

1. The protection of civilians: With more than 400,000 thousand civilian deaths, armed non-state actors targeting civilians, 19 UN-designated areas under siege, food and medicine used as weapons of war, and children dying from starvation, the Syrian conflict has rendered irrelevant long-standing international law on the protection of civilians in conflict. In this new context, how will you work with member states and civil society to fulfill obligations to protect civilians in conflict?

There are no quick or easy solutions to address conflict situations and protect civilians where permanent members of the Security Council are deeply divided. This is precisely why if elected Secretary-General, I would ensure that the UN would place a much greater emphasis on intensive preventative diplomacy prior to the outbreak of armed hostilities. And in situations in which such divisions occur, I would be a relentless honest broker and bridge-builder to maximum the speed at which a negotiated resolution of conflicts can be achieved. There is no substitute for the Secretary-General personally engaging at the highest levels of government to achieve sustainable peace. In the most serious and protracted situations, I would not send envoys but rather take upon myself the personal responsibility of negotiating between and with all sides.

To better protect civilians in conflict more generally, the UN must stand ready to deploy large-scale multidimensional peace operations to fragile countries, especially those experiencing violent extremism, as and when the Security Council determines it is necessary to do so. Fragile countries need full-scale, long-term UN missions, in collaboration with regional organizations, which have the military resilience to operate credibly and protect civilians successfully in the face of serious and sustained asymmetric attacks, while retaining the UN's commitments to human rights and long-term peacebuilding.

The UN's current systems for overseeing crisis diplomacy and peace operations are stretched beyond capacity to manage its current level of activities—let alone a further expansion in operations. The 2015 High-Level Panel on Peace Operations underlined that UN “bureaucratic systems configured for a headquarters environment limit the speed, mobility, and agility of response in the field.” The Panel also concluded that peacekeeping missions “lack the specific equipment, intelligence, logistics, capabilities and specialized military preparation required” to conduct serious targeted counterterrorism operations. Given these challenges, the UN must consider deploying a class of field operations that are significantly more robust than current peacekeeping missions.

As I detail in my platform, it is my opinion that to better protect civilians and to better counter the threats of asymmetrical conflict, such as terrorism, the UN's efforts must reimagine how it addresses fragile environments. In consultation with, and subject to the approval of the Security Council and TCCs/PCCs, as Secretary-General, I would develop a framework for a potential new generation of UN stabilization missions, distinct from current peacekeeping operations. As

initially conceptualized, these stabilization missions would have much more robust rules of engagement than existing peacekeeping forces; better equipment and combat logistics; command and control systems capable of sustaining kinetic operations; and, where necessary, air and sea support. These stabilization missions would also involve a civilian Special Representative of the Secretary-General with overall political responsibility for the mission; contain a strong civilian component focused on developing sustainable peace; draw on the wider UN System for help in supporting issues such as building rule of law; and address the need to more rapidly recruit highly-qualified, talented, and experienced personnel for these missions. I would also appoint a new Assistant Secretary-General focused on force generation in order to assure these missions are well staffed.

Additionally, the UN must invest in research to understand how our efforts could be improved through internal review processes and emphasis on innovation. As Secretary-General I would develop a package of options for consolidating and streamlining UN management of peace and security. Such options could include a consolidation of the Department of Political Affairs, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and Department of Field Support or an additional Deputy Secretary-General for Peace and Security as recommended by the High-Level Panel to “oversee a significant change in the way existing Headquarters peace and security structures are configured and how they deliver to the field.” I would also work with leading technology companies to set up a Peace Operations Innovations Lab, bringing together UN officials and technical specialists to discuss innovative high-technology responses to the challenges facing UN missions. Although the UN has made notable progress in utilizing drones and social media, it could do much more—for example, by harnessing tools such as big data to map conflicts and identify civilians at risk.

2. The right to seek and gain asylum: Around the world, countries are turning away from their obligations to refugees and asylum seekers. Border closures, detention centers, repatriation and denial of due process are common. How will you work with member states to reinvigorate humanitarian obligations under international law, including the right to seek and gain refugee status for those fleeing for their lives?

As Secretary-General, I will work closely with Member States to encourage them to accept refugees as well as follow their obligations under international humanitarian law. I will also work closely with certain governments to help provide incentives for other countries to comply with these obligations. I believe that no Secretary-General can remain silent with regards to the most serious violations of international law. I will engage in regular dialogue with Member States in order to promote compliance and encourage States to accede to core international humanitarian law and human rights conventions. And I will work with civil society and Governments to launch a global campaign that applies pressure and promotes these efforts.

Additionally, underfunded UN human rights infrastructure prevents us from being able to hold states accountable to their obligations, as well as accurately monitor and report these violations when they occur. In my platform, I call for a 50 percent increase of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights so that they can help contribute to monitoring and reporting efforts on these violations. With this increased funding, I also will task the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to work decisively with Member States to adopt legislation in line with international norms on the rights of women to outlaw violence against women and girls.

Lastly, in line with the Secretary-General's Human Rights Up Front campaign, I truly want to encourage a culture of prevention in the UN that can help prevent these violations before they occur. To achieve this emphasis on early and effective action to prevent or respond to large-scale violations of human rights or international humanitarian law, however, the existing UN human rights architecture requires improvement. Thus, efforts must be taken to ensure that the core functions of the UN's early warning systems are better funded and more connected to a systematic approach to address these issues.

3. Global responsibility sharing: Conflict is driving 14,000 people to flee their homes every day, and 20 million refugees are seeking safety abroad. Less than one percent of these were resettled in 2015. Refugee hosting is a global public good, but the costs are often borne by low-income countries. Greater responsibility sharing is critical, including increased financial assistance and resettlement, for which UNHCR has proposed a target of 10 percent of refugees. What is your vision for a global burden-sharing agreement for refugees, and how would you pursue it?

I support the establishment of a new international cooperation framework on predictable and equitable sharing of responsibility. Should a framework not be established at the upcoming General Assembly High-Level Meeting on Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants, then I will push for it during my tenure as Secretary-General.

4. From delivering aid to ending need: The Commitment to Action, launched by the UN at the World Humanitarian Summit, recognizes the increasingly protracted nature of displacement and promises to bring development and humanitarian efforts together to support sustainable outcomes for the most vulnerable people. How will you take forward the Commitment to Action, including its focus on joint needs assessment and planning, multiyear timeframes, and multisectoral partnerships? How will you measure its success?

Building on the outcomes of the long overdue 2016 World Humanitarian Summit, I will work with all relevant stakeholders to establish a seamless connection

between conflict prevention and resolution, and long-term sustainable development. In my platform, I commit to appointing a Special Envoy who will focus on optimizing coordination on humanitarian action in the UN system and will lead the joint needs assessment and planning effort. I will work with this Special Envoy to develop the multiyear timeframes for our goals and to report annually to the General Assembly on our progress.

As Secretary-General I will also build an international coalition of business leaders—involved in areas such as shipping, aviation, and mobile communications—alongside the heads of major relief NGOs and relevant UN agencies, to champion rapid assistance and recovery in Member States affected by natural disasters and other crises. An early goal of this group, in line with the Sendai proposals, will be better sharing of risk assessments and contingency plans for Member States and regions at greatest risk. To start, success can be measured in the context of the Secretary-General's five core responsibilities and also in how well financed the initiatives from this Summit become.

5. Achieving outcomes for the displaced: The world came together in 2015 to commit to the Sustainable Development Goals. The Secretary-General's report, One Humanity, Shared Responsibility, and the Commitment to Action make multiple references to establishing collective outcomes—mutually agreed goals and targets—for displaced populations. What process will you lead to establish and institutionalize such collective outcomes, and how will you measure progress toward them for displaced populations?

At the start of my term as President of the 67th Session of the General Assembly, I was given the privilege to launch the historic negotiations that led to the adoption of the 2030 Agenda. The pledge to “leave no one behind” was central to our efforts in developing the Sustainable Development Goals and is especially relevant to those affected by crisis and in need of humanitarian support. As Secretary-General, I will lead a coordinated, multilateral, inclusive, goal-oriented, and solutions-driven global campaign to develop these collective outcomes. To start, I would host a conference with relevant actors to build on the World Humanitarian Summit and the General Assembly High-Level Meeting on Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants to firmly identify these mutually agreed on goals and targets. I would then work with the Special Envoy, proposed in my platform, to institutionalize these collective outcomes in the UN System and the report annually to the General Assembly on our progress. As part of the process of institutionalizing these collective outcomes, clear performance benchmarks and arrangements must be made.

6. The “Grand Bargain” and humanitarian financing: Never has the global community been so generous, and never has the gap between need and financing been so great. In this context, we urgently need to make the humanitarian system more efficient, coherent, and transparent. The

“Grand Bargain” establishes a pathway to modernize the humanitarian sector, and was one of the most significant outcomes of the WHS. How will you make the case for more financing, and how will you work with UN agency leads to implement the Grand Bargain and drive greater cost-efficiency, transparency and accountability in the humanitarian system?

I support fully the “Grand Bargain” and as Secretary-General, I will strongly campaign for more resources and more effective responses to humanitarian crises by prioritizing better coordination of humanitarian relief, support, and assistance to refugees, asylum seekers, and other displaced persons around the world, as well as to populations affected by pandemics, famine, floods, hurricanes, and other human-induced and natural disasters and catastrophes.

In my platform, to address pervasive funding shortfalls and support the efforts of the Grand Bargain, I agree to appoint a high-profile Emergency Relief Coordinator and a new high-level Special Envoy, who will be tasked with optimizing coordination within the UN System to implement the Grand Bargain and promote increased investment by the public and private sectors in order to meet the funding requirements of UN humanitarian organizations.

It is also worth emphasizing that the United Nations has never been effective at raising private support from foundations and corporation, which donate more than \$75 billion annually to charitable causes. Yet the United Nations has raised and expended a little over \$1 billion in philanthropic commitments in the last decade. This is why, if elected, I would appoint a Special Envoy on Philanthropic Outreach to tap into this critical extra-budgetary resources.

7. Political solutions and conflict resolution: Humanitarian action can address the consequences but not the cause. Protracted and intrastate conflicts are increasingly immune to the efforts of external actors to resolve. Core to the Secretary-General’s role is the need to speak and act for peace. How will you work with member states to reinvigorate conflict response and reach political solutions for some of the world’s toughest conflicts?

I stand in firm agreement with the 2015 High-Level Panel on Peace Operations, that “conflict prevention and mediation must be brought back to the fore” in the work of the UN. However, to maximize the success of our mediators, they must represent the regional and gender diversity of our world. The vast majority of UN envoys are still men. There are also striking gaps in terms of where UN envoys come from, including an absence of senior Asian diplomats. As of the second quarter of 2016, only five of the over 60 SRSGs, DSRSGs, and Force Commanders dealing with conflict issues in Africa, Europe, and the Middle East on behalf of the UN come from the Asia and the Pacific region, and there is also a significant shortage of Asian officials serving the UN at mid-level positions. As detailed in my platform, upon being elected Secretary-General, I will work to

emulate the diverse regional and gender representation found in DPA's Mediation Standby Team in my office's own pool of mediators and peacemakers. Additionally, I would develop a diverse pool of short-term high-level envoys to serve on behalf of the UN in addressing crises early and confidentially.

While at times any Secretary-General must be prepared to challenge states to pursue political solutions to conflict, I stand firm in my belief that conflict prevention must become front and center to our work.

The Secretary-General made strengthening DPA an early priority and I believe DPA's preventative efforts can be further emboldened by moving more of the posts to the field. As Secretary-General, I would work with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) and the UNGA's Fifth Committee to consider a plan to reallocate a number of DPA posts from New York to UN regional centers and liaison offices, especially in Africa and the Middle East. In five years, the goal should be to have moved the equivalent of 20 percent of DPA's current New York-based staff quota (50 of some 250 personnel staff funded by the regular budget) to field-based posts, in order to improve the quality of information that the Secretary-General and UNSC receive, and to increase the UN Secretariat's capacity for analysis and diplomatic engagement. This approach would allow the UN to shift towards a more proactive model of real-time preventive diplomacy, in addition to reinforcing its partnerships with leading regional actors.