



## Fiscal Year 2021 UN Funding Recommendations

Account	FY'17 Omnibus	FY'18 Omnibus	FY'19 Omnibus	FY'20 House SFOPS	FY'20 Senate SFOPS	FY'20 Omnibus	FY'21 President's Request	FY'21 BWC Recs.
CIPA	\$1,907,464	\$1,382,080	\$1,551,000	\$2,182,414	\$1,576,759	\$1,526,383	\$1,079,200	\$2,616,853
CIO	\$1,359,206	\$1,467,408	\$1,360,270	\$1,520,285	\$1,473,806	\$1,473,606	\$966,244	\$1,527,980
PKO	\$659,014	\$537,925	\$488,670	\$516,348	\$471,400	\$457,368	\$290,000	\$525,348

(Dollar amounts listed in thousands)

### Contributions for International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA): \$2.616 billion

With nearly 100,000 military, civilian, and police personnel deployed to 13 missions in conflict zones across sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and southeastern Europe, peacekeeping is one of the most visible and impactful activities undertaken by the UN in the field. UN peacekeeping operations are authorized by the UN Security Council, and since the U.S. is a permanent, veto-wielding member of that body, no mission can be deployed without first receiving U.S. support. Support for peacekeeping has historically been bipartisan and backed by our military because peacekeeping missions are:

- **Effective at Saving Lives and Containing Conflict:** Armed conflict often features horrific abuses against civilian populations, fuels forced displacement, and provides potentially fertile ground for the growth of extremist groups and organized crime. As a result, the U.S. has a strong interest in ending conflicts and mitigating their effects. Multiple academic studies have attested to the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions in doing just that. A paper by Swedish and American researchers, for example, found that deploying large numbers of UN troops “significantly decreases violence against civilians” in the context of civil wars.<sup>1</sup> A 2019 book, *Power in Peacekeeping*, which analyzed more than two dozen studies, found that all came to the same conclusion -peacekeeping is an “effective tool for saving lives and ending wars”.<sup>2</sup>
- **Cost-Efficient:** UN peacekeeping missions were found to be eight times less expensive than the deployment of U.S. forces by a [2018 GAO report](#). The UN’s total annual peacekeeping budget of roughly \$6.5 billion is equivalent to less than 1% of all U.S. defense spending, and less than 0.5% of all annual global military expenditures;
- **Promote International Burden-sharing:** The U.S. only contributes several dozen uniformed personnel to UN peacekeeping missions, with the rest coming from more than 120 countries, including Indonesia, Jordan, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Ghana, Tanzania, and Rwanda.

**Many UN peacekeeping missions have successfully completed their mandates and closed their doors over the years,** leaving more peaceful and stable societies in their wake, including operations in Liberia, Cote d’Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Timor-Leste, Cambodia, and Namibia, among others. At the same time, the UN is currently confronting serious challenges in a number of other places. In South Sudan, peacekeepers are protecting nearly 200,000 civilians who fled a devastating civil war and sought refuge at UN bases, even while a shaky peace agreement takes effect. In Mali, peacekeepers are complementing U.S. and French counterterrorism activities by working to prevent armed extremists, including groups linked to al-Qaeda and ISIS, from extending their reach and overtaking population centers in the country’s northern regions. UN peacekeepers are also working to protect

<sup>1</sup> Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. “United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4). 8 May 2013. pp. 875-91.

<sup>2</sup> Morjé Howard, Lise. “Give Peacekeeping a Chance.” Oxford Research Group. <https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/blog/give-peacekeeping-a-chance>. 29 May 2019.



civilians from armed groups in the Central African Republic, prevent a flare-up of hostilities along the Israel-Lebanon border, and protect health workers in eastern DR Congo as they respond to the second largest Ebola outbreak in history.

UN peacekeeping operations are financed through member state assessments—payments that countries are legally obligated to make by virtue of belonging to the UN. These are determined by a formula that mainly takes into account a member state's gross national income (GNI). Assessment rates are renegotiated by the UN General Assembly every three years, and the current U.S. rate of 27.89% was supported by the U.S. – with the State Department even putting out a factsheet explaining how we benefit from the current assessment rates.

Unfortunately, since the mid-1990s, U.S. law has arbitrarily capped U.S. contributions to UN peacekeeping operations at 25%. While Congress has frequently waived this requirement in annual appropriations bills, since FY'17 it has declined to do so, **causing the U.S. to accrue approximately \$956.2 million in arrears**. In part because of these underpayments, the UN faces a significant and growing cash crunch, with the most immediate result being that countries who participate in peacekeeping missions are not being fully reimbursed for their contributions of personnel and equipment, to the tune of tens of millions of dollars. This creates significant challenges for troop-contributors, most of whom are lower-income countries that rely on reimbursements to help sustain complex longer-term peacekeeping deployments, which the State Department itself acknowledged in a June 2019 report to Congress. For example, in 2018, Rwanda reportedly had to withdraw a planned rotation of one of its troop contingents to the Central African Republic because it had not received reimbursements sufficient to make necessary updates to military equipment. Continued U.S. underpayments also threaten to:

- **Erode U.S. influence at the UN and cede the floor to countries that have a very different vision than the U.S. of what UN peacekeeping should be.** China, which like the U.S. is a permanent member of the Security Council (known as the "P5"), has significantly increased its participation in UN peacekeeping in recent years. Currently, it is the largest troop contributor among the P5 (providing 2,500 uniformed personnel to UN missions around the world, more than the U.S., UK, France, and Russia combined), and the second largest financial contributor. China is seeking to use its expanded profile to more aggressively articulate its agenda at the UN, including by challenging the human rights and civilian protection related aspects of UN peacekeeping mandates.
- **Undermine our ability to push for critical reforms at the UN**, sapping the good will and cross-regional support necessary to make progress on our priorities. During the last Administration, the U.S. and the UN worked together to push a number of critical reforms and efficiencies, initiating efforts that reduced the cost per peacekeeper by 18% and cut the number of support staff on peacekeeping missions to save on administrative costs. The UN also undertook important efforts to combat sexual exploitation and abuse by UN personnel, including an unprecedented policy calling for the repatriation of entire units whose members engaged in widespread instances of abuse. This was all done at a time when the U.S. was not enforcing the 25% cap, so the argument that the cap is necessary to achieve progress on reform is not accurate.

The FY'20 State/Foreign Operations bill passed by the House in June 2019 partially addressed this issue, providing \$478 million to pay back U.S. arrears accrued in FY'17 and FY'18. Unfortunately, the FY'20 Omnibus passed by Congress and signed into law by President Trump in December provided no funding to pay arrears and kept the cap in place for FY'20. **As a result, BWC's FY'21 recommendation for CIPA includes sufficient funds to pay our estimated FY'21 peacekeeping assessments at the full assessed rate (\$1.660 billion), plus an additional \$956.2 million to pay back arrears. We also request bill language lifting the 25% cap for FY'21 and retroactively for FY'17-FY'20: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, funds appropriated or otherwise made available under this heading in this and prior acts shall be made available for United States assessed contributions up to the amount specified in the Annex accompanying United Nations General Assembly document A/70/331 Add.1 and the Annex accompanying United Nations General Assembly document A/73/350 Add.1."**



## **Contributions to International Organizations (CIO): \$1.527 billion**

The CIO account funds U.S. assessments for the UN regular budget (UNRB) and more than 40 other international organizations. The UNRB is essential to the overall functioning of the UN, providing a reliable source of funding for many of the organization's core activities outside of peacekeeping. These include:

- Special political missions operating in Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Libya, and other key countries, where they work to facilitate democratic elections, coordinate the distribution of humanitarian and development assistance, and support the development of strong, effective, and accountable governing institutions;
- Efforts to ensure international implementation and compliance with sanctions adopted by the Security Council against terrorist organizations like ISIS and Al-Qaeda and rogue states like North Korea;
- Much of the organization's core international human rights monitoring and advocacy work, as more than 40% of the annual budget of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) comes from the UNRB.

These types of activities are manifestly in the national security interest of the United States and, much like peacekeeping, are an excellent example of international burden-sharing: **other UN member states pay 78% of their costs.** The U.S. participated fully in the process of formulating the requirements for the UNRB, and it was adopted by consensus in the General Assembly with U.S. support. **We estimate the U.S. assessment for the UNRB in FY'21 (based on the Calendar Year 2020 budget adopted by the General Assembly in December 2019) to be approximately \$676 million.**

Besides the Regular Budget, CIO funds U.S. assessments for a range of UN specialized agencies. This includes the World Health Organization (WHO), which is currently coordinating the international response to the COVID-19 pandemic. From the outset of the crisis, WHO has been a critical provider of supplies and tests, distributing 1.5 million diagnostic kits and millions of items of PPE to dozens of countries; designed, refined, and distributed technical guidance for communities, hospitals, frontline clinicians, private sector partners, and public health authorities around the world; carried out public awareness campaigns in dozens of languages in 149 countries; and, through its "Solidarity Trial," has been working to enable rapid and accurate research on the effectiveness of potential therapeutics. These types of activities are critical to combating the virus and protecting the health and safety of millions of Americans.

Unfortunately, several UN agencies are currently facing serious challenges stemming from late payment of dues or unilateral withholdings by the Administration. In an April 30<sup>th</sup> report, the Secretary-General outlined a dire financial situation, with member states owing the UN more than \$1.8 billion in unpaid UNRB assessments. The U.S. is the largest offender by far, owing nearly \$1.165 billion, or 64%, of the total. In addition, the Administration is currently unilaterally withholding funding, including \$203 million in 2019 and 2020 assessments, from the WHO. Such underpayments negatively impact financial liquidity and complicate the delivery of multilateral initiatives that advance U.S. national interests, such as those discussed above; threaten to erode U.S. influence in favor of China, which is expanding its own role within international organizations, including through greater financial contributions; and abrogate the will of Congress, which has appropriated funds under CIO expressly for the purpose of meeting U.S. financial obligations to the UN and its specialized agencies.

As a result, in addition to \$1.527 billion in overall funding for the CIO account, we request bill language that will effectively circumscribe the ability of the Administration to unilaterally withhold or delay Congressionally appropriated funds, including the following:

- To prevent the Administration from unilaterally withholding dues payments from entities funded under CIO: *"The Secretary of State shall use amounts appropriated or otherwise made available to the Department of State for fiscal year 2021 in any appropriations Act under the heading "Contributions to International Organizations" to pay the full fiscal year United States assessment for each international and public international organization funded under that heading."*



- To prevent lengthy delays in the disbursement of funds appropriated for international organizations: *“Provided, that funds authorized under the headings Contributions to International Organizations and International Organizations and Programs shall be apportioned to the Department of State not later than 60 days after enactment of this Act.”*
- To release FY’20 funds for WHO currently being withheld by the Administration: *“The United States shall provide the entirety of our assessed contributions due to the World Health Organization for FY 2020 and release the hold on programmatic contributions to the World Health Organization within 60 days of enactment of this Act.”*

### **Peacekeeping Operations (PKO): \$525.3 million**

Funds requested for the PKO account support a number of regional peacekeeping activities and bilateral security initiatives. In recent years, Congress has used PKO to fund assessed contributions for the UN Support Office in Somalia (UNSOS), which, due to the capacity constraints of African Union forces, provides equipment and logistical support to the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). AMISOM continues to work to stabilize Somalia and help Somali security forces defeat Al-Shabaab, a terrorist organization that has pledged fealty to Al-Qaeda, which has carried out a number of deadly attacks against civilians in the region. BWC’s FY’21 recommendation of \$525.3 million would allow the U.S. to fulfill its current financial obligations to UNSOS, as well as pay back an estimated \$68 million arrears accrued due to application of the peacekeeping cap, described in greater detail under the CIPA section. Besides UNSOS, PKO also includes funding for the State Department’s Global Peace Operations Initiative, a peacekeeper training and equipping program that has facilitated the deployment of more than 197,000 personnel from 38 countries to 29 peace operations around the world.