

**UNU - IIGH & TWN
Symposium
22 April 2025**

Barbara Adams

UN Secretary-General António Guterres

Summit of the Future (September 2024)

“When the United Nations was established nearly 80 years ago, it had 51 Member States. Today there are 193. The global economy was less than one-twelfth of its current size. As a result, **our peace and security tools and institutions, and our global financial architecture, reflect a bygone era.** The United Nations Security Council is outdated, and its authority is eroding. Unless its composition and working methods are reformed, it will eventually lose all credibility.

The **international financial architecture** was established when many of today’s developing countries were under colonial rule. It does not represent the realities of today’s global economy, and **it is no longer able to resolve global economic challenges:** debt, climate action, sustainable development. It does not provide the global safety net that developing countries need. Meanwhile, technology, geopolitics and globalization have transformed power relations. Our world is going through a time of turbulence and transition.”



Barbados

[79th General Debate](#) | Mia Amor Mottley, Prime Minister

“Neo-colonialist structures which reflect and perpetuate an old world order characterized by racism, classism and misogyny, while ignoring the legitimate aspirations of billions, will not help to foster hope or trust. We must ensure that **global institutions give developing countries, especially small vulnerable ones like my own, seats at the tables of decision-making** where we can be seen, heard, become active agents in our own cause and lead our own development paradigms...

...Barbados and the Caribbean Community join the growing chorus for the immediate proclamation of a second decade, to complete the unfinished work and address the matter of **reparations for slavery and colonialism**... Its resolution lies in a multi-generational approach in the same way that the 20 million pounds sterling debt incurred for the compensation of [slavery] in the nineteenth century was only repaid in the twenty first century - almost 200 years later.”



“**Domestic resource mobilization** is key in our international policy. Norway supports developing countries rights... to **tax citizens and corporations** in an effective, inclusive and transparent manner. We promote integrity and accountability in public spending. We advocate for measures both to solve the current **debt crisis** and to prevent further ones, for we must build trust in national and international governance. And for us, as the climate crisis, war and conflict are trapping people permanently in poverty, enhanced collaboration between peace, development and humanitarian actors is more relevant than ever. **No one can be left behind.** This means that we need to send a clear signal that we do not accept double standards of rights - no matter if you live in Gaza or in Kiev. All of us have the right to protection and the right to development.”

UN Security Council Reform

Finland

79th General Debate | Alexander Stubb, President

“First, all major continents need to be represented in the UN Security Council, at all times. It is unacceptable that there is no permanent representation from Latin America and Africa in the Security Council, and that China alone represents Asia. We therefore propose that the number of permanent members be increased by five - more concretely two from Asia, two from Africa and one from Latin America.

The total number of permanent members would thus be 10. That combined with 10 elected members would ensure that the Security Council would hold roughly 10 percent of the UN’s members at any given time. My part of the world, **Europe, should think hard about how best to divide its existing two seats.**

Second, no single state should have veto power. I fully understand that the veto was necessary in the aftermath of WWII, but in today’s world, it has too often incapacitated the Security Council and halted decision making here in New York.

Third, if a **permanent or elected member of the Security Council violates the UN Charter, its voting rights should be suspended.** This decision should ultimately be taken in the General Assembly. There should be no room for double standards in the United Nations.”



79th General Assembly 41st plenary meeting on the Veto Initiative | 20 Nov 2024

Sofian Akmal Abd Karim, Deputy Permanent Representative of Malaysia

“[E]stablished following the creation of the Security Council, the veto was considered by some as a decisive step towards maintaining international peace & security. However, **the veto has been used far too frequently**. In most instances, its exercise is seen as reflecting the **self-interest of individual Permanent Members**, rather than the collective well-being of member states...

[T]o be effective & more accountable, the **veto should be exercised by at least two of the Permanent Members & supported by three non-permanent members** of the Security Council. The decision should then be ratified by the General Assembly through a simple majority vote. However, in the long run, we believe that the veto has no place in a modern & democratic multilateral architecture. **Malaysia reiterates its call for the veto to be abolished.**”



Taming the Veto – Initiatives

French/Mexican statement

- On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the United Nations
- Proposes “a collective and voluntary agreement among the permanent members of the Security Council to the effect that the permanent members would refrain from using the veto in case of mass atrocities”

“The veto is the most controversial and the most debated provision of the Charter of the UN. It is of course also a fact of life and very likely here to stay. We can collectively mitigate its use by taking it to a very different place in the practice of the Council than the one it has been occupying for many long years. **The veto must no longer be a permanent threat and possible impediment** to the effectiveness of our organisation, but slowly fade away into obsolescence through a range of measures.”

Code of Conduct regarding Security Council action against genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes

- Presented by Liechtenstein on behalf of the Accountability, Coherence and Transparency Group (ACT Group)
- Calls on all Council members to “pledge in particular to not vote against a credible draft resolution before the Security Council on timely and decisive action to end the commission of genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes, or to prevent such crimes”
- Invites the Secretary-General to “continue to bring to the attention of the Council situations that, in her or his assessment, involve or are likely to lead to genocide, crimes against humanity or war crimes”.
- Signed by 121 Member States and 2 observers (as of 2022)

Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN) in UNGA

Intergovernmental Negotiations on the Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and matters related to the Security Council (IGN)

Five themes:

1. Categories of membership
2. The question of the veto
3. Regional representation
4. Size of an enlarged Security Council and working methods of the Council
5. The relationship between the Council and the General Assembly

[Letter](#) from IGN co-chairs Kuwait & Austria to the GA

Some issues from the debate:

- Expansion: Inclusion of Africa Group as a permanent member (Ezulwini Consensus, Sirte Declaration) - with/without veto?
- **Two-year term limit** of non-permanent members limits in-depth familiarity with SC vs. **Expanding term duration** of non-permanent seats via immediate re-election means less opportunity for other MS in SC
- Will increasing the number of permanent seats aid or undermine further if results in 10 veto wielding states?
- Strengthen role of GA in sustainable peace

International Financial Architecture (IFA) Reform

“The global financial system is failing the developing world.

Although, since it was not designed to protect developing countries, perhaps it's more accurate to say:
the system is working as intended.

We need reform.
We need a system that works for the vulnerable, not just the powerful.”

**António Guterres,
UN Secretary-General**

2022 HLPF [Video](#) | [Text](#) | [Tweet on SG's speech](#)

Ghana at FFD4 3rd PrepCom ([February 2025](#))

“Since the last Preparatory Committee meeting in December, **the international development landscape has shifted into a more adverse position and dramatically so.** In such an evolving context, we cannot afford an outcome that is disconnected from today’s global economic realities... The current text does not go far enough and is a regression of the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) commitments.

The proposals in the zero draft do not match the scale or urgency of the crisis and we accordingly reaffirm our call for the establishment of a **multilateral sovereign debt workout mechanism** that prioritizes development in debt treatment and a comprehensive **overhaul of the credit rating system** to ensure fairness and transparency.

The **debt and debt sustainability** section is a **non-negotiable priority**... Climate resilience must be integrated into debt management strategies to address the twin crises of debt distress and climate vulnerability, which disproportionately burden developing nations.”

UN Finances

Contributions to the UN

Assessed Contributions

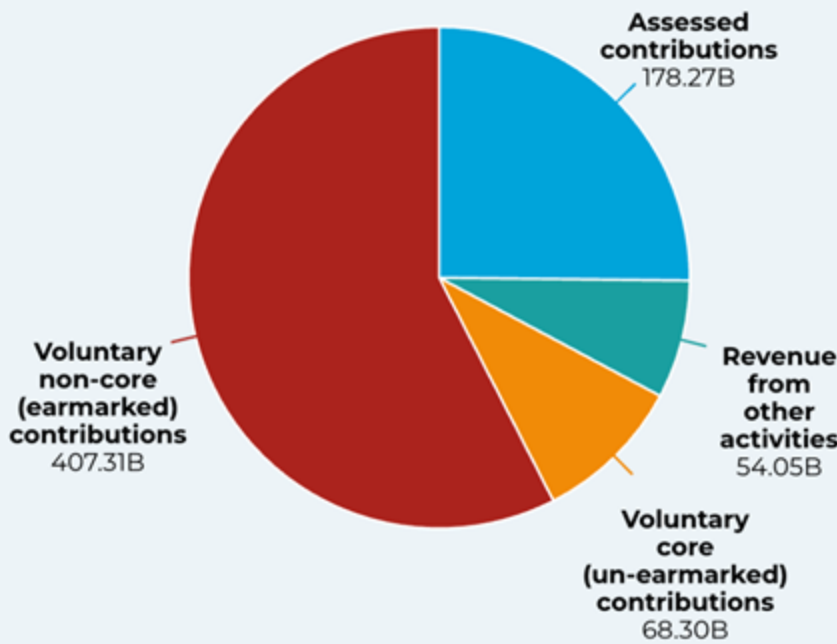
- Dues countries pay in order to be a **member of the organization**.
- The amount each Member State must pay is calculated relative to the **country's wealth and population (GDP)**.
- The UNGA determines the amount of money that should be assessed to finance the approved appropriation, which is shared among Member States to pay for the expenses of the organization.

Voluntary Contributions

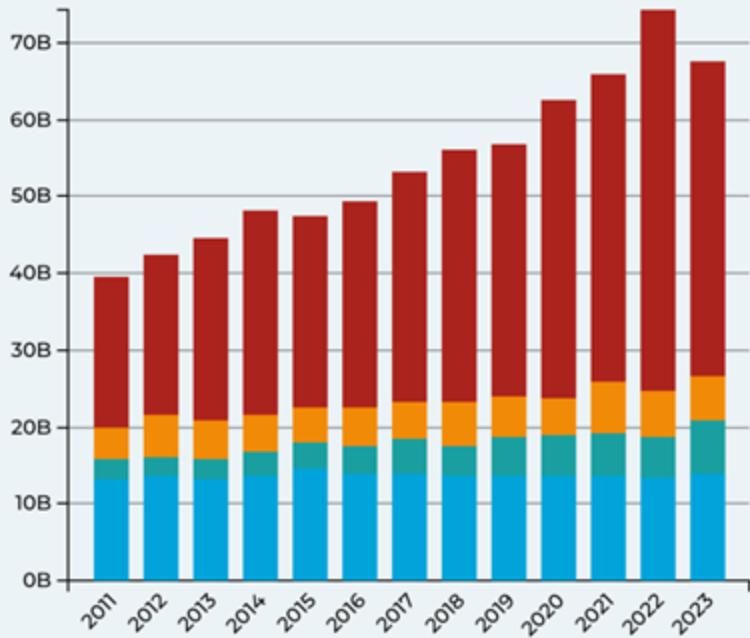
- Voluntary funding from Member States (in addition to their assessed contribution) or from other partners.
- **Core voluntary contributions (CVC)** are fully unconditional (flexible).
- Voluntary non-core contributions are **earmarked** to specific programmatic areas and/or geographical locations and must be spent within a specified timeframe.
- **Thematic and strategic engagement funds** are partially flexible and aim to meet contributors' requirements for reporting and accountability while providing a certain degree of flexibility in their allocation.

UN Revenue by Financing Instrument

Revenue by Financing Instrument



Financing Instrument by Year

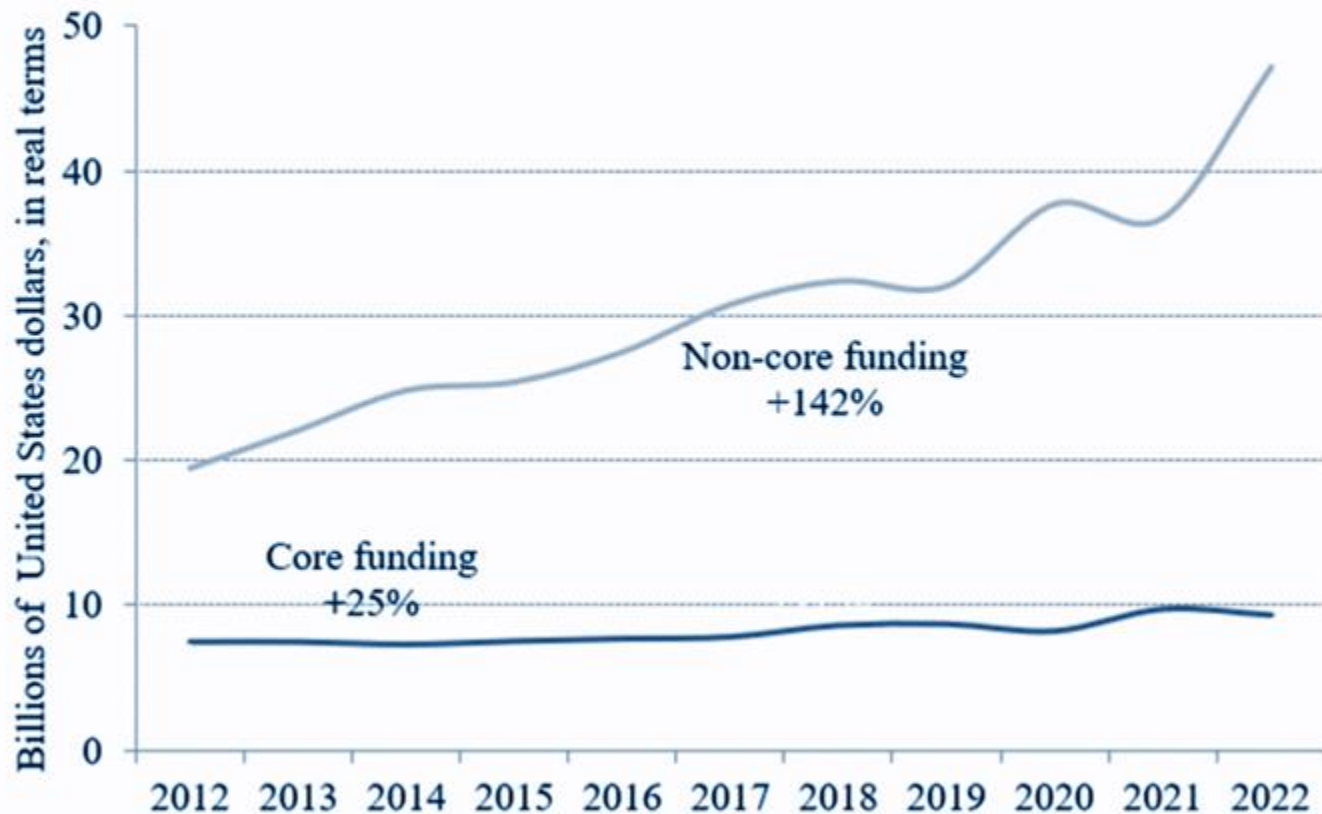


Source: [UN System Chief Executives Board for Coordination](#). Figures in USD.

Core & Non-core funding

Figure 2

Trends in core and non-core funding flows, 2012–2022



Source: United Nations System Chief Executives Board for Coordination (CEB), 2024.

2023 Ranking of Revenue by Government & by Financing Instrument

Government donors are ordered by total of all financing instruments to the UN

Government donor	Assessed contributions	Voluntary core (un-earmarked) contributions	Voluntary non-core (earmarked) contributions
1. USA	1	1	1
2. Germany	4	2	3
3. Japan	3	3	7
4. China	2	10	10
5. UK	5	4	4
6. Netherlands	8	6	2
7. Canada	7	5	8
8. France	6	9	6
9. Norway	10	7	5
10. Sweden	9	8	9

Source: [UN System Chief Executives Board for Coordination](#). Figures in USD.

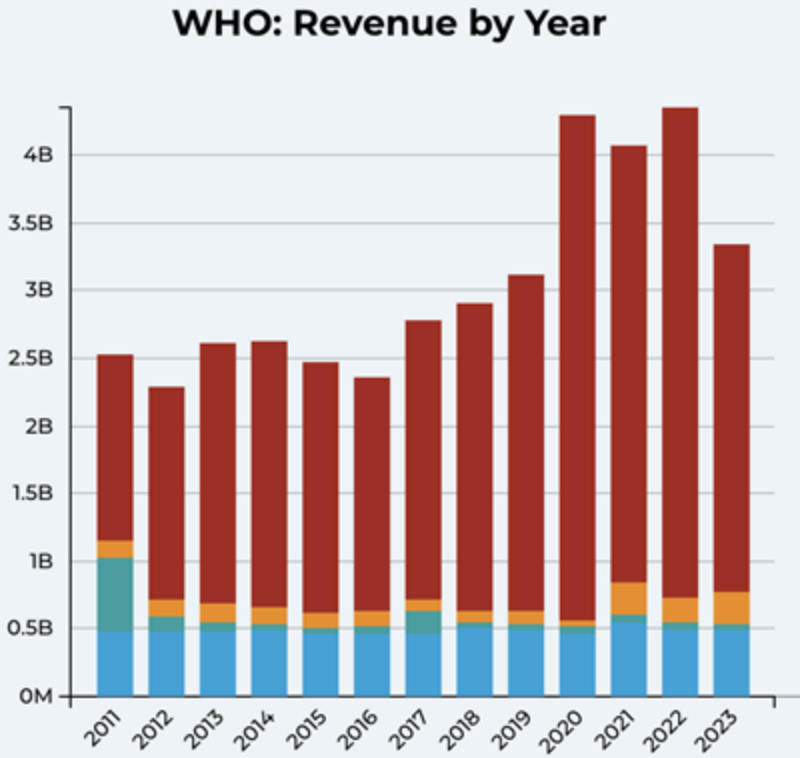
Blue: Assessed Contributions

Red: Voluntary non-core (earmarked) contributions

Orange: Voluntary core (un-earmarked) contributions

Teal: Revenue from other activities

WHO: Revenue by Year



All values are in USD.

Year	Assessed contributions	Voluntary core (un-earmarked) contributions	Voluntary non-core (earmarked) contributions	Revenue from other activities	Total
2023	494,067,189	237,091,534	2,563,798,672	46,477,545	3,341,434,940
2022	495,893,046	182,068,070	3,620,651,548	55,001,125	4,353,613,789
2021	549,292,865	232,049,576	3,226,301,194	58,672,893	4,066,316,529
2020	465,945,680	53,354,451	3,730,582,986	49,451,160	4,299,334,277
2019	490,294,103	92,333,485	2,489,455,585	44,042,097	3,116,125,270
2018	500,750,945	89,140,929	2,264,269,321	47,220,652	2,901,381,847
2017	456,710,549	80,830,696	2,058,474,774	179,279,352	2,775,295,371
2016	467,725,019	113,422,867	1,726,137,299	56,793,602	2,364,078,787
2015	467,499,153	111,729,645	1,856,625,919	39,286,690	2,475,141,407
2014	492,911,698	131,949,106	1,970,230,789	34,300,639	2,629,392,232
2013	474,640,515	132,389,859	1,928,574,832	78,812,010	2,614,417,216

Source: [UN System Chief Executives Board for Coordination](#). Figures in USD.

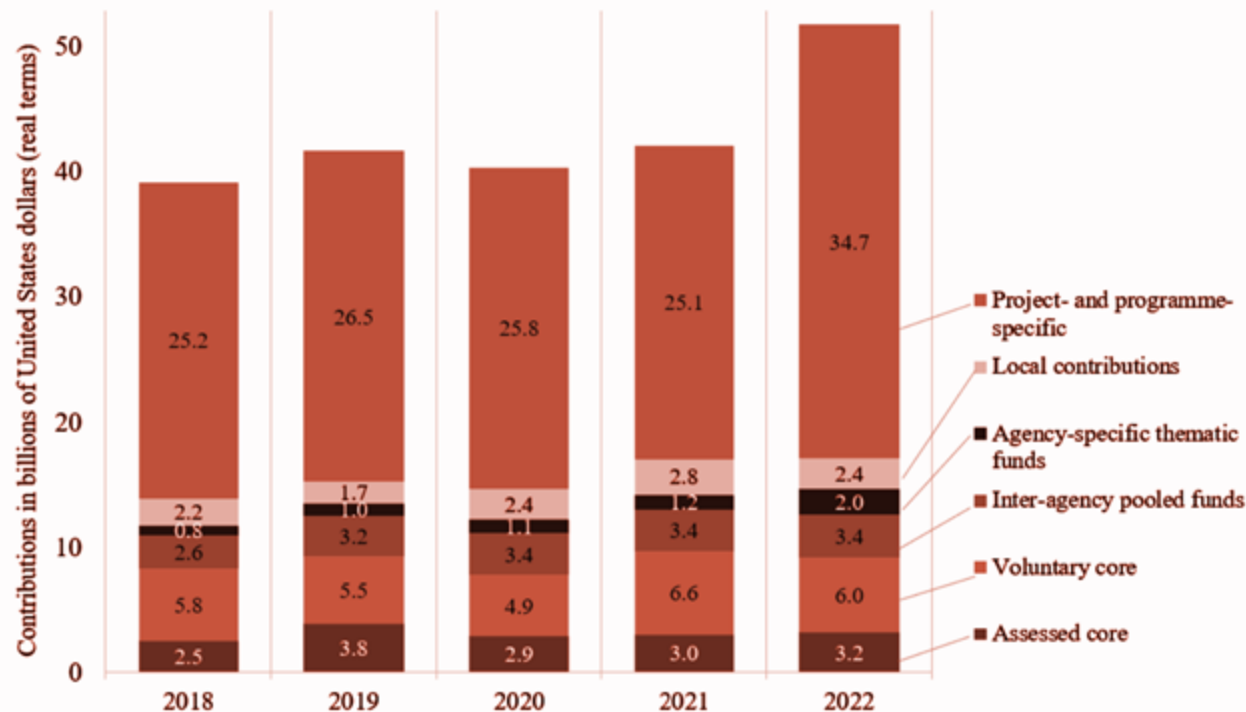
“Earmarking” in the UN

Member States have adopted resolutions calling for “[more predictable, transparent, flexible, effective and efficient, less earmarked](#)” funding for UN Development System.

[Earmarking](#) involves separating all or a portion of total contribution and setting it aside for a designated purpose.

The WHO has expressed preference for “flexible funding” to be “[agile and strategic](#)” in their mission.

Figure 4
Trends in types of core and non-core funding, 2018–2022



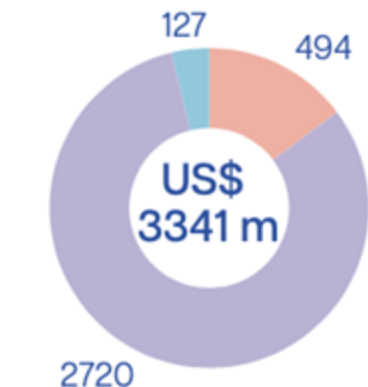
Source: CEB, 2024.

WHO: Financial Statements at a Glance

REVENUE

2023: US\$ 3341 m

2022: US\$ 4354 m

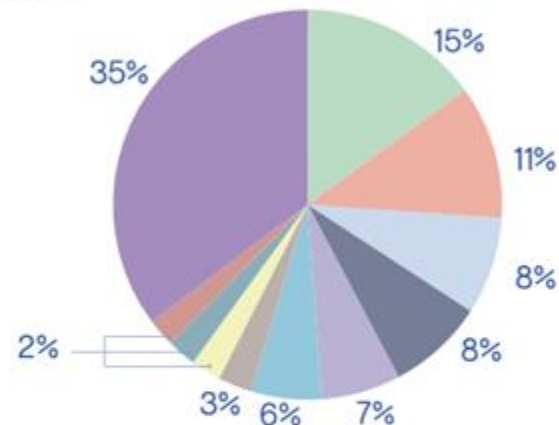


- Assessed contributions (PB)
- Voluntary contributions (PB)
- Non-Programme budget / other revenue

TOP 10 CONTRIBUTORS OF PROGRAMME BUDGET REVENUE

2023: 65%

2022: 69%



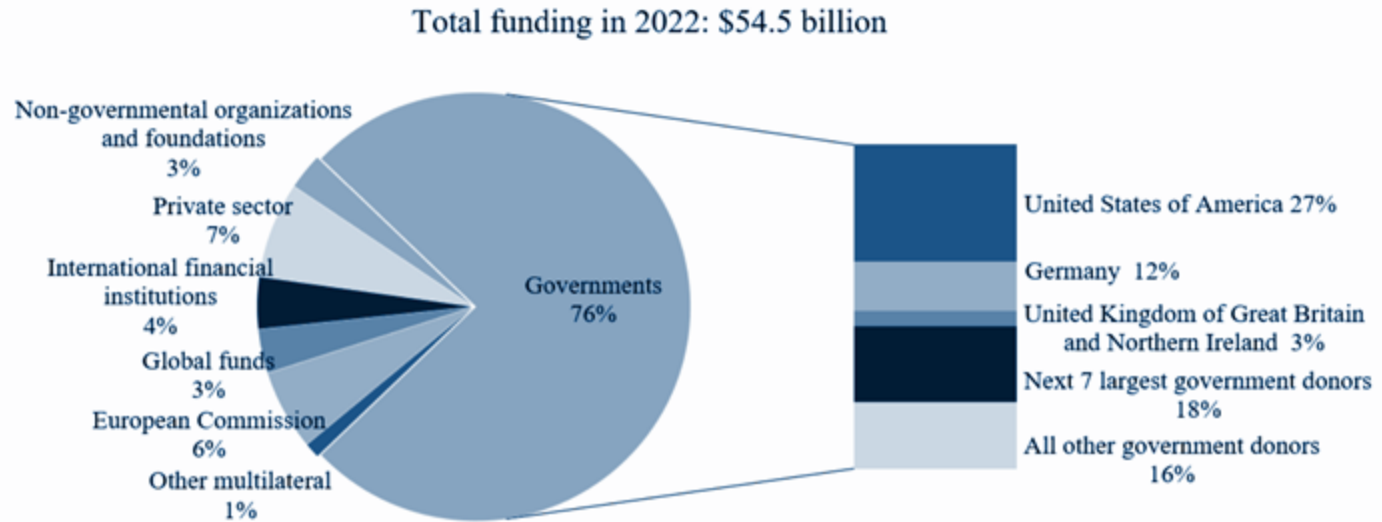
- | | |
|--|---|
| United States of America | World Bank |
| Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation | China |
| GAVI, the Vaccine Alliance | Canada |
| Germany | United Nations Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) |
| United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Others |
| European Commission | |

UNDS Funding

- **2022: top 3 government contributors to the UN Development System** accounted for 42% total funding (2021: 38%); **top 10** – 60% (2021: 56%)
- **Top 10 contributors in 2022:** United States of America, Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Japan, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and France

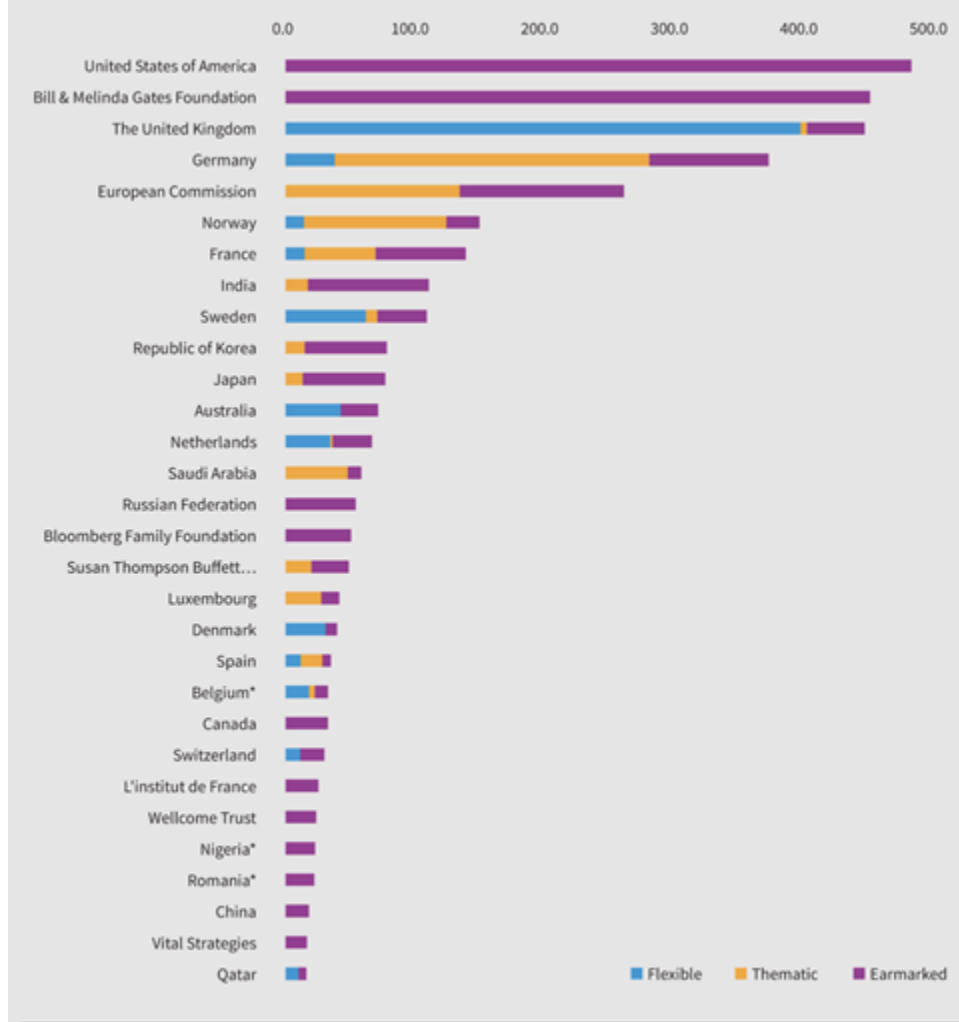
Figure 12

Main categories of funding sources, 2022



Source: CEB, 2024.

Top 30 Sovereign & Foundation contributors to WHO, Base Segment, Revenue, 2020 - 2023 (US\$ million)



*This contribution includes pass-through and/or other forms of allocations from other donors channeled to WHO through this partner. Contributors do not include Gavi, GFATM, and UN contributors

“...[It] is not just Big Tobacco anymore. **Public health must also contend with Big Food, Big Soda, and Big Alcohol.** All of these industries fear regulation, and protect themselves by using the same tactics...

Research has documented these tactics well. They include front groups, lobbies, promises of self-regulation, lawsuits, and industry-funded research that confuses the evidence and keeps the public in doubt...

Tactics also include gifts, grants, and contributions to worthy causes that cast these industries as respectable corporate citizens in the eyes of politicians and the public. **They include arguments that place the responsibility for harm to health on individuals, and portray government actions as interferences in personal liberties and free choice.**”

This is formidable opposition.

Market power readily translates into political power. Few governments prioritize health over big business. [...] This is not a failure of individual will-power. This is a failure of political will to take on big business... In the view of WHO, the formulation of health policies must be protected from distortion by commercial or vested interests”

*Margaret Chan (WHO Director-General 2006 - 2017),
at the [8th Global Conference on Health Promotion](#), 10 June 2013*