



GENEVA CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS  
ADVANCEMENT AND GLOBAL DIALOGUE

## UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL

### Interactive Dialogue with the Independent Expert on the Promotion of a Democratic and Equitable International Order

#HRC60 • 12-15 September 2025



## PRESENTATION OF THE THEMATIC REPORT

### Mr. George KATROUGALOS, Independent Expert (IE) on the Promotion of a Democratic and Equitable International Order

The SR introduces his [thematic report](#) before the UNHRC titled '[Major geopolitical trends and structural drivers of the North-South divide](#).' The report analyses how current trends, like the recent United States protectionist trade policies and resurging territorial ambitions, collide with permanent structural drivers of inequality, to exacerbate systemic obstacles to overcoming the North-South divide. Moreover, blatant violations of international legality, like the recent sanctions against the Special Rapporteur on the Occupied Palestinian Territory by the US Government represent a direct attack on the integrity of the UN human rights system, and especially UNHRC Special Procedures.

In his thematic report, the IE outlines several [intersecting drivers of conflicts](#), including shifts in global power relations, the resurgence of trade wars, climate change and environmental degradation, unsustainable debt burdens, and persistent digital and knowledge divides. The IE underlines that [structural inequities](#) remain deeply embedded in the global economic order, as



a legacy of the colonialism and current policy choices, like the international financial governance. Their combined effect entrenches inequalities and asymmetries in trade, finance, technology, and governance. Developing countries are constrained by unequal market access, and limited participation in decision-making.

**Climate change** has emerged as both a consequence and a driver of inequality, with the least developed countries and vulnerable populations bearing disproportionate burdens despite contributing least to the problem. These impacts intersect with debt distress, which diverts resources from essential services and adaptation measures. The **knowledge and digital divides** further exacerbate disparities.

The global order is undergoing a complex transition. Rather than reverting to bipolarity, current trends point towards fluid, multi-layered partnerships among states and regions, aptly described by the new term of **multi-alignment**, coined by the Indian diplomacy. This environment offers space for a more balanced international order but also carries risks of fragmentation if not anchored to the multilateral foundations of the UN system. In this increasingly multipolar world, the IE sees opportunities to **revitalize multilateralism**, provided that we keep alive and further democratize the UN ecosystem.

Innovative proposals, such as the recent **China's Global Governance Initiative**, serve this goal, to the extent that, in the words of the UN Secretary-General, are 'anchored in multilateralism and underscore the importance of safeguarding the international system with the UN at its core and the international order underpinned by international law.' A strategically **autonomous European policy**, applying the same standards of human rights respect in all situations, would also strengthen multilateralism. In the same direction go schemes of cooperation among countries of the Global South and **regional and interregional initiatives**, like the recent joined proposal by Brazil and Spain for a more effective global taxation of the super-rich.

Yet the IE is concerned that without systemic reforms at the level of international governance, these developments alone will not resolve structural imbalances. Therefore, the IE has put forward **recommendations aimed at strengthening multilateralism**, ensuring fairer economic governance, and embedding redistribution and sustainability into policy frameworks. These include:

- Democratization of global governance, trade rule-making and the phasing out of subsidies that disadvantage developing economies.
- Establishment of a multilateral sovereign debt resolution mechanism and linkage of debt restructuring with climate and development goals.
- Creation of a global climate justice fund, financed through progressive measures, to support adaptation and loss-and-damage initiatives in vulnerable countries.
- Bridging the digital divide through infrastructure investment, affordability measures, and equitable technology transfer.

In conclusion, Mr. George KATROUGALOS highlights that **effective multilateralism** requires the engagement of not only states but also non-state actors, civil society, and local communities.



The IE emphasizes that the **persistence of the North-South divide** is neither inevitable nor insurmountable. It reflects power relations that can be changed. Through inclusive reforms, targeted cooperation, and renewed dedication to the principles of international solidarity, the IE believes we can build an international order that serves the common good and upholds the rights and dignity of all peoples.

### COUNTRY VISIT TO ICELAND

**Mr. George KATROUGALOS** shares insights from his country visit to **Iceland** in May 2025, whose full report will be presented to the Council next year. The IE commends Iceland for its strong human rights record and its global leadership in areas such as gender equality, sustainability, and human development. The IE recognizes Iceland as a model for advancing democratic values and human rights and progressive governance, demonstrating how even a small nation can have a global impact. At the same time, the IE remains concerned about some issues that still require attention. For instance, the national action plan to combat hate speech is not yet adopted. The IE further urges authorities to intensify efforts to combat gender-based violence, ensure equal access to justice and services for migrants, and strengthen safeguards for persons with disabilities and those facing involuntary psychiatric treatment. The IE strongly believes that Iceland is well-positioned to lead by example, and calls for continued determination to close the remaining protection gaps so that all individuals enjoy full dignity, justice, and safety

### REPLIES AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

**Mr. George KATROUGALOS** appreciates the statements made by all UNHRC stakeholders, though he would have welcomed stronger engagement from the global community. Many stakeholders have rightly underlined the dangers of impunity, the lack of accountability, and the **selective application of international law**, on which the IE fully agrees.

Such practices weaken the credibility of the United Nations system, including its human rights pillar, and pose an **existential threat to the international legal order**. When similar acts are treated as necessary duty jobs or are shielded by the protection of permanent members of the UN Security Council, they normalize systemic violations that corrode the very foundations of international law. The most recent example is, of course, the **unprovoked Israeli attack on Qatar** in clear disregard of US Congress norms and established diplomatic practice. This attack clearly undermines the effort to mediate a peaceful end to the conflict, ensure the access of humanitarian relief into Gaza, and secure the release of hostages.

The recent withdrawal of the United States from UN negotiations on financing the Sustainable Development Goals and its refusal to support enhanced lending by developing banks have only deepened an already dire situation. As already stated in all his reports, the IE reiterates that the interests of the vast majority of the peoples in the developed countries in the North are parallel, not opposed, to those of the Global South. As **UNDP** has observed, there is also **a South within the North**, the 90% of the population which is not profiting from the globalization.

For all the reasons outlined in his report, it is imperative to **safeguard and democratize the United Nations system**, especially institutions of global governance. It is not a matter of choice, but a necessary necessity. In the context of the United Nations, we must ensure the faithful



implementation of the decisions of the International Court of Justice and the resolutions of the UN General Assembly. We must advance the agenda of the Pact for the Future to renew multilateralism, to guarantee sovereign equality and to preserve the integrity of the international legal order.

In his report, the IE has put forward **recommendations** aimed at strengthening multilateralism and ensuring fair economic governance and embedding redistribution and sustainability into policy frameworks. Some of these proposals include the **democratization of the international financial institutions** such as the IMF and the World Bank, the democratization of the trade rule-making, especially the phasing out of subsidies that disadvantage developing economies. The IE has further proposed the establishment of a multilateral sovereign debt resolution mechanism and the linkage of debt restructuring with climate and development goals.

As a precondition for bridging the wider North-South divide, the IE envisages the creation of a **global climate justice fund** financed through progressive measures to support adaptation and laws and damage initiatives in countries, bridging the digital divide through infrastructure investment, affordability measures and equitable technology transfer.

To conclude, the IE strongly believes that the United Nations must be defended but also revitalized and be further democratized by enforcing international law, protecting sovereign equality and promoting true multilateralism, and resist those who undermine justice and peace.

## INTERACTIVE DIALOGUE

### Regional and Cross-Regional Groups

**Cuba on behalf of the Group of Friends in Defence of the UN Charter** recognizes that a just and equitable international order must guarantee the sovereign equality of states, non-interference in their internal and external affairs, sovereignty over their wealth and natural resources, and the exercise of the right to self-determination and peace. The Group supports the deep concern expressed by numerous Latin American and Caribbean states over the recent deployment of United States military forces in the region and expresses its rejection of the threat of the use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of Venezuela. The current military escalation constitutes an unacceptable threat of aggression and disregards the decision of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC states) to proclaim the region a zone of peace. The attempt to associate the government of Venezuela and its President Nicolás Maduro with criminal drug trafficking organizations constitutes an absurd and unfounded pretext. The Group denounces these actions, which seriously endanger the human rights of the Venezuelan people and the region. They flagrantly violate multiple resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the UNHRC, including the Declaration on the Right to Peace. The Group urges the US government to refrain from military escalation and hostile actions against Venezuela. It expresses its firm will, solidarity, and support for the Venezuelan people and government.

**Ghana on behalf of the African group** notes with grave concern the resurgence of unilateralism, protectionist trade policies and erosion of multilateral cooperation, especially in areas of trade, climate and finance. Welcoming the call for inclusive multilateralism that reflects the geopolitical



realities, the African group supports proposals for democratizing global governance, establishing a fair multilateral debt mechanism and creating a global climate justice fund to support countries least responsible for the crisis yet most affected by its consequences. The Group also echoes the need to close the digital divide and ensure transfer of technology and reform international taxation to combat illicit financial flows that deprive Africa of critical resources. The African group reiterates that human rights must be central to all international economic, environmental and technical frameworks. The Global South must no longer be treated as a subject of unconditionality but as equal partners and contributors in shaping the international order. In closing, the African group reaffirms its commitment to actively engage in all efforts aimed at building a multilateral system founded on the principles of solidarity, equity and shared prosperity.

### State Delegations

**Algeria** thanks the IE for this report, which sheds light on the structural and geopolitical causes of the persistent North-South divide. It fully agrees with the findings, which indicate that global inequalities are fuelled by numerous factors, such as the burden of debt and sustainable development, climate injustice, persistent trade barriers, the just goal, and the digital divide. These realities drive the effective exercise of economic, social, and cultural rights, particularly in countries of the Global South. Algeria reaffirms that the right to development is an inalienable right and recalls that the United Nations Charter remains the foundation of the international order. Algeria rejects any attempt to replace this global framework with a so-called rules-based system, which is a selective system that weakens multilateralism and exacerbates the shortcomings of international law. Algeria also emphasizes the urgent need to reform the international financial architecture to ensure equitable and sustainable debt management and combat illicit financial flows. Algeria calls for a renewed, inclusive, and democratic multilateralism based on the order and choice of the United Nations Charter and the sovereign equality of states.

**Bangladesh** takes note of the recommendation outlined in the SR's report and concurs with the IE that protectionist trade policy, climate change, unsustainable debt, technological exclusion and knowledge gaps all widen the North-South divides further, thereby hindering the attainment of sustainable development. In this challenging time of escalating geopolitical tension, the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order is more crucial than ever for peace, sustainable development and the realization of all human rights for all peoples. To achieve this, the global governance mechanism needs to be more transparent, representative and reflective of the interests and voices of all states. International cooperation should be effective, people-centred and development oriented, free from conditionalities to ensure meaningful participation for all. Bangladesh also emphasizes the urgent need to reform the international financial architecture to address financing gaps, debt burdens and other complex development challenges. Digital technology, digital and technological transformation must bridge the divides rather than defend them to benefit all. It is high time we revitalize multilateralism based on mutual respect, equality and solidarity to advance a democratic and equitable international order.

**Bolivia** appreciates the IE's report, which includes a list of activities carried out, such as his participation in the European Parliament event on human rights and discrimination against the





Palestinian people. The commitment and solidarity with the Palestinian people must be maintained and extended. Bolivia values the guidelines set forth in the IE's recommendations, encompassing multilateralism and global democratic governance. In an increasingly interdependent world, multilateralism is presented as the central pillar for addressing major global challenges. Global democratic governance seeks to ensure that international decisions are made inclusively, representing not only the interests of the major powers, but also global justice and redistribution, such as paying attention to land grabbing practices by foreign investors. On digital equity, Bolivia shares the proposal for a global digital solidarity initiative that would promote low-cost connectivity, the creation of content in local languages, and digital literacy in marginalized communities.

**Cambodia** shares its concern over territorial ambitions, protectionist trade policies, climate injustice, understandable debt burdens and the persistent gaps in digital access and knowledge. These challenges undermine the spirit of international solidarities and disproportionately affect particularly for the least developed countries. As a small state, Cambodia recognizes the vulnerabilities created by inaccessible access to finance technology and climate adaptation resources. Cambodia believes that a truly democratic international order must be founded on respect for the sovereignty and equalities of all states regardless of size or level of development and must ensure that no one is left behind. In conclusion, Cambodia reaffirms its support for the pact for the futures as a chance to build a more just and equitable multilateralism and remains committed to working with all partners that uphold the UN Charters and to advance peace, prosperity and sustainable development for all.

**Cameroon** thanks the IE for his report, which focuses on systemic inequalities and the structural reforms necessary to ensure a truly equitable international order. Cameroon shares the conviction that peace, security, and sustainable development are inseparable from inclusive multilateralism based on respect for international law, the sovereign equality of states, and solidarity-based cooperation. In a context of global crisis, the persistent structural imbalance, particularly in the economic, technological, and decision-making spheres, undermines the legitimacy of the current international order and accentuates the marginalization of developing countries. Cameroon reiterates its call for ambitious reform of multilateral institutions, including the UN Security Council and international financial institutions, to ensure they reflect the diversity and aspirations of the contemporary world. Cameroon welcomes the report's call to make human rights an ethical compass in global policymaking. A truly democratic international order must place human dignity, social justice, and equity at the centre of its priorities. Cameroon remains committed to a fairer, more representative international system that respects the sovereignty of peoples, in the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

**China** highly appreciates the IE's support for China's global governance initiative and stands ready to strengthen cooperation with human rights mechanisms to jointly promote multilateralism and improve global governance. On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the United Nations, the world has entered a new era of turbulence and change. Unilateralism is on the rise, bullying is rampant, and some countries are withdrawing from organizations and withdrawing funding, severely impacting the international system centred on the United Nations. Global governance faces severe challenges. At this critical juncture, President Xi Jinping has put forward a global governance initiative, advocating for sovereign equality, compliance with



international rule of law, and the practice of multilateralism. He advocates for a people-centred approach and an action-oriented development. China will work with all parties to promote a more just and equitable global governance system. China recently held a grand conference commemorating the 80th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, also known as the World Anti-Fascist War. China has upheld a correct historical perspective on World War II and firmly defended international fairness and justice. China will soon hold a Global Women's Summit to accelerate the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. China has always stood for multilateralism, fairness and justice, and the common interests of the international community, and has promoted the building of a community with a shared future for mankind.

**Cuba** notes with concern that the development gap between North and South not only persists but is systematically widening. The current international order is unsustainable. The figures presented by the independent expert confirm this. The top 10 services-exporting countries account for 58% of global sales, and with one member, none belong to the Group of 77. Nine of the 10 largest financial services companies are American, reflecting absolute hegemony over global finance. The richest 10% of the world's population receives more than half of the income, while the poorest half barely reaches 8%. In 2021, more than 2,000 billionaires accumulated more wealth than the majority of humanity. In 2024, 61 developing countries spent more than 10% of their public revenue on debt interest payments. In Africa, the debt-to-GDP ratio rose from 20% in 1980 to more than 70% today. Debt service exceeds spending on health and education. The digital divide will also widen by 2023. 95% of the population in high-income countries had internet access, while in low-income countries the figure did not exceed 27%. Given the urgency of transforming this reality, Cuba is presenting a draft resolution at this Council's session on the promotion of a democratic international order.

**Egypt** expresses its appreciation for the IE's efforts in preparing the report, which addresses the impact of structural and geopolitical factors and gaps on the exacerbation of the North-South gap. This report is consistent with the report's discussion of the negative impact of rising regional ambitions and international hegemonic disputes on multilateral action. It also aligns with the IE's recommendation on the importance of the participation of regional groups, such as the African Union and the Islamic Group, in international decision-making, as it is no longer conceivable or acceptable for them to continue to be excluded from playing key roles in international decision-making institutions. Egypt also shares his call for the importance of correcting structural imbalances in financing institutions, including restructuring sovereign debt, addressing financing gaps, and ensuring the implementation of the right to development to address the historical grievances of countries. Egypt also emphasizes the importance of full respect for the independence and sovereign equality of countries, as well as respect for the rulings and advisory opinions issued by international judicial bodies as the most important pillars of establishing a democratic and just international order. In conclusion, Egypt would like to know the IE's vision of the impact of the lack of accountability, impunity by some countries, and the selective application of international law, including human rights.

**Eritrea** thanks the IE for his timely report which offers a valuable framework for understanding the entrenched inequalities shaping today's international order. This divide is not incidental but rooted in structural imbalances that sustain domination and inequity. Reform must therefore be



authentic, not cosmetic, dismantling these barriers by ensuring inclusive reform of multilateral institutions with equitable representation and voting power, guaranteeing fair and unconditional access to finance including climate and development funding respecting national priorities, advancing genuine technology transfer and capacity building for autonomous growth, building trade systems based on partnership, not dependency, and strengthening South-South and triangular cooperation as the foundation of solidarity and shared progress. The Global South cannot be asked to bear the cost of crisis it did not create, economic, financial or climatic all while being excluded from shaping solutions. Justice, equity and solidarity must guide a new international order. Eritrea reaffirms its commitment to work with the IE and member states for a fair democratic global order that respects sovereignty, promotes universal rights and opposes the rights to development for all.

**Ethiopia** commends the IE's continued efforts to advance a more democratic and equitable international order. Ethiopia reaffirms that genuine global cooperation must be rooted in fairness, inclusivity and respect for sovereignty. The current international order remains structurally imbalanced, marked by historical injustices and disparities in global governance, trade finance and technology. Developing countries continue to face disproportionate climate impacts, rising debt vulnerabilities and barriers to digital inclusion, all of which hinder sustainable development and the realization of human rights. Ethiopia supports calls for reform of global financial institutions, a fair multilateral debt mechanisms and strengths in climate finance that reflect the principles of common but differentiated responsibilities. Ethiopia also echoes the urgent need to close the digital divide through equitable access to infrastructure, technology transfer and inclusive governance of emerging technologies. The country emphasizes the importance of revitalizing multilateralism based on solidarity, equity and meaningful participation of the global South in international decision-making. In conclusion, Ethiopia firmly believes that a just international order is vital for sustainable peace, development and the protection of human rights and remains committed to constructive engagement.

The **Gambia** thanks the IE for his report which highlights the numerous structural drivers of the global divide. In the play of the debt and climate crisis, it goes without saying that sustainable development will remain an illusion for developing and LDCs if they continue to be locked into unsustainable repayment burdens. In many Sub-Saharan African States, including the Gambia, debt servicing continues to divert scarce resources from investment in education, health and social development programs. The Gambia reiterates great strong support for the implementation of the guiding principles on foreign debt and human rights, for a fair UN-facilitated debt worked out mechanism and for debt climate swaps that link relief to investments in our people and environment. This is not charity but justice and it is essential to realizing the right to development. The Gambia further emphasizes that more than two decades after the digital divide was identified as a major factor in the global North-South gap, it is unacceptable that the benefits of the digital technologies continue to elude too many in the Global South. The Gambia supports calls for stronger global digital solidarity and the regulation of AI that prioritizes the human rights imperative. These are two sides of the same coin because without debt relief, we lack fiscal space and without digital equity, we risk leaving people behind.

**Guinea** thanks the IE for its report, which highlights the systemic inequalities affecting the international order and the challenges linked to the erosion of multilateralism. Guinea remains





concerned at the growing recourse to unilateralism, protectionist measures, and conductive practices that undermine international cooperation. Guinea welcomes the call for a more inclusive multilateralism reflecting current geopolitical realities and the establishment of a fair mechanism for debt, trade, taxation, and technology transfer. For Guinea, bridging the digital divide and combating illicit financial flows are essential to freeing up the resources necessary for sustainable and resilient development. Finally, Guinea reaffirms that the promotion of human rights, solidarity, and justice must remain at the heart of global governance. The country is convinced that only an equitable, democratic international order can guarantee peace, shared prosperity, and dignity for all.

**India** thanks the IE for his insightful report, and shares his assessment that the survival of multilateralism depends on its ability to adapt to contemporary realities. The continued exclusion of large parts of the global south from key decision-making bodies undermines both the legitimacy and effectiveness of global governance. India has consistently called for urgent and comprehensive reform of global institutions to reflect present day economic and political realities. Without such reforms, these institutions risk becoming irrelevant and anachronistic, increasingly disconnected from the people they are intended to serve. India supports the report's call for democratized global governance and systemic approaches to debt restructuring. Equally important are measures to ensure equitable access to climate finance, technology and digital opportunities, thereby promoting inclusive development. India's experience with digital public infrastructure demonstrates how technology can bridge inequalities when properly designed and implemented. India stands ready to work with all partners to build an inclusive, human-centric international order that is equitable, representative and rooted in dialogue, cooperation and sustainable development.

**Iran** appreciates the valuable report and the SR's continued dedication to the mandate, whose work can contribute to restoring the credibility of the United Nations at a time when credibility is under strain. The report correctly highlights the deepening North-South divide caused by researching territorial ambitions, protectionist trade measures, climate injustice and sustainable depth burdens, and widening digital and knowledge gaps. These findings are timely and important as the current international order is facing severe fragmentation. In recent months, unilateralism has reached unprecedented levels. Countries of West Asia are subject to repeated aggression in clear violation of international law. Israel remains the central source of instability, insecurity and disruption of international order and constitutes the main axis of evil carrying out acts of aggression and dirty jobs that according to the rhetoric of certain Western states executed on their behalf. In this context, Iran asks how can existing international legal mechanism, particularly the International Court of Justice, be empowered to address systematic violation by Israel that systematically undermines the international order and are carried out under the shield of the support from the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

**Iraq** appreciates the IE's efforts in preparing the thematic report and affirms that establishing a just and equitable international order can be achieved through international cooperation to resolve international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian issues and to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Strengthening international solidarity between the countries of the North and the South is an urgent necessity to confront global challenges that can only be overcome through concerted



international efforts, foremost among which is climate change, which casts a shadow over all countries, especially developing and least developed countries and small island states. Establishing a just and equitable international order requires respect for international law in general, and international humanitarian law and international human rights law in particular. In this context, Iraq calls on all countries to support the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to stop supporting the abhorrent occupation strategy based on the genocide of the defenceless Palestinian people.

**Kenya** commends the clarity with which it exposes the urgent structural and geopolitical roots of the deepening North-South divide. The persistent exclusion of Africa and the wider global south from core institutions of global governance is not merely an historical injustice. It is a present threat to the legitimacy and efficacy of the international system. Further, this report correctly identifies the chronic debt burdens, climate injustice and digital divides that strangle the prospects of our continent. For too long, Africa has paid the price for a financial system stacked against us with debt servicing overshadowing investments in health, education and adaptation. Meanwhile, those least responsible for the climate crisis are made most vulnerable to its impact even as pledges for climate finance remain unfulfilled. Equally, the digital divide is no longer only a question of access. It is a question of power. Without digital equity, our youth are locked out of the future and our economies remain tethered to outdated models designed elsewhere. Kenya thus supports the IE's call for immediate ambitious reforms including permanent representation for Africa and other excluded regions in the UN Security Council, binding commitments on climate finance and debt restructuring, reform of international taxation to dismantle illicit financial flows and tax havens that bleed Africa's economies dry. A global digital solidarity initiative where digital and AI technologies must serve as public goods, not private.

**Malawi** agrees with the IE that the resurging territory ambitions, protectionist trade policies, climate injustice and sustainable trade patterns and persistent digital knowledge gaps continuously erode the very foundation of the international human rights system and negatively affects the enjoyment, protection and promotion of rights in the Global South. Malawi believes that the foundations of the Indian human rights system will continue to be eroded if the Global South continues to be excluded in major institutions currently shaping the international order. Malawi further notes that the Global South will continue to disproportionately suffer from climate injustice, debt burdens and widened digital and knowledge gap if the current challenges are not addressed. Malawi, therefore, calls for an international economic and democratic order premised on equity, sovereign equality, common interest and cooperation in respect of economic and social systems to correct the obtaining inequalities and existing injustices. Malawi trusts that the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order requires multilateralism and global governance in the UN human rights institutions, global justice and measures towards digital equity and interdependent economy.

**Malaysia** shares the view that current geopolitical trends have significantly contributed to the deepening of the North-South divide. The persistent of this divide is reflected in structural inequalities, notably in the context of the international economic order, climate injustice and unsustainable debt burden. These destructive trends if not addressed effectively risk further erosion of trust and weaken the multilateral process. Today, many developing countries remain trapped in cycles of dependency and continue to face headwinds, hampering economic recovery



and development due to the setbacks triggered by COVID-19 and geopolitical conflicts across the world. The combined impact of ballooning debt and escalating debt servicing costs coupled with the burdens of the climate crisis severely affects developing countries' ability to invest in socioeconomic priorities including health education and climate adaptation. Malaysia believes that structural reform is urgently needed, particularly in global governance institutions, fundamental reform of the international financial architecture as well as far-reaching debt restructuring measures are needed to allow highly indebted developing countries to overcome that distress and thus pursue the development goals and human rights commitment. Malaysia further underscores the need for all states to make collective efforts to build a fair, democratic and equitable international order.

The **Maldives** welcomes the report's thematic areas, particularly climate injustice, unsustainable debt burdens and persistent digital and knowledge gaps. The motives has continued to display strong leadership in climate action. This year, the Maldives submitted its third nationally determined contributions (NDCs) under the Paris Agreement among the earliest to do so. The Maldives aims to generate 33% of our electricity from renewables by 2028. Achieving the NDC target requires adequate support and financial resources, technology, capacity-building and other means of implementation. Echoing the IE's call to strengthen North-South cooperation which is vital to address today's challenges, the Maldives believes that a stronger rules-based international key is to building a just and peaceful world. In this regard, Maldives is deeply concerned by the ongoing suffering in Gaza and other occupied Palestinian territories. Israel continues to violate international humanitarian law with impunity. The Maldives calls on all member states to hold Israel accountable, uphold its international obligations and ensure urgent unhindered humanitarian access to Gaza. Finally, the Maldives reaffirms their support for Palestine's legitimate right to self-determination and establishment of an independent state based on 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital.

**Nepal** appreciates the IE's report and his continuous engagement in promoting a democratic and equitable international order. Nepal believes that democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and multilateral cooperation are indispensable pillars of an inclusive international order. It is vital that all states regardless of size and development level participate meaningfully in global decision-making. Nepal remains concerned that inequalities, unilateral measures and disregard for international law undermine the foundation of a just and equitable order. It means multiple crises, climate change, food insecurity, technological divide and conflicts, strengthening solidarity, mutual respect and cooperation is essential. Nepal supports the call for reforms in global governance institutions to reflect contemporary realities and amplify the voices of least developed countries. Such reforms must correct structural imbalances, ensure fair representation and enable LDCs to address their unique vulnerabilities and development challenges.

**Oman** appreciates the IE's objective approach to the factors influencing a more just and democratic international order. Oman shares the concern over the growing climate injustice and its repercussions on developing countries, the burden of external debt, and the deep digital divides. These countries bear the greatest burden despite their limited responsibility, undermining development potential, perpetuating dependency, and hindering the building of just and equitable societies capable of effective participation in the international system. The



delegation emphasizes the importance of enhancing fair and equal representation of developing countries in global governance institutions, particularly financial and trade, and reforming the international relations system to ensure a true partnership between the North and the South based on respect for sovereignty and equality of rights and responsibilities. In conclusion, the Oman reiterates its full support for the mandate and calls for enabling him to continue monitoring international policies and providing targeted recommendations to build a more balanced global order that promotes justice, development, and human rights for all.

**Qatar**, despite its strenuous efforts to establish the principles of regional and international peace and stability, and to limit international conflicts, it was subjected to a cowardly and armed attack by Israel on 9 September 2025. This blatant, barbaric attack on a residential area adjacent to schools, embassies, and mosques claimed the lives of innocent people. It is a blatant violation of Qatar's sovereignty and a breach of the United Nations Charter, international humanitarian law, and human rights. It constitutes a threat and a disruption to the negotiating efforts undertaken by states without regard for the principles of diplomatic action and the laws that govern them. Qatar was subjected to this attack because of its role as a mediator. Ironically, its noble humanitarian role was countered by a treacherous attack by the very party Qatar seeks to help reach a peaceful settlement. Qatar will continue to fulfill its role as an honest and reliable international partner in consolidating security and stability. These heinous acts will not deter Qatar from continuing our humanitarian and moral role. Qatar reaffirms its commitment to the laws and charters governing it, and calls on the UNHRC and the international community to shoulder their responsibilities in rejecting these criminal acts and holding those responsible accountable. This is especially true as we celebrate the 80th anniversary of the adoption of the United Nations Charter, which established the principles governing international relations, foremost among which is the prohibition of the use of force.

The **Russian Federation** describes the report presented by the IE is balanced and it contains a thorough analysis of the international legal, trade, and economic aspects of the emerging multipolar world. Russia supports the intensified efforts of the international community to narrow the digital divide and remove politically motivated restrictions and barriers to access to technology and digital products. Russia believes that such an approach is in the interests of ensuring universal property security, and accelerating global economic growth helps counteract non-market methods of competition. Russia opposes abuses by Western states, given their leading position in the global financial system and dominance in global institutions. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are being used by their key shareholders for purely selfish neocolonial purposes that run counter to the vital interests of the global majority. Reforms aimed at addressing the role of developing countries in global financial processes are being artificially delayed. The Russian Federation believes that the international financial architecture requires comprehensive reform, based on the principles of equality, non-discrimination, and equal access to available financial opportunities and instruments. The neocolonial practice of dictating ultimatums and unilateral sanctions, including the blocking and seizure of sovereign assets, is unacceptable.

**Rwanda** stresses that democracy matters equally in Western countries and in Africa. Democratic practice must reflect each people's history, institutions and realities within the universal framework of human rights and the UN Charter. Attempts to export a single model or to politicize



human rights, to judge others against that model weakens the very international order we seek to strengthen. Thanking the IE for his report, Rwanda echoes the call for global digital equity through the regulation of AI as an international public good. The adoption of AI is uneven globally and the competitive capacity of countries is even more so. Therefore, effective global AI governance is required to address this divide. Rwanda is witnessing an accelerated digital transformation across numerous sectors. In the 2022, Rwanda launched its international AI policy with the vision to empower economic growth, improve quality of life, position Rwanda as a global leader in AI. In 2024, Rwanda hosted the inaugural global AI summit on Africa, further facilitating Africa's contribution to shaping global AI governance. Rwanda underscores the cross-cutting value of human rights in promoting a democratic and just international order. However, for this value to be realized, human rights must be free from politicization.

The **State of Palestine** appreciates the IE's comprehensive report which exposes the structural injustices that perpetuate the North-South divide. For the Palestinian people, this analysis is not abstract. They are enduring an ongoing genocide while living the daily consequences of a colonial order that the report so clearly describes. Israel's illegal occupation and apartheid regime are rooted in the same extractive logic that drains trillions from the Global South. Palestinian land and water are expropriated. The economy is suffocated and the environment is devastated, all to entrench domination rather than development. The report warns against the resurgence of the territorial conquest. Palestine is among the first to suffer this regression. The recognition of Israel's annexations and ongoing rhetoric on Gaza epitomizes the dangerous erosion of the very principles of sovereignty and non-acquisition of territory by force. The State of Palestine echoes the expert's call for democratizing global governance. The UN Security Council cannot remain frozen in a structure that denies permanent representation to Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Muslim world while one permanent member shields Israel from accountability. Palestine's struggle against occupation, apartheid and genocide is part of the broader struggle of the global south for justice, equality and the right to development. A truly democratic international order is not only essential for our future, but also the only way to end impunity and ensure peace and justice.

**Sudan** takes note of the IE's report highlighting geopolitical trends and structural factors contributing to the North-South divide, including the observations and recommendations it contained. Thanking the IE for his comments and observations, Sudan stresses the importance of strengthening the frameworks and tools of international cooperation in order to promote multilateralism and joint action to confront the challenges facing the world, including the effects of climate change and its impact on human and economic life, and the elimination of hunger, poverty, and underdevelopment in the countries of the South. Sudan agrees with the observations calling for reforming the system of joint international action in a way that ensures responses to the challenges facing several countries, especially developing and LDCs, and addressing the North-South divide through development, cooperation and technology, and addressing the debt burden on least developed countries. Some non-governmental organizations, such as Zero Bove Africa, are posting reports on the UNHRC's website, and they repeatedly attempt to exploit the Council to present a plausible narrative against Sudan and the armed forces, and to remain silent about the crimes and methods committed by the Arab Rapid





Support Forces militia, and to express trends that are consistent with the narrative. The Sudanese rebel militia rejects these accusations.

**Togo** thanks the IE for his report, which has the merit of analysing the structural factors of the worrying divide between wealthy and least developed countries. This divide, being structural, calls for more reflection and concerted action to build a fair and equitable international order, particularly with regard to representativeness and decision-making within global governance bodies, global trade and economic relations, the international pension system, and access to technology. In this spirit, Togo makes it its duty to lead initiatives of both African and global scope in order to best contribute to the achievement of the democratic and equitable rate we desire. It is important to note, in particular, that at Togo's initiative, the Conference of Heads of Government of the African Union adopted, on February 7, 2025, at its 38th ordinary session, the important decision on the just recognition and reparation of the crimes of slavery, deportation, and colonization suffered by the peoples of Africa. Beyond Africa, it is the voice of all oppressed and marginalized peoples around the world who are calling for profound reforms of the global order, and Togo remains committed to further contributing to this.

**Venezuela** thanks the IE for his interesting report. The idea of imposing a linear formula according to which peace is achieved through force has led the United States to deploy disproportionate naval, air, and land resources in the Caribbean, precisely threatening the peace of Venezuela and Latin America and the Caribbean. According to the United States, on 2 September 2025, they launched a missile at a small-scale boat, allegedly killing 11 people, with no respect for international law. Last Friday, 18 United States soldiers boarded a small fishing boat in Venezuela's exclusive economic zone without any coordination with the Venezuelan state. These provocations, under the false pretext of fighting drug trafficking, are intended to provide a justification for doing the same thing Israel did with Qatar. All of this aims to change Venezuela's political regime and seize the planet's largest oil reserve. This is the international order they intend to continue establishing, based on military force and not on international law. The new international order must be the result of the rule of diplomacy, not the diplomacy of empire.

### **Non-Governmental Organizations**

**Sikh Human Rights Group (SHRG)** states that the analysis of the independent expert on international order in his thematic report succinctly captures reality in the current world as generally understood. However, SHRG wonders whether Pax America is really disappearing into history or whether the phase of Pax America driven by European liberal hegemony is coming to an end and a new Pax America is rising in its ashes leaving Europe on the sidelines. If SHRG's analysis is right, the world will not neatly divided into North and South but new concentric divisions that may offer hope for a better economic equilibrium than currently existing or even predicted. SHRG agrees that it may not be along Huntington's civilisations fault lines. What new configurations emerge is in the realm of predictions yet. International institutions may not have the framework to deal with the emerging order nor have a pluralist approach that could best benefit the changing order and the new Pax America. Moreover, how far will be the influence of a new Pax America remains unknown, but it appears that under the Trump Presidency, the United States is redefining its role and power in the world. The Tariffs clearly point to that. SHRG hopes



that UN will be able to navigate the complex world unfolding and assist in a better political and economic future.

The **Organization for Defending Victims of Violence** welcomes the IE's latest report on the factors that continue to reinforce the global North-South divide. The thematic report reminds us that these inequalities are not inevitable. They result from deliberate policies and systemic imbalances sustained by the dominance of powerful states. These stresses are further aggravated by renewed unilateralism. In recent months, the United States has sanctioned Ms. Francesca Albanese, the UN Special Rapporteur on the OPT, for performing her mandate. Targeted ICC officials and Palestinian NGOs for cooperating with the court and carried out direct military action in the Iran-Israel war while supporting Israeli atrocities. Such practices undermine independent UN mandates, weaken accountability for international crimes and sustains the impunity of the violators. By contrast, tools aiming at enhancement of multilateralism such as the UN's pact for the future reaffirms peaceful solutions. The Organization urges all member states to support the mandate of the SR on the OPT; to uphold the authority of the ICC against reprisals; and to implement the Pact for the Future to reinforce multilateralism, safeguard sovereign equality and preserve the integrity of the international legal order.

**Al Mezan Centre for Human Rights** raises alarm over the sanctions imposed by the United States against Al Mezan, Al Haq, and the Palestinian Center for Human Rights for their legitimate accountability work. Since February 2025, the US has individually sanctioned the ICC judges and officials as well as UN Special Rapporteur on the OPT, Ms. Francesca Albanese. Now, the US is targeting three Palestinian human rights organizations for the sole reason that they are documenting the international crimes being committed against Palestinians and advocating for Israel to be held accountable. This sanctions regime is part of a broader pattern of repression aimed at Palestinian civil society and intimidate those seeking to hold Israel accountable after decades of apartheid and occupation and now, nearly two years of genocide. They undermine the very foundations of the international legal system, putting the global pursuit of justice at risk. Silencing human rights defenders anywhere undermines the pursuit of justice everywhere. The message being sent by Israel and the US is that powerful states will use dishonest tactics to evade accountability. The Centre urges the UNHRC to unequivocally condemn the use of sanctions by the US for those seeking accountability for Israel's crimes at the ICC and to stand up save the integrity of international legal order.

The **Shaanxi Patriotic Volunteer Association** explains that the intertwined forces of the United States' protectionist trade policies and territorial ambitions, along with structural factors such as climate injustice and the 'no more crisis' crisis, are severely hindering the realization of rights in the Global South and posing a significant threat to the enjoyment of economic, social, and cultural rights. Since 2022, when the International Patriotic Covenant Organization (IPPOE) was launched, advocating that patriotism should not harm the interests of other countries, and establishing the International Patriotic Covenant, it has attracted over 160 non-governmental organizations from 50 countries to sign on as signatories. The Association believes that multipolarity presents unprecedented opportunities for inclusive multilateralism, and that democratizing global governance is key to seizing these opportunities. To this end, the Association is working to combat the epidemic and reform global governance institutions to ensure fair participation in international affairs and uphold the right of all people to contribute to



decisions affecting their human rights. The Association calls for the establishment of an International Patriotic Covenant to monitor whether countries, while safeguarding their own interests, undermine the rights of others and promote the establishment of a new world order of peace. Finally, the Association calls on all stakeholders to work together to promote the participation and implementation of the International Patriotic Covenant by countries in the pursuit of a fair and democratic international order.

The **Cuban United Nations Association** welcomes the IE whom it had the opportunity to receive during his academic visit to Cuba. The Association expresses its deep concern over the situations of aggression, threats of war, and genocide that are proliferating throughout the world in blatant violation of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. How can we aspire to a democratic and equitable international order when so many governments around the world and the main multilateral institutions have demonstrated their inability to stop the genocide in Gaza and provide humanitarian assistance to the Palestinian people, given the total impunity of the aggressor and his accomplices? The Association condemns the military deployments and the threat of war by the United States government in the Caribbean Sea. It destabilizes the region, threatens the sovereignty of states, and tramples upon the proclamation of Latin America and the Caribbean as a zone of peace. On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the United Nations, we should consider analysing not only current situations of discrimination and inequality, but also their underlying causes, including the legacy of colonialism, the satanic slave trade, unilateral coercive measures, and wars of conquest, and those truly responsible historically. We must also address the necessary reparations for the affected countries and peoples. The Association invites the IE to share his reflections on this matter in future reports. Expressing appreciation for his work, the Association reiterates its support for his mandate.

The **Egyptian Youth Council for Development** thanks the IE for his valuable report and draws the Council's attention to the grave situation in Sudan, where the Sudanese people face grave challenges that hinder the achievement of a democratic and equitable international order at the national and regional levels. The military's interference in political life has undermined the principles of democracy, marginalized the popular will, and restricted fundamental freedoms. The military's practices have also contributed to disrupting the peaceful transfer of power, weakening the rule of law, and creating an environment of impunity. These practices not only threaten Sudan's internal security but also undermine international efforts to promote an international order based on justice, fairness, and respect for human rights. The Sudanese people deserve to live under a regime that respects their aspirations for freedom, equality, and justice, far removed from military hegemony that has failed to provide solutions to crises, but has instead deepened the suffering of civilians and weakened state institutions. The Centre calls on the UNHRC and the international community to exert maximum pressure on the Sudanese military to halt its violations, adhere to the principles of democracy and respect for human rights, and enable the Sudanese people to freely determine their destiny. It also affirms that supporting Sudan in building strong civil institutions is the only way to consolidate a national system consistent with the democratic and equitable international order we all seek.

The **Indian Council of South America (CISA)** calls on the UNHRC to facilitate the dialogue, not only with the United States of America since the General Assembly is in New York, but also with Switzerland as host of UN bodies including the UNHRC to recognize Indigenous diplomats.



Professor Françoise Hampson declared Alaska and Hawaii as the two strongest Indigenous cases in the world, so strong that we have the right to sit as observers like Palestine. The former IE, Mr. Alfred de Zayas, made a full recommendation for an ICJ advisory opinion if necessary and to transmit the cases, *inter alia*, of Alaska, Hawaii and the Dakotas to the United Nations General Assembly and its Decolonization Committee for Review due to the grave violations of the Charter of the United Nations, the law of nations and international law. The recommendation includes a declaration of apartheid in Alaska. The persistence violation for taking of land, territory and resources on grounds of racial discrimination and doctrines of superiority continues in both Alaska, Hawaii and the Dakotas. UN General Assembly resolution 1469 of 12 December 1959 is an act of hegemony since the United States of America refuses any United Nations monitoring of the votes to create the 49<sup>th</sup> and 50<sup>th</sup> states of Alaska and Hawaii without any acknowledgement of the recognition of the independent status of both Alaska and Hawaii and without the participation or consent. Hegemony and the unilateral confiscation of territory and resources continue in Alaska and Hawaii. The Council calls upon the IE to fully support the full recognition of the representatives of Alaska and Hawaii with full diplomatic status and protection under the Geneva Conventions, all international humanitarian and human rights.

**Jameh Ehyagaran Teb Sonnati Va Salamat Iranian** expresses its deep concern over the harmful consequences of unilateral action by the United States which undermine the international legal order and impose burdens on peoples. These actions include the expensive use of unilateral sanctions such as travel bans imposing destructive tariffs, systematic withdrawal from multilateral agreements, obstruction of UN mechanism and introducing a new concept of rule-based order which serves to protect the US interests. The organization echoes the concerns expressed by the IE on international order over the adverse impact of US unilateralism in the UN Security Council and its consequence on the global decision such as the resolution adopted by the UNGA to terminate genocide in Gaza. Equally alarming is the political, military and economic support provided by the United States to Israel in its ongoing violation of international humanitarian law, including in Gaza and in the recent attack against Iran. This conduct not only worsens conflict but erodes the credibility of the international system itself. The organization urges UN member states to call for the cessation of all unilateral action to strengthen multilateralism and to reaffirm that peace and justice can only be preserved through genuine multilateralism and respect for international law.

The **World Muslim Congress** thanks the IE for his report which correctly identifies denial of rights as a structural driver of the North-South divide. The people of Kashmir were prompted this right by no less than UN Security Council. The Indian denial of this right to the people of Kashmir have led to a regime of human rights violation. Resolutions have been replaced by 900,000 trips, mass surveillance, demographic manipulations and systematic impunity. The report warns that resurgent territorial ambitions, unilateralism erodes multilateralism. India's 2019 annexation and subsequent settler-putting laws are a textbook case. Kashmir today is the world's most militarized zone where peaceful assembly is criminalized. Journalists face the unlawful activities act. The World Muslim Congress calls on the UNHRC to schedule a dedicated intersessional panel on Kashmir before 61st session; to establish a UN field presence to monitor human rights dimensions of self-determination; and to ensure Kashmiri civil society representatives are invited



to future HRC sessions. Without restoring the inalienable right to self-determination of Kashmiri people, any pledge of an equitable international order will ring hollow.

**United Nations Watch** states that in his thematic report, the IE's first recommendation is to give the Muslim world a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. UN Watch asks the IE whether this include Iran, who is accusing others of aggression, instability and constituting an axis of evil, and whose government that beats and jails women for the crime of showing their hair. The same government whose so-called morality police murdered Massa Amini sparking the women life freedom uprising that saw thousands arrested, hundreds killed and countless young women blinded or executed for demanding basic rights. The same government that persecutes minorities, Baha'is, Christians, Sunnis, Kurds denying them freedom of worship, education and employment. UN Watch asks the IE if he is proposing to give a UN veto to those who jail lawyers, journalists, human rights dissidents in prison after sham trials - a veto to those who expelled 700,000 Afghan refugees this year in flagrant violation of international law with families rounded up and beaten at the border. A veto to those who supply drones to kill civilians in Ukraine and arm Hamas and Hezbollah to export terror throughout the Middle East. The Islamic Republic of Iran speaks of international order, yet it is they who systematically destabilize the region, undermine the rule of law and peace and trample on the rights of its own citizens. Iran spoke about the ICJ, but the real question is when will UN institutions hold Tehran accountable for its brutal repression at home and its aggression abroad.

#### **FACTS & FIGURES ON ID PARTICIPATION**

**2** Regional and Cross-Regional Groups

**28** State Delegations

**10** Non-Governmental Organizations