Preface: The Annual Review of United Nations Affairs 2015/2016: A New Secretary-General to Drive the Implementation of the Sustainable Development Principles (also in Chinese, under the title "联合国新秘书长：选举进程")

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The Annual Review of United Nations (ARUNA) occupies a special place in the publications on the work of the United Nations—it provides readers with in-depth commentaries on the principal developments by a group of distinguished experts, complemented by official United Nations documentation. This is done for the key organs of the Organization: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the International Court of Justice, and the United Nations Secretariat. The period reviewed for the 2015/2016 edition of ARUNA coincides with the 70th annual session of the General Assembly, from September 15, 2015, to September 13, 2016. As one of the longest-established annual publications on United Nations affairs, ARUNA provides an important reference source for policy-makers, academic researchers, and anyone interested in this Organization.

In accordance with its comprehensive mandate, the United Nations is concerned with peace and security, development, social affairs, and human rights. The Organization has developed into a complex global institution with a well-established governance structure involving essentially all countries, namely 193 member states. A large part of the Organization’s work can be considered routine United Nations business, including negotiating and elaborating treaty obligations, maintaining peacekeeping missions, implementing development projects, and providing for refugees.

The defining theme: The Sustainable Development Goals, to be implemented by a new Secretary-General

October 24, 2015, marked the 70th anniversary of the entry into force of the United Nations Charter in 1945. Celebrated as “United Nations” Day, the festivities began at headquarters in New York with a celebratory concert. More than 200 landmarks in 60 countries were lit up in blue—the official color of the United Nations. Starting with the Sydney Opera House in Australia, the celebration moved to the Great Wall of China, the ancient city of Petra in Jordan, Russia’s Hermitage Museum, the Alhambra in Spain, the statue of Christ the Redeemer in Rio de Janeiro, and many other sites.

One day later, more than 150 heads of states and government met at the United Nations to celebrate the 70th anniversary and adopt the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

1 The views expressed here do not necessarily reflect those of the institutions with which the authors are affiliated.
2 Details on the experts are shown below, under Contributors and Co-editors.
3 Due to its inactive nature, the Trusteeship Council is not included.
The Agenda consists of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 targets. The SDGs are as follows:

- Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere.
- Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture.
- Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages.
- Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.
- Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.
- Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all.
- Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all.
- Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all.
- Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation.
- Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries.
- Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.
- Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns.
- Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts.
- Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development.
- Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss.
- Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.
- Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development.

Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon described this as a defining moment in human history that will direct global United Nations efforts over the next fifteen years. This was followed by the approval of the historic Paris Agreement on Climate Change on December 12, 2015, after more than 20 years of negotiations. The SDGs, therefore, are addressed prominently in the Commentaries prepared for this edition of ARUNA.

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4 The Agenda for Sustainable Development succeeded the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and engaged in particular the General Assembly and ECOSOC, as detailed in ARUNA 2014/2015, volumes I to VI.
Overseeing the successful implementation of the SDGs will be one of the greatest challenges the new Secretary-General will face, given that the term of the present head of the Organization will come to an end at the end of this year. In fact, the preparation for the election of the new Secretary-General was one of the most closely watched United Nations stories during the 70th session of the General Assembly, ending with the appointment of António Guterres of Portugal as the new Secretary-General of the United Nations on October 14, 2016.

The Charter describes the Secretary-General as “chief administrative officer” of the Organization who may also “bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.” In reality, the Secretary-General has considerable scope for action being a symbol of the ideals of the United Nations.

In the past, candidates lobbied mainly behind closed doors. A decision emerged, like white smoke, from inside the Security Council, similar to the limited transparency of a papal conclave in the Vatican. Few rules govern the selection process of the Secretary-General. According to Article 97 of the United Nations Charter, the Secretary-General is appointed “by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.” As a result, the selection is subject to the veto of any of the five permanent members of the Security Council: China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Once agreement has been reached among the five permanent members, approval by the Security Council and subsequently by the General Assembly is essentially assured. Furthermore, a General Assembly resolution provides for “due regard” to be given to regional rotation. Except for Eastern Europe (including Russia), all regions have held the top United Nations post. There has also never been a woman Secretary-General.

The selection and appointment of the Secretary-General had been the subject of discussion by the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly. This resulted in a General Assembly resolution on a modified, more transparent selection process with informal dialogues and public hearings to take place before the beginning of the Security Council’s selection. Moreover, the Assembly invited member states to consider presenting women as candidates.

Mogens Lykketoft, the Danish President of the General Assembly, called the modified selection process a “potential game-changing exercise” that could lead to a single candidate emerging as the clear favorite of member states. In the end, however, the five permanent members of the Security Council still have—and had—final say. This did not change. But there was now a greater expectation that the modified process would make it more

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difficult for the Security Council to ignore the review process entirely and choose an entirely different candidate.

A number of initiatives were launched to address the election process. As of mid-2015, a Colombia-led initiative—“Group of Friends in favor of a Woman for Secretary-General of the United Nations”—gathered the support of 56 governments in support of a female Secretary-General. A global civil society campaign, called “1 for 7 Billion,” pushed for the hearings. The campaign was supported by over 750 organizations, strived to provide objective information about the candidates, and supported events with candidates.

Throughout the 70th session of the General Assembly, the Presidents of the Assembly and the Security Council worked together on the selection and appointment process, starting with monthly coordination meetings in September 2015. In line with General Assembly resolution 69/321, both Presidents invited member states in a joint letter to present candidates. Candidates were to have proven leadership and managerial abilities, extensive experience in international relations, and strong diplomatic, communication, and multilingual skills. Member states were encouraged to consider presenting women as well as men as candidates for the position of Secretary-General. The communication also described the overall process and established a nomination process—in short, the first ever job announcement for the position of Secretary-General.

The names of individuals submitted for consideration were circulated to all member states on an ongoing basis. Early presentation of candidates was seen to help the Council’s deliberations. Nonetheless, this did not preclude others from making themselves known throughout the process. In addition, a dedicated website was established that was continually updated as candidates emerged.

Thirteen candidates were put forward, the largest number ever nominated for this position. Ten candidates completed the process: Irina Bokova (Bulgaria), Helen Clark (New Zealand), Kristalina Georgieva (Bulgaria), Natalia Gherman (Moldova), António Guterres (Portugal), Vuk Jeremić (Serbia), Srgjan Kerim (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), Miroslav Lajčák (Slovakia), Susana Malcorra (Argentina), and Danilo Türk (Slovenia). Three candidates withdrew: Vesna Pusić (Croatia), Igor Lukšić (Montenegro) and Christina Figueres (Costa Rica). Of the thirteen candidates, seven were women, six were men; nine were from Eastern Europe and four were from other regions. Three candidates had been prime ministers, six had been or were ministers of foreign affairs, and four had other experience.

Three informal dialogues were held starting April 12–14, 2016, with eight contenders, June 7 with four, and October 3 with one. Candidates were offered the opportunity to participate in a General Assembly informal dialogue to explain their ideals and intentions, prior to their inclusion in the Security Council’s considerations. In advance of this informal dialogue,
candidates provided a vision statement, laying out challenges and opportunities facing the United Nations and the next Secretary-General.

Each candidate was given two hours to make a short opening statement and then answer questions from General Assembly members and regional representatives as well as a handful of civil society organizations. There was no pre-established list of speakers, and member states posed questions from their seats on a first-come, first-served basis. Member states that spoke on behalf of groups were given priority.

During the first informal dialogue, candidates fielded about 800 questions. Issues covered a range of current United Nations topics, including implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris agreement on climate change; Syria and migration; the role of the Secretary-General in particular with regard to resisting pressure from powerful member states; gender policy and zero-tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers; and United Nations management reform. The hearings were open to the press and the public. This was the first competition for the post of Secretary-General in the age of social media, and comments poured in via Twitter. The hearings were streamed live over the Internet on United Nations web TV, in dramatic contrast to previous selection processes.

In addition to the informal dialogues mandated by the General Assembly, civil society debates took place with candidates facing questions from individuals and civil society organizations from around the world. Co-hosted by the The Guardian, the United Nations Association of the United Kingdom, and the Future United Nations Development System (a policy institute mostly funded by European governments), an event took place with four candidates on April 13, 2016, in New York’s Civic Hall, a community center. A similar event was held in London on June 3, 2016, in Central Hall Westminster, with three candidates.

Moreover, the President of the General Assembly took the initiative to organize a Global Townhall meeting in partnership with the Al-Jazeera Media Network. All ten declared candidates were invited to participate in the debate, which was broadcast live across the world. It brought the process to a broader public and allowed for a more interactive format with all candidates at the same time. This was the first-ever globally televised and webcast townhall-style debate in the General Assembly Hall, where the candidates at the time took questions from diplomats and the public at large. The two candidates unable to attend the event in New York were invited to send video messages to be used during the event.

The Security Council began choosing the final nominee in July 2016, when Japan held the Council’s presidency. This included a series of closed-door meetings at off-site locations in which interviews were held by Security Council members with each of the official candidates. No information on the meetings was to be given to the media.

As in the past, the Security Council conducted a series of anonymous straw polls that did not reveal the identity of the voting Council member, but indicated a vote for each candidate with “encourage,” “discourage,” and “no opinion” as the three options. The outcome of the straw polls was not to be communicated. This lack of transparency was considered disappointing and contrary to the new standard of openness. As in the past, results, however, were communicated through leaks from Council members to the world’s media.
Five straw polls were conducted during a four-month period during which António Guterres had the lead in each case. None of the seven female candidates reached the top-two spots. A latecomer, Kristalina Georgieva, jumped into the selection process at the last moment, but did not impress the Security Council enough to upset the previous preferences.

The sixth and final straw poll was taken on October 5, 2016, when Russia held the Council’s presidency. The final straw poll was color-coded, differentiating the ten elected members from the five permanent members. In the end, the decision was remarkably uncontentious and it took only 90 minutes for the Council to nominate António Guterres. From the ten elected members, nine voted “encourage,” with one “no opinion.” Of the five permanent members, four voted “encourage” and one “no opinion,” speculated to be Russia.

“There was just a candidate whose experience, vision, and versatility across a range of areas proved compelling,” stated Ambassador Samantha Power, United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations.  

Ambassador V. Churkin, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations, commented to the press: “I think it was a great choice. I am glad that we are aligned around Mr. Guterres.” He added, “we made no promises of blocking everybody who is not coming from Eastern Europe.”

The next closest candidates, far behind Guterres, were three candidates receiving seven “encourage” votes: Vuk Jeremić (Serbia), President of the United Nations General Assembly (2012–2013) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (2007–2012); Miroslav Lajčák (Slovakia), Minister of Foreign Affairs (2009–2010, 2012–present) and High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina (2007–2009); and Irina Bokova (Bulgaria), Director-General of UNESCO (2009–present) and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs (1996–1997).

Many believe that António Guterres is best prepared for the task. He is considered a coalition builder, with a style based on dialogue and discussion, and an outspoken advocate for refugees. Born on April 30, 1949, Guterres was a trained engineer and worked as an assistant professor before joining the Socialist party in 1974; the same year five decades of dictatorship came to an end in Portugal. He led his country from 1995 to 2002 as Prime Minister, during which time he was heavily involved in the international effort to resolve the crisis in East Timor. From June 2005 to December 2015 he was the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and he dramatically expanded that organization’s operational capacity during the worst displacement crisis in recent history. Guterres also served as President of the Socialist International, a worldwide organization of social democratic political parties, and he is a member of the Club of Madrid, an independent organization composed of democratic former Presidents and Prime Ministers from 57 different countries, which works to strengthen democratic institutions and leadership.


14 Id.
Guterres will inherit a host of complicated challenges to peace, security, human rights, and development. Most eminent is the sharp disagreement in the Security Council over Syria and the rising tension regarding Ukraine. Other issues include Yemen, South Sudan, the refugee crisis, achieving the sustainable development goals, terrorism, and climate change. Most importantly, he will be judged on the extent to which he is willing and able to stand up, if need be, to the United Nations member states that selected him.

Following the agreement in the Security Council to nominate Guterres, the appointment was confirmed by the General Assembly on October 14, 2016, making António Guterres the fourth Western European Secretary-General, out of a total of nine. The decision angered advocacy groups. The Campaign to Elect a Woman UN Secretary-General announced that the decision was “unfair to both women and to East Europe and represents the usual back-room deals that still prevail at the UN.”

Was the modified selection process a success? It provided for an open search for the most qualified candidates, irrespective of region and gender. Each candidate, including the eventual winner, António Guterres, was given an opportunity to make a case in public. To what extent this was essential, we do not know. As was noted, large public discussions are always more likely to encourage platitudes rather than insights. Indeed the candidates were as vague as possible and more or less interchangeable. Clearly, the intention of the candidates was to avoid any upsets in the General Assembly, while presenting themselves to the decision-makers, the Permanent Five.

Still, the open search has broken with expectations and tradition, and there is most likely no way back to a closed process. The inability to select a female candidate from seven female contenders was not expected. Moreover, skipping the Eastern European region may indicate the end of regional rotation. Additional reforms on the selection process have already been suggested. Such suggested reforms include: introducing the possibility of straw polls in the General Assembly prior to consideration by the Security Council; requiring that the Security Council recommend more than one candidate to the General Assembly; considering a single non-renewable term of seven years for the Secretary-General; and a joint candidacy—and appointment—of the Secretary-General and Deputy Secretary-General.

Commentaries by chapter

The commentaries that accompany the documentation contained in each chapter provide an overview of the workings of the Organization, highlighting important issues and providing an introduction to the documents that follow in each chapter.

Chapter 1 covers the 70th session of the General Assembly. John R. Mathiason provides the Commentary: “The General Assembly—How to get to 2030,” referring to the implementation of the SDGs. The documentation includes the opening and closing statements of the President of the session and the agenda of the annual session. Finally, the complete
set of the Assembly’s resolutions is provided. Mathiason notes that the 70th session of the General Assembly was a major event. It adopted the SDGs and has set the course for the world to address its most pressing problems. It supported the adoption of the Paris Agreement on climate change. Moreover, the Assembly began to address what has become one of the Organization’s greatest current challenges, the situation of refugees and migrants, especially in the Mediterranean region. Finally, Mathiason notes that General Assembly is also the formal decision-maker for the management of the United Nations as a public sector entity. As such, the Assembly agreed on new, open, and more transparent procedures for selecting the Secretary-General, according to which António Guterres was selected to take up this position as of January 1, 2017.

Chapter 2 deals with the work of the Security Council. Jacques Fomerand provides the Commentary: “The Security Council—A crisis of relevance?” The Report of the Security Council, which provides a detailed account of the various issues discussed, the documentation considered, and the decisions taken by the Council during the year under review, has been omitted from the current edition because of a change in the date of issuance and will be included in ARUNA 2016/2017. The accompanying documentation for this year’s edition contains the complete set of Security Council resolutions and Presidential Statements. Fomerand argues that the Security Council cannot act without the concurrence of the big powers and may produce only incremental decisions. Hence, blame for not addressing international crisis should not be laid at the door of the institution, but assigned to governments and the games they play, both within the Council and beyond its confines. Moreover, the Ukrainian and Syrian crises illustrate how the operation of the Council is fueled by its internal power dynamics. But the Burundian and Western Sahara cases also show the importance of external configurations of power among local and regional actors in determining policy outcomes. With regard to the appointment process of the new Secretary-General, Fomerand points to the new openness. Yet, the process clearly remained dominated by the Council’s permanent members. Hence, doubts persist as to whether 2016 will be seen as a milestone that involves a paradigm change in the selection of the Secretary-General.

Chapter 3 discusses the work of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). John Burley provides the Commentary: “The Economic and Social Council—A breath of fresh air.” The documentation contains the Report of ECOSOC, comprising three segments. This is followed by the complete set of ECOSOC resolutions. Burley argues that ECOSOC was not set up to decide how the multilateral economic and social system is to be organized and run. Rather, ECOSOC is to coordinate a decentralized United Nations, with high degrees of autonomy for the respective parts. The adoption of the 2030 Agenda and the associated SDGs by the General Assembly is seen as enhancing the prospects for ECOSOC, providing the unifying themes around which all the work of the Council’s subsidiary machinery should now coalesce. This includes the need for reliable and comparable data for monitoring the achievement of the SDGs, which galvanized the Statistics Commission of ECOSOC into generating a veritable data revolution. Burley points to some significant firsts, including the special focus on understanding and mitigating the adverse consequences of growing inequalities. It was highly significant that this issue touched the concerns of members from both developed and developing countries. The follow-up to the Financing for Development Forum provided the first opportunity for ECOSOC to review the question on how to finance
the SDGs. Finally, the multi-stakeholder forum examined how best to ensure that science, technology, and innovation can contribute to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda.

Chapter 4 presents the work of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Tribunals. Alexander K.A. Greenawalt provides the Commentary: “The International Court of Justice—The fragility of law.” The documentation contains the annual reports of the ICJ and the international criminal tribunals and gives details of the ICJ’s jurisdiction, its composition, and the work undertaken. Greenawalt notes that the record of the United Nations–affiliated tribunals presents a mixed bag. Notwithstanding significant verdicts and an expanding investigative focus, the announced withdrawal of three states parties from the International Criminal Court poses the latest challenge to its global mission. Even before the recent setbacks, the United States, Russia, and China had refused to join the Court, while some that are states parties have obstructed its work. What prevailed instead, Greenawalt argues, is a model of partial or discretionary justice, in which the application of international law proceeds on a case-by-case basis, succeeding only when met by a favorable political climate. The fragility of international law is evident not only in the work of the International Criminal Court, but also in that of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, whose ability to expand its docket is restricted by the Cambodian government’s resistance, and in that of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon, which remains unable to gain custody over its accused and has proceeded instead with trial in absentia. Finally, while many of the ICJ’s judgments do produce a successful resolution of the underlying dispute, that, too, depends on state compliance. The Court’s efforts in the dispute between Nicaragua and Colombia have been met thus far with Colombian non-cooperation and, indeed, withdrawal from the treaty establishing the basis of the Court’s jurisdiction.

Chapter 5 describes the work of the Secretariat. Khalil A. Hamdani provides the Commentary: “The Secretariat—Changing of the guard.” The documentation contains the Annual Report of the Secretary-General to the 70th session of the General Assembly and a number of annual reports of various funds and programs of the United Nations. Hamdani stresses that the Secretary-General must catalyze collective action, respecting the will of member states, but also cajoling them to look beyond national interests, and, above all, not acquiescing to individual dictates. For the Secretariat, with the new Secretary-General António Guterres coming in as of January 1, 2017, the changing of the guard is seen as an opportunity to inject renewed vigor. The first six months is a customary occasion for internal reforms. These should come from within the Secretariat and not be politically driven from outside. Hamdani argues that a more difficult but vital task is the reform of the peacekeeping machinery. Effective regional presence must be honed into a core competence of the United Nations. In comparison, the 2030 development agenda is a straightforward endeavor: implementation. The United Nations entities are already engaged and energized. Finally, humanitarian action also needs rationalization, which is underfunded and overwhelmed by multiple conflicts. Guterres has the requisite UNHCR experience for shaping an improved response, and the adoption of a global compact on migration in 2018 will be a milestone of success.

We trust that this publication will be of use to all those interested in the work of the United Nations.

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联合国新秘书长：选举进程

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摘要：根据《联合国宪章》，联合国秘书长人选经安理会推荐，由联合国大会任命。以往，联合国秘书长候选人提名主要通过秘密游说的方式进行。人选的决定结果在安理会内部产生，透明度很有限。联合国秘书长遴选进程适用的规则也很少。2015 年联合国大会通过了一项关于“修改秘书长遴选进程使之更透明”的决议，要求在安理会开始遴选之前举行非正式对话和公开听证会。联合国大会还邀请各会员国考虑提出女性候选人来参选联合国秘书长一职。修改后的遴选进程规定公开遴选最合适的联合国秘书长候选人，不论地区和性别。在遴选过程中，包括最终获胜者安东尼奥·古特雷斯在内的每一名候选人都有机会在公开场合展示自己。文章最后提出了对联合国秘书长职位遴选进程作一步改革的建议。

关键词：联合国 新秘书长 选举进程

根据《联合国宪章》，联合国秘书长的法律地位被界定为联合国的“行政首长”，有权“提请安理会注意他认为可能威胁国际和平与安全的任何事项”。在实践中，联合国秘书长有相当大的行动空间，是联合国理想的象征。

以往，联合国秘书长候选人提名主要通过秘密游说的方式进行。人选的决定结果在安理会内部产生，其类似于梵蒂冈教皇选举制度，透明度很有限。联合国秘书长遴选进程适用的规则也很少。根据《联合国宪章》第 97 条规定，联合国秘书长人选经安理会推荐，由联合国大会任命。因此，联合国秘书长的遴选结果受制于安理会五个常任理事国，即中国、法国、俄罗斯、英国和美国中的任何一国都有否决权。而一旦这五个常任理事国就人选达成一致，安理会和随后联合国大会的批准则基本上可以得到保证。此外，1997 年联合国大会曾通过一项决议，规定在遴选和任命联合国秘书长职位最佳人选时，应当对“区域轮换”（regional rotation）问题给予“适当顾及”（due regard）。除东欧国家（包括俄罗斯）外，来自其他地区的人选都曾担任过联合国这一最高职位。只是迄今为止，联合国秘书长一职尚未由女性担任过。

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联合国秘书长的遴选和任命是振兴大会工作特设工作组讨论的主题。\(^1\) 2015 年 9 月 11 日，联合国大会通过了一项关于“修改遴选进程使之更透明”的决议，要求在安理会开始遴选之前举行非正式对话和公开听证会。联合国大会还邀请各会员国考虑提出女性候选人来参选联合国秘书长一职。\(^2\)

联合国大会主席、丹麦人莫根斯·莱克托夫特（Mogens Lykketoft）将修改后的遴选进程称为“改变游戏规则的潜在博弈”（potential game changing exercise）。\(^3\) 在新的遴选进程之下可能出现获得各会员国明显支持某单一候选人的局面。然而，安理会的五个常任理事国仍然有——过去就有——最终决定权。虽然这一点并未改变，但是修改后的遴选进程受到了更多期待，因为它使得安理会更加难以完全忽视审查进程而选择一个完全不同的候选人。

为了解决遴选问题，有关各方发起了一些倡议。截至 2015 年中年，由哥伦比亚支持的、旨在推选一位女性联合国秘书长的倡导行动——“赞成妇女担任秘书长之友小组”获得了 56 个国家\(^4\)的支持。此外，被称为“1 为 70 亿”（1 for 7 Billion）的全球性民间社会倡议行动\(^5\)在努力推动联合国秘书长职位候选人的听证制度。该倡议行动遭到 750 多个组织的支持，这些组织积极提供有关候选人的客观信息资料，并且对候选人的竞选活动给予支持。

第 70 届联合国大会会议期间，大会主席和安理会主席自 2015 年 9 月的月度协调会开始，共同合作处理有关联合国秘书长遴选和任命进程问题。根据联合国大会决议，\(^6\) 两位主席在联名信中邀请所有会员国提出联合国秘书长候选人。候选人的条件包括：应具备久经考验的领导能力与管理能力，在处理国际关系方面拥有广泛经验，还要具有强大的外交、沟通和多语言技能。联名信鼓励会员国考虑将女性与男性一样作为联合国秘书长职位的候选人。同时，联名信还描述了整个遴选进程并设立了提名程序——简言之，这是有史以来第一份关于联合国秘书长职位的公告。

提交审议的联合国秘书长人选名单被持续不断地分发给所有会员国。人们认为，早日提出候选人有助于安理会层面的协商。然而，这并不妨碍其他人在整个过程中使自己被人了解。联合国还建立了一个专门网站，随 Neg 新候选人的出现网站不断更新。

共有十三名联合国秘书长候选人被推举出来，这是有史以来该职位提名候选人最多的一次。其中，十名候选人完成了这一遴选进程，他/她们分别是：伊琳娜·博科娃（Irina Bokova，保加利亚）、海伦·克拉克（Helen Clark，新西兰）、克里斯塔莉娜·格奥尔基耶娃（Kristalina Georgieva，保加利亚）、纳塔利娅·盖尔曼（Natalia Gherman，摩尔多瓦）、安东尼奥·古特雷斯（António Guterres，葡萄牙）、武克·耶雷米奇（Vuk Jeremić，塞尔维亚）、斯尔詹·克里姆（Srgjan Kerim，马其顿）、米罗斯拉夫·莱恰克（Miroslav Lajčák，斯洛伐克）、苏珊娜·马尔科

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\(^4\) Including Argentina, Germany, Japan, Pakistan, Poland, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, and Venezuela.

\(^5\) Members of the informal steering committee included: Avaaz; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, New York; World Feminist Movement, Institute for Global Policy; United Nations Association, UK.

拉（Susana Malcorra，阿根廷）和达尼洛·图尔克（Danilo Türk，斯洛文尼亚）。而其余三名候选人退出了正式选举，他/她们是：韦斯娜·皮乌奇（Vesna Pusić，克罗地亚）、伊戈尔·卢科希奇（Igor Lukšić，黑山）和克里斯蒂娜·菲格雷斯（Christina Figueres，哥斯达黎加）。十三名候选人中，七名为女性，六名为男性；九名来自东欧，四名来自其他地区。三名候选人曾经担任过总理职务，六名曾经担任过外交部长，另外四名拥有其他经历。

从 2016 年 4 月 12 日开始，联合国大会共举行了三次非正式对话。其中，2016 年 4 月 12 日至 14 日的非正式对话有 8 名候选人参加，6 月 7 日的非正式对话有 4 名候选人参加，10 月 3 日的非正式对话有 1 名候选人参加。被列入安理会协商名单之前，候选人有机会参加联合国大会的非正式对话，阐明他们的理想和主张。在进行联合国大会非正式对话之前，候选人提交了一份愿景声明，阐述联合国和下一任秘书长面临的挑战和机遇。

非正式对话过程中，每位候选人均有两小时时间，首先进行简短的开场陈述，然后回答联合国会员国、地区代表以及少数民间社会组织提出的问题。非正式对话没有预先确定的提问者名单，会员国的提问也是按“先到先得”席位的顺序进行。代表团体发言的会员国享有优先发言权。

在第一次非正式对话期间，候选人回答了约 800 个问题。议题涉及目前联合国一系列主题，包括执行可持续发展目标和关于气候变化的巴黎协定；叙利亚局势和移民问题；联合国秘书长的作用，特别是在抵抗强大会员国的压力方面；性别政策和对维持和平人员实施的性剥削和性虐待行为的零容忍政策以及联合国管理方面的改革等。听证会向媒体和公众开放，这是在社交媒体时代联合国秘书长职位的第一次公开竞选。在此期间，评论大量涌入了推特（Twitter）这一社交平台。听证会还通过互联网在联合国网络电视上直播，这一情形与之前的遴选进程形成鲜明对比。

除联合国大会授权的非正式对话外，候选人还参加了民间社会辩论来回答来自世界各地的个人和民间社会组织提出的问题。2016 年 4 月 13 日，卫报、英国联合国协会和未来联合国发展体制（一个主要由欧洲各国政府资助的政策研究机构）在纽约市民厅（New York's Civic Hall，一个社区中心）共同主办了一场由四名候选人参加的活动。类似的活动还有于 2016 年 6 月 3 日在伦敦威斯敏斯特中央大厅举行的由三名候选人参加的活动。

此外，联合国大会主席还主动与半岛电视媒体网络合作组织了一次“全球市民大会”（Global Town Hall Meeting），邀请所有十名已经声明参选的候选人参加辩论，并且向全世界进行直播。通过直播，整个过程展现给了更广泛的公众，并允许公众与所有候选人同时进行互动。这有史以来第一次在联合国大会会议厅举行的、由全球电视和网络直播的“市民大会”（Town Hall Style）形式的辩论会。候选人现场回答了外交官和广大公众提出的问题。两位无法到纽约现场参加活动的候选人也被邀请通过发送视频的形式参与活动。

2016 年 7 月，安理会开始选择最终被提名人。在此期间，日本担任安理会主席国。安理会的遴选活动包括安理会成员对每个正式候选人进行面试而举行的一系列非公开会议。会议的相关信息未向媒体透露。

与过去一样，安理会进行了一系列意向性匿名投票，即不透露安理会成员具体投票情况，由其匿名对每位候选人作出“鼓励”（encourage）、“不鼓励”（discourage）和“无意见”（no opinion）三种不同的表决意见。意向性投票的结果并不对外公布。这种缺少透明度的制度被认为是令人失望的，因为其违背了新的开放性标准。并且与以往相同，意向性投票结果还是由安理会成员泄露给世界媒体而最终传达出来。
在四个月内，安理会共进行了五次意向性投票。在每次投票中，安东尼奥·古特雷斯都处于领先地位。而七名女性候选人无一人进入前两名。克莉斯塔莉娜·格奥尔基耶娃在最后一刻后来居上，但是她的表现仍未能够在安理会留下足够深刻的印象以打破安理会之前的选举倾向。


古特雷斯将继续面对新问题与挑战，尤其是叙利亚和乌克兰日益紧张局势的尖锐分歧。其他问题包括也门、苏丹局势、难民危机、实现可持续发展目标、恐怖主义和气候变化。最重要的是，这些评价都是要的，在不得已时他是否愿意而且有能力顶得住压力，不受选举他的联合国会员国的任意左右。

在安理会同意提名古特雷斯为联合国秘书长之后，联合国大会于2016年10月14日确认了这一任命。在联合国九位秘书长中，古特雷斯是第四位来自西欧国家的秘书长。有些倡议团体对这一决定感到愤怒。“选举女性秘书长运动”宣称，该决定“对妇女和东欧地区都不公平，其代

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The New Secretary-General: The Election Process

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Abstract: According to the United Nations Charter, the Secretary-General is appointed “by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council”. In the past, candidates lobbied mainly behind closed doors, and a decision emerged from inside the Security Council with limited transparency. Few rules govern the selection process of the Secretary-General. A General Assembly resolution was adopted on a modified, more transparent selection process with informal dialogues and public hearings to take place before the Security Council begins its selection. Moreover, the Assembly invited member states to consider presenting women as candidates. The modified selection process provided for an open search for the most qualified candidate, irrespective of region and gender. Each candidate, including the eventual winner, António Guterres, was given the opportunity to make a case in public. This article also proposes additional reforms for the selection process.

Keywords: United Nations, New UN Secretary-General, Election Process

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