memories of Rwanda's inferno, describing scenes that echo the worst depths of Dante's vision. By exposing the shadowed interplay between human behaviour and international politics, Dallaire forces us to confront the truth that Hell is not just a place but a product of our collective failures on the global stage.

These behaviors serve as a dark tapestry woven through Dallaire's narrative, illustrating how the worst of humanity emerges in the absence of compassion and accountability. Each of these elements builds upon the other, forming layers of horror that perpetuate violence and erode the moral fabric of society. Dallaire doesn't just list these traits; he delves into how they manifest, transform communities, and leave profound scars on those who witness them. This chilling exploration reminds us that Hell is not just a place, but a product of our own actions and inactions.

In Purgatory, Dallaire confronts the "demons" of survivor's guilt and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), grappling



**Roméo Dallaire**  
Author

with his place in a world that often ignores its responsibility to protect the innocent. Dallaire’s leadership in Rwanda left an indelible mark on his psyche. Haunted by the sights and sounds of genocide, he struggled with profound guilt and powerlessness, knowing that he could not stop the massacre despite his best efforts. The emotional toll led him to experience severe PTSD, which followed him for the rest of his life. His commitment to peacekeeping took a devastating personal toll, leading to struggles with depression, flashbacks, and a deep sense of disillusionment with the international community’s failure to act decisively.

Finally, in *The Peace*, he finds solace in his advocacy work for veterans and child soldiers and his commitment to a world where peace is possible. Dallaire’s post-Rwanda career became a testament to his resilience and determination to find purpose in the wake of tragedy. His advocacy has focused on the mental health of veterans, the demobilization of child soldiers, and the importance of international responsibility. Dallaire’s story is as much about peace as it is about survival—he continues to speak out, using his personal suffering as a rallying cry for a world where no one has to endure the horrors he witnessed.

This powerful memoir goes beyond recounting events; it reveals the challenges and transformative realizations that arise from living a life committed to humanity, even amid disillusionment and trauma. Dallaire’s unique perspective sheds light on the complex interplay between military service and peacemaking, revealing the scars, struggles, and resilience of someone who has witnessed both the darkest aspects of human conflict and the glimmers of hope within it.

“*The Peace: A Warrior’s Journey*” offers a profound exploration of the human spirit’s resilience and the moral urgency of peace. I welcome readers to join Dallaire in walking through Hell, Purgatory, and ultimately *The Peace*, in hopes that it encourages reflection on the shared responsibility to create a world free from the fires of conflict. The path forward is daunting but the fight for a world where people can move beyond basic survival and toward dignity and humanity for all people is worth braving.

#### **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

General Roméo Dallaire is a member of the International Commission for Inclusive Peace. A celebrated global human rights advocate, he is also a highly respected author, public speaker, political advisor, and former Canadian senator. Throughout his distinguished military career, General Dallaire served most notably as Force Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda during the 1994 genocide. He continues to work ceaselessly to bring international attention to situations too often ignored, whether the prevention of mass atrocities, ending the recruitment and use of children in armed conflict, the impact of post-traumatic stress disorder on veterans and their families, or strategic solutions for lasting peace.

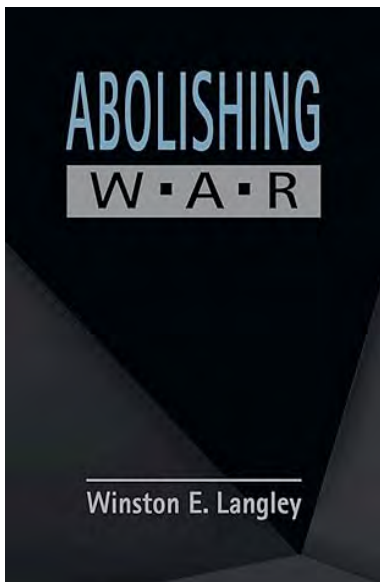


*To learn more about General Roméo Dallaire, visit his website.*

# ABOLISHING WAR



Recommended by Hannah Fields  
Communications Officer, Citizens for Global Solutions



"Abolishing War." By Winston E. Langley,  
Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2024.

Can war be abolished? This is the central and fundamental question of author, professor, and activist Winston E. Langley's latest book, "Abolishing War." Instead of ushering in the utopian ideal of a war-free world, Langley takes a more pragmatic approach, offering guidelines, critiques, and the forward motion of eliminating war as an institution.

The book critiques the persistence of the Westphalian system—a framework of national sovereignty and power struggles originating in the 17th century—and contrasts it with the counter-Westphalian order (CWO), represented by the United Nations (UN), which was designed to promote global peace but has struggled to fulfill its mandate. Langley asserts that war continues due to entrenched political, economic, and cultural structures that sustain it, including nationalism, flawed security paradigms, and deep-seated historical narratives.

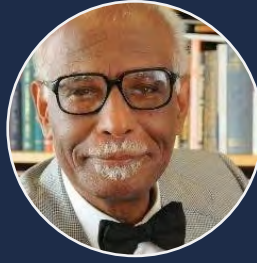
Langley explores war's historical roots, highlighting how it has been normalized through the balance of power, military expansion, and state-centric security policies. He argues that the failures of the international social contract—rooted in exclusionary governance, economic inequalities, and a lack of collective global responsibility—have made war a persistent feature of human history. The book emphasizes the psychological memory of war, where past conflicts shape future hostilities, reinforcing a cycle of violence and militarization.

One of the core themes in "Abolishing War" is the failure of the UN and other global institutions to dismantle the war system. Langley discusses how Cold War politics, nationalism, and prioritizing military security over human security have subverted the CWO's potential. Despite movements advocating disarmament and international legal frameworks such as the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, the global order remains structured around the inevitability of conflict. He critiques the illusion that partial security can achieve lasting peace through deterrence, military alliances, and nuclear stockpiling.

Langley argues that abolishing war requires a fundamental shift in international governance and human consciousness. He proposes a series of UN reforms (many of which world federalists are acquainted with and advocate for), including restructuring the Security Council, strengthening the International Court of Justice, and realigning global financial systems to prioritize peace over militarization. He also highlights the importance of socioeconomic and moral transformation, advocating for policies that promote equity, human rights, and environmental sustainability.

Much of the book is dedicated to the idea that a global nonviolent movement is necessary to achieve lasting peace. Langley envisions a world where human security—centered on dignity, mutual responsibility, and planetary well-being—replaces traditional national security frameworks. He calls for a shift in education, culture, and governance to cultivate a global consciousness that rejects war to resolve disputes.

Ultimately, "Abolishing War" is both a scholarly critique and a timely call to action. Langley asserts that humanity stands at a crossroads: it can continue down a path of endless war and destruction or embrace a cooperative, community-centered



**Winston E. Langley**  
Author

global order. Through UN reforms, disarmament efforts, and a worldwide nonviolent movement, he argues that the abolition of war is not only possible but essential for human survival. The book challenges readers to rethink security, governance, and their role in shaping a peaceful future. This is a book that world federalists should read as a guide to creating a better world.

#### **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

Winston Langley is Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science and International Relations, and Senior Fellow, McCormack Graduate School for Policy and Global Studies, at the University of Massachusetts Boston. He has taught for over 40 years and served as Provost of the university from 2008 to 2017. The principal focus of his research and writing has been in the area of international relations dealing with models of global order, with strong emphasis on human rights and criticism of the present a-moral system, which is based on sovereign nation-states. He sees this system as the primary source of international violence, including war, and the unending cause of human rights abuse. Women and children have been an area of his human rights research and writing, his book (with Vivian Fox), on Women's Rights in the United States, won Gustavus Myers Outstanding Book Award on human rights in North America. He has always had a deep interest in the role of images in human behavior, and for years taught a course on images of world politics through film and literature. His other books include the "War Between U.S. and China" and "While the US Sleeps."



*Winston Langley's book was part of the CGS World Citizen Book Club. Learn more about how you can join!*

# IN MEMORIAM: RANDY KEHLER



## Matt McDonough

Matt McDonough is a green energy consultant who has been committed to the cause of world federalism for more than four decades. Following two tours as an Air Force rescuer in Vietnam, he joined the World Federalist Association in 1974 and became president of the Amherst, Massachusetts, chapter. He is currently Vice Chair of the Board of the CGS Education Fund and Chair of the Board of the CGS Action Network.

This summer, Citizens for Global Solutions lost a valuable member of our National Advisory Council, Randy Kehler, aged 80, passed in July.

Randy was a peace activist dedicated to the eradication of war and to the expansion of justice at both the local and global level. In 1969, Randy refused to go to war. He returned his draft card, thereby committing a felony and blocked entrance to an induction center. For these actions Randy served nearly two years in federal prison.

I first met Randy when my then-wife became his administrative assistant. Over the ensuing years I got to see his passion and commitment up close. I don't know if I have ever met a harder worker.

Randy was known as the father of the "Freeze Campaign," a national effort to get the two superpowers to agree to freeze their nuclear arsenals at the then current levels. Observers claim that these efforts influenced the Reagan administration to push for arms reduction talks with the Soviet Union.

Randy is perhaps best known as the person who influenced Daniel Ellsberg to release the Pentagon Papers. The release of that document led directly to a substantial increase in resistance to the Vietnam war. On a number of occasions Mr. Ellsberg said "No Randy Kehler, No Pentagon Papers."

Randy was a lifelong tax resistor. He felt that he could not support the US military. He calculated the tax that he owed and contributed that amount to charity.

In 1989 this resulted in the Internal Revenue Service seizing his house in Colrain, MA. When he refused a judge's order to vacate, he once again found himself in jail. He eventually lost his home and he and his wife Betsy Corner moved into a house owned by her parents.

Over a cup of coffee, I once mentioned how unjust I thought it was that he was jailed for resisting the draft. He immediately corrected me. His conscience told him that he had to resist the draft. But, he broke the law and the government did what it had to do, He felt no resentment. This was a typical example of Randy's integrity.

Randy will be greatly missed.



*Polaroid of Daniel Ellsberg visiting Randy Kehler at the La Tuna Federal Correctional Institution in Anthony, Texas, in 1971, from the collection of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst Robert S. Cox Special Collections and University Archives Research Center.*



# CITIZENS FOR GLOBAL SOLUTIONS

CGS is a non-governmental, non-profit, non-partisan membership-based organization that for more than 75 years has brought together a diverse collective of individuals and organizations with a common goal of a unified world predicated upon peace, human rights, and the rule of law. From championing ratification of the UN Charter upon our establishment in 1947 to supporting the creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC) 25 years ago to advocating for global instruments to confront today's enduring challenges of war and climate degradation, CGS recognizes that true progress is a generational enterprise. We invite like-minded individuals and organizations to join us in this mission.

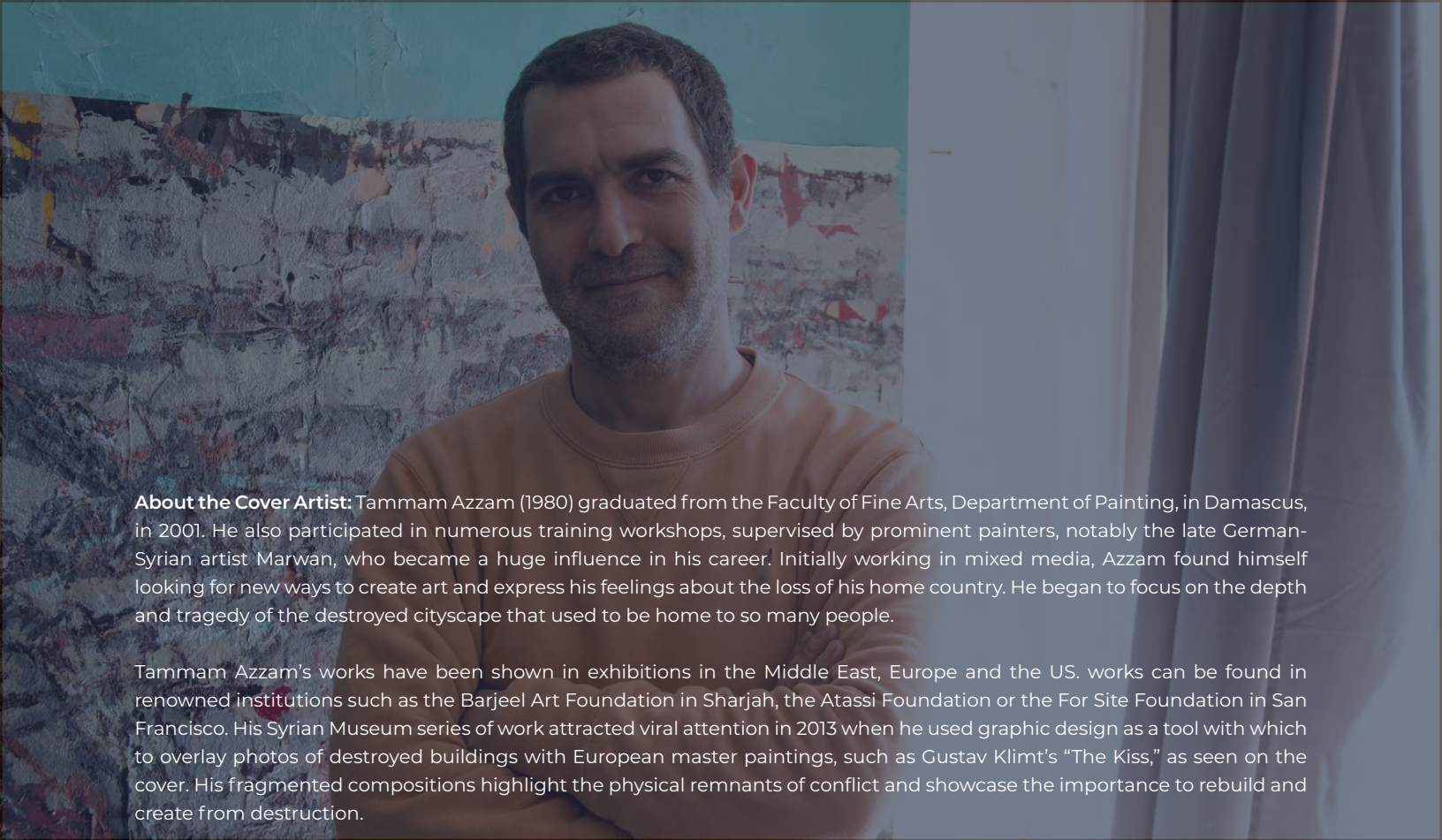
Today, we operate through our Education Fund, a 501(c)(3) charitable organization, and our Action Network, a 501(c)(4) organized for our advocacy work. We are a member organization of the World Federalist Movement–Institute for Global Policy (WFM-IGP), a global network of like-minded organizations dedicated to our core cause, and are proud to be in consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).



Citizens for  
Global Solutions



Website:  
[www.globalsolutions.org](http://www.globalsolutions.org)



**About the Cover Artist:** Tammam Azzam (1980) graduated from the Faculty of Fine Arts, Department of Painting, in Damascus, in 2001. He also participated in numerous training workshops, supervised by prominent painters, notably the late German-Syrian artist Marwan, who became a huge influence in his career. Initially working in mixed media, Azzam found himself looking for new ways to create art and express his feelings about the loss of his home country. He began to focus on the depth and tragedy of the destroyed cityscape that used to be home to so many people.

Tammam Azzam's works have been shown in exhibitions in the Middle East, Europe and the US. works can be found in renowned institutions such as the Barjeel Art Foundation in Sharjah, the Atassi Foundation or the For Site Foundation in San Francisco. His Syrian Museum series of work attracted viral attention in 2013 when he used graphic design as a tool with which to overlay photos of destroyed buildings with European master paintings, such as Gustav Klimt's "The Kiss," as seen on the cover. His fragmented compositions highlight the physical remnants of conflict and showcase the importance to rebuild and create from destruction.



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