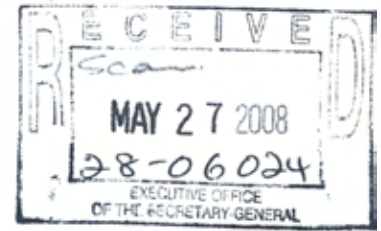


DPH
 Myanmar
 cc: VN
 NYC
 Note to the Secretary-General



MYANMAR GOOD OFFICES – NEXT STEPS

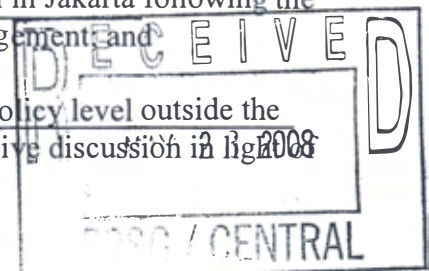
1. Your recent visit to Myanmar may have increased the relevance of your good offices both to the Myanmar leadership in the post-cyclone, post-referendum landscape, and to key regional countries in the increasingly politicized context surrounding the humanitarian crisis. In terms of next steps, I have made clear all along that my next visit should be carefully prepared, including if necessary through meeting beforehand with Myanmar officials in a third country. While your good offices remain the only channel of engagement with both the leadership and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, our direct engagement with the authorities has suffered from three imbalances that need to be corrected if the process is to move forward: (i) in terms of substance, Myanmar has failed to respond satisfactorily to our numerous proposals; (ii) in terms of process, Myanmar has set conditions on every aspect of our engagement; and (iii) in terms of international environment, the political space available for your good office remains limited. 27/05/08

2. These imbalances can be addressed by ensuring that key parties become active stakeholders in the good offices process through mutually reinforcing engagement at three levels:

- i. at the bilateral level, it may be appropriate at this stage to consider bringing into the process a third-country that could discreetly act as a “guarantor” for Myanmar’s commitments: given its constructive role in support of the good offices, its close relationship with Myanmar, and its interest in keeping the political costs of that relationship as low as possible, China is best positioned to play such a role by hosting a meeting with Myanmar officials in preparation for my next visit to Myanmar;
- ii. at the regional level, building on a first informal meeting hosted on 5 May by the Indonesian Ambassador with the Ambassadors of Myanmar, China and India and myself, a focused process of consultations among key regional players and the UN could usefully accompany and support the bilateral process described above, while helping to balance the current international discourse on Myanmar;
- iii. at the international level, the Group of Friends on Myanmar remains the only vehicle for moving beyond the divisions that continue to affect the intergovernmental process, and can therefore most usefully provide the necessary political space for engaging with Myanmar bilaterally and regionally as described above.

3. Concretely, for your consideration, I intend to take the following steps:

- i. follow up with Chinese counterparts (including Assistant FM Liu Jieyi on the margin of the ICI meeting in Stockholm) on any interest China may have in serving as a venue for a third-country meeting with Myanmar officials in preparation for my next visit to Myanmar;
- ii. consult further with Indonesian counterparts on appropriate follow-up to Indonesia’s initiative, including the possibility of a meeting at policy level in Jakarta following the third-country meeting to agree on common principles of engagement and
- iii. explore the possibility of convening the Group of Friends at policy level outside the Secretariat, possibly in the region, to promote a more substantive discussion in light of the above steps.



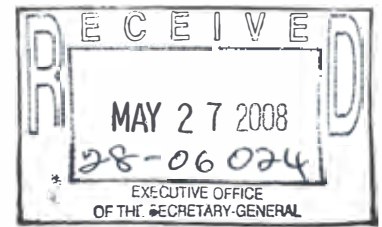
4. In terms of timing, a third-country meeting should not be envisaged realistically until the second half of June at the earliest, with a view to visiting Myanmar some time in July. This timeframe would coincide with the G8 Ministerial Meeting and Summit on 26-27 June and 7-9 July in Japan, and the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and Regional Forum on 18-24 July in Singapore, ahead of the Beijing Olympics on 8 August. It would also coincide with your planned visit to Beijing in early July. In terms of modalities, a third-country meeting could take the format of a two-day retreat to ensure maximum flexibility for a productive outcome. The host country's role would be limited to providing the venue and logistical support for the meeting. The Myanmar interlocutors would have to be sufficiently empowered to negotiate and agree on the terms of the next visit. In order to respect the nature of your good offices, the meeting would have to be held confidentially without any official announcement or media exposure prior, during or after the event.
5. I look forward to discussing the above with you in further detail at the earliest opportunity.



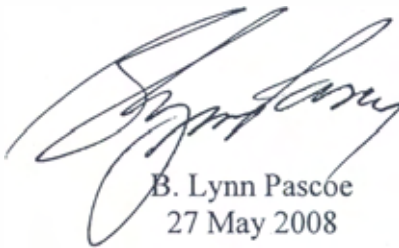
Ibrahim Gambari
27 May 2008

Note to Mr. Nambiar

MYANMAR GOOD OFFICES – NEXT STEPS



Please find attached a note from Mr. Gambari addressed to the Secretary-General on next steps for the good offices engagement with Myanmar. I would be grateful if you could kindly bring the attached to the Secretary-General's attention.



B. Lynn Pascoe
27 May 2008

cc.: Mr. Gambari

