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A FRANCOPHONE AT THE HELM: BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI, THE UNITED NATIONS SIXTH SECRETARY-GENERAL[1]

by Samia I. Spencer

On January 1, 1992, quietly and discreetly, a major change took place on the thirty-eighth floor of the United Nations building in New York City. After ten years in office, the fifth Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, ceded his post to a newly-elected successor: Boutros Boutros-Ghali.[2]

Because of the low profile he tends to maintain, Boutros-Ghali has not yet received a great deal of attention in the national media. Thus far, he remains largely unknown, at least among the general public. Who is this man? What is his background? How did he become the world's leading diplomat?

Personal and Professional Background

A study of the new Secretary-General's background indicates impressive and singular academic and scholarly achievements, unmatched dedication to bridging the gap between East and West and promoting dialogue between North and South, and tireless efforts to advocate solidarity, moderation, respect for human rights—especially the rights of minorities—and peaceful solutions to world conflicts. In short, his professional experience is perfectly suited to his new diplomatic responsibilities.

Born in Cairo, in 1922, to one of Egypt's most prominent Coptic[3] families, Boutros Boutros-Ghali grew up in a political milieu, at a time when his country was caught up in a bitter

struggle for independence from British occupation.[4] Even as a child, he was well aware of the hazards of political life and mounting nationalism, and the tragedies caused by religious strife. In 1910, his paternal grand-father—the first Copt to serve as Egypt's Prime Minister—had been assassinated by Moslem fanatics.

Like most members of his country's westernized elite in that era, the future diplomat received his education in French schools, acquired a taste for French literature through readings of children's favorites—la Comtesse de Ségur and Jules Verne are among those he remembers most vividly—and spoke Arabic and French at home. Upon completion of a Bachelor's degree in Law at Cairo University (1946), he continued his studies in Paris, earning diplomas in public law (1947), economics (1948) and political science (1949), while writing his doctoral thesis, *Contribution à l'étude des ententes régionales* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1949). The three-year Parisian sojourn also allowed him to cultivate his passion for French literature, and brought to his attention the works of Gide, Sartre, and Camus. This education, combined with the cosmopolitan environment in which he was raised, during some of the most turbulent decades of the twentieth century, has significantly enriched his identity and broadened his vision. By birth, he was an African, a Mediterranean, and a Christian who grew up in an Arab Islamic country; intellectually, he was a Francophone, with "a distinctly Western cultural orientation."[5] This diversity taught him understanding, tolerance, and the art of dialogue and compromise, and strengthened his commitment to world peace.

In 1949, the young academic returned to Cairo University, where he taught international law and international relations, headed the department of political science, served on the editorial boards of several journals,[6] and launched a scholarly career of extraordinary magnitude.[7] He devoted extensive energy to the study of national and regional problems, and issues of social, cultural and economic development in the post-colonial age, and thus helped define the movement of non-alignment. He articulated the new identity of the Afro-Asian group, "the first institutional voice speaking for the underdeveloped countries to the rich, industrialized world,"[8] and explained the four guiding principles of this "vast bicontinental movement": "anticolonial-

ism, neutralism, economic development, and racial equality."[9] His writings offered a modern vision, and emphasized the right of newly decolonized nations to self-determination:

> si l'Afro-asiatisme est une idéologie, il est aussi une école, une technique, un programme qui aidera les nouveaux Etats à penser leurs problèmes, à élaborer eux-mêmes leurs propres solutions. Et c'est seulement après avoir franchi cette étape, quelles qu'en puissent être les vicissitudes et les contradictions, que l'Afro-Asie pourra participer efficacement à la civilisation planétaire.[10]

All along, he hailed the richness and diversity of Egypt's heritage, and her crucial function as "a bridge for civilization and a melting pot in which various cultures and religions have interacted."[11] He stressed her place as "the central power in the Middle East,"[12] and her pivotal role in world diplomacy, which was due to her "unique geographical situation at the crossroads of three continents," and her "quadruple identification" as "an African country, a Mediterranean country, an Islamic country since the 6th century AD, and an Arab country."[13]

To his readership in the West, Boutros-Ghali brought invaluable information and insight into political and cultural developments in Africa, Asia, and the Arab world. His views were particularly enlightening because of his solid grounding in Western literature and the Western scholarly tradition, his intimate knowledge of the history, culture and mentalities of the Eastern part of the globe, and his ability to analyze, assess, and synthesize in a clear, rational, and readable manner. Many of his books have been published in French, and deal with regional problems, international relations, or emerging political movements in the post-colonial era.[14] Articles, chapters, and monographs authored in English deal particularly with the foreign policy of Egypt or the Arab world—including failures and successes.[15]

As an author writing in Arabic, Boutros-Ghali maintained close contact with his literate Middle-Eastern readers and brought them the world.[16] He informed them not only about subjects dealing with developments in their own region, but also offered careful analysis and balanced views on topics ranging

from NATO and the Warsaw Pact, to a range of diplomatic events throughout the globe.

As his reputation as a leading political scientist spread, Boutros-Ghali became a prominent guest lecturer and visiting scholar at academic institutions in Africa, North America, Latin America, the Arab world, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe.[17] His solid background in Middle-Eastern, African, and Asian history, culture and economics; his intellectual integrity, and his unflinching commitment to moderation, justice, equality and peace; and his efforts to promote solidarity, understanding and cooperation among all nations brought him even more prestigious appointments throughout the world. They included participation in a myriad of conferences and colloquia, membership on committees of international organizations, and seats on the boards of academic institutes and research centers from Colombia to Madagascar, from the Netherlands and Sweden, to Greece and Italy.[18]

In 1977, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat—realizing what his country and his government stood to gain from the active participation of this eminent scholar in his administration—invited Boutros-Ghali to join the cabinet as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. Thus was launched phase two of this distinguished career. As a public servant and diplomat, Boutros-Ghali earned the respect of world leaders, and achieved new heights of distinction. Within a few years, twenty-four nations on four continents had bestowed upon him their most prized national honors.[19]

In his capacity as Egypt's second-ranking diplomat,[20] he was entrusted with numerous important missions, most of them designed to strengthen the bonds with African and Francophone nations, as well as with developed and developing countries. His skills as consummate diplomat, patient and articulate negotiator, and honest broker made him especially valuable in time of crisis. For example, the resignation of Egypt's foreign minister on the eve of Sadat's historic voyage to Israel—a resignation prompted by strong protest in the Arab world—could have had disastrous results. Fortunately, however, the Egyptian president could count on Boutros-Ghali's unequivocal loyalty and support for that peace mission, and was thus able to

achieve his plan. In fact, the presence of his right-hand man proved to be indispensable to Sadat during the thorny negotiations that led to the Camp David Peace Accords.

Between 1977 and 1991, Egypt experienced dramatic changes in political climate and leadership—including many governments and cabinet shakeups. Only Boutros-Ghali, like La Fontaine's fabled "chêne," remained solidly rooted in his country's administration and in global diplomacy, gradually rising to Deputy Prime Minister of Foreign Affairs—a particularly noteworthy development in a time of mounting Islamic fundamentalism.[21] In recognition of his unsurpassed record of scholarship and service, to his nation and the world, Egypt nominated him for the world's top diplomatic post in the summer of 1991, and her President made every effort to ensure the success of the proposed candidacy: the call did not go unanswered.[22]

Commitment to "la francophonie"

Although the new Secretary-General possesses native ability in three languages, Arabic, English, and French, the latter has a particular significance for him and his family. His paternal uncle was Egypt's ambassador to France, before assuming the responsibilities of Minister of Foreign Affairs. As a young Egyptian growing up in the early decades of the twentieth century, Boutros-Ghali considered French "une langue d'opposition, de révolte"[23] against British occupation. As an author and a scholar, he was published first in French, then in Arabic, and later in English. As a cabinet member seeking to reinforce his country's diplomatic position, he realized the strategic importance of the French language and culture: "territoire partagé entre l'Asie et l'Afrique, terre arabe ouverte sur la Méditerranée et, par le Nil, sur l'Afrique intérieure," Egypt had to revive its Francophone tradition, because "le français a de longue date favorisé cette synthèse."[24]

At a time when English was gaining popularity and replacing French as the country's first foreign language, Boutros-Ghali tempered that influence by enhancing the political role of French. At his behest, Egypt joined several international Franco-

phone organizations, particularly the "Agence de coopération culturelle et technique" (ACCT), the "Association internationale de Parlementaires de langue française" (AIPLF), and the "Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de pays ayant l'usage du français." Thanks largely to his dynamic efforts within these organizations, to his active participation in all Francophone summits since 1982, and to the respect he enjoyed among Francophone leaders—which ultimately reflected upon his nation—Egypt gained a prominent place among Francophone countries and became a center for "francophonie."[25] Alexandria, Egypt's second largest metropolis, was selected as the site of the newly established Université Léopold Senghor, which was inaugurated by President François Mitterrand in November 1990. This institution of higher learning is designed to offer post-graduate training in French, especially in business administration and health sciences, to researchers and executives from developing Francophone nations.

In the post-World War II era, when the world was dominated by two superpowers, Boutros-Ghali favored the use of French in diplomacy, because he viewed it as a more neutral language. He coined the popular phrase "le français langue non-alignée," "formule très fréquemment reprise depuis lors."[26] Furthermore, he considered French as a perfect tool for promoting understanding, cooperation, dialogue, and solidarity between East and West, North and South, developed and developing nations: "la francophonie a le rare mérite de rassembler une quarantaine de nations d'une très grande diversité: géographique (les cinq continents sont représentés), économique (des plus pauvres aux plus riches) et culturelle (pas de distinction de races ou de religions)."[27]

As the first full-fledged Francophone Secretary-General of the United Nations,[28] Boutros-Ghali finds the French language ideally suited to his responsibilities: "le français n'est pas la propriété d'un pays, [c']est une langue conviviale, une langue de coopération,"[29] and he expresses unqualified support for what it represents: "la francophonie est une entreprise universelle dont les objectifs de dialogue entre les peuples et [de] coopération s'harmonisent parfaitement avec ceux de l'ONU."[30] As a symbol of his commitment, and in order to respect "la parité des deux langues,"[31] he gives his official speeches in the two

working languages of the world body, English and French,[32] starting with one language, and continuing in the other. When appropriate, he heightens his message by quoting French authors.[33] Furthermore, he emphasizes the importance of selecting speakers of French as close associates and key advisors,[34] because he believes that "le bilinguisme est en effet une des garanties de l'universalisme de l'Organisation, assemblée de nations dé-sireuses de se relier les unes aux autres tout en respectant leurs différences."[35] In language as in politics and economics, how-ever, this "grand francophone"[36] warns against excesses:

> il faut se garder aussi d'impérialisme linguistique. Aimer sa langue est une chose normale et tout à fait respectable mais la placer au-dessus des autres, avec ce qui s'ensuit de mépris et d'intolérance, est dangereux et déplacé. Il y a des langues comme l'arabe, ma langue maternelle, l'allemand, le chinois et bien d'autres qui ont aussi leurs mérites et leur place au soleil.[37]

Within the United Nations, the French language occupies a privileged position. Among the organization's 175 members, 43 have formed an association entitled "Groupe des délégations utilisant le français comme langue de travail," and have requested that all official correspondence to their nations be addressed in French.[38] In fact, representatives of other nations sometimes choose to express themselves "en français." This was recently the case, for example,

> lors de la récente réunion de l'Assemblée générale pour l'admission de neuf nouveaux Etats membres, le représentant de la Hongrie et celui du Portugal, qui préside le groupe de la CEE, ont tous deux parlé en français. Ces deux pays ne sont pas d'expression française et pourtant ils ont fait ce choix.[39]

The work load in the French division of the translation department is, therefore, enormous. In 1991, it required 10,520 translator/workdays, and resulted in 48,585 pages of translation into French. Furthermore, the division—with its 58 full-time permanent translators to French—recently produced an English/French lexicon containing 25,000 terms used in the daily operations of the United Nations. In the area of simultaneous translation, the magnitude of the task can be conveyed by the

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sheer number of conferences held at the organization's headquarters every year: approximately 3200, with nearly 2750 offering simultaneous translation.[40] More extensive use of the French language within the world organization, however, is prevented by inadequate funding and ensuing difficulties in recruitment. For example, in 1991, 6 out of 9 applicants who successfully passed the translation test turned down the United Nations' offer of employment. Budgetary restrictions are responsible for inadequate equipment as well: "dans le secteur de la traduction, par exemple, les outils à notre disposition ont à peine changé depuis la Société des Nations. Nous sommes très en retard à ce point de vue sur des organisations comme la CEE et l'OCDE."[41] The use of French within the nization has an impact on the division of language instruct well. Demand for French courses continues to surpass ts for classes in any other language,[42] reflecting the extent staff members' interest in mastering the organization's second working language.

In France, perhaps more than in any other country except his own, the merit and efforts of this outstanding scholar and diplomat have been widely recognized and rewarded. He was invited to teach at the University of Paris (1967-68), was appointed member of several prestigious organizations headquartered in that nation, particularly the Scientific Committee of the "Académie Mondiale pour la Paix" (Menton, since 1975), the Council and the Executive Committee of the International Institute of Human Rights (Strasbourg, since 1975), and was elected vice president of the "Internationa cialiste."[43] More recently, he received an honorary doctora in the Université René Descartes (1980),[44] was granted the title of "Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur," and was named associate member of the "Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques" (1989), where only 12 seats are reserved for non-French nationals in this branch of the "Académie Française."[45]

Responsibilities as Secretary-General: A Look at the Future

As a scholar, Boutros-Ghali has consistently valued the principles of the world organization, and has often cited its Charter to support the rights of Third World countries. However, as

a diplomat who worked extensively within the United Nations (and its agencies), he was critical of its "patronage-ridden . . . bureaucracy of more than 10,000 employees,"[46] and its procedures. More specifically, he deplored "the lack of democratic processes brought to [the world organization] by its post-World War II founders," and argued that "all countries should have a role in formulating global policies," adding "if we refuse a totalitarian system within a particular country, then it is only natural that we refuse totalitarianism in the new world order." Above all, he warned that "new democracies" should be shielded from "intervention by major powers in [their] internal affairs . . . under the guise of protecting democracy," and that "a single state or handful of states should [not] monopolize the decision-making processes affecting the organization of all international affairs."[47]

In light of these comments, it would be legitimate to ask why Boutros-Ghali agreed to head the world organization. The Secretary-General has confirmed, indeed, that if he had been offered the position five years earlier, he would not have accepted it. At that time, he viewed the United Nations as "a dead horse,"[48] because of the strife between the superpowers. Now that the "cold war is over," he is more optimistic about the future of the organization and its constructive role in international diplomacy, although he describes his task as "formidable but not insurmountable."[49] So far, however, he has not yet publicly addressed the issue of "totalitarianism," nor has he offered suggestions for ensuring "democratic processes" within the world body.

As a political scientist, Boutros-Ghali had definite leanings to the Left, evidenced by his appointment to the vice presidency of the "Internationale Socialiste." Although not a communist, the scholar recognized the importance of marxist ideology in "la révolution prolétarienne mondiale," especially in the emerging democracies of Africa and Asia:

> si le marxisme—occidental ou chinois—n'est accepté ou adapté que par une minorité des Etats afro-asiatiques, son influence est, par contre, évidente dans la quasi-totalité des thèmes et des attitudes qui caractérisent la politique des Etats afro-asiatiques, tant à l'échelle mondiale que dans le cadre des organisations internationales qu'ils se sont données.[50]

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It is uncertain how the Secretary-General will be able to maintain his lifelong commitment to socialism,[51] in light of recent developments in the Eastern bloc and the decline of socialism in Western nations, and while heading an organization increasingly dominated by capitalist powers and ideology.

As one of the world's most articulate spokesmen for Arab nationalism and the Arab cause, and as one of the strongest advocates for the rights of the Palestinians, the Secretary-General will be under tremendous pressure, as he attempts to maintain neutrality in dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict. In fact, his recent comments on the "non-binding" nature of Resolution 242—which calls, among other measures, for the withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories—and the "binding" nature of the sanctions against Libya, have already caused a stir among Arab nations.

A plaque facing the Security Council Conference Room describes the role of the Secretary-General in the following lines:

- The most impossible, frustrating, daunting, challenging, rewarding, fascinating, clearly unique job on Earth
- Chief Administrator of the Organization
- Guardian of the Charter with a global watching brief
- Go-between and honest broker in critical international situations
- Articulator of international interests
- Guide but not sovereign

As he begins to assume these responsibilities, Boutros-Ghali will have to focus attention on a number of pressing issues within the organization.[52] Perhaps first and foremost among them will be the "horrendous fiscal problems [caused by] out-of-control spending by the . . . General Assembly,"[53] and by lagging payment of contributions by many nations. These difficulties are compounded by rapidly increasing demand for intervention by the world organization, the expanding new dimensions of its role, and the "unprecedented variety and scope . . . [of its responsibilities] all over the globe."[54] In Namibia, for example, "the United Nations operation . . . has grown to include such elements as law enforcement, election monitoring, information and education programmes related to human rights, and

economic and social reconstruction."[55] Likewise, its peacekeeping and peace-making missions are also increasing due to mounting local, regional, ethnic, and tribal conflicts. Yet, the organization has not found a satisfactory way to finance these missions, except through voluntary contributions—which many countries refuse to make.[56]

In addition to resources, these missions also require the presence of an increasing number of staff members in dangerous areas and life-threatening situations. Not only are more than 100 employees "kept under detention or in prison," others—like Dr. Marta Pumpalova—"have died in the line of duty."[57] Personnel security and safety is, thus, very much on the mind of the Secretary-General.

In the area of staffing and administration, Boutros-Ghali will have to search for creative ways to reduce the "top-heavy structure of the Secretariat,"[58] to make "procedures simpler, more transparent, and easier to follow,"[59] "to strengthen [the organization's] capabilities and to consolidate and streamline [its] administrative [bureaucracy]."[60] Member nations have also called for more open searches to fill top-level posts with the best qualified professionals, and "the end of national monopolies on particular positions."[61]

Discrimination against women continues to be an area of great concern.[62] The recent changes in the Secretariat's top echelon—only one among the newly-named 16 top-ranking officials was a woman[63]—brought strong protest from the representatives of Australia and Canada for what they perceived to be a persistent pattern of prejudice, and a "rebuff to the aspirations of half of the world's population."[64] They also noted, with "great disappointment," that "the Secretary-General had not, even for year-long senior level contracts, included any women in the top level of leadership in the Organization. Instead of going for-ward, the United Nations was going backward."[65]

Indeed, the Secretary-General faces complex and overwhelming problems, for which there are no easy solutions: "never before have expectations been so great for the United Nations to solve the world's problems, [and] never before have the organization's human and financial resources been stretched so

thin in trying to meet the growing number of assignments."[66] However, as the preceding pages indicate, its chief administrator is particularly well equipped to deal with these issues, and to propose reasonable answers to at least some of them.

As a scholar analyzing the unique qualities of Nehru and the reasons for his success as a world leader, Boutros-Ghali emphasized the rich background of the "great champion of the Third World cause":

> Maybe, if he had just come under the influence of one culture . . . he would not have been able to play the role of mediator he so often played among various factions. . . . The result of all the cultures [to which he] had been exposed . . . [produced] a very sophisticated person who knew how to deal with everybody. . . .
>
> Because of his high degree of sophistication, he did not confine himself to any single group. It could be even argued that his richness of character enabled him to see all different shades of opinion, and believe that they should live together as they had lived inside him. . . .
>
> [He] will be remembered not only as a political leader, but also as a model for mankind—politician and philosopher, leader and writer . . . a man in love with his nation, a man who belonged to the whole of humanity.[67]

The same remarks could be applied to Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, who shares many of the intellectual, cultural, and political inclinations of the Asian statesman. Furthermore, his broad vision, his distinguished career as scholar, his uncommon talent as diplomat, and his vast experience in international affairs will prove to be strong assets as he faces the magnitude of the tasks in the United Nations and the daunting political problems that threaten the world.

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NOTES

[1] At the outset of this article, I would like to express my warm and sincere gratitude to the many people who made it possible. Dr. Linda S. Glaze, Head, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, supported the project from its inception; and Dr. David R. Hiley, Acting Dean of Liberal Arts, helped me secure the necessary funds for its completion. Dr. Jack E. Blackburn, Vice President for Academic Affairs; Dr. Mason E. Marvel, Former Director of International Programs; and Dr. Paul F. Parks—all of Auburn University—generously supported my travel to New York City.

Many people at the United Nations handled the arrangements for my meeting with the Secretary-General, especially Mr. Jean-Claude Aimé, Chief of Staff; and Ms. Clare Kane, Executive Secretary. Important information and documents were provided by Ms. Nadia Younes, Spokeswoman for the Secretary-General; Mr. Matt Nerzig, Associate Spokesman; and Mr Alex Taukatch, Associate Spokesman.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my friend and mentor, Clara Hudson, for keeping a watchful eye on the press, and supplying several articles on the new Secretary-General.

[2] The Secretary-General of the United Nations is elected by the General Assembly, upon the recommendation of the Security Council, for a five-year renewable term. Since its creation in 1945, the world organization has been headed by the following men:

1. Trygve Lie (1896-1968), Norwegian, 1946-1952
2. Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-1961), Swedish, 1952-1961
3. U-Thant (1905-1974), Burmese, 1961-1971
4. Kurt Waldheim (1918-Present), Austrian, 1972-1981
5. Javier Perez de Cuellar (1920-Present), Peruvian, 1982-1991

Prior to the 1991 election, there was general agreement among members of the General Assembly that it was time to elect an African to the top diplomatic post. However, there was no consensus on the nominations among members of the Organization of African Unity, who favored the election of a black African—thus there was an abundance of candidates from Africa, exceeding those from any other continent. Beside Boutros-Ghali, African nominations included the following:

1. Bernard Chidzero, Zimbabwe's Finance Minister
2. Kenneth Dadzie of Ghana, Secretary-General of UNCTAD
3. James Jonah of Sierra Leone, UN Undersecretary-General for Special Political Questions
4. Michel Doo Kingue of Cameroun, Executive Director of the UN Institute for Training and Research
5. Olesegun Obasanjo, Former President of Nigeria
6. François Owono, Former Minister of Culture of Gabon
7. Nsanze Terence, Former UN Representative of Burundi

[3] The word "Copt" derives from the Greek "Aegyptios," meaning Egyptian, and refers to Christians descended from ancient Egyptians. Today, this Christian minority constitutes approximately 15% of Egypt's population.

[4] For more information on the involvement of various members of the

Boutros-Ghali family, including his maternal grand-mother, in the Wafd Party—the Party most fiercely opposed to British occupation—see the Coptic weekly, *Watani* (16 August 1992): 7.

5 "UN's Ghali Called Cool and Scholarly," *The Atlanta Constitution* (November 23, 1991): A4.

6 For example, the *Revue Egyptienne de Droit International, The Yearbook of the Association of the Attenders and Alumni of the Hague Academy of International Law*, and the Arabic quarterly, *Al Siyassa Al Dawlya*. He also founded an Arabic economic journal, *Al Ahram Al Iqtisadi*, which he edited from 1960 to 1975.

7 A complete list of Boutros-Ghali's publications—approximately 25 books and monographs, and 100 articles in Arabic, French, English, and Italian—would exceed the scope of this study. The titles provided in the text illustrate the breadth of the Secretary-General's interests, and his worldwide reputation as an eminent scholar.

8 Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Commentaries," *Arab and American Cultures*, George N. Atiyeh, ed (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977), 158.

9 Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in collaboration with Simone Dreyfus, *Le Mouvement afro-asiatique* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1969), 46. English translation in the text is my own.

10 Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Le Mouvement afro-asiatique*, 128.

11 "Egyptian at the Center of World Peacekeeping," *The International Herald Tribune* (23-24 May 1992): 8.

12 Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt in the Post-Sadat Era," *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1982): 770.

13 Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt," *Foreign Policies in a World of Change*, Joseph E. Black and Kenneth W. Thompson, eds (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 320.

14 In addition to the works cited earlier, Publications in French also include, among others, *Le Problème du Canal de Suez* (Alexandrie: Société égyptienne de droit international, 1957), in collaboration with Youssef Chlala; *Le Principe d'égalité des états et les organisations internationales* (Leyden, The Netherlands: A. W. Sijthoff, 1961); *Contributions à une théorie générale des alliances* (Paris: A. Pedone 1963); *L'Organisation de l'unité africaine* (Genève: Institut universitaire des hautes études internationales, 1971); and *Les Conflits de frontières en Afrique* (Paris: Editions techniques et économiques, 1973).

15 In addition to the works cited earlier, publications in English also include, among others, *The Arab League, 1945-1955. Ten Years of Struggle* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1954); *Egypt and the United Nations* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1957); "The League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity," *The Organization of African Unity After Ten Years: Comparative Perspectives*, Yassin El Ayouty, ed (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975); "Arab Diplomacy: Failures and Successes," *Arab and American Cultures*, George N. Atiyeh, ed (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977); and "A Man of Ideas and Action," *Jawaharlal Nehru: Centenary Volume* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989).

16 Publications in Arabic also include textbooks on the theory of interna-

tional law and international relations, and number approximately two dozen books and more than fifty articles.

[17] The list of institutions where he has been invited include the following:

In Africa: Dakar University (1969), Dar-es-Salam University (1970), and Tananarive University (1974).

In North America: Columbia University (1954, 1955, and 1974), Pennsylvania State University and the University of Virginia (1955), Princeton University (1955 and 1974), and the University of California (1974).

In Latin America: Montevideo University (1986).

In the Arab world: Algiers University (1964 and 1971), Kuwait University (1972), Abu Dhabi Center (1973 and 1974), and Académie Royale du Maroc (1991).

In Asia: The New Delhi Institute of International Affairs (1955 and 1990), and Nehru University (1976).

In Eastern Europe: Belgrade University (1948 and 1972), Cracow University, Poznan University, the Warsaw Institute of International Affairs, and Zaghreb University (1960).

In Western Europe: The University of Paris (1967-1968); The University of Geneva (1969, 1971 and 1991), Uppsala's Dag Hammarskjöld Institute (1968 and 1986), and the University of Aix-en-Provence (1977).

[18] The appointments are too numerous to list in this limited space. They include, among others, the presidency of the African Society of Political Studies, and the Institute of International Law, as well as memberships in the following organizations: the Curatorium of the Institute of Public International Law and International Relations of Tessaloniki, Greece; the International Commission of Jurists, the Malgache Academy; the Institute Affari Internazionali in Rome; the Commission of International Law of the United Nations; the International Legal Center in New York; and the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organization.

[19] The honors he has received include the following:

In Africa: Order of the Republic, First Class (Egypt); Grand Officier de l'Ordre du Mérite du Mali; Grand Officier de l'Ordre du Mérite du Niger; Grand Officier de l'Ordre du Mérite Centrafricain; and Commandeur de l'Ordre du Mérite National de la Côte d'Ivoire.

In Asia: Trishakti Patta (Nepal); Order of the Crown of Brunei, and The Order of Diplomatic Service Merit (Korea).

In Europe: Grand Croix de l'Ordre de la Couronne (Belgium); Cavaliere di Gran Crice (Italy); Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur (France); Grand Croix de l'Ordre du Mérite du Grand Duché de Luxembourg; Great Cross of the Order of Infante Dom Henrique (Portugal); Grand Croix de l'Ordre Pro Merito Militensi de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire et Hospitalier de St. Jean de Jérusalem de Rhodes de Malte; Ordre Pheonix, Grand Cordon de 1ère Classe de Grèce; Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany; Grand Croix de l'Ordre du Danebrog; and Commander Grand Cross of the Order of the Polar Star (Sweden).

In Latin America: Gran Cruz de la Orden Nacional Al Mérito (Ecuador); Gran Cruz de la Orden del Libertador San Martín (Argentina); Gran Cruz de la

Orden de Boyacá (Colombia); Gran Cruz de la Orden de Antonio José de Irisarri (Guatemala); La Condecoración de Aguila Azteca (Mexico); and Gran Cordon del Mérito de Chile.

[20] According to many observers, his Christian background and his marriage to an Egyptian of Jewish descent ruled him out as foreign minister. However, because of his experience and the length of his service, he—perhaps more than anyone else—ensured continuity and consistency in his country's foreign policy between 1977 and 1991.

[21] A position of great visibility and influence created especially for him, and making him the highest ranking Christian in government, in post-revolutionary times.

[22] In the vote on the candidates by the Security Council, Zimbabwe's Finance Minister, Bernard Chidzero, received more votes (11) than Boutros-Ghali (10). However, the Egyptian nominee was expected to win in the runoff election because 4 of his 10 votes came from permanent members of the Security Council, while only 2 of Chidzero's 11 were from that group.

[23] "Boutros Boutros-Ghali, entretien par Marianne Payot," *Lire* (April 1992): 35.

[24] "Mémo pour l'entretien du Secrétaire général avec le Professeur Samia I. Spencer, pour *Contemporary French Civilization*, le 7 mai 1992," 1.

[25] It is interesting to note that, for political reasons, Egypt—with its relatively limited Francophone tradition—became a regular participant in the "sommets francophones." On the other hand, Algeria—with a much stronger Francophone tradition—chose, also for political reasons, not to affiliate itself with the sponsors of these events.

[26] "Mémo," 1.

[27] "Mémo," 3.

[28] His predecessors had studied French; however, none possessed native ability in the language. Mastery of French is a *sine qua non* for candidates who seek the post of Secretary-General, because the Francophone group within the world organization emphasizes that it will not vote for nominees who do not speak French. Candidates who aspire to the top diplomatic position have been known to rush to France to receive intensive language training, in order to improve their fluency and increase their chance of being elected.

In 1961, another Francophone, Tunisia's ambassador to the UN, Mongi Slim, was a strong contender for the Secretary-General's post. However, because of the Bizerta incident, France found him unacceptable, thus excluding him from final consideration. For further details on the matter, see Evan Luard, *A History of the United Nations* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982) II: 210-11.

[29] "Mémo," 3.

[30] "Mémo," 3.

[31] "Mémo," 2.

[32] There are six official languages in the United Nations: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. Delegates may give their speeches or request translation in any of these languages. However, official UN business is conducted in only two working languages: English and French. All documents issued by the Secretariat or the press office are available in these two languages.

[33] For example, on February 11, 1992, he cited Teilhard de Chardin in a speech to an UNCTAD meeting in Cartegena de Indias (*World Peace* 23: 2 [May 1992]: 1).

[34] They include, among others, Jean-Claude Aimé (Haiti), Chief of Staff; Françoise Cestac (France, Assistant Secretary-General for Conference Services; and Monique Corvington (Haiti), Chief of the Interpretation Service

[35] "Mémo," 2.

[36] *Lire*, 34.

[37] *Lire*, 34.

[38] Seventy nations within the UN use English as their working language.

[39] *Lire*, 34.

[40] These figures were provided in "Mémo," 2.

[41] *Lire*, 34.

[42] The United Nations offers courses in all six official languages, and encourages employees to study as many of them as possible. Upon passing a proficiency examination in any of these languages, except their own mother tongue, staff members receive a supplementary pay increase.

[43] After his election as Secretary-General, Boutros-Ghali had to resign many of these responsibilities, in order to avoid conflicts of interest.

[44] In 1986, he was awarded a second honorary doctorate by Sweden's Uppsala University.

[45] Founded in 1795 as a division of the "Institut," the "Classe des Sciences morales et politiques" was abolished in 1803 by Napoleon, and restored as a full-fledged "Académie" by Louis-Philippe in 1832. It is divided into 6 sections: philosophy; ethics and sociology; legislation, public law and jurisprudence; political economics, statistics and finance; history and geography; and general section. Each of these sections has 8 members, except the last which has 10 members.

Distinguished non-French citizens who have served as associate members of that prestigious organization include, among others, Jorge Luis Borges, Léopold Senghor, Andrei Sakharov, and King Juan Carlos of Spain.

[46] *The Atlanta Constitution*, A4.

[47] Boutros-Ghali's writings were quoted in "UN New Leader Favors Less Clout for Major Powers," *The Birmingham News* (January 2, 1992): A1 and 8.

[48] "Butros Gali," *El País* (20 January 1992): 8. Translation into English is my own.

[49] *The International Herald Tribune*, 8.

[50] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Le Mouvement afro-asiatique*, 39.

[51] In describing his commitment to socialism, Boutros-Ghali carefully notes that: "il faut distinguer le mouvement socialiste démocratique dans lequel je me reconnais, à l'instar d'hommes come B. Craxi, F. Gonzales ou F. Mitterrand, du socialisme marxiste . . . ces deux familles de pensée se sont de longue date différenciées et quelquefois opposées; je ne me suis jamais identifié qu'à la première" (letter from Boutros Boutros-Ghali to Samia I. Spencer, dated 31 July 1992).

[52] A discussion of the political conflicts facing the Secretary-General is outside the scope of the present article.

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[53] Max Harrelson, *Fires all Around the Horizons. The UN's Uphill Battle to Preserve the Peace* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 257. The author estimated the UN budget deficit to by $462 million, in 1986.

[54] United Nations Press Release SG/SM/4688 Rev. 2*, dated 22 January 1992, 2.

[55] United Nations Press Release SG/SM/4744 dated 5 May 1992, 2.

[56] Max Harrelson, 257.

[57] Press Release SG/SM/4688 Rev. 2*, 1.

[58] United Nations Press Release GA/8310 dated 2 March 1992, 10.

[59] Press Release SG/SM/4688/Rev. 2*, 3.

[60] Press Release GA/8310, 9.

[61] Press Release SG/SM/4744, 3.

[62] Although the Convention was adopted by the United Nations in 1979, only 54 nation against Women was adopted by the United Nations in 1979, only 54 states had deposited the necessary ratification giving the Convention binding force, by 1984. Women in 7 Arab nations—Kuwait, Bahrain, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Katar, Oman, and United Arab Emirates—continue to be deprived of the most basic political right, the right to vote.

Furthermore, it has been noted that development projects sponsored by UN agencies in Third World countries are often to the detriment of women: technologies, resources, and marketing possibilities are reserved for men, while women are limited to less rewarding activities. See R. J. Harrison, "Women's Rights: 1975-1985," *Global Issues in the United Nations' Framework*, Paul Taylor and A. J. R. Groom, eds (London: Macmillan, 1989), 240.

The world organization itself has not significantly increased the number of women in delegations to UN conferences or committees (Harrison, 236).

[63] Françoise Cestac was appointed Assistant Secretary-General for Conference Services (Secretary-General's Bulletin, ST/SGB/249, dated 16 March 1992, 2).

[64] Press Release GA/8310, 9

[65] Press Release GA/8310, 9-10.

[66] *The International Herald Tribune*, 8.

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18 November 1993

To: Directors, UNICs-UNIS-UNDP

From: Ahmad Fawzi, Deputy-Spokesman for the Secretary-General

Subject: Personal profile of the Secretary-General by Samia Spencer

The above article published by Auburn University in Contemporary French Civilization Vol. XVII, No 1 (1993) is being sent for your information and dissemination to the local press. Please distribute it as widely as possible, targeting academic and diplomatic journals, as well as the press.

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