Pilot Project Progressive Report

Popularizing the Role and Relevance of International Criminal Court (ICC) among Student Community in Uganda

Implementers: Students for Global Democracy Uganda in collaboration with HURINET-Uganda

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A Project of:

Students for Global Democracy Uganda
P.O Box 21011 Kampala, Uganda
3rd Floor Haruna Towers Bombo Road
Kubiri-Round About, Opposite Hass Petro Station
Tel: +256 414 385910, +256 7522023025
Email: uganda@sfgd.org
www.uganda.sfgd.org
Students for Global Democracy Uganda staff launching the project at their offices
REPORT SUMMARY
This report presents findings and observations of the first phase of a currently ongoing pilot project, “Popularizing the Relevancy and Role of The ICC among the Student Community in Uganda.” The aim of the project is ‘To strengthen students’ understanding, participation and engagement on matters of the ICC and the Rome Statute including the role and relevancy of the ICC in Uganda in order to build the next generation of International Justice Supporters and Activists. The project commenced in March 2017 and activities have been carried for the last 4 weeks and 4 days. There are 20 participating Schools in Uganda focusing on Jinja, Kampala, Mukono and Wakiso. The target group has mainly been the students at the high school level of education in Uganda.

Students have been engaged in debates at the level of peer-to-peer, individual-to-individual, school-to-school and district-to-district. Students debate concerning pre-arranged motions on those majorly emotive themes about the ICC, which have characterized the mainstream media discussions. There have also been themes selected for debate owing to contemporary and current events ongoing in the world concerning those issues that are very paramount to the ICC mandate. Events such as the recent killing of two UN Human Rights Abuses Investigators in the DRC, the discovery of mass graves in the DRC Central Region of Kasai, reports of rape and killings of young girls and women by belligerent groups in the ongoing civil war of South Sudan and possible mass graves being found in the Central African Republic among others.

During the debates, it has been discovered that young people who are the students have at least heard about the ICC. The ICC is a famous court. However, it is known in a negative sense although not for the bad reasons. The students’ perceptions are misinformed by mainly what they hear from misinformed peers and misinformed adults about issues regarding the ICC. This explains the biased and negative attitudes among the students about the ICC. In essence, it appears as though when these misperceptions and negative attitudes become consolidated, they result into unpopularity of the ICC; however, on ignorant and naïve basis.
Habiba Nakanwagi the Media Coordinator of SGD-Uganda interviewing student debaters from Jinja College before the debate session.

The students do not know about and cannot appreciate the ICC as one of those critical institutions of the international and multilateral system that informs the historical foundations of global cooperation between and among the world’s states to address conflict, while achieving democracy, governance and protection of human rights, and consolidating on peace, stability and security. Students only perceive the ICC as a court of international nature, a feature that is an oversimplification of what the ICC actually is. Students feel that the ICC is a mere court whose jurisdictions cannot supersede that of the municipal courts in the sovereign state. A feeling like this, is responsible for the misguided thinking that the ICC is only trying to usurp the power and authority of the national courts and the state at-large by creating work for itself; hence, the various trials and prosecutions it has conducted.
Students feel that the ICC is another well-calculated neocolonial scheme and machination of the Western Europe and North America to try and subjugate the countries of the so-called ‘Third World’. They cite that the targeted victims of this scheme are the weak African states and weak states of the Far-East Asia region. Students feel that the ICC is a mere tool for victimizing states that are trying to be assertive against ‘White Domination’ of the world. It is an instrument of racism and a now favoured fighting weapon deployed by the whites to fight against peoples of their former colonial territories who are trying to chart an independent path in foreign policy and domestic policy immune from interference and intervention.

Students feel that the ICC is a very biased court especially against the Africans. They cite that there have been a majority of trials, prosecutions, convictions and imprisonments that have been conducted by the ICC against the African leaders and politicians compared to other peoples of the world. They cite that the ICC is dependent on funding from the Western Europe, something which explains the lack of independency of the court. They feel that the ICC even fears to go for current and former heads of state of Western European countries like USA, UK, France and Belgium among others, states whose heads of state have been involved in perpetuating armed conflicts against the innocent people of the world.

Despite, the seemingly vast negative attitudes about the ICC among the young people and students in Uganda, there are informed perceptions that explain the positive attitudes of some small sections of the young people and students about the ICC. Some students feel that the ICC has been wrongfully victimized especially by African leaders and politicians who want to avoid international accountability well aware that domestic accountability cannot be achieved. These students feel that the ICC is the only alternative avenue where these leaders and politicians can be brought to account since they have corrupted the national institutions in their favor. The students feel that there seems to be a well-calculated propaganda scheme to discredit the ICC by perpetuating misinformation aimed at achieving misrepresentation of the court and the institution.
Shivensh Trivedi, a main speaker from Jinja College stressing a point in support of the debate motion, “African Union’s Request to its Member States to Implement the Policy of Non-compliance and Cooperation with the ICC should be Rejected”

1.0 INTRODUCTION

During the 15th Session of the Assembly of States Parties, civil society organizations including SGD Uganda, which was represented by the President (Mr. Mike Gesa Munabi) at The Hague, Netherlands, the NGOs in attendance stressed the need for dialogue that is more constructive and pro-ordinary people participatory to engage these ordinary people on the ICC issues. That is what compelled SGD-Uganda as one of the members of the Coalition for the ICC to design a project aimed at popularizing the ICC by focusing its project activities to the young people and ordinary citizens so that achievement of ownership of the processes for engagement by these very categories of target groups is realized.
SGD Uganda shared the project idea with the Secretariat of the Coalition for the ICC. The Secretariat found the idea constructive and pledged to find assistance and support for the realization of the project under the of “Popularizing the Role and Relevancy of the ICC among the Student Community in Uganda” Finding the positive reception of the Secretariat of the Coalition for the ICC at The Hague, Mr. Mike Gesa Munabi called on his staff at SGD-Uganda to engage in the development of a project concept that would later prove to be the basis for the development of the current pilot project, “Popularizing the Role and Relevancy of The ICC among the Student Community in Uganda.”

Nicole Musiime, a student debater from Hana International School giving her views in support of the International Criminal Court

Assistance for a pilot project was provided to SGD Uganda through the Coalition for the ICC in Uganda, which is hosted by HURINET-Uganda. Since March 2017 to date (April 2017), SGD Uganda has been implementing the first phase of the pilot project. This phase has mainly included the High School debates between and among selected schools in Uganda focusing on Kampala, Mukono, Wakiso and Jinja districts.
There are 14 participating schools that included King's College Budo, City View High School, Jinja Senior Secondary School, Jinja College, Kinaawa High School- Kawempe, Kinaawa High School - Main Campus, Kawempe Muslim School, Trinity College Nabingo, Hana International School, Hilton High School-Mukono, Caltec Academy, Kibuli Senior Secondary School, Kakungulu Memorial and Nabisunsa Girls School.

1.2 BACKGROUND
There has been a lot of hostility that has been generated against the ICC by African National governments as demonstrated by the actions and speech act of their leaders including their public officials. At a recent summit in Addis Ababa, the AU resolved that no sitting African Head of State should be required to appear before an International tribunal and that the ICC should not proceed with the trial of President Uhuru Kenyatta of Kenya. Moreover the Burundi government sighted that it is exercising a sovereign right by withdrawing from the Rome Statute that created the ICC. South Africa sighted a dis-connect in the interpretation of the means of conflict resolution with the ICC as their reason. Gambia under former President Yahya Jemmiah declared its withdraw from the ICC on 25th October 2016. Gambia stated that the ICC is in fact an International Caucasian Court for the persecution of people of colour including Africans. Museveni speech at inauguration; Yaya Jemi speech; Nkurunziza speech; Uhuru speech; Al Bashir speech;
Students from Trinity College Nabingo and Kawempe Muslim Secondary School holding placards in support of the ICC.

In 1998, the international community adopted the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court to establish the only permanent international tribunal to try perpetrators of the most heinous crimes. The ICC was given jurisdiction over genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression. In June 2010, the Review Conference of the Rome Statute in Uganda adopted a resolution to amend the Rome Statute to include the definition of the crime of aggression. The ICC started functioning or became operational the moment the Rome Statute entered into force on 1 July, 2002. Today, the Rome Statute has been ratified by 124 states, among them Uganda. The ICC is involved in Uganda because of the atrocities allegedly committed by the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) under the direction of Joseph Kony, its commander.

It is believed that the LRA continues to commit the most abominable atrocities against civilians in Central African Republic and some parts of the eastern DRC. Unable to contain or stop the LRA, Ugandan government self-referred the situation to the Office of the Prosecutor of the ICC which returned indictments and issued arrest warrants on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity against five of the top LRA leaders—Joseph Kony,
Vincent Otti, Okot Odhiambo, Dominic Ongwen, and Raska Lukwiya. Dominic Ongwen, is in the confines of the ICC being tried for crimes he allegedly committed under the LRA. Uganda played a pivotal role for the ICC in Africa. It’s hosting of the 2010 Review Conference of the Rome Statute showed commitment to the values of the treaty. As Wangari Maathai, the Nobel peace laureate of 2004 wrote, the ICC is Africa’s “only shield from crimes against humanity.”

2.0 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM
Increasingly, however, the heads of state of some African countries (including Uganda) have come to be critical of the ICC and relations between Africa and the court are currently severely strained. In fact, the African Union has asked its members to implement a policy of non-compliance and non-cooperation with the ICC. Some Africans are now joining their leaders to challenge the moral integrity of the ICC, with some arguing that the court is opting for political expediency instead of the universal justice spelled out in the Rome Statute. Unfortunately, the ICC is yet to adequately and effectively allay the fears of some Africans and convince them that the court’s work is based exclusively on the belief that “the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole must not go unpunished” and not on political and other unrelated considerations.

At a recent summit in Addis Ababa, the AU resolved that no sitting African head of state should be required to appear before an international tribunal and demanded that the ICC not proceed with the trial of President Uhuru Kenyatta of Kenya. The AU, however, has not been successful in passing a motion to withdraw African countries from the ICC (BBC 2013). In what seems to be a continental “domino effect”, three African states have publicly declared their intended withdrawal from the International Criminal Court (ICC) over the past months. The court has repeatedly been criticized by some African states as an inefficient, neo-colonial institution of the Western powers to try African countries. African state parties to the Rome Statute make up the biggest regional membership, comprising 34 of the 124 members. But things are changing. From 2009, African countries have called for collective withdrawal from the ICC. Although some countries have pushed back, such as Botswana, and others have entered reservations, the majority seems to be in support of the withdrawal. This follows a long process of negotiations spearheaded by the AU.
Burundi was the first to declare its intention to withdraw on October 12 and filed a formal withdrawal with the U.N. Secretary General (UNSG). Burundi cited that it’s exercising a sovereign right by withdrawing from the Rome Statute that created the ICC. Although the true motivation is believed to be the fact that on April 25, the ICC’s Office of the Prosecutor opened a preliminary investigation on alleged violations of the rule of law and human rights in the country.

Burundi’s reasons for withdrawing were that its membership couldn’t be justified as the preliminary investigation of Burundi constitutes a violation of complementarity with national courts and sovereignty.

South Africa was the first country to formally withdraw from the ICC in an Instrument of Withdrawal dated 19 October 2016. Unlike Burundi, the withdrawal decision was not voted upon by Parliament that has legal implications on whether Parliamentary approval was required before hand. South Africa cited a disconnect in the interpretation of means of conflict resolution with the ICC as their reason.

Gambia declared its withdrawal from the ICC on 25 October 2016. Gambia’s stated that the ICC “is in fact an International Caucasian Court for the persecution of people of colour including Africans”. Gambia’s decision to leave is viewed as a big blow to the ICC as the country hosts the headquarters of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. While a former justice minister and Attorney General, Fatou Bensouda, is the current ICC chief prosecutor.

Reports indicate that Namibia, Kenya and Uganda are contemplating withdrawing from the ICC. However, Africa is heterogeneous and not all countries are in favour of a withdrawal. Botswana has expressed its reservations about the move. On the other hand, some African countries like Botswana have disagreed publicly with the AU’s decision against cooperation and compliance with the ICC and have argued that African countries ought to keep their obligations under the Rome Statute (VOA 2013). In addition, former U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan and Nobel Peace Laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu have urged African countries to remain with the ICC (BBC 2013).
A Cross-section of students who gathered at Hana International School during a debate session between King’s College Budo and Jinja Senior Secondary School. The debate motion was “African States cannot Promote Rule of Law without the ICC”

Why Create Awareness about ICC and its Role among the Student Community in Uganda:
In order to effectively perform its mandate, the ICC needs the support and cooperation of States, relevant stakeholders and the ordinary people, who are the victims. There is urgent need by the civil society under the umbrella of the Coalition for the International Criminal Court (CICC) to intensify its advocacy role to create awareness about ICC, promote its relevance and strengthen its legitimacy among the ordinary populace, since the political leaders always take advantage of the ordinary people’s ignorance about the ICC’s role of preventing crimes and bringing to book the perpetrators of crimes against humanity. The ignorance has enabled the critical states to fuel the negative perceptions about the court that are evident in Uganda today. The local citizenry should be
sensitized about the relevance of the ICC in order to take ownership and support it whenever political leaders come up to criticize it.

There is relatively little counter actions by civil society in Uganda working on international criminal justice to mitigate the negative perception about the ICC among the ordinary people which is being voiced by our leaders for their selfish political motives. Most of the interventions by CSOs have been focused in the victim communities of greater northern Uganda that have suffered the brunt of the LRA insurgency. There is need to widen the discourse to not only northern Uganda but the whole country and target the vibrant youth and students as drivers of change.

The Student community in Uganda represents a significant cohort of the total population that should be at the centre of national development and a new generation of active participants in promoting the ICC. Their immense numbers, energy, potential, dynamism and technical know-how make them a reliable constituency as supporters and promoters of the ICC in ending impunity, atrocities and crimes against humanity. However, the student community is not well informed on the relevance and legitimacy of the ICC and some of them believe the ICC is biased against Africa or is a neo colonial institution. The existing awareness, education initiatives and knowledge about the ICC are not accessible and student-friendly. There is little accessible literature, promotional materials like banners, leaflets, manuals and all the related IEC materials on the ICC and its role. Furthermore, there has never been a structural entry point to institutions of higher learning for such campaigns.
A student debater from King’s College Budo giving his views against the debate motion that, “African States cannot Promote Rule of Law without the ICC”

2.1 MAIN OBJECTIVE
To strengthen students’ understanding, participation and engagement on matters of the ICC and the Rome Statute System in Uganda in order to build the next generation of International Justice supporters and activists.

2.2 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES
a) To raise awareness on the ICC as a Court and an International Institution
b) To raise awareness on the Rome Statute as the law and framework through which the ICC has been formed with international and global responsibility
c) To raise awareness on the ICC Mandate, Functions and Role in the context of Uganda
d) To provide information on contemporary developments at the ICC and the situation of International Justice in the World
3.0 METHODOLOGY FOR PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

As already started above, the report presents findings of the first phase of the current pilot project. It covers the first 3-4 weeks of the project activities. This phase followed the pre-planned and pre-arranged schedule of the project implementation in the developed project work plan.

Planning meetings were the first activity on the project implementation schedule. There were 26 planning meetings held between February and March 2017. The aim of these planning meetings was to involve stakeholders and partners and to strategize how to implement the project activities. 1 Planning Meeting was held on 21st March 2017 at the head offices of SGD Uganda. It was conducted with the staff of SGD Uganda. The aim of the meeting was to ensure that the project staff is effectively capacitated to carry on the project activities. 14 Planning Meetings were held between February and March 2017 for the participating high schools. The meetings were held with the teachers and students at the schools campuses of the participating high schools. The aim of the meetings was to ensure that the participating high schools and SGD Uganda build a relationship to own the project and to actively get involved in sustaining the project beyond its scheduled time. 2 Planning Meetings were held between 24th March and 26th March with the MPs who are members of the Parliamentary Forum on Youth Affairs (PFYA). The meetings were held at PFYA offices. The aim of the meetings was to ensure that Youth Members of Parliaments are made aware of the project. 2 Planning Meetings were also held between February and March 2017 with the staff of HURINET-Uganda. The meetings were held at the head offices of HURINET-Uganda. The aim of the meetings was to ensure that these two project partners strategize how the how to effectively implement the project activities, and also to bring on board other relevant actors.

After the planning meetings, inductions were carried out by SGD Uganda. The Inductions were mainly carried out with the participating high schools with the focus on the selected level of class to participate and the responsible teachers for the project activities in which the school was slated to participate. 14 Induction seminars were carried out with the participating high schools. The aim of the induction seminars was to ensure that the participating schools understand the project concept, the debate motions, procedures and conduct during the debate sessions, so as to be prepared.
Following the induction seminars, the schools’ debates have been carried out. There have been 7 High School Debates. These debates have been held at the campuses of City View High School, Kinaawa High School- Kawempe, Trinity College Nabingo, Hana International School, Caltec Academy, Kibuli Senior Secondary School, Kakungulu Memorial School.

Students of Kibuli Senior Secondary School appending their signatures on a banner as commitment to be “Friends of the International Criminal Court”, and as Ambassadors, who will help to sustain ICC activities in their school.

The mode of the debate is:
- 2 High Schools are selected from the various participating high schools to provide the two opposing and competing sides for the debate.
- The competing sides in the debate are taken through an induction and orientation to help bolster their debating capabilities to cater for the inequalities that may exist given that different schools have different levels of capabilities. During the induction and orientation, SGD Uganda provides literature on the selected theme and motion. Staff of
SGD Uganda helps the competing sides with research skills on getting the information. This assistance offered helps the sides to prepare well enough without disadvantaging either side.

- The debate is moderated by a Speaker, whose role is to oversee the debate proceedings in respect of proper debating principles and etiquette.
- There is a Jury of Judges, which is selected to hear and listen to the competing sides. The Judges are charged with selecting the best debating side. They look out for the adequate knowledge as espoused in the content produced. They consider the presentation style of debaters. Also, they consider the adequacy on the evidence in illustrating the points given out. Judges also observe the conduct and etiquette of the debaters. They consider the level of research undertaken.
- In floor speakers from the audience are given chance to contribute.

A cross-section of students gathered at Caltec Academy for a debate session between Hana International School and Caltec Academy, who were the hosts.
4.0 FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

4.1. FINDINGS

4.1.1 Debate 1: Jinja College versus Kinawa High School-Kawempe

The first high school debate activity on popularizing the Role and Relevancy of the ICC among the student community in Uganda was between Jinja College School and Kinawa High School (hosts), and the motion of the debate was “This House believes that African Union’s Request to its Member States to Implement the Policy of Non-compliance and Cooperation with the ICC should be Rejected”

The Prime Minister from Jinja College, which was in support of the motion, he first explained to the house the objectives of the ICC and its background. Below are the issues he brought forward in support of the motion:

**The Prime Minister, Government Side (Jinja College):** “The ICC has compensated for war victims for example landmine victims in Uganda. ICC provides proper court procedures for example “Before a criminal is a criminal he is first a human being and must be treated as such, incase Dominic Ongwen was tried in Uganda there would have erupted violence caused by families that lost their loved ones in the LRA War”

**Deputy Prime Minister (Jinja College):** “The AU has paid a blind eye and no concern in most of the war torn areas in African states hence the intervention of the International Criminal Court, for example fighting the LRA rebels’ n Northern Uganda war crimes and crimes against humanity. The AU isn’t in position to try African leaders because it is made up of African leaders. “The African presidents who call for the non-compliance policy with the ICC are the very people who commit crimes that are tried by the ICC (Jinja College)”

**The Prime Minister from Kinawa High School Kawempe (Opposing Side):** The prime minister from Kinawa High School first explained the key words in the motion i.e. African Union, Non-compliance and Cooperation Policy and the International Criminal Court.
Below were her submissions in opposition of the debate motion:

Hon. Amisa Nakawooza, “We voluntarily joined the ICC, then why can’t we leave voluntarily. “ We are not well represented as Africans in the ICC”. The African Union states that signed to the ICC Rome Statute show mistrust in the African Union hence that leads to neocolonialism”. “Talking about an alternative, the East African legislative Council is a regional body that can handle some of these crimes”.

Deputy Prime Minister (Jinja College)
Hon. Joseph Wambuzi, “If you want us to leave ICC you should give us an alternative. The ICC’s role is to carry out arbitration amongst friends against humanity in their areas of jurisdiction yet the AU’s objectives are to maintain peace and unity plus uplifting the social, economic and political development, so how can such a body implement justice”. The AU has totally failed to restore unity amongst African states especially in war torn areas for example Sudan and Southern Sudan leaving a gap for an intervention of a foreign body.

“The East African legislative Council does not perform judicial activities, and the AU’s request to African states to implement policy of non-compliance is instead bringing about confusion and disunity”.

The Deputy Prime Minister-Opposition side (Kinaawa High School)
Hon. Nsubuga Fahad, “The US has continuously funded the ICC but it has not ratified the ICC. ICC has caused a setback through its military for example in Libya, Syria hence increasing the price of oil.”

The floor speaker Jinja College School, “We are not against the African Union because we are Africans, but we need the ICC because we ratified a treaty to be part of it and because our judicial systems are still weak.”
Debate 2: King’s College Budo versus Jinja Senior Secondary School
The second activity was between King’s College Budo and Jinja Senior Secondary and the debate motion was, “African States cannot Promote Rule of Law without the ICC”

The Prime minister from Jinja Senior School, which was in support of the motion, started with defining the keywords in the motion i.e. African states, Rule of Law and the International Criminal Court, and below were his submissions:

The Prime Minister Government Side (Jinja Senior Secondary School)
Hon. Trevor Ronald, “African leaders promise two terms but they never want to leave power when in office for example Joseph Kabila and Robert Mugabe, these are president who came into power but have refused to leave so why doesn’t the ICC come in and help us hence promoting the rule of law since the presidents have failed to promote it.

Trevor Ronald, a main speaker from Jinja Secondary School giving his submission in the support of the debate motion, “African States cannot promote the Rule of Law without ICC”
The Prime Minister Opposition Side (King’s College Budo)

Hon. Emmanuel, “Wasn’t the rule of law being implemented in Africa before African States joined ICC? How long has it been since the ICC executed its first case? I can give an example of Rwanda that has an efficient functioning rule of law without the intervention of the ICC and it managed to handle its genocide cases. ICC is not the only way of promoting rule of law in Africa, we don’t even know the credibility of ICC, it has stringent bureaucracy. 34 of the African states are in ICC and the 20 are not but they have working judicial systems.

The Deputy Prime Minister Government Side (Jinja Senior Secondary School)

Hon. Ssenyondo Ambrose, “If Africans were able to promote rule of by themselves then why did they join the ICC. Africa is mostly disturbed by the leadership problem for example in Zimbabwe, Gambia, Uganda, South Africa, DRC thus the ICC is the only available solution to handle such state leaders who seem to be dictatorial. Submitting to the ICC does not mean untrustworthy in the African Union but rather depicts the incompetence of AU to handle case that include war crimes against humanity that usually occur in African states.

The Prime Minister Opposition Side (King’s College Budo), “With regional courts, Empowering the judicial arm and mandatory leadership institutions, we can achieve justice without the ICC. According to the International Advisory Group (IAG) that monitors how rule of law is promoted in Africa many countries that ratified with the ICC have been recorded with the lowest rate of promoting rule of law. I believe a local court can give us viable results without depending on the ICC.

The Floor Speaker (Jinja Senior Secondary School), “African leaders have abused the rule of law through tampering with the constitutions and manipulating the constitutions to their own advantage. For example the constitution of Uganda Article 30 states that the legislature shall not exercise the judicial and executive powers, the judicial shall not exercise the legislature and executive powers and the executive shall not exercise the legislature and judicial powers. However many Judiciaries in Africa are influenced by
the executive arm of government.

Debate 3: Trinity College Nabingo versus Kawempe Muslim Senior Secondary School

The third debate activity was between Trinity College Nabingo and Kawempe Muslim Senior Secondary School and the debate motion was, "This house believes ICC is opting for Political Expediency instead of the Universal Law spelled out in the Rome Statute"

The Prime Minister Government Side, Trinity College Nabbingo, “The ICC is against African values for example Article 99 of the Uganda constitution protects a seating president from being tried in any courts of law. ICC has also delayed justice and we believe that justice delayed is justice denied.”

The Prime Minister Opposition Side, Kawempe Muslim, “ICC doesn’t intervene where it has not been approved/invited. The fact that Africa lacks vital judicial institutions many African leaders are always changing their own
constitutions hence compromising the law. No one will be able to hold the presidents accountable for the crimes they commit while in office and this calls in for the ICC's help”

The Deputy Prime Minister Government Side, Trinity College Nabbingo, “Instead of the ICC we are opting for an African Tribunal of Justice because ICC is more of a neocolonial institution. ICC contradicts with African values and that is why they humiliated Kenyan President Uhuru.”

The Deputy Prime Minister Opposition Side (Kawempe Muslim)
Hon. Abdul-Aziz Lutalo “Unlike the African Union, the ICC provides no immunity to leaders as long as they are criminals it will hold them accountable hence making it an independent institution of justice. The ICC has opted for Universal Justice by trying perpetrators of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. One is only answerable when apprehended to the ICC, no one is tried outside the court”

Debate 4: Kakungulu Memorial School versus Kinaawa High School Mugongo.

The fourth debate activity was between Kakungulu Memorial School versus Kinaawa High School Mugongo and the debate motion was, “ICC is an inefficient, neocolonial Institution to try African leaders.” The prime minister if the government side was in support of the motion stated above and he started with giving us a brief history about the ICC.

The Prime Minister Government Side (Kinaawa High School Mugongo), “The ICC is targeting African leaders because if its not why doesn’t it focus on the war crimes in Afghanistan. It is betrayal to hand in our states back to colonialists after people like Nelson Mandela fighting for our freedom.

The Prime Minister Opposition Side (Kakungulu Memorial School),
“The ICC never intervenes without the consent of the country it is going to investigate in. There are 144 ICC African members, so who is to blame its these same people that are misrepresenting. If the ICC was targeting African leaders, people like Charles Taylor would still be in prison but he served his sentence and he was later set free because ICC just a judicial body.

The Prime Minister Government Side (Kinaawa High School Mugongo)
“We want preliminary trial courts that will try the African leaders instead of the International Criminal Court. It is funded by countries that are not part of it and they are the same countries that commit many cases against humanity, isn’t this a great sign of neocolonialism.
The Deputy Prime Minister Opposition Side (Kakungulu Memorial School), “The ICC was also formed to assist national judiciaries.

Debate 5: Caltec Academy Versus Hana International School.
The third debate activity was between Caltec Academy and Hana International School and the debate motion was, “This house believes that restoration of trust in the ICC among ordinary Africans is Paramount.” The prime minister if the government side was in support of the motion stated above and she started with giving us a brief history about the ICC.

The Prime Minister Government Side (Hana International School)
Hon. Nicole Musiime, “The ICC is hardly an institution that looks anti-African. It is the largest block of 34 members of the 122 states which are African states. Africans serve among the courts judges and the prosecutors, staff, Rome wasn’t built in one day, the ICC hasn’t lost trust in us, and we have rather lost trust in ICC. We need hope and patience in the ICC. Let's not pretend because we still need help and ICC is offering the help. In northern Uganda, the country had failed to conform peace their but to the intervention of the International Criminal Court, we see people like Dominic Ongwen being held accountable.”

The Prime Minister Opposition Side (Caltec Academy)
“All African cases in ICC are still hanging so we can't say it has been promoting justice. Why do we allow ICC to interfere with our constitutions? The ICC itself doesn’t respect the principle of complementary yet it’s in the Rome Statue. How did the ICC loose the trust of ordinary Africans?”

The Deputy Prime Minister Government Side (Hana International School)
“African countries staying in the International Criminal Court doesn't make them loose their independence it is called consulting from elders. The International Criminal Court does not promote justice by punishing perpetrators only but also by allowing victims to participate actively in the judicial proceedings”

The Deputy Prime Minister Opposition Side (Caltec Academy),
“It was after colonialism that massive killings and greed for power arose. We had an organized system of leadership. So we can't accept intervention of external bodies anymore. Justice delayed is justice denied”.
Debate 6: City View High School versus Hilton High School.

The sixth debate activity was between City View High School and Hilton High School and the debate motion was, “African States believe that the International Criminal Court is an inefficient, neo-colonial institution to try African Leaders”.

The Prime Minister Government Side (Hilton High School)
Hon. Mokaya Dennis, “Why did they drop the case of Afghanistan as in the report of 2002, it is only because they are targeting only African leaders.”

The Prime Minister Opposition Side (City View High School)
Hon. Ainembabazi Maureen, “Charles Taylor of Liberia was called upon by the International Criminal Court and later imprisoned after trial. He was later freed after serving his sentence, this proves that ICC is not hunting for African leaders but rather seeking justice. In whose interest will it be to withdraw from the Rome Statute!? There will be more victims of crimes against humanity; more atrocities will pop up due to lack of an International tribunal that would bring justice for atrocities.”

The Deputy Prime Minister Government Side (Hilton High School)
Hon. Nakato Geraldine, stated that “Bashir was given more than one arrest warrant but even after that he continued committing his crimes hence proving the weakness of the ICC. The first warrant of arrest was on 4th March 2009 and the 2nd on 4th March 2010.

The Deputy Prime Minister Opposition Side (City View High School)
Hon. Mbabazi Trinity, “ICC was not put in place to try African leaders but rather to promote justice.”

The floor speaker Opposition (Hilton High School)
Hon. Ngaruye, “Rule of law is the basis of democracy and justice. But they are imposing ICC on Africa.”

The Seventh Debate activity was between Kibuli Senior Secondary School and Nabisunsa Girls School and the debate motion was, “This House believes that Omar-al-Bashir should be tried by the International Criminal Court for the Alleged Genocide and Wars crimes against Humanity Related to the Conflict in War Torn Darfur.”

The Prime Minister Government Side (Nabisunsa Girls School)
**Hon. Desire Lisa Ikamu**, “The ICC contributes to the fight against impunity and the establishment of the rule of law by ensuring that the most severe crimes do not go unpunished and by promoting respect for international law. The core mandate of the ICC is to act as a court of last resort with the capacity to prosecute individuals for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes when national jurisdictions for any reason are unable or unwilling to do so. People are being still being killed in Darfur, and the AU doesn't try sitting leaders so it is only the ICC as our last resort.”

**The Prime Minister Opposition Side (Kibuli Senior Secondary School)**

**Hon. Hussein Muhamad**, “Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir born 1 January 1944) is a Sudanese politician, the president of Sudan and head of the National Congress Party. He came to power in 1978 when, as a brigadier in the Sudanese Army, he led a group of officers in a military coup that ousted the democratically elected government of prime minister Sadiq al-Mahdi after it began negotiations with rebels in the south.[1] Since then, he has been elected three times as President in elections that have been under scrutiny for corruption. In March 2009, al-Bashir became the first sitting president to be indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC), for allegedly directing a campaign of mass killing, rape, and pillage against civilians in Darfur.”

**The Deputy Prime Minister Opposition Side (Kibuli Senior Secondary School) Hon. Aisha Taban**, “Traditionally, under international customary law, state officials are immune from prosecution, at least as long as they are in office. The indictment is particularly interesting both because of Al Bashir’s status as a sitting Head of State and because Sudan has not consented to the ICC’s jurisdiction as it has not ratified the treaty that established the ICC.”
Students of Trinity College Nabingo discussing and sharing information in preparation for a debate session with Kawempe Muslim Secondary School.

4.1.1 OBSERVATIONS

- The ICC is popular among the high school students, but however in a negative perception.

- The students, especially in high schools have limited platforms/opportunities to participate in activities on the ICC, and they are ignorant and lack knowledge about the ICC’s Role and Legitimacy

- Students have limited platforms/opportunities to participate in activities on ICC, especially in high schools are ignorant and lack knowledge about ICC’s Role and Relevancy

- There is a negative view about the ICC among the students created by our leaders for
their ill utterances about the institution and also the education curriculum that perceive ICC as an instrument for neo-colonialism for the western world

- Students in high schools feel that they have been excluded from engaging in activities related to their stand on the ICC; that they are often treated as immature and childish, and their views ignored, yet they are the future leaders.

- African states cannot promote rule of law without ICC

- Young people show awareness about the concept of rule of law, but lack the understanding about its reality in the real world. The concept is academically appreciated.

- Young people can associate rule of law with democracy; however, relating it with the ICC cause is lacking.

- Young people suggest that if their leaders want to withdraw from the ICC, they should first seek the mandate of the ordinary citizens through referendum, since they are always the victims of the committed crimes.

- Young people know that rule of law is embedded in legal norms and principles of the systems under which states are governed.

- Young people know that under the rule of law, government officials have obligations and duties towards the people and the state

- Young people know that inadequacy in the rule of law also affects the culture of making laws in a state.

- Young people know that the rule of know is associated with the quality of justice in the society.
• Young people note that it is unfortunate that ‘Big Powers” not being members of the ICC has affected the trust and faith among the other states about the true intention of the ICC.

• Young people question the fact that many undemocratic states seemed to have been the main early members of the ICC compared to the democratic and influential states.

• Young people also know that member states in the ICC are also the democratic states while the non-member states are the undemocratic states including the most influential states such as Russia and China.

• The issue of withdraw from the ICC is very pertinent to the young people.

• Young people think that those states that are trying to withdraw from the ICC do not care about it.
• Withdraw is done by the politicians in state power not by the populace. The populace is used as a tool against the ICC.

• They are states with inadequate regimes and governments with inadequate democracy and governance.

• They are states that are opposed to progressive democracy and oppose actions of democratic states.
• States with inadequate democracy and governance use withdraw as a means of avoiding accountability at the international level because at the national level it is already not possible.

• African states are the major proponents for withdraw because they are the ones with serious historical records of inadequacies.
• Young people think that ICC can be an alternative tool to stimulate democracy and governance.
• Young people think that when the politicians refer to the ICC as having some imperfections it is true.

• Young people think that referring to the ICC as having imperfections is dangerous propaganda against the supporters of the court.
• Young people think that ICC has a lot to do to prove that what is said about it is false and not the truth.

• Young people think that the falsehoods going around about the ICC have done a lot of damage to the families and friends including the supporters of individuals of high political influence who are the target of the ICC.

• Young people think that the ICC should consider that not all regions of the world are the same including Africa. It is better for the ICC to treat regions of the world as unique and requiring unique solutions. Africa has unique needs. These unique needs are due to the history of the African society.

• Young people think that the ICC has little legitimacy among the ordinary people because they revere their traditional institutions more than ICC, which they see as a foreign institution.

• Young people think that the ICC suffers from legitimacy problem because of the existing indigenous institutions being more appealing to the ordinary people than the ICC, which is a modern and foreign institution.

• Young people think that the ICC cannot be different from the other modern institutions of the state, which were brought to Africa by the colonial masters. They think that the ICC being a modern institution suffers the same problems of corruption and manipulation by powerful political forces like the same modern national institutions of the state, which serve interests of the powerful.
• Young people think that the ICC should engage in more investment towards increased access of literature and information about the ICC for the ordinary people and the semi-illiterate people.

• Young people think that the relevancy of the ICC is demonstrated by the fact that there are many Africans serving at the institution.

• However, some other young people think that the Africans serving in the ICC as officials are only fulfilling their careers.

• Young people think that the ICC is relevant since African problems have been caused by African people and are neglected by the African themselves.

• Young people think that the majority of African states were co-opted into the ICC.