

## **FORWARD TO THE REPORT OF DELPHI**

The Athens Institute for Development and Governance that had the privilege to organize, in cooperation with the European Cultural Centre of Delphi, the symposium on the role and selection of the Secretary General of the United Nations, held in Delphi on 27 to 30 May 2010, would like to express its gratitude to the prominent participants and to the donors who were essential in the success of the event. We wish to thank Sir Brian Urquhart for chairing our discussions and reflecting them so well in the report which we are pleased to print and Jean Claude Aime for his critical contribution to the materialization of the symposium in honour of the former Secretary General Perez de Cuellar.

We were gratified to host the meeting in Greece and particularly in Delphi, a place which symbolically was most fitting to discuss ways to fortify the mission of the United Nations by securing that the Charioteer of our times, the Secretary General, has the proper qualifications and courage to lead towards a better world.

In addition to the report, the booklet includes the thoughts of Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar on the subject, excerpts of the opening address of the Alternate Foreign Minister of Greece and the list of participants.

Sotiris Mousouris

President, Athens Development and Governance Institute

Former UN Assistant Secretary General

## TRANSMITTAL LETTER

Dear Friends,

I am pleased to enclose an informal account of the discussions held in Delphi last May that were centered on the role and selection of the United Nations Secretary-General in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The candid and illuminating discussions there gave strong evidence on the need to reform the selection and appointment process.

The Delphi Symposium was not the first time that the need for change in the selection of the UN Secretary-General came under critical examination. Earlier proposals, however, have come to naught because of poor timing, a lack of interest on the part of delegations or a lack of public pressure. My sense is that all participants left Delphi committed to do whatever he or she can to ensure that in the future secretaries-general are chosen in a more rational, transparent and democratic fashion. There was a consensus that we should each use such possibilities as we have to encourage appropriate action within governments and to stimulate public interest either by publishing articles on the subject or prompting professional journalists to raise the issue.

On a personal note, I would like to conclude by saying that I very much appreciated our deliberations and enjoyed being with you in that lovely setting.

With warmest regards,

Brian Urquhart

## **The Delphi Symposium Report**

### **“The United Nations in the 21st Century: The Role and Selection of the Secretary-General.”**

This was the theme of the symposium held in Greece from 27 to 30 May to honour Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the fifth Secretary-General of the United Nations. The twenty-one participants in the symposium included two former foreign ministers, thirteen former ambassadors, and several former secretariat officials, all of whom had worked with him during his term of office. This gathering was made possible by the generous contributions of the governments of Kuwait, Morocco and Norway, of Mrs. Th. A. Mandyla from Greece, and a donation by an anonymous Canadian organization. The Symposium was organized by the Athens Development and Governance Institute (INERPOST) and the European Cultural Centre of Delphi (ECCD).

The year 2010 marks the 65th anniversary of the United Nations. The world has changed dramatically since Perez de Cuellar took office in 1982. As multilateralism has grown more complex, so too have the challenges facing the UN and its Secretary-General. Since 1945 eight men have been appointed to this post, on each occasion by a different selection process, reflecting the conditions of the time. The informal discussions that took place at Delphi provided the opportunity to exchange views on the place of the UN in this rapidly changing world, and, in particular, on ways of strengthening the role of the Secretary-General and improving the process of selection for this vital global office.

#### ***The Role of the Secretary-General.***

The first session of the symposium concentrated on the role of the Secretary-General in a changing world, and what will be expected of the office in the next decades. Over the years, the role of the Secretary-General has grown from the Charter definition of “Chief Administrative Officer of the Organization” to encompass far wider and more active responsibilities. This growth has been the product partly of the demands of the international situation at the time, and partly of the efforts of the incumbents themselves to meet severe crises and to improve the UN’s ability to respond to a wide variety of challenges.

The world that the UN was created to serve in 1945 vanished long ago. The nature of war and violence, international security, the distribution of power and wealth, a truly global economy, natural resource scarcity, global threats to the environment, and humanitarian and human rights issues have radically changed in a world that has proved to have monstrous problems as well as great possibilities. These changes alone call for reconsideration both of the requisite qualities and qualifications of a Secretary-General of the United Nations and of the method of selecting candidates for this office.

### ***Qualities and qualifications***

Members of the group largely agreed on the qualities and qualifications that were most important in a 21st century Secretary-General. These included:

- **integrity, independence, moral courage, and impartiality;**
- capacity for **moral** and **intellectual** as well as **political leadership**;
- the sophisticated **diplomatic skills** essential for a mediator and crisis manager;
- **capacity to manage the Organization effectively and to provide leadership to the wider UN system** of funds, programs and specialized agencies, especially in relation to global development and humanitarian problems; ·
- a strong **problem-solving capacity** and sure **political instincts**;
- **charisma** and **contemporary media skills** of a global communicator, including keeping the world public informed of the UN's actions and priorities and mobilizing support for the Organization's capacity to respond to new challenges.

It was suggested that, prior to the search for a new Secretary-General, the General Assembly might commission a small group to study what new challenges the UN would be likely to confront in the next ten years. On that basis, and in order to guide the search process, the group could formulate a profile of the sought for Secretary-General and his or her responsibilities. Several participants posed the fundamental question: does the membership of the UN want a strong and independent Secretary-General? Certainly in the past, some members, including some of the most powerful, have at times not preferred and even worked to prevent a strong and independent holder of the office. The politics of the Cold War also tended to distort the criteria that governed the appointment of the Secretary-General.

The participants firmly agreed that, in the current state of the world, a **strong and independent** Secretary-General should be generally accepted – even demanded. It was also agreed that, to be successful, the Secretary-General must work in cooperation with the Security Council, with the permanent representatives of the 192 member states, and especially with “key” constituencies of the Organization. Participants also stressed the need for the Secretary-General to be able to assemble a **strong and versatile team** within the Secretariat, both to carry out core functions work and to address particular tasks or problems. There was a sense of a prevailing view, among the membership and Secretariat, that the Organization is run by the Secretary-General and five permanent members of the Security Council, more through collusion than cooperation. The current system gives the Secretary-General a strong incentive to comply with their wishes and fill key senior posts with their nationals, in exchange for a second term.

In this context, participants also discussed the **length of the term of office** of the Secretary-General, not stipulated by the Charter. There was wide support for a **single term** of office, perhaps of seven years’ duration, on the grounds that such an arrangement would strengthen the position and independence of the Secretary-General and give the incumbent a clear run to achieve long-term goals.

The importance of the **deputy Secretary-General** was also underscored, with some participants suggesting that there should be more than one deputy.

### ***The Selection Process***

The main subject of the discussion was the devising of a selection process that could facilitate finding the best possible Secretary-General. There was general agreement that the present practice needs to be improved substantially.

Hitherto, the Security Council has taken the leading role in the selection of a new Secretary-General, considering candidates and recommending one candidate to the Assembly, which has acted more or less as a rubber stamp in appointing that candidate. Participants agreed that the selection process should be **more transparent, better organized** and that the **General Assembly should be involved** in a more active way and at a much earlier stage in the process.

A suggestion that the **veto** should not apply to the recommendation by the Security Council of a candidate for Secretary-General was discussed. The general view was that, while desirable to avoid using the veto on this question, it would be difficult to suspend the veto altogether; it should therefore be used only in exceptional circumstances. In the interests of respecting the authority and independence of the General Assembly and enhancing its participation in the appointment process, it was suggested that the Security Council should consider forwarding more than one name to the Assembly for its selection and approval.

### ***Search for and screening of candidates***

Participants discussed the current lack of an organized method of receiving nominations, of an organized search process and of screening and appraisal of candidates. It was generally agreed that, if the best candidates were to emerge for the consideration of the Security Council and the ultimate approval of the General Assembly, **a search and screening process** was desirable, even essential. Suggestions as to how this might be done included:

- an international committee of distinguished and experienced persons set up by the Security Council to identify candidates and interview them;
- a Security Council subcommittee with representation of the President of the General Assembly;
- the representatives of regional groups in consultation with the Security Council;
- the Security Council itself, which is the de facto selection committee anyway, and should therefore receive nominations and the necessary supporting information directly.

Whatever the exact nature of the search and screening group, it would obviously require a skilful and experienced staff.

Some reservations were expressed as to whether prominent people who might be included among the candidates would be prepared to submit to a process of interview and screening. On the other hand it would seem unusual and even irresponsible if candidates for this extremely important and exacting job were accepted with no such preliminaries at all. At present there are no rules for nominations and who is entitled to make them, let alone a timetable for their submission or the need to supply information as to the nominee's qualities or qualifications for the job. If an effort is to be made to extend the search for candidates beyond the familiar and limited spheres of politics and diplomacy, such rules will become even more necessary.

The general feeling of the Delphi group was that formal nominations should only be made by sovereign governments, obviously including the Security Council and its members. It was agreed that international campaigns by individuals, even when supported by a government, did not contribute to an effective selection process. It was generally agreed that far more effort should be made to include **women** among the candidates considered. It was also suggested that the office should be held alternately by a man and a woman.

The tradition of **regional rotation** of the secretary-generalship was discussed, some being in favour of abolishing it, others holding that it should be maintained, although perhaps in a **more flexible** form. Regional rotation should not preclude the agreed selection of an outstanding candidate.

### ***Conclusion***

The process for the selection of the Secretary-General of the United Nations has never been well defined, and was distorted for forty years by the Cold War. The present situation allows wider deliberations among member states; yet, in the absence of more systematic arrangements, this could bring greater confusion and even less desirable results. If, however, the objectives and the procedures are logically organized and understood by the member states, there could be an inspiring revitalization of the leadership of the United Nations.

The participants at Delphi resoundingly agreed on the urgent need to consider the role and qualities of the Secretary-General in relation to the enormous challenges of the 21st century. This consideration lies at the heart of the future leadership of the United Nations and its contributions to global peace and security, prosperity and human well being.

There was also a clear conviction that UN leadership did not rest on the shoulders of the Secretary-General alone. To be truly effective, the Secretary-General needs a strong and professional international civil service, with the skills and competence to combine core functions and current and emerging challenges. Equally, leadership and support by the Secretary-General is essential to build and sustain an effective international civil service. Moreover, all participants agreed that UN leadership in the 21st century will also require

a revitalized and effective General Assembly. This could be achieved through such measures as the establishment of more focused committees and sub-committees that would exercise genuine oversight of UN activities. This would widen the participation of member states in the functioning of the Organization and in the process make for a more transparent and effective United Nations.

The participants at the Delphi Symposium intended their discussions and the ideas they have conveyed to both inform the public and assist their governments as they prepare for the appointment of the next Secretary-General, whether in 2011 or 2016. They hope that the discussions, on this vital subject, will continue among governments and in the main organs of the United Nations itself, in order to secure the needed action.

*Annex:*

- Note of Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on the Selection of Secretaries-General
- Opening address of the alternate foreign minister of Greece Dimitris Droutsas
- Greetings from Javier Perez de Cuellar
- List of participants



## **Note on the Selection of Secretaries-General**

*Javier Pérez de Cuéllar*

The United Nations needs further extensive reform to deal effectively with the complex global challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The UN Charter, itself, needs revision.<sup>1</sup> Another thing that is badly in need of change is the procedure followed in the selection of secretaries-general. I do not need to elaborate here on the pivotal role played by the UN Secretary-General in the leadership of the United Nations and in the ever continuing struggle for human security. Nor do I need to describe the well-know inadequacy of the present system of selection. Instead I will record below a few thoughts on 1) the qualities to be looked for in a secretary-general; 2.), the procedure for selection; and 3.) the problems that future secretaries-general are likely to face, including consideration of the status of the deputy-secretary-general.

### **The Qualities**

The Preparatory Commission for the United Nations defined, and the General Assembly agreed in its first session, on the qualities that a secretary-general requires. The list, which is included among the symposium papers, needs little or no change but I wish to highlight one requirement listed by the Commission that might be overlooked. I have in mind the skill to “form a team recruited from different countries ...and build the necessary team spirit.” I owe much of the success that I achieved to working with a team.

But for me what is most important among these desirable qualities is clear and simple: a secretary-general must be a person of integrity with the highest ethical standards. He or she should have the courage to maintain independence and the wisdom to exercise independence constructively. I believe that future secretaries—general should be appointed to a seven year, non-renewable term to lessen their vulnerability to pressure from Member States.

### **Procedure**

The Canadian paper, to which I have already referred, contains excellent, albeit complex, proposals on procedures to follow in identifying and appointing future secretaries-general. What I believe is most important is that all Member States have, in some representative form, a voice in the selection

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<sup>1</sup> A paper showing suggested changes in the Charter that was prepared by a group of scholars in Paris is included in the symposium papers. I presented a copy of the paper to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon

process. Campaigning by governments or individuals for a candidacy should be made unacceptable.

### **Problems to be Faced**

In my view, candidates for the post of secretary-general need to be judged not only by their personal qualifications, but also by their likely capacity to deal with problems they will face. Future secretaries-general will inevitably encounter the following problem areas – among many others:

#### ***Integration of the United Nations System***

The United Nation must now function in an increasingly integrated world, in which major problems are inter-related. Threats to human security are likely to dominate the UN agenda throughout the present century. These threats will demand the best efforts of the entire UN System. Unfortunately, the agencies and programs of the UN, unlike the world they serve, are for the most part distinctly un-integrated. In my own experience UNDP and the World Bank were often working at cross purposes on development. I understand there are now at least 8 conflict prevention offices spread among the agencies, programs and Headquarters political departments. Only the findings and recommendations of the Headquarters offices are available to the Secretary-General and even they operate largely in isolation from each other.

Both ECOSOC and the General Assembly have authority under the Charter to coordinate and review the work of the functional agencies. Neither has exercised this authority to noticeable effect. The authority of the Secretary-General is limited to the central United Nations organization and, even there, can be tenuous as it is in UNDP and UNICEF. The Secretary-General serves as chair of the Chief Executives Board (formerly ACC), the largely ineffective body responsible for inter-agency coordination but only as first among equals. Yet, in many ways, the Secretary-General is the face of the “UN” which, in the common understanding, includes the whole system minus the financial institutions. Given the Secretary-General’s broad responsibilities for the maintenance of international security, he or she must try mightily to bring the full force of the System to bear on human security problems. The System needs to function as a linked network of coordinated planning and action. The problem is likely to become ever more troublesome in light of the intensity and interrelationship of the crises that now threaten global security.

### ***The Status of the Deputy Secretary-General***

One way to decrease, at least minimally, the problems that a future secretary-general will bear would be to enhance the status and responsibilities of the Deputy-Secretary-General. I do not believe that the potential of the position is being fully exploited. The area where the Secretary-General most needs high level help is in bringing the system to work more closely together. For this reason, I suggest that the Deputy Secretary-General be given major responsibility in this area. This will entail frequent contact with senior officers in the Specialized Agencies including the Agency heads (sometimes known as “barons”). To enhance the standing of this position and facilitate accomplishment of its mission I believe that the appointment of the Deputy-Secretary-General should have the approval of the General Assembly, thus signaling that the incumbent has the support of Member States.

### ***Money!***

During my first term, the United Nations faced a financial crisis the repercussions of which still endure. The United States began to withhold a substantial portion of its contribution mainly because of Congressional restrictions. The US indebtedness eventually surpassed a billion dollars. I had the unpleasant task of going periodically, hat in hand, to Washington—even into the oval office. When I raised the problem with President Reagan (it was new to him), his immediate reaction was sympathetic. He said that in his opinion, the UN should be like a country club. “If you don’t pay your dues, you lose your membership.” But despite the president’s acute suggestion, the debt was not paid until two administrations later.

I understand that the US is no longer withholding a major portion of its required contributions. A future secretary-general will, hopefully, not have to make begging trips to Washington. But the money problem (and the larger resource problem that I will not go into here) will remain. At present, two countries, the United States and Japan, are responsible for just under 50 per cent of the regular budget. The viability of the UN is thus subject to the vagaries of the budgetary processes in two, in this case, like-minded countries. The problem for a future secretary-general will be personally to resist the potential pressure that such heavy reliance on one or two states carries with it. Moreover, a future secretary-general will need to shield the Organization from arbitrary administrative influence. The only way that this problem can be reduced is to find a better formula for financing the United Nations. I tried to do this but, in the end, had to leave the problem to my successors.

**EXCPERTS FROM THE OPENING ADDRESS  
OF THE ALTERNATE FOREIGN MINISTER OF GREECE  
Mr. DIMITRIS DROUTSAS**

It gives me special pleasure to welcome, on behalf of the Government and the Greek people, this distinguished group of diplomats and high United Nations officials, who have been devoting much of their talent and energies to strengthening the United Nations and thus improving the quality of life of the peoples of the world.

Greece has been a steadfast supporter of the United Nations and a strong believer in the principles of the Charter and also in the need to ensure their implementation. As you know, my country has sought, since the foundation of the Organization, its intervention and assistance in implementing principles of the Charter and decisions of relevant UN organs, especially as regards issues of national sovereignty and territorial integrity. ....

We earnestly hope the problems of our concern which are still in the agenda of the United Nations will be resolved in the spirit and letter of the Charter and international law.....

Indeed the Charter as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should be considered as crowning achievements of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There is no doubt that the United Nations and its specialized agencies have made an immense contribution to improving human conditions in the last 65 years.....

Yet much still has to be done. The United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century must be strengthened.... It should be, for instance, the centre for all issues related to global economic governance. It should provide leadership and initiatives; it should be the relevant forum for the discussion and formulation of solutions to world problems. Decisions of its bodies should be respected by the member States. .... Other institutions and fora, even useful, cannot substitute for the world body. Of course, reforms in the functioning and operations of the Organization and the UN system to reflect present realities and future challenges must be carried out, perhaps starting with flexible and gradual adjustments. Some of the desirable changes involve the revision of the Charter, others, however, depend on understandings and agreements of the Member States. These latter changes seem to be easier to introduce and apply as consensus procedures. It is interesting that the subject of your Symposium belongs to the second category and therefore its conclusions may have better chances to be generally accepted and adopted.

It is natural for my country to support any initiative and any change that makes the United Nations more effective and efficient, more democratic and just. We support change that strengthens the Organization and therefore we welcome your efforts, which will begin in private tomorrow in Delphi and hope they will succeed in formulating useful proposals and conclusions.

It is becoming that the Symposium “The UN in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: The role and selection of the Secretary General” is held in honour of Javier Perez de Cuellar, a Secretary General who in his 10- year stewardship of the Organization , at times from the most acute stage of the Cold War to the dissolution of the Soviet bloc , left an indelible mark of integrity, skill and effectiveness . We in Greece were familiar with his efforts to deal with the problem of Cyprus and, in the last weeks of his tenure, to prevent the Balkan tragedy of the 90s. In both cases he revealed his profound understanding of historical sensitivities and his devotion to the UN principles regardless of the fact that it did not prove possible for those efforts to bring fruit. He was however associated with and was even instrumental in successful outcomes in so many other areas and situations, from Central America, Cambodia, Namibia, Falkland Islands, apartheid South Africa, to the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the departure of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. He will be remembered also for the emphasis he placed on the war against poverty in Africa, on dealing with the vast inequalities of income and wealth and on the strengthening of freedom and human rights. ....

As far the attributes of a Secretary General are concerned, Perez de Cuellar believes that the most important qualities are integrity, highest ethical standards, courage to resist pressures , independence and the wisdom to exercise it constructively.

In Delphi, where a hybrid United Nations was functioning more than two thousand years ago is most fitting for you to meet in the pleasant hospitality of the European Cultural Centre of Delphi. I wish to congratulate the Athens Development and Governance Institute (INERPOST) and the Centre of Delphi as well as the donors for organizing this Symposium to honour Perez de Cuellar and discuss and elaborate proposals for a more methodical, pertinent, transparent and democratic way to select a Secretary General. We regret that some health problems prevented Mr. Perez de Cuellar to participate in the Symposium and return to Delphi after 20 years when , after receiving the Onassis Foundation award, he was escorted by the then Assistant Secretary General Sotiris Mousouris and was profoundly impressed by the beauty and symbolism of the place.

We will expect with great interest to study the conclusions you may reach. Most of you were representing your country during the periods of selection of a Secretary General and you are familiar with the shortcomings of the

process. And although the Secretaries General who have served have discharged their duties with honour, the present way of selection may lead in the future to unsatisfactory outcomes. The role of the Secretary General is of such importance that we must aim to select if possible the best man or woman for a job which one incumbent called "impossible". We wish you success and a pleasant stay in our country.

## **Greetings from Javier Pérez de Cuéllar**

**(read by Ms Luise Frechette**

**Athens, May 27, 2010)**

My dear friends and colleagues, distinguished guests,

More than a year ago I was approached with the idea of a commemorative meeting to honor my service as Secretary-General. I replied that a meeting that looked to the future, one that will contribute to a stronger UN, would do me the greatest honor. The symposium that opens tomorrow in Delphi on the selection of future secretaries-general responds precisely to my wish. I am profoundly grateful to the governments of Norway, Canada, Morocco, Kuwait and Greece for their support of this meeting. I would also like to express special thanks to the Athens Development and Governance Institute and the European Cultural Center of Delphi and to the individuals who, through their initiative and support, have made this meeting possible.

My friends,

We live at a time when our common well-being is seriously endangered by such threats as climate change, environmental degradation, terrorism, underdevelopment and global financial instability. The United Nations has an essential role to play in meeting these threats. But to do so the UN requires modernization so that its organization and procedures, particularly the composition of the Security Council, reflect and honor today's realities.

The Secretary-General stands at the center of the United Nations organization. He or she must take the lead in bringing about changes that are so essential to the UN and to the UN System as a whole. The position enjoys little actual power aside from the moral authority derived from the Charter. Yet, a secretary-general, through the skillful use of such tools as intellectual leadership, mediation, organizational insight and public outreach can do much to encourage needed reforms and the greater integration of the UN System as a whole. Truly, with these tools, the Secretary-General can do a great deal to strengthen human security throughout the world. Therein, I believe, lies a secretary-general's greatest opportunity and most serious responsibility.

Clearly a secretary-general should be carefully chosen. The present system of selection has not produced bad results, rather the contrary (I, after all, am a product of it); but it leaves a great deal to chance and to the wishes of one or more of the Permanent Members of the Security Council. It is poorly

designed to ensure that the right person will always be in the job in the future. The task of the Delphi Symposium is to suggest reliable procedures for finding and appointing a person with the desired qualifications to fill what the first Secretary-General called the most difficult job in the world. I am confident that, given the collective wisdom and experience of the symposium participants, who have come from all corners of the worlds, the task will be accomplished to the future benefit of the United Nations and the world community that it serves. My only regret, and it is a large one, is that because of my doctor's very strict and determined orders, I cannot be there to participate personally in what surely will be most stimulating and productive discussions.



## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. **Aime Jean Claude (Haiti)**, former UN Assistant Secretary General.
2. **Belonogov Alexander (Russia)**, Ambassador, former Permanent Representative to the UN.
3. **Daoyu Li (China)**, Ambassador, former Permanent Representative to the UN, President, China International Public Relations Association.
4. **Dejammet Alain (France)**, Ambassador, former Permanent Representative to the UN.
5. **Eitel Tono (Germany)**, Ambassador, former Permanent Representative to the UN.
6. **Elaraby Nabil (Egypt)**, Ambassador, former Permanent Representative to the UN, former Judge of the ICJ.
7. **Eliasson Jan (Sweden)**, Ambassador, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, former President of the UN General Assembly, former UN Under-Secretary General.
8. **Fodha Hassen (Tunisia)**, Ambassador, former UNIC Director , Paris, France , former UNRIC Regional Director , Brussels.
9. **Frechette Louise (Canada)**, Ambassador, former Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations, former Permanent Representative to the UN.
10. **Fulci Francesco Paolo (Italy)**, Ambassador, former President of UN Security Council, Vice President of “Ferrero International”
11. **Gharekhan Chinmaya (India)**, Ambassador, former UN Under-Secretary General, former Permanent Representative to the UN.
12. **Hatano Yoshio (Japan)**, Ambassador, former Permanent Representative to the UN, Chancellor (President) of Gakushuin School Corp.
13. **Iakovou George (Cyprus)**, Presidential Commissioner of the Republic of Cyprus, former Minister of Foreign Affairs
14. **Luers William (U.S.)**, former Ambassador, former President of UNA-USA, Adjunct Professor at Tufts University, Columbia University, and Hamilton College.
15. **Mousouris Sotiris (Greece)**, former UN Assistant Secretary General, President, ADGI INERPOST.
16. **Snoussi Ahmed (Morocco)**, Ambassador, former Permanent Representative to the UN, former President of the UN Security Council.
17. **Sutterlin James (U.S.)**, former Director in the Office of Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Distinguished Fellow and Instructor at Yale and Adjunct Professor at Long Island University.
18. **Thomson John, Sir (UK)**, Ambassador, former Permanent Representative to the UN, research affiliate at MIT.
19. **Urquhart Brian, Sir (UK)**, former U.N. Under Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs.
20. **Vassilakis Adamantios (Greece)**, Ambassador, former Permanent Representative to the UN.
21. **Wyzner Eugeniusz (Poland)**, Ambassador, former UN Under-Secretary General, former Permanent Representative to the UN.

## Guest Observers

1. **Arsenis Gerassimos (Greece)**, former Minister of Economy, Defense, Education and former Director of UNCTAD.
2. **Rector Ahrweiler Eleni (Greece)**, President of the Administration Council of the European Cultural Centre of Delphi, President of the University of Europe.
3. **Dr. Leney - Hall Katya (Greece)**, international affairs analyst.
4. **Moller Michael, (Denmark)**, former UN Assistant Secretary General.
5. **Yiallouridis Christodoulos (Greece)**, Director of the European Cultural Centre of Delphi, Professor of International Politics, Panteion University.