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Note to the Secretary-General

Valedictory speeches: the General Debate and beyond

I convened a "brains trust" on 24 May, with the participation of RO, AB, JR, MD, CL, the speechwriting team and others, in line with the suggestion in Edward Mortimer's "Valedictory speeches" note to you of 12 May.

The group agrees with you that in the final three or four months of the term, there would be scope for only four or five high-profile valedictory speeches (although there would, of course, also be room for a number of speeches on more limited subjects to target audiences between now and the end of the year). The group felt that your speech to the General Debate would be your last formal opportunity to capture a global audience while in office; at the same time, the consensus was that September would be too early for some of the "unburdening" statements you may wish to make as you approach the end of your term.

It was therefore proposed that your General Debate speech should sum up the conclusions of your tenure and the challenges still to be addressed after you leave, and at the same time act as a "teaser" for more in-depth, "coming out" style speeches which you would make as you near the end of the term. Each of those later statements, which should be seen as interlinked parts of a whole, would be prepared under the guidance of a senior adviser, as indicated at the end of this note.

The GA speech would open with a brief overview of the state of the United Nations and the world. If, for example, events lead to the budget cap being extended to Sept 30, this would obviously require the speech to be adjusted. However, the main part of the speech would concentrate on four areas: the three pillars of your vision as articulated in "In Larger Freedom", plus a fourth one -- global good governance and accountability. The speech would address each of these four subjects along the following lines -- with the need for a strong and effective UN underpinning all of them -- and signal your intention to focus further on each area in turn during the remaining months:

Development

- The achievement of the UN in establishing the MDGs as the world's main development agenda;
- The remaining work to reach the goals; specific impediments to reaching them on time;
- Migration as an agent of development;
- Environment and energy;
- Trade no Doha, no development.

Security

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- The impact of declining faith in multilateral-based approaches to WMD disarmament and nonproliferation in recent years;
- Progress required on complementary and mutually reinforcing disarmament and non-proliferation efforts regarding WMD;
- The case for a multilateral security system that is firmly grounded in international institutions, treaties, rules, and norms of appropriate behavior.

Human rights

- Universal human rights norms and multilateral implementation; what happens when the multilateral community fails to live up to its duties? How do we make the coming decade one of implementing HR norms?
- The obligation to assist and to act has been assumed by the international community as a whole, but the capacity to do so lags well behind; with the responsibility to protect, a norm has been established, but norms do not implement themselves;
- Obstacles to progress in Darfur; remind States that advocate an inactive UN of the cost, so acutely felt in their own history, of inaction against aggressors; the fact that the aggressors come from the same nation as their victims does not protect the aggressors any longer;
- The need to make respect human rights a central tenet of the struggle against terrorism.

Global good governance and accountability

- Accountability in the conduct of international affairs; the responsibility of the governing to the governed;
- The need for norms of accountability and transparency, established within nations, to apply globally -- among nations and institutions, from the Security Council to the IMF, on issues ranging from the use of force to the impact of economic policies on girls' education;
- The need to ensure proper representation in reform of international institutions;
- The importance of multilateralism through an emerging international community underpinned by bonds of solidarity and reciprocity, reaching beyond States.

* * *

Should you agree with this approach, in-depth speeches in these four areas, to be delivered after the GA speech, would be prepared under the broad guidance of the following senior advisers, with each bringing in inside and outside expertise:

Development: **DSG / AB**

Security: RO

Human rights: RO / MD

Global good governance and accountability: JR

In all the speeches, the role of non-state actors would be highlighted -- from NGOs to leading private sector companies -- acknowledging and encouraging their engagement in the pursuit of UN goals, and evoking your achievements in building a world civic culture into a social force to be reckoned with.

Beyond the above, subjects for other speeches between now and the end of the year could include economic and social inequality, migration, the Middle East, peacekeeping and rapid response capacity, global warming, and others.

Your schedule would obviously be formulated with all of the above in mind, to ensure the optimal occasion for each statement.

Marz

Mark Malloch Brown
1 June 2006