

Remembering Boutros Boutros-Ghali

A Visionary Internationalist
and Global Leader

TRIBUTES AND REMINISCENCES



Editeurs

Federico Mayor / Negoslav Ostojić / Roberto Savio



EUROPEAN CENTER FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT
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En souvenir de Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Un Internationaliste Visionnaire
et un Leader Mondial

HOMMAGES ET RÉMINISCENCES

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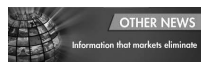
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Preface by the editors

The European Centre for Peace and Development (ECPD) University for Peace UN owes special gratitude to Boutros Boutros-Ghali for having accepted the invitation to be President of its Honorary Council (2004-2016). In spite of Boutros-Ghali's advanced age, health problems and limited ability to travel, he was able to offer advice, support and assistance in the work and activities of ECPD. His name as the President of the Honorary Council provided additional visibility to the Centre, creating long-term strategic and program orientation its work on reconciliation and cooperation between former Yugoslav republics as well as broader Balkan area and the ECPD's peace and development activities and mandate.

Indeed, if one were to sum up Boutros-Ghali's life and career, they revolved around the two major challenges confronting the international community, namely, peace and development. These were among Boutros Boutros-Ghali's principal objectives during his tenure as the UN Secretary-General and, indeed, were at the centre of his life's work and mission.

It is, therefore, not surprising that Boutros-Ghali affirmatively responded to the ECPD invitation. In doing so, he highlighted the global problems manifested in what had become of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was dismembered into independent states, a situation with which he was familiar and directly involved as the UN Secretary-General. It was the time of the internecine wars and conflicts leading to disintegration, which presaged similar developments in other countries. Boutros-Ghali was clearly ready to contribute to the process of reconciliation and cooperation championed and promoted by ECPD.

The Centre is very pleased to have the opportunity to publish this collection of tributes and reminiscences by a number of personalities who knew and worked with Boutros Boutros-Ghali during

his years in the multilateral arena and all of us as co-editors. This volume will be distributed, with the compliments of ECPD, to government institutions and international organizations. It will also be made available to a wider readership.

Federico Mayor

Negoslav Ostojić

Roberto Savio

To the many who have made this book possible

As a publishing institution which has prepared and published this volume, ECPD wishes to express its sincere gratitude to all who have made possible this book dedicated to **Boutros Boutros-Ghali** who was at the helm of the United Nations efforts during an important period in the history of humankind.

This volume is a fruit of collective work, and recognition is due to all those who made it possible.

Gratitude is especially due to those who wrote their own reminiscences of and tributes to **Boutros Boutros-Ghali**, and also to some authors and others for the support and very helpful advice they provided.

ECPD is deeply indebted to **Leia Boutros-Ghali** for approving the project and for co-signing, with **Roberto Savio**, the letter, on ECPD letter-head, inviting contributions and thus making it possible to launch the undertaking with family endorsement.

Roberto Savio, IPS President Emeritus, ECPD Director for International relations and Cooperation was the initiator and moving force of the idea for this book. He deserves very special recognition for this important contribution to the institutional history of the United Nations. His initiative, perseverance, and personal financial contribution were essential for the project to be completed with success.

Salvatore Altiero, included by Roberto Savio, did the invaluable, heavy-duty work, without which the book would not have been possible, that of contacting the potential contributors, enlisting them to write their contributions, and assembling the needed material. **Bradley Knopff**, undertook the English-language editing.

Henriette Njakuo, who worked with and assisted Boutros Boutros-Ghali beginning with his term in the International Organisation of La Francophonie until his passing, offered very valuable support in identifying and contacting contributors and assisting with issues and problems that arose during the work on the BBG book.

The **staff and external advisers of ECPD** offered continuous institutional backup, from the very early conceptual discussions, throughout the lengthy process of interaction and follow-up, and during the final stages of the assembling and organizing of the written contributions and photographs, the printing of the book and its distribution.

Particular recognition is owed to the **UN Department of Public Information, DPI**, and **Brenda Fong**, for assisting in the search in DPI Photo Gallery for photos for the book, and for the authorization for them to be used.

Finally, very special thanks go to the members of **ECPD Council**, for authorizing the Centre to engage as publisher in preparing, publishing and distributing the book, a decision that provided the venture with an institutional structure and backup which made it possible.

Thank you all!

Federico Mayor
President of ECPD Council

Negoslav Ostojic
ECPD Executive Director

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, a Legendary Figure

(1922–2016)

The world community is in need of genuine global leaders – leaders who are visionary at heart, who are not entwined in national or particular agendas or interests. The world community also needs leaders with a comprehensive understanding and knowledge of global problems and challenges.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali was such a leader – an outstanding international personality, an academic with a deep knowledge of politics, international relations and international law. From a national trajectory as a university professor and leading official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of his country Egypt, he proceeded to an international career at the pinnacle of the multilateral system as the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He went on to be the first Secretary-General of the International Organisation of La Francophonie. Boutros-Ghali continued being active and engaged on issues of global concern until the very end of his prolific and multifaceted career, including as the Chair of the UNESCO International Panel on Democracy and Development, President of the Curatorium of the Hague Academy of International Law, Chairman of the Board of the South Centre, President of the Honorary Council of the European Centre for Peace and Development University for Peace UN and President of the National Council for Human Rights of Egypt.

The purpose of this publication is not only to bring to light and record some less known aspects of Boutros-Ghali's career in the multilateral arena, but also, more importantly, to present him as an archetype of a global leader without power, without resources or the backing of a powerful country – a global leader who nevertheless relies on experience, vision and enlightened ideas to project leadership. In some circles, this earned Boutros-Ghali the label of an idealist and utopian internationalist, these being considered as derogatory qualities in a world dominated by hard-core realities of raw power and deal-making.

Boutros-Ghali ultimately refused to surrender to these realities and continued to advocate his ideas, including the need for the democratization of the international political and economic system, most of which ideas were ignored or blocked in the UN. Indeed, Boutros-Ghali in many ways reflected and sincerely believed in the high goals that had inspired the creation of the United Nations, processes of decolonization and national liberation and the continuing collective struggle of the developing countries - the Global South - for a systemic change and new world order. Yet, to be able to function and survive in the existing global power constellation, he also had to adjust to this multilateral environment. Nevertheless, his not being sufficiently pliable cost him a possible second term as the UN Secretary-General.

Boutros-Ghali was a rather unique UN Secretary-General, the only one, after Dag Hammarskjöld and his "Markings", who wrote articles and books analyzing his own experiences and drawing broader conclusions of relevance for international relations, international law and international organizations in what continues to be a fractured and increasingly conflict-ridden international community.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Lea Maria Boutros-Ghali

A letter written by Leia Boutros-Ghali, the widow of Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and co-signed by Roberto Savio, Chairman Emeritus of Inter Press Service (IPS) and old friend of the family, inviting a number of personalities to make a contribution to this publication reads: "...the book would be a tapestry woven by different people, out of which a portrait would emerge".

This volume is published by the European Centre for Peace and Development to honor the late President of its Honorary Council and contribute to a lasting memory of the role he played on the world stage and the intellectual legacy left by this remarkable personality. It is a subject that merits academic study and policy attention, in particular within the United Nations system and in the developing countries, or the "Third World", the universe from which Boutros Boutros-Ghali himself originated.

Roberto Savio

Boutros-Ghali and the Group Of 77: The Legacy of Development Diplomacy

Ahmia, Mourad*

Boutros Boutros-Ghali served as Secretary-General of the United Nations from January 1992 to December 1996 and was the first one to hail from Africa. During his five year tenure the Group of 77 in New York was chaired successively by: Pakistan, Colombia, Algeria, the Philippines and Costa Rica.

Under his leadership, the United Nations initiated a series of international conferences which have shaped an agenda for development, beginning with the Earth Summit in Rio in June 1992, followed by the Human Rights Conference in Vienna in June 1993; the UN Conference on Small Island Developing States (SIDS) in Barbados in April-May 1994; the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in September 1994; the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in March 1995; the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995; and the UN Conference on Human Settlements in Istanbul in June 1996.

That legacy continued into the next few decades, long after he left the UN, in the follow-up international conferences, the most recent being Rio plus 20 in June 2012 and ICPD plus 20 in New York in September 2014.

These conferences were stepping stones for the UN's future agenda for the 21st century, including the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), adopted by world leaders in New York in September 2015, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda adopted in the

* Mourad Ahmia is an Algerian career diplomat, who has been affiliated with the United Nations and the Group of 77 in New York since 1990 and served in various capacities in both organizations. He has been serving as the first Executive Secretary of the Group of 77 since 2000.

Ethiopian capital in July 2015 and the historic Climate Change agreement in Paris in 2016.

But perhaps his most memorable report was the 19-page *Agenda for Development* submitted in May 1994 under Algeria's Chairmanship of the Group of 77, prepared in response to a General Assembly resolution at the 47th session in December 1992 at the initiative of the Group of 77.

The presentation of the report led Boutros-Ghali to open a direct dialogue and consultation process with the Group of 77 which no previous Secretary-General had done before and set a pattern for the future which has lasted to this day. Succeeding Secretaries-General have continued the tradition initiated by Boutros-Ghali to address the Group throughout their tenures and to maintain a regular interactive dialogue with the Group.

One of Boutros-Ghali's lasting contributions to the developing world was his vision for development and his relentless faith in the Group of 77.

"It was, precisely, at the request of the United Nations General Assembly that I prepared the "Agenda for Development", which should make it possible to give a fresh impetus and a new direction to United Nations action in this area."

As he pointed out at the annual meeting of the chairpersons of the Group of 77 chapters on 25 May 1994 in New York under Algeria's Chairmanship, the Group was the originator of the major texts on which international development diplomacy is based.

"The road travelled by your Group has been long – from the 1967 Charter of Algiers to the 1971 Lima Programme, from the Manila Declaration to the 1976 Mexico Conference, from the Arusha Programme to the Buenos Aires Platform – but it has led to the emergence of what now constitute the bases of United Nations action for development", he told the Group of 77.

At that meeting, Boutros-Ghali articulated his vision of development thus: "I hope it is now generally accepted that development is something quite different from more or less assisted economic growth. Rather, it is both a complex process and a global phenomenon. Its complexity lies in the wide range of situations that must be taken into account in the perspective of development. We all realize that development cannot be guided

along a single, uniform path, but must be thoroughly adapted to the diversity of societies, peoples and cultures. Development is also, however, a global phenomenon which cannot be reduced to a single economic dimension, being built as it is on other pillars as well, such as peace, environment, social justice and democracy."

"We have now entered the era of uncertainty. Uncertainty as to the values that are the basis of our collective future. Uncertainty as to the institutions that structure our social life. From all societies, whatever their level of development, whatever their traditions, there emanates a diffuse feeling of fear of the future", he declared.

He warned, as far back as June 1994, that the gap between the rich countries and the poor countries was ever widening. Addressing a Special Ministerial Meeting to mark the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Group of 77, Boutros-Ghali said:

"I should like everyone to be convinced that development is something quite different from simple economic growth, guided to a greater or lesser degree. Development is a complex process and a global phenomenon. Its complexity is due to the extreme variety of situations. Development does not take place along a single uniform path. It must be thoroughly adapted to the diversity of societies, peoples and cultures. However, development is also a global phenomenon which cannot be reduced to its merely economic dimension and which includes other major components such as peace, environment, social justice and democracy."

"More than ever, the cause of development and the developing countries must be upheld by energetic advocates, energetic and united. The cohesion and coordination of efforts are essential to this end", he asserted.

Addressing the role and contribution of of the Group of 77 at the UN, he declared: "Once again, I should like to stress the importance which I attach to the contribution of the Group of 77 to this thinking process. As I have said, you have already shown in the past how much the developing countries can do to steer the major objectives of the international community in a new direction. It is your duty today to draw the world's attention to the

fact that the need for development remains an absolute priority for the international community."

He further said: "I cannot overemphasize the importance that I attach to the contribution of the Group of 77. I have said it in the past: you have managed to show that the developing countries are capable of reorienting the great objectives of the community of nations. To date, you have the power and the duty to remind the world that the imperative of an integrated development is one of the great priorities of the international community."

In 2014, reflecting on the 50th anniversary of the Group of 77, Boutros-Ghali wrote in his *UN Chronicle* article entitled *The G-77: An Essential Element of Democratization*: "I see the G-77 as a symbol of the quest for and an essential element of the democratization of international relations, of the United Nations and of the UN system. It is a vehicle to give a voice and influence to developing countries, the overwhelming majority of which remain marginal on the world scene and do not have individually the power or importance to be heard and paid attention to, and even less to have an impact on what happens in world affairs."

As this year marks the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the Charter of Algiers by the First Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 held in Algiers, Algeria in October 1967, it is a fitting memory of Boutros-Ghali's spirit, vision, commitment and legacy to the developing world and the cause of development.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali at a special ministerial meeting of the Group of 77, 24 June 1994

Hommage a Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Badinter, Robert*

J'ai eu le privilège de rencontrer Boutros Boutros-Ghali maintes fois à Paris, à New York ou au Caire pendant trois décennies. Il était dans le domaine du droit international public ce que l'on appelle "un homme pour toutes les saisons", selon la formule désignant le grand Thomas More. Comme lui, Boutros Boutros-Ghali a réuni au long de sa carrière les vertus qui font l'universitaire, l'intellectuel et l'homme d'Etat.

Professeur à l'université du Caire, Docteur en droit international de l'université de Paris, Docteur *honoris causa* de nombreuses universités sur trois continents, fondateur et animateur de revues juridiques, il a enseigné les principes du droit international public à des milliers d'étudiants et contribué, par ses conférences et ses écrits, au rayonnement de la culture juridique égyptienne bien au-delà du monde arabe. Qui n'a pas entendu les applaudissements et les ovations debout d'un public étudiant à la fin d'une conférence au Caire, ne connaît pas l'enthousiasme et l'admiration que suscitait l'enseignement du Professeur Boutros-Ghali.

Mais au-delà du grand universitaire, il y avait l'homme d'action, l'homme d'Etat qui a tant servi dans ses fonctions la cause de la paix. Comme ministre égyptien des affaires étrangères, Boutros Boutros-Ghali a été l'un des artisans des accords de paix signés par Sadate et Begin en 1979, qui demeurent encore aujourd'hui l'instrument le plus précieux d'une relative stabilisation internationale dans cette région du monde, plus ravagée que pacifiée par les passions nationalistes et religieuses.

C'est sur la scène internationale que Boutros Boutros-Ghali a donné toute sa mesure. En janvier 1992, il est appelé à la

* Robert Badinter is a lawyer and university professor. As Minister of Justice (1981-1986), he helped to abolish the death penalty in France. He also was President of the Constitutional Council (1986-1995) and member of the Senate (1995-2011).

plus haute fonction internationale, celle de Secrétaire général des Nations Unies. Il y jouera un rôle éminent en inspirant notamment l'Agenda pour la Paix, expression la plus aboutie de la diplomatie préventive. Il réunit en 1993 à Vienne la première réunion mondiale sur les droits de l'homme depuis celle de 1948 à Paris. Grâce à son ardeur et à sa force de conviction, la "Déclaration de Vienne" qui proclamait l'universalité, l'indivisibilité et l'interdépendance de tous les droits de l'homme, qu'il s'agisse de droits civils, politiques ou économiques et sociaux, fut adoptée par les 171 Etats membres. Boutros-Ghali se montrait ainsi le continuateur de René Cassin, même si les Etats-Unis refusèrent de prendre part au vote. Pour renforcer l'action des Nations Unies, il fit aussi voter la création du Haut-commissariat aux droits de l'homme qui, en dépit de la faiblesse de ses moyens, participe activement au combat permanent pour la défense des droits de l'homme dans le monde.

Mais les Etats-Unis voyaient d'un œil soupçonneux l'action de Boutros-Ghali, dont les vues internationalistes se heurtaient à l'interventionnisme américain notamment au Proche-Orient. Ils s'opposèrent donc à la reconduction en 1997 de son mandat à la tête des Nations Unies.

A l'initiative du Président Mitterrand, qui nourrissait pour Boutros-Ghali admiration et confiance, celui-ci fut nommé Secrétaire général de la Francophonie. Sa maîtrise absolue de la langue française, autant que la connaissance de notre culture, le qualifiaient pour cette fonction qu'il exerça avec bonheur et succès jusqu'en 2002. Parallèlement, son goût pour l'art littéraire l'amena à écrire des ouvrages qui connurent auprès du public cultivé un constant succès. Par ailleurs, son activité académique se poursuivait, toujours au service de la cause des droits de l'homme qu'il a soutenue avec tant d'éclat tout au long de sa vie.

Pour moi comme pour tous ses amis à travers le monde, Boutros-Ghali et son épouse Leia furent des amis fidèles. J'admirais Boutros pour sa culture, son talent et sa force de conviction. Il était un grand seigneur du Droit international, un fervent combattant de la cause des droits de l'homme et surtout un homme de cœur et de conviction. Il repose au modeste Panthéon de ma mémoire parmi les combattants inlassables des justes causes. Merci, cher Boutros, pour ces moments exceptionnels que tu m'as fait partager et pour l'exemple que tu laisses aux jeunes générations.

L'académie de droit International de la Haye Et M. Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Bardonnnet, Daniel* (1931 – 2004)

- Tous les internationalistes savent l'attachement que le Dédicataire de ces pages a toujours porté à l'Académie. Dans le message personnel, vibrant et émouvant, qu'il a adressé, lors de la remise à Paris, au siège de l'UNESCO, le 18 mai 1993, du Prix Félix Houphouët-Boigny pour la recherche de la Paix à l'Académie de droit international de La Haye, M. Boutros-Ghali pouvait rappeler qu'ainsi était récompensé "un lieu de savoir, un espace de liberté et une institution chère à [son] cœur". A cette même occasion, il a évoqué "le long compagnonnage" qui l'avait uni, tout au long de sa vie, à l'Académie.

Pendant près d'un demi-siècle en effet, du jeune auditeur venu à quatre reprises, de 1952 à 1955, au Palais de la Paix, au membre du Curatorium qui inaugurera, en l'an 2000, la session des cours d'été, le nom de M. Boutros-Ghali se trouve associé, d'une manière ou d'une autre, à l'Académie. Aussi bien, voudrait-on montrer, dans ce Liber Amicorum, comment celui qui, tour à tour, a été professeur de droit international à l'Université du Caire, Ministre d'Etat pour les affaires étrangères, Secrétaire général de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et qui, pour l'heure, est Secrétaire général de la Francophonie, a contribué au rayonnement de l'Académie. Ce qu'il a fait aussi bien dans le cadre de

* Daniel Bardonnnet, Professeur émérite à l'Université de Paris II, Secrétaire général de l'Académie de Droit International de La Haye. Juge au Tribunal européen pour l'énergie nucléaire (1990-95), Secrétaire général (1985-99), Membre du curatorium (depuis 1999) de l'Académie de droit international de La Haye, et Membre de l'Institut de droit international (depuis 1987)..

ses diverses activités d'enseignement que dans celui de ses instances de réflexion et de direction qu'il a toujours inspirées d'une pensée dont on connaît la générosité et le sens de la prospective.

- Cet hommage s'insère tout naturellement, l'année précisément où est commémoré le 75^e anniversaire de l'Académie, dans un bref rappel de quelques aspects de l'histoire, de la structure et de la mission d'une composante de l'architecture internationale de la ville de La Haye. Chargée de l'enseignement et de la recherche dans le domaine du droit des gens sur le plan international; l'Académie y accompagne un faisceau d'institutions prestigieuses comme, dans l'ordre juridictionnel, la Cour permanente d'Arbitrage, la Cour internationale de Justice ou le Tribunal pénal international pour l'ex-Yougoslavie et, parmi les Organisations internationales, la Conférence de droit international privé ou l'Organisation pour l'interdiction des armes chimiques: Toutes institutions qui, chacune dans son domaine propre, ont un objectif commun, la poursuite de la paix et de la justice au sein de la Communauté internationale, laquelle est bien la raison d'être de l'Académie.

I.

- Il est à peine nécessaire de rappeler que le projet d'une Académie de droit international a pris corps au cours de la seconde Conférence de la Paix qui s'était tenue à La Haye en 1907. On y avait transposé une suggestion d'Otfried Nippold, alors professeur à l'Université de Berne, de créer une "haute école de droit international" siégeant à proximité de la Cour permanente d'Arbitrage. A cette époque, en effet, on pensait volontiers que la paix du monde résulterait spontanément du règne du droit et que le recours à la justice était capable d'éliminer la guerre.

L'Institut de droit international, créé en 1873, avait pris pour devise "Justitia et Pace". L'International Law Association, instituée la même année, s'assignait pour tâche de développer la connaissance du droit international dans les milieux juridiques les plus divers. Les Universités, pour leur part, enseignaient que l'arbitrage serait le remède-miracle

qui résorberait toutes les tensions internationales et qu'il convenait par conséquent de le rendre obligatoire. La paix et la sécurité par le droit: tel était le slogan de l'époque.

- Les deux guerres mondiales et la Charte des Nations Unies elle-même se sont chargées de dissiper ces illusions et personne ne doute aujourd'hui que la paix est la condition préalable au règne du droit et de la justice dans les relations internationales. L'article 1^{er} par. 1^{er} de la Charte témoigne de cette philosophie réaliste puisqu'il mentionne, en tout premier lieu; parmi les buts de l'Organisation mondiale, "le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales" et ne cite qu'ensuite le respect du droit comme un des moyens, parmi d'autres, au service de cette fin suprême.

Dans le même sens, le 30 juin 1992, six mois après avoir pris ses fonctions de Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, M. Boutros-Ghali pouvait rappeler, dans l'introduction à son Agenda pour la paix, sa vision de la hiérarchie entre les "objectifs premiers" de la Charte, dans des termes qu'il faut citer: "Une Organisation des Nations Unies capable de maintenir la paix et la sécurité internationales, d'assurer la justice et le respect des droits de l'homme ainsi que ... de favoriser le progrès social et d'instaurer de meilleures conditions de vie dans une liberté plus grande".

- Il n'en était pas de même en 1907 et c'est dans l'ambiance idéaliste de l'époque que les statuts de l'Académie ont été élaborés, sous l'impulsion notamment du grand juriste hollandais que fut Asser, Prix Nobel de la Paix en 1911, et à la faveur d'une étroite collaboration entre l'Institut de droit international, la Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix internationale et le Gouvernement néerlandais. En janvier 1914, alors que s'était tenue à Paris sous la présidence de Louis Renault – qui avait été le lauréat de Prix Nobel de la Paix en 1907 – la première réunion du Curatorium, l'Académie existait juridiquement et elle s'apprêtait à fonctionner effectivement lorsqu'a éclaté la première guerre mondiale. Cette brusque revanche de la "Realpolitik" sur le droit n'a eu raison cependant ni de la foi dans le droit international des initiateurs de l'entreprise, ni de la ténacité du Gouvernement néerlandais. Inaugurée le 14 juillet 1923, dans la grande salle d'audience de la Cour permanente de Justice

internationale, l'Académie organisait, cette même année, sa première session de cours à laquelle prenaient part quelque 300 auditeurs provenant de 31 Etats.

Près de trois quarts de siècle plus tard, en juillet et août 1997, près de 600 auditeurs provenant de 102 Etats se réunissaient dans le bâtiment familial à tous les internationalistes, relié par un passage couvert à la Bibliothèque du Palais de la Paix. Ainsi, chaque année, l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies peut saluer, comme elle l'a fait tout spécialement, pendant "la décennie du droit international", la contribution de l'Académie "à l'enseignement, l'étude, la diffusion et une compréhension plus large du droit international".

II.

6. Quant à la structure de l'Académie, telle qu'elle a été fixée dans ses Statuts, adoptés à Paris le 27 janvier 1914, elle est à la fois simple et légère. Elle est en effet dirigée par deux organes, le Curatorium et le Conseil d'Administration.
7. Le Curatorium est l'organe suprême chargé, ainsi que le précise l'article 5 par. 1er des Statuts, de la "direction scientifique" de l'institution. A ce titre, il arrête les programmes, choisit les thèmes des cours et sélectionne les professeurs parmi les universitaires les plus éminents ou les praticiens jouissant de la plus grande notoriété internationale. Le Curatorium, aujourd'hui présidé par M. Nicolas Valticos, ancien Sous-Directeur Général du BIT et Juge à la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, compte 17 membres, tous de nationalité différente, parmi lesquels se trouvent des personnalités prestigieuses dans le domaine académique, judiciaire et diplomatique. C'est en 1982 que M. Boutros-Ghali fut appelé à y siéger et il a participé aux réunions du Curatorium avec une fidélité exemplaire, même lorsqu'il assumait les plus hautes responsabilités internationales. Les noms qui ont illustré le Curatorium se pressent à l'esprit. On citera seulement, parmi ceux qui nous ont quittés, James Brown Scott ou Politis, Anzilotti ou Max Huber, Gidel ou Mc Nair, Van Kleffens, Scelle ou Charles De Visscher, Jessup, Verdross ou Fitzmaurice, Ago,

Jimenez de Arechaga ou Ruda, Paul De Visscher ou René-Jean Dupuy, tous les deux récemment disparus. Il convient d'ajouter que le Curatorium, nomme un Secrétaire général de l'Académie qui, conformément à l'article 7 par.1^{er} des Statuts, "remplit les fonctions scientifiques".

8. Aux côtés du Curatorium, siège un Conseil d'Administration aujourd'hui présidé par M. Royer, ancien Président de la Cour suprême des Pays-Bas et composé de 7 membres, tous de nationalité néerlandaise. Il gère, avec l'aide du Trésorier qui est en même temps Directeur de la Fondation Carnegie néerlandaise, le patrimoine de l'Académie et veille à assurer le financement de ses activités. Le Conseil a toujours compté, parmi ses membres, des personnalités de tout premier plan du monde politique, diplomatique, économique et scientifique. Comme pour le Curatorium, les noms se pressent à l'esprit et on évoquera seulement, parmi les disparus, le Premier Ministre De Quay, le Ministre des Affaires étrangères Van Roijen, le bâtonnier Bisdorn ou le professeur François. Le choix de telles personnalités au sein du Conseil d'Administration témoigne de l'intérêt que porte à l'Académie le Gouvernement des Pays-Bas.

III.

6. Ainsi organisée, l'Académie constitue, comme le précise article 2 de ses Statuts, "un centre de hautes études de droit international (public et privé) et des sciences connexes, pour faciliter l'examen approfondi et impartial des questions se rattachant aux rapports juridiques internationaux".

Institution purement scientifique, l'Académie n'est pas une université. Comme l'avait précisé une circulaire du Curatorium, portée à la connaissance des Etats au printemps 1923 par les soins du Ministère néerlandais des Affaires étrangères, "l'Académie ne se présente pas comme une doublure, encore moins comme une concurrente des universités. Elle ambitionne au contraire la même œuvre de lumière et de progrès sur un terrain et avec des moyens d'action qui ne sont pas les leurs".

L'Académie est en effet un centre d'enseignement post-graduate, un foyer de recherches qui demeure résolument international et pluraliste par la composition de son Curatorium, mais aussi par la composition de son corps de professeurs et de ses auditoires. Par ailleurs, comme l'a très précisément souligné M. Boutros-Ghali dans son message déjà cité du 18 mai 1993, "l'enseignement qui se dispense à l'Académie est une véritable école de liberté. Liberté de l'esprit, liberté de méthode, liberté de fonctionnement". C'est cet esprit de liberté qui irrigue les activités de l'Académie, qui se sont, au cours des temps, progressivement diversifiées.

- A. 10.** Ce sont d'abord naturellement les cours d'été, en juillet-août, chaque année, délivrés en français ou en anglais avec traduction simultanée, qui correspondent à deux sessions de trois semaines chacune, la première de droit international privé, la seconde de droit international public.

A plusieurs reprises, M. Boutros-Ghali a été invité, dans le cadre de ces sessions, à délivrer des enseignements. En 1960 il a donné un premier cours spécial sur "Le principe d'égalités Etats et les Organisations internationales", dans lequel il a su montrer, ébauchant ainsi une idée à laquelle il demeurera toujours attaché, lorsqu'il aura les plus grandes responsabilités mondiales, que ce principe est "en définitive lié à l'idée de démocratie internationale". Invité à nouveau en 1972, il donnera une analyse lucide de "La Ligue des Etats arabes". En l'an 2000, dans le contexte d'une session que le Curatorium souhaite exemplaire, afin d'y dresser le bilan et les perspectives du droit international, au seuil du nouveau millénaire, en raison de son exceptionnelle expérience de la vie internationale, le soin de prononcer une conférence inaugurale, dans le cadre de la session de droit international public, dans laquelle il procédera à une réflexion sur les idéologies, la morale, la politique et le droit international.

- 11.** Sur le plan scientifique, ces cours se caractérisent par la diversité des thèses et des opinions. L'Académie n'a pas de doctrine sinon, comme l'a dit le professeur René-Jean Dupuy, "celle d'être ouverte à toutes celles qui s'efforcent d'expliquer et de développer le droit des gens". Pendant

les 75 années d'existence de l'Académie, de profondes mutations ont en effet marqué la société internationale et le *Recueil des Cours* publié chaque année depuis 1923, sous réserve d'une interruption pendant la seconde guerre mondiale, constitue un "témoin scientifique" de ces transformations. C'est-à-dire que ce *Recueil*, qui compte aujourd'hui quelque 265 volumes rassemblant plus de 11000 cours constitue, à lui seul, "une véritable bibliothèque de droit international". Il est vraiment "l'épine dorsale de l'Académie". Aucun juriste ne pourra parler, à l'avenir, du droit international au XXe siècle, sans se référer au *Recueil*; expression même de l'œuvre de l'Académie, dont on peut considérer qu'elle fait partie intégrante de l'histoire du droit international.

Les auteurs de la préface du premier volume du *Recueil* assuraient avec confiance que "La vaste collection qui est ainsi inaugurée constituera un instrument de travail incomparable et, on peut le dire, un monument unique dans la littérature du droit international, public et privé. Tous les problèmes importants de ces sciences s'y trouveront examinés au fur et à mesure qu'ils donneront lieu à des enseignement à l'Académie". Sans hésiter, on peut considérer que la confiance des pionniers dans l'avenir de cette aventure scientifique était amplement justifiée et que l'évaluation donnée par Philip Jessup en 1960, c'est-à-dire à mi-parcours, est tout aussi vraie en cette fin de siècle: "Where else then in the... *Recueil des Cours* will one find equivalent record of the best thought of the scholars and statesmen of any nations on the actualities of international law, its nature, its history, its usefulness and its defects, its procedures and organizational forms? It has been a rewarding experience, individually and collectively, for the successive generations of auditors who heard these lectures delivered".

12. Il faut ajouter, comme l'a justement souligné M. Boutros-Ghali, dans son message déjà cité du 18 mai 1993, que "l'Académie n'a cessé de s'ouvrir au monde". De session en session, grâce à un système de bourses instauré notamment en faveur des juristes provenant des Pays du Tiers Monde, "la jeunesse de toutes les nations" vient,

de plus en plus nombreuse, suivre les enseignements de l'Académie. Etudiants avancés, jeunes universitaires, mais aussi diplomates, magistrats, avocats, fonctionnaires internationaux se retrouvent à La Haye. Ils y découvrent la diversité des méthodes d'enseignement tout comme la diversité des conceptions et des points de vue dans l'étude des rapports juridiques internationaux. Ils y approfondissent leurs recherches en cours dans l'admirable Bibliothèque du Palais de la Paix. L'Académie apparaît à leurs yeux non seulement comme un moyen de parfaire leurs connaissances juridiques, mais aussi comme un moyen de découverte des autres. Des contacts, des amitiés se nouent entre ces jeunes juristes qui se retrouveront plus tard dans les réunions de l'AAA, dans les instances internationales, voire dans les prétoires internationaux. Leurs études communes des règles du droit de la paix, leurs souvenirs communs de l'Académie, qu'ils ne manqueront pas d'évoquer, donneront alors toute une dimension humaine à leurs activités professionnelles.

B. 13. A la suite des sessions de cours, depuis plus de 40 ans, se déroule, chaque été, au Palais de la Paix, la seconde activité principale de l'Académie, le Centre d'étude et de recherche en droit international et relations internationales. Créé en 1957, le Centre a ainsi donné une dimension nouvelle à l'Académie, celle de la recherche. Il réunit en effet, pendant un mois, 24 chercheurs – 12 francophones et 12 anglophones – hautement qualifiés par leur maturité intellectuelle et le niveau de leurs connaissances juridiques. Chacun des participants, sélectionnés avec soin, prépare, sous la direction de deux professeurs ou praticiens, spécialistes du thème choisi par le Curatorium, un rapport, étant entendu que, lorsque les meilleures contributions sont suffisamment nombreuses et forment un ensemble cohérent, un ouvrage collectif peut être publié par l'Académie.

14. M. Boutros-Ghali a toujours témoigné d'un intérêt particulier pour le Centre. A deux reprises, en 1963 et en 1964, il a été appelé à le diriger. Par ailleurs, en 1973, dans Livre jubilaire, il a publié une étude fouillée sur le Centre, son histoire, son fonctionnement et son œuvre. Il y a montré

que cette activité de l'Académie suscitait "une véritable pépinière de juristes internationaux et de diplomates et constituait une formation unique en son genre" pour le plus grand bénéfice de chercheurs de formation diverse et provenant de toutes les parties du monde.

15. Par cette activité, stimulante sur le plan scientifique, l'Académie apparaît comme un instrument d'expérimentation particulièrement fécond. Le Centre lui permet en effet d'assumer, dans le domaine de la recherche, l'un des aspects essentiels de sa mission, ce que René-Jean Dupuy appelait justement sa fonction de "révélation" et parfois même "d'anticipation". Ainsi, pour n'en donner qu'un exemple, le Centre 1995 a porté sur «Le droit international des catastrophes naturelles et industrielles», matière pratiquement inexplorée et il débouchera sur la publication prochaine d'un important ouvrage collectif, qui constituera la première étude d'ensemble sur le sujet. Il pourrait en être de même du Centre 1998 qui portera sur les "Incidences juridiques des télécommunications globales", sujet d'une grande actualité, mais encore mal défriché.

- C. 16.** Cette contribution de l'Académie au développement du droit international se retrouve dans sa troisième activité principale, inaugurée en 1968. Il s'agit des colloques, organisés de façon intermittente, auxquels le Curatorium a toujours été soucieux de donner un caractère prospectif de laboratoire d'idées, dont on ne donnera que deux exemples.

Ainsi le colloque de 1983, qui a porté sur "L'avenir du droit international dans un monde multiculturel", a-t-il été particulièrement brillant. C'est à cette occasion qu'a été affirmée l'idée que l'humanité en péril "pourrait se mettre à la poursuite de son avenir à travers des cultures diverses qui, toutes, se reconnaîtraient une vocation universelle", le droit international de la cohabitation se substituant au droit international de la coexistence. On fera également mention du colloque de 1996 sur l'O.P.C.W. qui a bien mis en lumière le caractère novateur de la Convention de Paris du 13 janvier 1993, dans l'entreprise multilatérale du désarmement, instaurant une véritable maîtrise internationale sur

l'ensemble d'une activité industrielle, susceptible de servir de modèle dans d'autres domaines du désarmement.

- D. 17.** Le même esprit de liberté et de respect se retrouve tout naturellement dans la quatrième activité majeure de l'Académie qu'est le Programme extérieur. Il a été créé en 1969, sur les recommandations d'un "groupe d'Etudes" que présidait le regretté Wolfgang Friedmann et qui réunissait M. Boutros-Ghali, Dupuy, Jennings, Oda et Van Panhuys, précisément à l'instigation du Dédicataire de ces pages.

En instituant les sessions extérieures, l'Académie élargissait son champ d'action, puisque, pour la première fois dans son histoire, elle quittait le Palais de la Paix pour aller vers le monde. En effet, quelles que soient les facilités et les bourses dont peuvent éventuellement bénéficier les jeunes internationalistes non-européens, il était évident que la localisation de l'Académie à La Haye constituait un handicap pour les auditeurs potentiels en provenance des autres continents. Parce qu'elle était consciente du fait qu'elle ne pouvait plus se contenter d'accueillir ses auditeurs d'outre-mer, l'Académie a décidé d'aller à leur rencontre.

18. C'est ainsi que, depuis bientôt 30 ans, le Curatorium organise, chaque année, à tour de rôle en Afrique, en Asie et en Amérique latine, un enseignement de deux semaines dans le cadre duquel est intensifiée l'étude du droit international, tout en privilégiant l'approche et les perspectives régionales.

A deux reprises, M. Boutros-Ghali a participé aux Programmes extérieurs de l'Académie. Il était présent, en 1969, à Rabat, où s'est déroulée la première session de ce genre et où l'auteur de ces lignes a eu le privilège de le rencontrer. Alors professeur à l'Université du Caire, M. Boutros-Ghali y a donné, en compagnie des professeurs Dupuy et Luchaire, ainsi que du regretté Edward Hambro, ambassadeur permanent de Norvège auprès des Nations Unies, une série de conférences sur le droit de la coopération et du développement. Par la suite en 1984, alors que Boutros-Ghali était Ministre d'Etat pour les Affaires

étrangères, il a solennellement ouvert, à l'Institut diplomatique, la session du Caire.

19. Cette activité de l'Académie, réservée à de jeunes professeurs de droit international et à des fonctionnaires des relations extérieures, en provenance des divers pays de la région considérée, admis à titre personnel par le Curatorium sur la base de critères exclusivement scientifiques, s'est toujours poursuivie avec un grand succès.

Des sessions de ce genre se sont tenues, en 1996, en Abidjan où les participants provenaient des pays francophones de l'Afrique de l'Ouest et, en 1997, à Hanoï, regroupant des juristes des Pays de l'ASEAN et de Chine. Un programme extérieur de l'Académie sera organisé, dans le courant de l'année 1998, à Montevideo.

20. Ainsi l'Académie –que M. Boutros-Ghali a "suprêmement" servie, avec efficacité, brio et générosité – a-t-elle participé, comme il l'a si bien dit, "à la grande aventure du droit international".

Tout au long de son histoire, dans l'exercice de chacune de ses activités, on retrouve le même objectif: donner une analyse fidèle de la réalité internationale, révéler les insuffisances de l'organisation juridique internationale, ses faiblesses institutionnelles et, au-delà de la critique, rechercher de possibles améliorations. Mais, il faut le répéter, l'Académie n'est pas une "école" de pensée, elle n'est rattachée à aucune doctrine, à aucun système. Ainsi a-t-elle essayé, au fil des années, de demeurer fidèle aux vœux de ses promoteurs, de demeurer un cadre de rencontres, un lieu d'amitié où peuvent être développées toutes les analyses, toutes les suggestions susceptibles de favoriser le développement du droit international, au service de la Paix.

L'Académie a toujours contribué à affirmer – ce qui a toujours été l'une des idées maîtresses du Dédicataire de ces Mélanges – "le rôle fondamental que doit jouer le droit international", car le Droit est "la poutre porteuse" de la structure de la Communauté des Etats et le développement des acquis de cette Communauté ne peut qu'aller de pair avec les progrès du droit qu'elle exprime. L'Académie

contribue également à faire comprendre que le droit international n'est pas une discipline purement technique, aride et figée, mais comme pouvait le souligner le Juge Ago qui fut, pendant de longues années, Président du Curatorium, qu'il s'agit d' "une matière vivante, qui vit dans la chair de l'histoire. Cela ne veut pas dire seulement qu'elle évolue constamment avec l'Histoire, cela veut aussi dire qu'elle a une âme".



With H. E. Federico Mayor

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, UN Style et une Vision

Berthelot, Yves*

En arrivant aux Nations Unies, Boutros Boutros-Ghali a apporté un style, le long terme et la diversité.

Le style, celui d'un homme extrêmement raffiné et cultivé, héritier d'une civilisation de quatre millénaires, qui se heurtera, comme l'écrira un journaliste, à l' "american crassness" incarnée par Madeleine Albright; celui d'un intellectuel qui aime le débat et qui, dès son arrivée, transforme la réunion des chefs de Département du secrétariat, où, traditionnellement, se succédaient des monologues insipides, en un échange qu'il relançait avec humour.

Le long terme, la démarche d'un homme qui veut donner une perspective à son action. Ce seront les trois agendas: l'*Agenda pour la paix* afin de prévenir les conflits et de construire la paix, l'*Agenda pour le développement* afin de réduire l'écart entre le Nord et le Sud et l'*Agenda pour la démocratisation* afin de promouvoir la démocratie tant à l'intérieur des Etats que dans les relations entre Etats. Démarche qui se heurte à la "tyrannie de l'urgence" à laquelle sont confrontés tous les décideurs politiques qui doivent parer au plus pressé par nécessité, mais qui le font trop souvent sans pouvoir se référer à un objectif de long terme pour guider leur action.

The UN Intellectual History Project a interviewé quelques soixante-dix des personnalités qui avaient façonné les Nations Unies dans la seconde moitié du XX^{ème} siècle. Boutros Boutros-Ghali en faisait bien entendu partie et j'ai eu le privilège de passer deux journées à son domicile parisien pour recueillir son témoignage. Il en a fait un livre *Démocratiser la mondialisation*. Relisant

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ce livre, j'ai mieux ressenti combien il était meurtri de ce que l'Agenda pour la démocratisation, qu'il considérait comme son message essentiel, ait été ignoré.

L'Agenda pour la paix fut une demande du Conseil de Sécurité; l'Agenda pour le développement une demande de l'Assemblée Générale pour calmer les inquiétudes des pays du Tiers Monde – "qui craignaient que l'accroissement du rôle du Conseil de sécurité en matière de maintien de la paix ... soit la porte ouverte à toutes sortes d'ingérences ... et contribue à dédouaner l'ONU de ses responsabilités concernant l'aide au développement"; l'Agenda pour la démocratisation fut une initiative personnelle du Secrétaire Général. Il fut félicité par le Conseil de sécurité pour le premier Agenda; les Etats membres ont jugé le second trop théorique, manquant de recommandations pratiques et concrètes; le troisième présenté deux semaines avant son départ fut, selon ses propres termes, "évacué" une semaine après.

Bien entendu, l'Agenda pour la démocratisation est intimement lié aux deux autres: paix, développement et démocratie sont trois objectifs interdépendants. Boutros Boutros-Ghali se plait à en montrer à la fois la réalité et la complexité: "Le développement et la démocratie ne sont viables que si (la paix) est un tant soit peu assurée. À l'inverse, le développement et la démocratie sont essentiels au maintien de la paix. ... On a vu des pays se développer sous des régimes qui n'étaient pas démocratiques. Toutefois,... tout tend à prouver qu'à long terme, la démocratie est un facteur essentiel du développement durable."

A priori, l'interdépendance des objectifs devrait inciter à les mener de front et, effectivement, "dans certains cas, on a pu s'attacher simultanément à rétablir la paix, à promouvoir le développement et à instaurer la démocratie – par exemple au Cambodge, en El Salvador et au Mozambique, où l'action de l'ONU en faveur de la démocratisation a été un moyen de passer du règlement d'un conflit à l'oeuvre de reconstruction et de développement." Mais, "dans d'autres cas, en revanche, la poursuite simultanée de ces trois objectifs s'est révélée plus difficile que prévu et a parfois été un facteur d'instabilité politique, de désordre social et de ralentissement de l'économie."

Une anecdote indique que Boutros Boutros-Ghali considérait nécessaire de semer, dans les pays en guerre ou en proie à une guerre civile, des graines pour préparer l'après. Il raconte que, en réponse à Michel Camdessus qui lui disait "on ne peut pas faire de développement dans un pays en guerre", il soutenait le contraire "parce qu'un pays en guerre, c'est un peu comme un pays malade. Il doit faire l'objet d'attention et de soins particuliers". Une remarque très humaine!

Mais, en pratique, le réalisme oblige, souvent, les Etats à établir un ordre de priorité. Boutros Boutros-Ghali en convenait à condition que chaque pays soit libre de l'établir "lui-même de façon à assurer le bien-être de son peuple". Il dit ici en termes onusiens son hostilité aux politiques imposées de l'extérieur. Il est plus virulent après son départ de l'ONU. "On prétend assujettir l'aide économique à la réalisation d'objectifs politiques tels que le respect des droits de l'homme, de la démocratie, de l'Etat de droit, de la bonne gouvernance. Mais sur quels critères doit-on juger de l'effectivité et de la réalisation de ces objectifs? Bien plus, ces critères s'ils sont imposés, ne risquent-ils pas d'être incompatibles avec la capacité de l'Etat receveur de gérer son propre développement?". Ou encore: "Comment voulez-vous relancer le processus démocratique dans un pays frappé par des sanctions économiques dont la population est la première à pâtir? Car ces nouvelles conditions sont des sanctions". Ou enfin, à propos des aides et des conditionnalités, il aimait raconter l'histoire du singe et du poisson: "C'est l'histoire de ce singe qui, voyant un poisson dans la rivière, descend précipitamment de son arbre pour le sortir de l'eau croyant qu'il est en train de se noyer."

C'est tout l'objet de la cinquième partie de l'Agenda, "La démocratisation à l'échelon international", que de faire de l'ONU un lieu de coopération pour répondre aux problèmes mondiaux et d'éviter qu'elle puisse être l'instrument de pays dominants pour imposer leur vision aux autres. Au milieu des années 1990 où l'hégémonie américaine était incontestée, les Etats Unis ont pu se sentir particulièrement visés. Mais rien ne change sur le fond quand on passe d'une hégémonie à une oligarchie de pays, qui plus est en compétition, voire hostiles.

Attaché au système démocratique parce qu'il est étroitement lié au respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales et indispensables au développement durable, Boutros

Boutros-Ghali est convaincu qu'il ne sert à rien de vouloir encourager la démocratie nationale, si à l'échelle internationale, le système n'est pas démocratique. Il ajoute que la démocratie doit pouvoir s'exercer dans tous les lieux où se concentre le pouvoir et doit être le mode d'exercice de ce pouvoir, quel qu'il soit, dans la société internationale. En autres termes, il veut que la mondialisation de l'économie aille de pair avec un mouvement de mondialisation de la démocratie. Il craint, en effet, qu'alors même que des Etats accèdent progressivement à la démocratie, la réalité du pouvoir mondial leur échappe tout aussi progressivement. En effet, les nouveaux pouvoirs qui transcendent les structures étatiques risquent de les priver de toute influence sur les décisions essentielles qui engagent leur avenir et celui de la planète.

Pour changer les pratiques, l'ONU ne dispose que de ses moyens traditionnels: le débat entre Etats pour faire émerger un consensus et s'accorder sur des principes. Puis, sur cette base adopter des normes et négocier des conventions. Normes et conventions dont il faudra encourager la mise en œuvre sans autres instruments que la persuasion, les revues périodiques et un peu d'assistance technique aux pays qui la solliciteraient. Boutros Boutros-Ghali le sait mieux que personne. Aussi "pour instaurer une culture internationale de la démocratie" invite-t-il d'abord tous les Etats à participer aux débats sur la démocratisation internationale, qu'ils soient faibles ou puissants, qu'ils aient ou non l'habitude de participer aux réflexions de l'ONU. Et, initiative audacieuse dans un système jusqu'ici pour l'essentiel domaine réservé des Etats, il leur propose de "s'entendre sur le rôle que devraient jouer officiellement les nouveaux acteurs de la scène internationale". Plus explicitement, l'intention est de créer "une nouvelle ONU qui devra intégrer aux côtés des Etats Nations des acteurs non-étatiques."

La liste des acteurs non-étatiques impliqués dans la vie internationale est longue. Pour chacune, l'Agenda pour la démocratisation indique ce qu'elles apportent ou pourraient apporter à l'ONU et esquisse les réformes qui pourraient permettre de mieux en tirer parti.

Les organisations intergouvernementales régionales coopèrent avec les Nations Unies au maintien de la paix et au développement; les propositions faites sont ambitieuses: outre des

réunions périodiques d'orientation entre ces organisations et l'ONU, il est proposé de renforcer le régionalisme en concluant, sous le parrainage de l'ONU, des accords de coopération inter-régionaux dans tous les domaines d'activité et de renforcer la démocratisation en permettant aux collectivités locales de se faire entendre à l'échelon des commissions régionales.

Les parlementaires, individuellement ou collectivement, sont un relais avec les opinions publiques et promeuvent la démocratisation sur le terrain. Les Etats membres devraient les encourager à créer un comité permanent des Nations Unies dans chaque parlement et inviter instamment l'Union interparlementaire à se réunir tous les trois ans dans une ville siège de l'ONU.

Les autorités locales et leurs administrés vivent au quotidien les conséquences locales des problèmes mondiaux comme des réponses qui leur sont apportées au niveau international. Pour permettre un dialogue et promouvoir les échanges d'expériences, il est proposé de créer un organe subsidiaire restreint de la Commission du développement durable qui aurait pour vocation d'apporter une contribution aux travaux de la Commission et à ceux des autres organes compétents de l'ONU.

Les milieux intellectuels et universitaires peuvent aider à identifier les changements à venir et à donner une assise intellectuelle aux orientations du débat international. Dans cette perspective, le renforcement de l'Université des Nations Unies et l'intégration de son programme de travail à l'ensemble des travaux de l'Organisation faciliterait la participation de la communauté scientifique à l'étude et à la solution de problèmes que les Nations Unies ont à traiter.

Les milieux d'affaires ont une influence prépondérante sur le devenir de l'économie mondiale et de l'environnement et, de son côté, l'ONU façonne le cadre réglementaire dans lequel ils agissent. Il faudrait rechercher des arrangements mutuellement bénéfiques allant de l'échange de techniciens, à l'extension du modèle tripartite du BIT à d'autres organes des Nations Unies en passant par l'élaboration de normes comptables uniformes et la lutte contre la corruption.

Les medias constituent un puissant moteur de démocratisation, mais vouloir les faire coopérer étroitement avec le système international contreviendrait aux principes supérieurs qui

imposent de respecter leur indépendance et leur objectivité. L'Organisation des Nations Unies a l'obligation de protéger l'indépendance et la liberté des organismes de presse; elle et les Etats membres devraient s'astreindre à plus de transparence afin d'empêcher que "des organisations comme l'ONU ne (soient) rien d'autre que des tribunes où les bureaucraties nationales et internationales chuchoteraient entre elles". Jolie formule!

Les organisations non gouvernementales (ONG), enfin, ne sont pas à proprement parler de nouveaux acteurs, elles ont joué un rôle clé à la Conférence de San Francisco pour que la Charte demande au Conseil économique et social d'instituer une commission pour le progrès des droits de l'homme qui a abouti à la Déclaration universelle de 1948. Leur nombre s'est multiplié après la chute du Mur de Berlin. Elles expriment les préoccupations et les besoins des collectivités les plus modestes; elles collectent et diffusent de l'information, elles ont un vaste capital d'expériences du terrain et des compétences dans les domaines les plus divers. Elles se sont rassemblées nombreuses en parallèle aux grandes conférences et ont fait des contributions constructives qui ont été retenues. Elles ont la capacité de mobiliser l'opinion et de rappeler aux gouvernements les engagements qu'ils ont pris. L'Agenda pour la démocratisation recommande que les Etats membres leur fassent une place dans leurs délégations, de même qu'aux autres représentants de la société civile dont il a été question ci-dessus, qu'elles soient habilitées à formuler des recommandations plus concrètes et précises et que soit créé un "forum de la société civile".

La diversité, la préoccupation d'un homme soucieux de la préservation du patrimoine de l'humanité, pas seulement de la flore et de la faune, mais aussi des langues et des cultures. "Lorsqu'une langue disparaît, lorsqu'une culture disparaît, lorsqu'une civilisation disparaît, ce sont aussi toutes les valeurs qu'elles portent en elles-mêmes qui s'éteignent à jamais."

Et cela ramène à la démocratisation des relations internationales: "le plurilinguisme est à la démocratie internationale ce que le pluripartisme est à la démocratie nationale". La diversité culturelle et le plurilinguisme sont un préalable au dialogue des cultures. "Imaginez un système uniformisé dans lequel tout le monde mangerait le même sandwich, écouterait la même musique... Ne s'agit-il pas des caractéristiques d'un régime

totalitaire? C'est cette diversité à l'œuvre dont nous avons besoin".

Encore faut-il que les citoyens aient le souci de l'autre et soient ouverts au dialogue. Ou Boutros Boutros-Ghali voit monter un mouvement néo-isolationniste généralisé, accentué par la mondialisation et les événements du 11 septembre. "Le citoyen mondialisé trouve à conjurer ses angoisses dans l'indifférence, le repli sur soi ou les deux à la fois. C'est la dialectique du satellite et du clocher - dans le monde arabe, je dirais "la dialectique du satellite et du minaret". Ce repli, cette crispation identitaire dans certains cas alimentent les intégrismes religieux et contribuent à l'émergence des micro-nationalismes."

Retour à la démocratisation des relations internationales pour conclure. Boutros Boutros-Ghali connaissait les obstacles techniques, financiers et avant tout politiques, qui s'opposeraient à sa vision d'une nouvelle ONU et aux mesures qu'il proposait. Cependant il a eu le courage de les préparer et de les soumettre aux gouvernements. Et il a bien fait car il a mis sur la table des idées qui, peu à peu, font leur chemin, voire sont mises en œuvre.

C'est la marque de toutes les grandes personnalités qui ont marqué l'histoire des Nations Unies que d'avoir pris des initiatives de leur propre autorité ou d'avoir invité les gouvernements à débattre de questions qu'ils voulaient ignorer.

The first United Nations Secretary General of the post-cold war Era

Brahimi, Lakhdar*

Boutros Boutros-Ghali was a learned scholar and professor of International Law and Political Science, a prolific writer, a politician, a diplomat, a journalist, an Africanist, an aristocrat, a Copt, and a proud Egyptian. I met him casually a number of times in the late 1950s when I spent time in Cairo, during our struggle for Algeria's independence. I spent more time with him in Algiers, during the summer of 1962, immediately after our independence: he was part of a large contingent of Egyptian intellectuals and journalists who had come to observe our first wobbly steps as a sovereign nation.

We stayed in touch and met fairly often when I was Ambassador to Egypt, less frequently in later years, often with a common friend we both liked and admired, the late, highly respected journalist, Ahmed Bahaeddin. It was always a pleasure to listen to Boutros's subtle, gently expressed views of what went on in the world.

I do not know when the idea of becoming Secretary General of the United Nations started to germ in his mind. It is a fact, however that it was a number of African heads of State who pushed him to put his name forward in 1991. The Government of Egypt was not a part of the initiators of that idea; but Cairo naturally did not oppose it and, as the discussion started at, and around the Security Council, it warmed to the suggestion and supported Boutros's candidacy.

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There is much to say about the process which, during the last three months of 1991, ultimately led to the selection of Boutros-Ghali as the first African and Arab Secretary General of the United Nations. In the context of this short paper, it is enough to say that the atmosphere of the process was totally different from what it had been on previous occasions: the Cold War was truly over. The African Governments were unanimous in demanding that the new Secretary General MUST come from Africa and they secured strong support from the Group of Non-Aligned Countries.

There is even more to say about the substance of how Boutros became Secretary General, how he exercised his mandate and how he was prevented from obtaining a second term. But within the limits of this paper, I will just try to throw some light on the question which has been discussed by many, including Boutros himself in his many books and articles; and that question is: what went wrong between Boutros, the Egyptian Scribe and the new Hegemon, the rising American Empire?

The Government of the United States had not been in favor of Boutros. A few years earlier, they firmly opposed his bid to become High Commissioner for Refugees. I was very surprised then, and was surprised when they showed little enthusiasm for his candidacy for the position of Secretary General of the United Nations. At least they did not use the veto against him during the straw polls period and they were not overly upset when he secured the necessary majority and became Secretary General.

In the Egyptian and Arab context of the time, Boutros was seen as a moderate nationalist, strongly supportive of the African liberation movements, deeply interested in the Third World struggles for economic and social progress and actively engaged in the topical debates of the day on the wider international scene. He generally approved of his country's foreign policy of non-alignment, but would not shy away from expressing dissent, in his subtle way, concerning particular actions (or lack of action) by the successive Egyptian leaders.

He had developed his world view in the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement which started formally in a Summit held in Belgrade in 1961, but drew its fundamental principles from the Summit of independent Asian and African States in Bandung,

Indonesia in April 1955. Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru, President of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito and President of Egypt Gamal Abdel-Nasser of Egypt had developed and maintained strong cooperation between their countries and equally strong personal relations. A meeting between the three leaders at the Yugoslav Resort Island of Brioni in June 1956 went a long way towards preparing the ground for the advent of Non-Alignment as an organized international movement.

Boutros-Ghali was not in Government at the time Non-Alignment came into being. He was a noted professor and journalist, writing mainly, but not only, in *Al Ahram*, the prominent Egyptian daily. From that position, he developed personal relations with officials and intellectuals in many countries in Asia, Africa, Europe - East and West and the Americas. Much of his writing was devoted to the struggle of African liberation movements for independence. And when, under President Anwar Sadat, Boutros joined the Government (first on the occasion of President Sadat's dramatic visit to Jerusalem), he devoted much of his attention and travel to Africa first and to other Non-Aligned Countries second. He spoke of the centrality of non-alignment for him at a Summit of the Movement in Columbia in September 1995; *«I have attended many, many meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement. On each occasion I have been filled with emotion. That is not only because so much of my career has been associated with the non-aligned movement. It is because the movement has meant so much for the world for so long, and it is because the Movement has so much to offer to the world of the future»*.

Non-Alignment was based on what became known as the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Chinese are very proud of the fact that the first Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai was the first leader to put out the *Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence*. That took place in 1954, during two official visits of the Chinese leader to New Delhi and Rangoon (Yangon, now). The five principles will be redrafted one year later into the ten principles which were part of the Final Declaration of the historic Asian-African Summit held in Bandung, Indonesia.

Essentially, these principles call for the respect for the independence and sovereignty of every state, non-interference in internal affairs of states, neutrality towards the two major military alliances and refusal to join either, international cooperation,

preservation of international peace, support for the United Nations and support for a greater role for the UN Secretary General.

The United States have never been comfortable with non-alignment. President Eisenhower's Secretary of State John Foster Dulles called the policy chosen by the likes of India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and Egypt «immoral». On the other hand, President John Kennedy, in his Commencement Speech at the American University in Washington DC, in June 1963, seemed to reach out to the rest of the world with a warm, idealistic policy of peace and international cooperation: I am not sure much of that speech was remembered in American governing circles at the end of the Cold War - or today for that matter.

Be that as it may, that is the baggage Boutros-Ghali arrived with to the 38th Floor of the UN Building in New York on January 1, 1992. By no stretch of the imagination could Boutros have been called «anti-western» or «anti-American». In fact he was seen in Egypt and the rest of the Arab World as a soft conservative; he was an open critic of the economic and social ideology and policies of the Soviet Union.

He was very much aware that he was going to be the first Secretary General of the United Nations of the post-cold war era and he knew there would be, for him, both opportunities which had not been available to his predecessors, but also new challenges. He expected to be more active and more independent to act than his predecessors had been; but he was not naive: he knew perfectly well that the UN which he was going to serve belonged to its members and that amongst its supposedly equal members, some were definitely more equal than others.

In the New York of 1992, where Boutros had just taken residence, it was difficult not to see that the polite fiction that the Cold War had ended without winners and losers was just that: a fiction. In US official circles, in the American media and most intellectual circles, the consensus was that the Cold War had in fact ended with a clear winner - the United States.

There was now only one superpower - the *Hyper-power*, Hubert Vedrine will call it later - and the new world order had to be organized around that central reality. The United States was the «*Indispensable country*» as President Clinton and his Secretary

of State, Madeleine Albright liked to repeat. The economic and social system of the United States had proven its superiority and must now be the accepted norm the world over. It was indeed «*The End of History*», and soon all this would find expression in «*The American Century Project*».

The US Congressmen seem to consider that US law is above international law; indeed they more and more think they can legislate for the entire world – and the rest of the world does not seem to mind that much. In the UN, the formidable Senator Jesse Helms and Madeleine Albright have got the Security Council to agree that they shall not vote a resolution with financial implications until US Congress has had a chance to see it.

Between the Scribe coming with his 5000 years of history on his shoulders and the memory of all those seven lean years following the seven fat years endlessly and the victorious Empire, the young, strong, impatient and hungry to lead alone, friction was inevitable.

But understanding and cooperation were not impossible. Boutros was instantly disliked by some of Ambassador Albright's closest and most influential advisers. And the Non-aligned group was, by then, a shadow of its old self: Yugoslavia ceased to be an asset; it was now a major problem; Indonesia was waiting for its own major problem to erupt. Algeria was entering its darkest decade of civil war and terrorism; Egypt was now dependent on the financial and military aid the US was providing as part of the separate peace Cairo concluded with Tel-Aviv. And India was interested only in becoming a Permanent Member of the Security Council.

Boutros was defending the Non-Aligned group of countries. The Non-aligned countries were not giving much support to Boutros.

Nevertheless, most people thought that the end of the Cold War would allow the UN to deliver on the promises of its Charter: surely, UN members, especially the most powerful, would want the organization to flourish and its Secretary General to succeed. Not so, apparently.

In his excellent review of Boutros-Ghali's memoir, «*Unvanquished*», Brian Urquhart, who knows a thing or two about the United Nations writes; «*It is often said, more or less rhetorically, that the UN needs a Secretary General who will provide strong*

and independent leadership. In fact, nothing could be further from the wishes of most Governments, and especially the five permanent members who control the Security Council. In recent years, of those permanent members none has been more averse to the idea of an independent Secretary General than the United States ».

Brian Urquhart also writes: « *It was also Boutros-Ghali's misfortune, at a time of great international turmoil, to have to work with a new US administration that vacillated in its foreign policy and with a US Congress to be dominated after 1994 by the Republican opposition. With his sometimes didactic and obstinate independence, Boutros-Ghali quickly became a useful scapegoat for the inadequacies of the Clinton administration's policies in Bosnia and Somalia, while his activist style and exotic foreign name made him a favorite target for the xenophobia and anti-internationalism of the Republican right ».*

That says it all.

Boutros-Ghali: The day the Nile Cried

Buarque, Cristovam*

In 1992, I met Boutros Boutros-Ghali, an international character I had often seen in the newspapers as the Secretary-General of the UN. I kept track of him in the news; he was an unwavering advocate for peace, present wherever the world needed him. The influence of this Boutros could be seen from his struggle for peace, his attempts to prevent the tragic ethnic massacres in Africa and Eastern Europe and his belief in integrity and pride when he declined the chance to be re-elected for the position of UN Secretary-General, in order to remain faithful to his values and principles. Boutros Boutros-Ghali is one of the rare statesmen in international politics to have defied, in defense of his ideals, the American power. In *Unvanquished: A U.S.-U.N. Saga*, he describes his time as UN Secretary-General. Rather than a curriculum or the power of re-election, he opted for a coherent biography.

In another work *Egypt's Road to Jerusalem*, I met the Boutros-Ghali that – in a masterful gesture – did conduct the peace approach between Egypt and Israel, a historic attempt that will forever be marked as an example of political courage and *state craftsmanship*. His magnificent text allows us to meet the Boutros-Ghali as a writer, the author of an adventure in statesmanship.

I met the figure Boutros-Ghali through the South Centre, continuing the work of Julius Nyerere in the pursuit of understanding and organizing the countries of the South, in order to face the challenges of humanity before globalization divided by *invisible mediterraneans* that segregate the rich and the poor. In our Board meetings and side conversations, I learned to admire

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the great worldly statesman who strived for a more humane globalization.

I met the Boutros of his home, in Cairo and Paris, where alongside Leia Maria Boutros-Ghali, herself a worldly lady, he welcomed us with honor, embraced us with a rare kind of sensibility and contagious friendliness.

I met, in my last contact with him, Boutros Boutros-Ghali the speaker: at the age of 93, in a UNESCO auditorium in Paris. I watched him captivate his listeners with the warmth of his speech, the clarity with which he discussed the reality of the post-September 11th world, of global warming, of migration, economic crises, terrorism, and of intolerance, elaborating his own ideas and communicating them with conviction and charisma.

These Boutros Boutros-Ghali personas composed one single person: a magnificent worldly Egyptian, a global humanist, a modern renaissanceist, a statesman who could see both the bigger picture and the local matters, while attempting to give global and regional guidance.

He was one of those rare human beings who become even greater the closer we come to them. It is regrettable how rare it is to meet such a person like him, and how those who have met them feel in the entire world their absence, once they are gone. When I heard about Boutros' passing, the landscape seen from his apartment came to my mind, from the height of a building by the Nile river, and I imagined that even the great Nile may have shed tears, while missing him. I also thought about the absence of his words in face of the daily cries of the Mediterranean he considered his cradle, besides the Nile; in face of the thought of the religions and western civilization becoming a symbol of civilization failure.

At South Centre, before the migration crisis of recent years, he warned of the risks of this happening between continents, as it was already the case inside Africa, between countries at war and caused by the poverty within each country. Boutros could notice the existence of millions of *invisible mediterraneans* winding around the planet and dividing each country, separating the rich from the poor. He knew, and he resolutely fought, until his last days, for a wholly inclusive humanity, without the exigency of forced migration. His fight is now so current for

many reasons: since capitalism has shown its cruelest side, one he always condemned; because the solution will not be found through communism, which had never appealed to him; and much less through violent means such as those of terrorism, which he firmly rejected.

Boutros was a pacifist humanist who would have been evermore capable of guiding us through this moment in time. Yet without him, it is up to us to find the path under the cries of the Nile and the Mediterranean, where our world was born and where it now seems to be agonizing before the renaissance he so dreamed of would come to pass. And for us, who have not yet been reborn, remains the happiness of being privileged enough to have once crossed paths with him: Boutros Boutros-Ghali is above all an example for us to continue the fight he was engaged in as one of the world's greatest exponents of humanity.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali, with the members of the South Centre Board, at its 11th meeting in New Delhi, India. 11 February 2005

Boutros Boutros-Ghali as The “Reformist” Secretary General: an insider view

Civili, Patrizio*

While the label *activist* absolutely applies to Boutros Boutros-Ghali, it hardly begins to capture his real legacy as the fifth Secretary General of the United Nations. Boutros Boutros-Ghali had a strong sense of self with great ambition, tempered by a keen sense of political realities – for the United Nations and its role in world affairs. He saw the Charter construct of this organization's functions – and the distribution of functions among its “principal organs” – as assets to be preserved and protected. Yet at the same time, he was eager to enhance the effectiveness of that construct. In this sense, he was also a strong *reformist* SG – a key element of his legacy that remains largely untold and unheralded.

Boutros-Ghali was deeply conscious that the Charter makes the Secretary-General one of the *principal organs* of the UN, though without detailing its functions to the same extent as the others. His vision of the duties of the Secretary-General encompassed in equal measure: an active political role; a strong intellectual dimension, exemplified by the three Agendas he issued during his term – on peace, on development and on democratization – that he considered a major part of his legacy as well as a managerial role unlike some of his predecessors. He saw all of them not as a constraining factor, but as integral to his duties and effectiveness as Secretary-General. Critically, his ambition for the

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organization applied in the same measure to its political and to its socio-economic and humanitarian functions.

This adds up to a contribution to UN policy and institutional development that was as unique as it was broad and profound. A key reason why these dimensions of his legacy have not been highlighted nearly as much as they deserve is, I believe, that the view from *within* this organization has been largely missing in the analyses of Boutros-Ghali's tenure as Secretary-General.

The notes that follow provide illustrations from *within* of some aspects of his tenure that I personally *lived* through the exercise of my responsibilities in his office, which related mostly to the socio-economic and institutional aspects of the UN role. Like my colleagues, I assumed that a Secretary-General must "naturally" focus on peace and security. Despite having to deal with major, especially complex, political crises during his term, however, BBG broke that pattern.

But there is more – a true passion – behind the personal attention Boutros-Ghali gave to development. As a Secretary-General from Egypt and the first from Africa, he saw the fundamental import of the UN mission to advance developing countries' causes in the socio-economic area. He also keenly understood the linkages between peace and security and socio-economic progress. Along with his three interlinked Agendas, the undivided attention that he gave to each and every dimension of the UN mission, demonstrates his foresight in focusing on inequalities within and among nations as a root of conflict and a highly destabilizing force. His successor Kofi Annan forcefully pursued this insight, which now also anchors the Security Council/General Assembly's most recent doctrine on "sustaining peace" and Secretary-General Antonio Guterres' emphasis on "prevention".

Any UN old-timer has a picture in his mind of the ideal Secretary-General. Mine are integrity and courage, rooted in keen political sense, intellectual strength and strong leadership qualities. Boutros-Ghali had all these qualities in abundance. He had integrity and courage – strong principles and the daring to act on them. While not a politician, he was an astute, politically savvy statesman. He was an intellectual, scholarly but not pedantic; and authoritative in international law, the very discipline on which the UN is founded. Being a strong leader, he commanded

respect and respected colleagues strictly based on her/his performance.

Boutros-Ghali did not share the typical diplomat's or UN official's tendency to keep options open as long as possible; he was eager to take and implement action quickly and decisively.

Yet, he also craved knowledge and facts to inform his decision-making. Boutros-Ghali was an avid reader, from poetry and academic literature to staff notes and briefs. The first time I prepared briefing notes for him, I took pains to prepare a concise executive summary, with detailed annexes clearly marked as optional reading. The next day he came by my office and, pointing a finger at me, said: "you know, I read it all...I read it all". I did not know quite what to make of it, but, over time, I came to see this familiar gesture as a sure sign of his appreciation.

As the Organization's chief executive, BBG sought to reverse a trend of proliferation in the institutional structures of the UN. This applied to the Secretariat and even more to the various Funds and Programms (UNDP, UNICEF, UNEP etc.) that over the years kept being added to UN structures. Although formally subsidiary organs of the General Assembly and—unlike the specialized agencies — headed by officials appointed by the Secretary-General, these entities had come to function as largely autonomous agencies. BBG broke that pattern, too. From a legal and practical perspective, he saw these Funds and Programs as an integral part of the Organization that he was called on to manage as SG, and he acted accordingly.

At the same time, he was determined to preserve the *mandates* – the new tasks assigned to the Organization that had fed the institutional proliferation from the 1970s and onward. While this understanding is today being rediscovered and packed into a lot of rhetoric, it was obvious to Boutros-Ghali that carrying out mandates in a mutually reinforcing way, under structures that were clearly articulated and conscious of the Organization's overall purpose, would result in greater effectiveness and impact.

These straightforward objectives guided what has perhaps been the most extensive restructuring of the UN economic and social sectors accomplished to date – from his own initiative – which

BBG advanced almost exclusively within the United Nations itself.

He carried out this restructuring in phases, but over a relatively short period – extremely short by UN standards! He focused on the two main venues of UN activity in the economic and social sectors – New York and Geneva. A key, deliberate objective was to sharpen the UN comparative advantage vis-à-vis the IMF and World Bank Group and other agencies operating in the economic and social area, along with integration measures to bring maximum effectiveness and impact.

The tendency to appoint ad-hoc secretariats to support preparations for each global conference, and their invariably morphing into new secretariat offices charged with the conference follow-up, had proved to be a main factor behind the institutional proliferation. Boutros-Ghali refocused the economic and social structures at UN Headquarters in New York around two basic functions: support to intergovernmental policy-making, including serving as secretariat at global conferences; and integrated policy analysis in the socio-economic area. This put unified leadership under the headquarters at the NY-based units focusing on macro-economic analysis and units in different locations which focused on social dimensions of development, thereby projecting the unique comparative advantage of the UN in shaping comprehensive development policy.

In Geneva, Boutros-Ghali integrated in UNCTAD separate units that had been created in NY to deal with technology and transnational corporations. This consolidated and expanded UNCTAD's role, to focus on the nexus between trade and finance on the one hand and technology and investment on the other – an all-important area for developing countries' progress.

These reforms were not carried forward without some resistance and controversy, involving political risks for Boutros-Ghali as well as adverse staff reaction, as they entailed both the abolition of several high-level posts and relocation of staff in significant numbers across duty stations in New York, Geneva and Vienna.

Reflecting his sense of the indivisibility of the role of the Secretary-General across the political and the development missions of the Organization, BBG had abolished the post of Director



Photo: UN Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) – 1st regular session of 1996 (UNEP Headquarters, Nairobi, 28-30 April 1996)

General for Development and International Economic Cooperation. Some developing countries saw this initially as a setback, as did I at the outset, having personally contributed to shaping the responsibility of that post — first occupied by the great international civil servant, Ken Dadzie. The abolition of other headquarters offices dear to developing countries, such as the UN Office on Transnational Corporations—headed by another superb UN official, Peter Hansen — also pained the *Group of 77*, although the offices' functions were fully integrated into and intended to reinforce UNCTAD.

As for the developed countries, they invariably pushed for *reform*. But reform that does not necessarily advance the more particular interests of those who champion it, always ends up being labelled, at best, as well-intentioned but *insufficient*. The fact that the UN membership let these reforms happen, notwithstanding their unprecedented scope, reflected, across the north and especially the south, the fundamental trust that member states had in the integrity and basic intent that guided

BBG's reform initiatives, the likes of which I have seldom since witnessed within the Organization.

Boutros-Ghali was also unusual amongst his predecessors in seeing the strategic potential of the Chief-Executives Board (CEB) as a *global cabinet*, with the Secretary-General acting as *primus inter-pares* among the executive heads of the different UN agencies in the wider UN system. Having been associated with this activity throughout my UN career – which began at the time of SG U. Thant! Later on, I came to see how SG's attitude towards this mechanism as crucial in determining its effectiveness. Some have seen the chairing of this body as routine, while others have been baffled by its putting on the same footing the powerful heads of the BWIs – constantly asserting their independent status vis-à-vis the UN – with those of small, highly technical agencies.

BBG's own *professorial style* combined with his *activist persona* initially did not sit well with some executive heads. Without compromising on the UN authority he represented, however, BBG impressed and ultimately conquered them all with the respect he showed for the responsibilities of each of them, while challenging them to respond to the broader purpose that, together, they were called upon to serve. He initiated a new phase in the life of the CEB as the undisputed center of UN systems' coherence, with Kofi Annan and now Secretary-General Guterres increasingly appreciating and seeking to exploit its strategic potential.

Boutros-Ghali's cabinet – the SG's Executive Office – was one of the leanest in UN history. It comprised two distinguished senior advisors, Ambassador C.R Gharekhan, a senior Indian diplomat focusing on peace and security matters, and Ismat Kittani, a very experienced Iraqi Kurd who combined a keen mind and a great heart, advising the Secretary General on socio-economic and institutional issues; Jean Claude Aime, who was a savvy long-time UN official serving as Chef-de-Cabinet at the Assistant Secretary-General level and managing two directors, one dealing with political matters and the other, *myself*, dealing with development and institutional affairs, each supported by only 2 or 3 officers, plus a small policy planning team, headed by another Assistant Secretary-General.

BBG's immediate staff was also very small and worked with the rest of us in the Executive Office in an extremely collegial way. Most of us were career staff and remained in the organization after BBG departed, rising to higher levels of responsibility. As far as I can recollect, not one of us was promoted while serving in BBG's cabinet. Yet, we all shared a sense of great privilege in being selected to serve directly under BBG. We worked as a team in ways that I have seldom seen in my long UN career, thus making up for the Office's lean staffing. The driving force was BBG's great energy and his fierce determination to make the most of his term in office, at a time of great change in world affairs. We all felt that BBG's strong sense of the unique role of the Organization and his drive to make things happen gave us a once in a generation opportunity to contribute to the reform and strengthening of the United Nations.

Though being an *outsider*, BBG valued greatly the international civil service. He used to call us UN old-timers *apparatchiks*, with a wink and a smile, an expression of esteem, perhaps even affection, and, at the same time, an encouragement not to be bureaucratic or conservative, but to be bold, to dare. In this sense, BBG was better than us but also, profoundly, one of us.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Daudet, Yves*

Pendant sa longue vie marquant un destin exceptionnel, Boutros Boutros-Ghali a joué un rôle majeur dans la politique internationale de l'Égypte d'abord, des Nations Unies ensuite qui a tendance à occulter un autre versant de la personnalité de celui qui fut d'abord et finalement toujours, un professeur. En effet, sa carrière commença à l'Université du Caire où il enseigna longtemps le droit international. Par la suite, il conserva pendant toute sa vie un intérêt marqué pour cette discipline qu'il n'a cessé d'enrichir par sa réflexion que ce soit à la Commission du droit international des Nations Unies où il apporta sa contribution à la codification et au développement progressif du droit international, à l'Institut de droit international ou à l'Académie de droit international de La Haye.

De cette dernière, qu'il inspira directement en entrant au Curatorium dès 1982 puis en le présidant pendant 13 ans il disait que ce serait la dernière institution qu'il abandonnerait. La mort l'a hélas rattrapé avant qu'il ne le fasse. Par une singulière coïncidence, elle l'a frappé le jour même où il devait revenir à Paris où il avait hâte que le secrétaire général de l'Académie que j'étais alors vienne l'entretenir des derniers développements des affaires plus en détail que je n'avais pu les lui indiquer quelques jours plus tôt au téléphone. C'est dire ce qu'était le degré d'alacrité de cet homme jusqu'au dernier jour de sa vie, en dépit de la fatigue due à son grand âge.

L'Académie était pour lui un lieu qui lui rappelait certainement sa période de professeur. Il aimait l'université, il aimait rencontrer des professeurs et il aimait les étudiants. Ceux-ci le lui rendaient bien à l'occasion de rencontres individuelles avec des doctorants ou des multiples conférences volontiers données à des auditoires toujours attentifs et marqués par ces moments.

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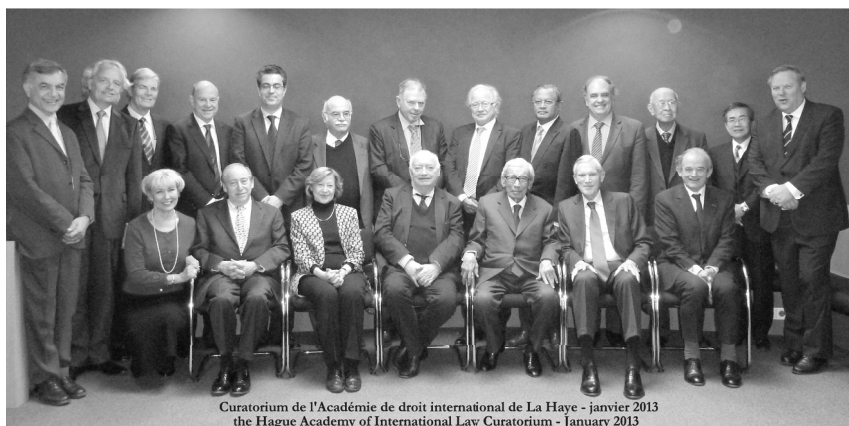
Lorsqu'il créa l'Université Senghor à Alexandrie, il voulait que les fonctionnaires africains reçoivent une formation du niveau requis pour le développement d'une haute fonction publique efficace et dynamique. Il contribua en effet largement par cette initiative à créer chez eux un esprit d'ouverture et de coopération dans l'exercice de leurs compétences.

Lorsqu'aux Nations Unies il avait imaginé la collection des « Blue Books » réunissant des documents de l'Organisation sur un certain nombre de grandes questions traitées par les Nations Unies, il disait avoir pensé d'abord aux étudiants et, plus particulièrement ceux des pays du tiers monde pour lesquels ils étaient difficiles d'accès. Cette collection, qui disparut malheureusement après son départ des Nations Unies, avait permis de diffuser une information reposant sur des documents officiels et éclairée par les réflexions du Secrétaire général dans les « introductions » de ces « Blue Books » qui furent consacrés à la Somalie, à Haïti, aux droits de l'homme, au Mozambique, au Cambodge, au conflit Iran/Irak, au Salvador, à la non-prolifération nucléaire et à beaucoup d'autres questions encore. A l'époque où l'internet n'existait pas, cette série préfigurait ce qu'il rendrait possible peu après.

Quant à l'Académie de droit international de La Haye, elle était donc pour lui un lieu privilégié lui permettant de mettre en œuvre les idées majeures auxquelles il tenait. Il en est allé ainsi lorsque à la fin des années soixante du siècle dernier le Curatorium créa le fameux « programme extérieur » que l'Académie a tenu par rotation dans les pays du sud d'Afrique, Asie et Amérique latine. Ce programme avait été conçu par le Secrétaire général de l'époque, René-Jean Dupuy, avec son grand ami qu'était Boutros Boutros-Ghali, avec lequel il échangeait régulièrement réflexions et découvertes. Pour les cours d'été, il avait le souci de l'universalisme de l'Académie et veillait à une répartition équitable des étudiants des divers pays, comme pour les attributions de bourses ou les accueils au Centre de recherches. Sa vision de l'universitaire qu'il était resté, ajoutée à l'expérience pratique du diplomate et homme politique qu'il était devenu, a certainement été pour l'Académie d'un apport considérable: mieux que quiconque, il savait ce que sont les hommes et les choses, les possibilités et les contraintes, les chances et les risques. Les membres du Curatorium ne s'y sont pas trompés qui ressentaient comme un honneur et une occasion unique le fait de le côtoyer et de contribuer, avec lui, au développement de l'institution.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali me disait souvent « un jour, d'un seul coup, votre téléphone cesse de sonner ». En fait, chez lui, il ne cessa jamais vraiment de sonner. Mais sans doute ce fut-il moins intensément après son départ des Nations Unies. Pourtant, jamais je ne l'ai entendu exprimer la moindre rancœur à l'égard du pays qui le priva du deuxième mandat que la pratique avait établie et dont évidemment il regretta vivement de ne pouvoir l'exercer. Dans l'exercice du pouvoir comme dans la fin de celui-ci, et quelle que fût la notoriété qu'il avait acquise, il a fait preuve d'un surprenant esprit de sagesse et d'équilibre. Je me suis souvent demandé comment un homme qui avait exercé de telles responsabilités et vécu parmi les puissants pouvait être tout aussi capable d'entretenir des relations simples et directes dans l'intimité de son bureau parisien, au cours de longues conversations à bâtons rompus dans cette langue française à l'accent charmeur qu'il parlait si bien. En effet, s'il s'exprimait parfaitement en anglais, il avait une préférence marquée pour le français et aimait la France qu'il connaissait admirablement. Je garde de ces moments un souvenir marquant, tout autant sur une philosophie de la vie que sur la réflexion politique...ou juridique.

Lui succéder à la présidence du Curatorium – il fallait bien éliminer un président après son décès – ne put se faire pour moi que dans l'humilité et le respect. Servi par la chance qui fut ma mi-ennemie de côtoyer pendant les dix dernières années de sa vie cet homme hors du commun et de recueillir comme une moisson de conseils les souvenirs égrenés au fil de nos conversations, j'essaie à ce poste de modestement perpétuer les grandes lignes de ses actions.



BBG at the Hague Academy of International Curatorium – January 2013

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, ou L'indépendance et le travail

Dejammet, Alain*

L'image que tout visiteur garde de Boutros Boutros-Ghali, au Caire, comme à Paris, à New York, est celle d'un homme souriant, relevant la tête, derrière un bureau couvert de dossiers, de papiers, mais prêt bien vite à se retirer dans ses réflexions, à reprendre la plume, le téléphone, à travailler.

L'étudiant, le professeur, le journaliste, le directeur de revues, le diplomate, le ministre, le Secrétaire Général de l'ONU, le Secrétaire général de l'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, le Président du Conseil égyptien des droits de l'homme, tout au long de sa vie, ne connut vraiment qu'une passion: celle de l'œuvre accomplie, au service de son pays, l'Egypte, au service de la communauté des nations.

Certes Boutros, comme on l'appelait familièrement au Caire comme à New York ou Paris, avait une vie propre. Il aimait retrouver ses amis, de toutes nationalités, de toutes convictions et confessions, échanger jovialement, verre en main, souvenirs, anecdotes, projets... Il s'entourait, où qu'il fût, d'un décor élégant, tableaux, tapis, objets délicatement choisis. Il était fier de sa femme, Léa, qui impressionnait par son inlassable et courtoise énergie.

Mais Boutros Boutros-Ghali retenait de l'éducation privilégiée qu'il avait reçue des meilleurs professeurs aux Universités du Caire, de Paris (Sorbonne-Panthéon et Sciences Po), de New York (Columbia), qu'il devait en partager les leçons, les bénéfices, et se consacrer aux autres. Très tôt, en Egypte, au lieu de poursuivre dans la voie tracée par sa famille, celle des grands notables de l'ère ottomane puis royale, il choisit le service public,

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en formant, par ses cours à la faculté de droit, d'innombrables juristes arabes, en créant les premières grandes revues de sciences politiques et d'économie du Moyen-Orient, en acceptant enfin, dans une phase particulièrement sensible des relations internationales de son pays, d'être ministre d'Etat des Affaires étrangères de Sadate puis de Moubarak. C'était le temps des négociations puis de l'accord de paix avec Israël. A Boutros Boutros-Ghali revint la tâche ingrate de défendre l'Egypte face aux critiques des frères arabes et des non-alignés, puis, patiemment, conférence après conférence, voyage après voyage, de renouer les fils, de consolider la place du Caire en Afrique, de rendre son rang à sa patrie.

Le ministre d'Etat, c'est-à-dire en réalité, éternel numéro 2, était copte. Il sentait confusément que chargé des dossiers les plus arides, il ne serait jamais ministre en titre. Dévoué mais fier, cabré, il résolut, quasiment seul, fort de ses expériences, de sa combattivité, de se porter candidat au poste de Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies. Et il fut élu. Succès de la volonté, de l'indépendance d'esprit.

Cette indépendance, le Secrétaire Général en fit aussitôt la démonstration. Vis-à-vis de ses amis, les Français, par exemple, auxquels il n'accorda, dans la gestion de l'Organisation, aucune faveur, mais à l'égard de toute autre puissance, les Etats-Unis en particulier, aux pressions desquels le Secrétaire Général entendit très tôt résister. Cette indépendance fut loin d'être comprise. On reprocha au Secrétaire Général de ne pas suffisamment cajoler les ambassadeurs membres du Conseil de Sécurité parce qu'il voulait d'abord lire et connaître les dossiers empilés jour et nuit dans son bureau. On s'offusqua de la distance qu'il prit avec la vie sociale chatoyante de Manhattan. On s'étonna de ce que, disponible mais cursif, il ne courtisait pas la presse. Par-dessus tout, on lui en voulut de ne pas céder au courant d'opinion, majoritairement occidental, et de prétendre se préoccuper du drame yougoslave certes, mais tout autant du Cambodge, de l'Amérique centrale, du Moyen-Orient et de l'Afrique. Le Secrétaire Général tenait bon. Il plaidait pour un déploiement préventif des forces de maintien de la paix. Il réclamait des renforts en hommes, en matériel. Il ne les obtint pas. Par réalisme, il acceptait au Rwanda l'offre française de hâter un déploiement multinational pour stopper le génocide. Par réalisme, il insistait

pour le maintien d'une aide humanitaire en Somalie. Par réalisme, et dans la plus grande confidentialité, il parvenait à favoriser la fin de l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud et à prévenir le déclenchement d'un conflit entre l'Erythrée et le Yémen.

Beaucoup d'actes, mais aussi des résultats à mettre au compte du mandat de Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Bilan qui déplut à la seule super puissance alors au faîte de son hégémonie et qui, par son veto, seule contre les quatorze autres membres du Conseil de Sécurité, choisit de barrer la réélection de Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Le Secrétaire Général que j'ai connu à New York et dont j'avais déjà au Caire apprécié la pugnacité, était trop averti de l'état du monde pour être surpris de la décision américaine. Il en fut touché, non blessé, et il fit bonne figure, à l'heure de la passation de pouvoirs, en exhortant son successeur à préserver cette exigeante obligation d'indépendance.

Indomptable, Boutros Boutros-Ghali se prépara aussitôt à prendre d'autres responsabilités.

Ce fut la présidence de l'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie qu'il dota de responsabilités politiques et fit évoluer vers un statut d'institution internationale. Ce fut enfin, tant son expérience paraissait à ses compatriotes exceptionnelles, la présidence du Conseil égyptien des droits de l'homme. Boutros n'était ni aveugle ni dupe ni craintif. Mais il savait qu'il s'avancait en terrain miné et qu'il devait redoubler de diplomatie. Il tint bon cependant, une fois de plus. J'en fus témoin, à lire ou entendre chez lui les témoignages de reconnaissance venus des horizons les plus éloignés. Il avait pressenti les fêlures du régime et appelé aux réformes. Mais il souhaitait que celles-ci se fissent dans le respect des procédures constitutionnelles et il douta du succès des mouvements de foule. A l'ouest, on s'irrita de sa prudence. Les faits lui donnèrent raison. Raison de plus, pensa-t-il au soir de sa vie, pour continuer, inlassablement, à marteler son message, un simple message: convaincre l'Egypte de sa dimension africaine axée sur le sillon nourricier du Nil. Placer au-dessus de tout la priorité de l'éducation: cette éducation ouverte, plurielle, qui l'avait formé et à laquelle il devait sa carrière.

Alors que Boutros Boutros-Ghali, victime en France d'un accident, était hospitalisé à Paris, il exigeait, impatient, de revenir au

Caire, travailler. Au début de 2016, je lui téléphonai en Egypte. Il me dit son agacement de devoir être transporté dans son bureau au Conseil des droits de l'Homme, en fauteuil roulant. Le travail, clef de l'homme. Clef de l'avenir de son pays.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali: a visit to Vatican

Remembering Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Desai, Nitin*

I first met Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in June 1992 at Rio, where the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) was held. The process leading to this conference started much before BBG took over as Secretary General in January 1992. The resolution setting up of the conference was passed in the General Assembly towards the end of 1989, and the major preparatory work was done during 1990 and 1991. We came to New York in March 1992 for the last preparatory meeting. But BBG was just a few months into his tenure and was busy settling down and getting to grips with managing the UN. In any case, the New York headquarters played nothing beyond a routine administrative role vis-a-vis the Geneva based UNCED Secretariat headed by Maurice Strong.

Maurice Strong's personality loomed large over the public profile of the conference as he travelled from country to country mobilising political support, persuading heads of government to attend the summit and connecting with non-governmental organisations and corporate supporters. Media interest in the conference rose rapidly after most of the G7 heads announced intention of attending the conference. Inevitably at Rio, as far as the media was concerned, Maurice Strong was the face of the UN, which BBG accepted without demur.

But Boutros-Ghali was very much there, very visible at the ceremonial events, sitting on the podium for hours listening to the speeches, taking a keen interest in how the summit part of the Conference was being managed and occasionally joining in the media outreach. He had a keen sense of propriety when it came to any challenge to established UN protocol. I remember one episode where he stopped Maurice Strong from allowing the Japanese Prime Minister to address the summit by video link, on

* Nitin Desai, was Deputy Secretary General of the Rio Earth Summit and Under UN Secretary General in Boutros Boutros-Ghali's and, later Kofi Annan's cabinet in charge of economic and social affairs.

the ground that this would set a precedent which others would start using, thus undermining the annual GA summit weeks.

BBG and I spent a lot of time together on the podium as Maurice Strong was much in demand for the many NGO and media events that were scheduled. I remember BBG's doodling incessantly, for which he came, equipped not just with a pen but also a foot ruler and the blank paper before him would soon be covered with carefully planned lines. I think he kept these pieces of paper because I recollect his noting the date and time on them.

BBG's opinion of me was perhaps shaped by this contact. He saw me working hard, providing support to the negotiating process, handling logistical challenges, briefing him on the outstanding issues and generally being around as a trouble shooter. That is perhaps why he chose to bring me to New York as one of his Under Secretary Generals, to handle the follow up to the Rio Summit which he, along with many others, saw as an opportunity to restore the role of the UN in global development. Looking back, I cannot but think that it was his sense of Third World solidarity that led him to pick me, a young developing country national, for this task, and also his separation of this political role from the more routine roles dealing with statistics, economic analysis and technical questions that came about when the headquarters economic departments were restructured. (See the contribution by Patrizio Civili in this volume).

I served as his Under Secretary General handling the intergovernmental and interagency activities in the economic and social sphere. He also chose to ask me to draft the Agenda for Development, which he wanted as a follow up to the Agenda for Peace which had a substantial impact on policy debates in the UN. But that changed, because he wanted to focus on connecting development with the peace-making and peace-keeping agenda, and the final product was produced in his office.

His desire to link the peace and development agenda took practical form in the case of the 1992 El Salvador peace accord which required the Government to provide land to the returning combatants. El Salvador was under an IMF programme and the Government was constrained by the restrictions on public spending that were part of this programme. BBG contacted the then IMF head Michel Camdessus, a Frenchman with whom he built up a long and friendly relationship. BBG used the simple and direct

argument that macroeconomic stability could not be secured without peace and the IMF should relax its conditionality even from the perspective of sound economic management. Camdessus became a major supporter of the UN's social agenda on poverty and related matters and soon started carrying cards with the UN goals on these issues which he handed out freely.

BBG came to the UN at a time when great power tensions were at a low with the collapse of the Communist regime and the break-up of the Soviet Union, and China having withdrawn into a diplomatic shell after Tiananmen. In the Middle East Israel-Arab relations were less hostile than ever before and in South Africa Mandela and the ANC were on their way to power. The reversal of Iraq's takeover of Kuwait territory by a UN mandated military action seemed to suggest new possibilities for multilateral enforcement of the Charter. The scale and impact of the Rio Conference also held out the promise of a leadership role for the UN in development.

None of this came to pass. The mess that the UN and the NATO powers ran into in Yugoslavia and Somalia, the refusal of the UN members to commit resources for major emergencies in Africa, the unwillingness of the Western aid donors to let the globally agreed UN agenda and the UN guide aid flows, the Asian financial crisis and the assertion of IMF authority (typified by the iconic photograph of Camdessus standing with folded arms watching President Suharto signing the agreement with the IMF) - all of this ensured that the vision of a reinvigorated UN soon disappeared.

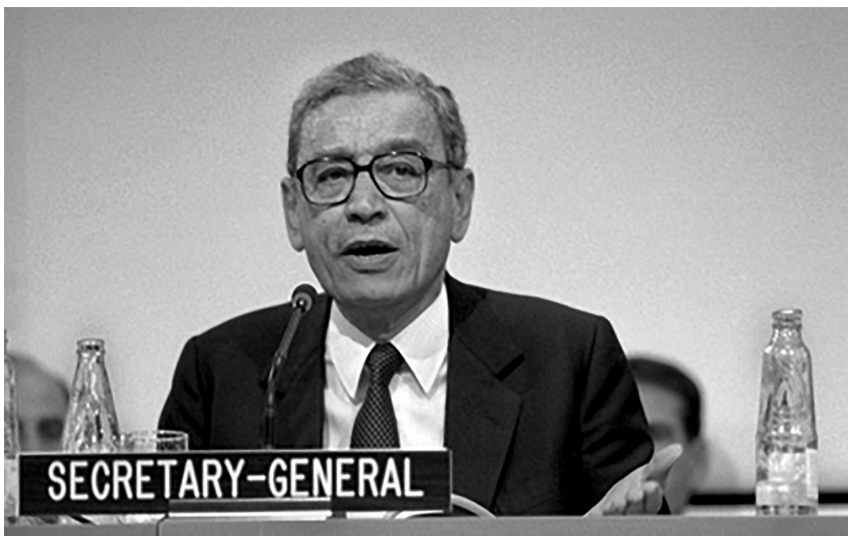
I believe BBG increasingly found himself out of sync with the Western powers, more particularly the US and he was frequently attacked publicly. I sensed certain disillusionment, though he rather philosophically accepted that he would be blamed by these powers for their failures. I remember his describing, this, only half-jokingly, as one of the key functions of the UN Secretary General. He would also say that the world took about fifteen years to find an equilibrium in the US-Soviet rivalry and that it would take at least that long to adjust to US hegemony.

- If one looks at the UN Charter in isolation, the soaring eloquence of the Preamble, drafted by a poet, and the institutions set up under its mandate, seem to be based on the premises that:
- the world can be organised on the basis of universal values;

- the nation state is the most legitimate expression of political authority;
- the relationship between nations can be governed by international law and ordered diplomacy;
- the human condition can be improved by cooperative human effort.

But the assertion of national interests and the resultant events have belied the validity of these premises. The universality of values is questioned by nations that differ in their religion, their culture and their historical antecedents. The legitimacy of the nation state as the expression of "we, the people" is challenged by the growth of sub-nationalisms and ethnic conflicts on the one hand, and the transnationalisation of the global economy. War, genocide, terrorism and violence continue to remain instruments of policy. There are more refugees now than ever before. Poverty persists and in many parts has even worsened.

The reality is that United Nations, a product of a vicious war between the rich nations, was designed to consolidate the power of the victors and this is reflected most clearly in the veto powers of the permanent members of the Security Council. It has not been able to escape from this birth defect and it was this that stopped BBG from getting a second term. But leaving the UN was a form of liberation for BBG and he devoted nearly two decades to promoting what he truly believed in, a more democratic world order.



BBG closing UNCED, Rio, 14 June 1992

Boutros Boutros-Ghali: a man of vision who remained truly unvanquished

Dubey, Muchkund*

It is a great honour for me to have been requested by Madam Lea Boutros Bourtos-Ghali and Roberto Savio, a renowned journalist and one of the greatest champions of the cause of the developing countries, to contribute to the volume they are bringing out in memory of Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the former Secretary General of the United Nations and a global personality, whom I greatly admire and came to know rather well both before assuming and after retiring from his exalted position. During the latter phase, I was at the receiving end of his enormous generosity and affection.

As a close observer of the world scene, I had come to know about Boutros-Ghali as a great academic and towering figure among Egyptian politicians even before I had the privilege of meeting him. He came to politics after a highly distinguished and long tenure as an academic. After serving his country as the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs for over 14 years, he rose to the exalted position of the Deputy Prime Minister. His ascendancy to these positions in spite of hailing from a minority community in Egypt, was a tribute both to his personal abilities, intellect and leadership qualities as well as to the essential syncretism and inclusiveness of the Egyptian society.

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I first met him in person when he visited India in 1991 to elicit support for his election as the next Secretary General of the United Nations. I was at that time the Foreign Secretary (the highest civil service position in the Ministry of External Affairs) to the Government of India. I received him at the airport, brought him to the Hotel Oberoi Intercontinental, New Delhi. I accompanied him during his meetings with political leaders involved in taking a decision on India's position on the election of the next Secretary General. As the Head of the Foreign Office, it was my responsibility to prepare the case, bringing out the pros and cons of supporting his candidature. I had made out a strong case for extending our support because of his coming from Egypt, the co-founder with us of the Non-aligned Movement and a prominent member of the Third World, and his being eminently qualified for the post by virtue of his outstanding career both as an academic and a politician. I had reasons to believe that he went back satisfied with his mission to India. As expected, India voted for him.

As I retired from the Indian Foreign Service at the end of November 1991 and BBG took over as Secretary General on 1 January 1992, I did not have any contact with him during his tenure as the Head of the United Nations. I got the glorious opportunity of meeting and interacting with him frequently, and also working for him, during his tenure from 2003 to 2006 as the Chairman of the Governing Board of the South Centre – an inter-governmental body that acts as a think tank for developing countries. My impression of him during this period is unforgettable – a man of great integrity and acumen, an intellectual and statesman dedicated to the cause of humanity, an embodiment of the graces of both the Western and the time immemorial Egyptian cultures, personifying gentleness and politeness of the kind rarely seen among occupants of high positions and an extraordinarily affectionate, generous and kind human being.

It was at Boutros-Ghali's behest that I wrote one of my best papers which was issued on behalf of the South Centre under his signature. The paper was entitled "Multilateralism Besieged". This constituted South Centre's input to the work of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Changes established by the then Secretary General of the United Nations. The paper was a joint collaborative work of Boutros-Ghali and his senior

colleagues in the South Centre and myself. Later, the South Centre allowed me to use it as my work. This paved the way for the publication of the paper in my name in several journals.

A few years ago, when my colleagues in the Council for Social Development decided to bring out a *festschrift* in my honour and requested me to approach Boutros-Ghali or writing its Foreword. When I approached him, in spite of his advanced age and numerous preoccupations, he most generously agreed to accede to my request. The Foreword written by him was included in the *festschrift* "*Just World Order*", under the title "For a New Agenda for Peace and Democratisation of World Order". This unusually long ten-page Foreword is one of the fullest articulations of Boutros-Ghali's vision of the future world order, underpinned by a thoroughly revamped and restructured United Nations.

In this brief essay I shall deal mainly with two issues which were close to Boutros-Ghali's heart. These are: the horrendous consequences of the Veto Power of the Permanent Members embedded in the U.N. Charter, as exposed in peacekeeping operations of the United Nations; and the future of the world order. Both in my illustrations and analysis of these issues, I draw heavily from Boutros-Ghali's autobiography, "*Unvanquished*", the paper Multilateralism Besieged and his Foreword to the book "*Just World Order*".

In his book, *Unvanquished*, Boutros-Ghali has demonstrated how the Permanent Members of the United Nations by and large were never interested in bringing peace and stability to strife-torn and violence inflicted regions of the world. If at all, preventing large scale killing of innocent persons, including women and children, in these parts of the world was only their secondary objective. The principal motivation behind their involvement or lack of it, in the situations in these regions was to serve their national interest and advance their global strategic purpose. In the book *Unvanquished*, Boutros-Ghali brings out case-by-case this basic approach of the major powers. He further demonstrates how these powers prevented the United Nations from intervening in these situations for the restoration of peace and remained a silent witness to the virtual genocide perpetrated in most of the countries involved in the conflicts. Nor did they intervene themselves in these situations because domestic and other considerations prevented them from doing so. In some

cases they got the U.N. involved in order to demonstrate to their own public opinion that they were discharging their responsibility as Permanent Members to maintain peace and security in the world. But they never equipped the U.N. with the wherewithal to discharge its mandates which were bloated beyond its capacity, in order to impress the world public opinion. Thus, the United Nations was often made the scapegoat in the political games of these powers.

Boutros-Ghali quotes U.S. authorities to bring home the fact that they did not want the United Nations to get involved in restoring peace in situations of major conflicts. In this connection, he refers to Clinton Administration's public opposition to "any but benign, small scale and U.S. directed peace operations". In September 1993, speaking in the U.N. General Assembly, President Clinton said: "It was time to put on the brakes regarding further peacekeeping missions for the United Nations". He added, "United Nations simply cannot become engaged in every one of the world's conflicts". (page 115). The then U.S. National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake, in a speech at John Hopkins University, hoped that multilateralism would one day "enable the rule of law to play a far more civilizing role in the conduct of nations as envisaged by the founders of the United Nations". But, he concluded that only one overriding factor could determine whether the U.S. should act multilaterally or unilaterally, and that was America's national interest. At a speech at the Colombia University, the then Secretary of State Warren Christopher called multilateralism as a means, not an end, and warranted only when it served the central purpose of American foreign policy. At the National Defence University, Ambassador Albright listed questions that the U.S. would insist to be answered before it would agree to a new U.N. peace operation. Boutros-Ghali writes that if all the conditions insisted upon by her were to be met, "there would be no U.N. peacekeeping anywhere, and it would warrant the withdrawal of U.N. missions from Bosnia as well as Somalia".

On the situation in Rwanda, he sent a message to the Security Council recommending not to withdraw U.N. forces from that country but to strengthen the U.N. mission by authorising it to conduct enforcement operation. But his views were not "well received". In view of this rejection and continuing mass-scale killing of innocent people in that country, Boutros-Ghali was

obliged to ask the Security Council to consider France's offer to undertake an operation under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter. Security Council agreed to this proposal. Boutros-Ghali remarks that this was the least satisfactory arrangement as France had been deeply involved with the Hutus, the one side of the war, and was far from the ideal country to intervene. In spite of this, he recommended French intervention because as he puts it, "multilateralism had been rejected, so no other course of action was available". He writes that if his advice for swift U.N. intervention with augmented force had been accepted, tens of thousands of lives might have been saved. In Rwanda close to a million people were killed, yet the Security Council did nothing. (page 140). Similarly, U.N. was kept deliberately outside Cambodia where more than million victims fell to the Khmer Rouge, former Yugoslavia where ethnic cleansing was taking place after the disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation, and Somalia, where genocide by starvation was happening because the war lords were deliberately withholding food aid from the starving and sick and where 350,000 people died before the Security Council decided to step in.

A forewarning regarding the former Yugoslavia being plunged into internecine wars if the Yugoslav Federation was allowed to disintegrate, was given by the United Nations much in advance, even before Boutros-Ghali took over as Secretary General. In 1991, the then Secretary General, Perez de Cuellar wrote in the strongest terms to urge Germany not to give diplomatic recognition to Croatia. He warned that if Croatia's independence was accepted internationally, other parts of Yugoslavia would declare independence as well, and a drastic struggle for territory could break out. In spite of this, on December 16, 1991, the European Community agreed to recognise Croatia and Slovenia within 30 days after they declared independence from Yugoslavia.

When the inevitable came to happen, in a meeting of the Security Council on May 14, 1992, Boutros-Ghali proposed that a force of 70,000 troops be authorised. NATO would have operational and tactical control of the troops though it would be a Blue Helmets force under the U.N. flag. The ultimate strategic and political authority would reside with the Security Council. U.S. rejected this proposal. (page 115). Later when the situation rapidly deteriorated in a part of Europe where the major powers

could not afford to watch in silence, the NATO forces intervened entirely under their own command and control and under their own mandate, keeping the United Nations completely outside the zone of its operation.

In spite of his knowledge of what was happening in all these and similar theatres, Boutros-Ghali applied great restraint in expressing his views in public in order to avoid embarrassing the major powers, particularly the United States. For, he knew that if he did so, he would be virtually paralysed in his functioning as Secretary General. But in the Security Council and private consultations he could not avoid expressing his views frankly, which were not to the liking of the United States. In a few situations of extreme emergency, as in the case of Rwanda, he gave his warning publicly and firmly. This virtually infuriated the U.S. policy makers. The grudge they nurtured on this account was reflected in their sole negative vote in the Security Council which blocked his election as Secretary General for the second term.

Today the vastly weakened and virtually tottering multilateral world order built on the foundation of the United Nations is threatened by the Trump Administration to be brought close to extinction. The new U.S. Administration has already substantially reduced its contributions to the United Nations against all canons of international law. It has decided to walk out of the Paris Agreement which is the last hope of saving the Earth from ecological genocide. It has walked out of the UNESCO, thereby threatening the existence of the U.N. Specialized agency involved in the most crucial area of education, science and culture. It has declared that WTO, a major pillar underpinning the multilateral trading system is a talking shop and inimical to the interest of the United States.

These U. S. actions have led to a renewed and widespread debate on the future of the multilateral world order. China has stated its commitment to the preservation of the existing world order. This preference for the status quo is shared by the vast majority of the nations of the world, including U.S. allies in Europe, Japan, Canada and Australia.

There is no doubt that the future world order would have to be built on the foundation of the objectives and principles as well as the international law embodied in the United Nations. This is

simply because U.N. is the only existing universal world organization. To scrap it and create an altogether new framework for world order would be an impossibility. Besides, the United Nations' principles and objectives are based on essential and eternal human values and its provisions represent the latest developments in international law. Law is a law. To have any order in international system, the existing law must be respected and enforced until it is replaced by new ones.

There is at the same time no doubt that the world has changed a great deal since the U.N. Charter was drawn up and subscribed to by the then existing nations of the world. Therefore, the future world order, while based on the United Nations provisions must reflect the far-reaching changes that have taken place in recent years. Boutros-Ghali has observed in *Unvanquished*, "The dream of the founders of the United Nations was not only that the organization be used as it was envisaged in San Francisco in 1945 but also that it proved capable of transforming itself to engage effectively in a world that must and will change in unforeseen ways".

One of the most important changes that has come about, starting from the mid-1980s, is the latest phase of the phenomenon of globalization. To quote Boutros-Ghali again from the same source, "Single superpower hegemony is a transitory phenomenon, but globalization is an irreversible force on a scale heretofore unseen". Globalization has thrown up many problems relating to capital inflows, business, technology, information, environment and trans-border threats like terrorism, pandemic diseases, drug trafficking etc. Boutros-Ghali thinks: "In many ways, the only truly global mechanism for addressing them is the United Nations". (pages 336-338).

The first and foremost task in renewing the United Nations is the reform of the Security Council in order to make it more credible, effective and democratic. As Boutros-Ghali points out in his Foreword to "Building a Just World", the long pending reform of the Security Council to make it more representative, thereby lending greater legitimacy to its decisions on war and peace, must be brought to its logical conclusion. And in the Security Council reforms, by far the most important task should be to dispense with the Veto power of the Permanent Members provided for in the Charter and frequently used by them. One of the

most inglorious examples of the misuse of the Veto power was the denial of extension to Boutros-Ghali by way of the single negative vote cast by the United States. He writes in *Unvanquished* that "the U.S. Veto was a rejection of democracy "and that "the fact that a single Veto - - - could dictate the outcome at the United Nations, threatens hopes for increasing democratization on the international scene". (page 318-19). He then raises the question, "how can we ask nations to accept democratic practices within their borders if they see no hope for democracy among nations". (page 320). Some of the reports of important "Commissions" and "High Level Groups" chaired by eminent personalities of the world, issued on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the birth of the United Nations, sought to deal with the problem of the "Veto". The report of the Commission on Global Governance, later published as a book by the Oxford University Press, under the title: "Our Global Neighbourhood", recommended not conferring Veto power on the new entrants to the club of Permanent Members of the Security Council and its use by the existing Permanent Members "only in extreme cases".

The Independent Working Group on the Future of the United Nations, of which this author was a member, recommended that the new entrants as Permanent Members may be given the Veto power on par with that enjoyed by the existing ones, but the exercise of Veto by all should be confined to only enforcement actions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. Had this been the case, the U.S. negative veto would not have prevented Boutros-Ghali from getting the well deserved and widely expected second term as Secretary General. Nor had it enabled United States to bring the United Nations to paralysis every now and then, whenever it suited its interest. The belligerent position taken by the United States on the issue of the observance of democratic principles, particularly by developing countries members of the Organization, carries little conviction when viewed in the context of their persistent use of the Veto power, even on procedural, administrative and financial matters and generally against the wishes of the majority in the Council.

The second most important reform of the United Nations should be to restore to the Organization its Charter functions, particularly in the economic field which have been snatched away from it and transferred to the World Trade Organization, World Bank

and International Monetary Fund over which the U.S. and its allies exercise decisive control by virtue of their superior retaliatory power as in the case of WTO or disproportionate shares of the quotas held by them, as in the case of IMF and World Bank. Without this, U.N. will remain fragmented and of little relevance to the current global problems.

The third major issue left out of the reform agenda so far and critical for U.N.'s functioning, is to endow it with resources – financial and material – to carry out its revived and strengthened role. In the financial field, the process of voluntarization of funding of the U.N. activities should be reversed. Assessed contributions should not be allowed to be withheld. The current freeze on the budgets of the United Nations should be lifted. Urgent action should be taken to restructure the IMF and World Bank quotas in order to give the developing countries a greater say in their governance. Moreover, the U.N. system should be assured of automatically and regularly occurring resources, mainly through such devices as international taxation on the use of global commons, levies on international transactions for speculative purposes, and the creation of a large volume of international liquidity in the form of an international unit of account such as the SDRs and its renewal on a regular basis. (page xvii of the Foreword)

In view of the generally negative attitude of the major contributors to the United Nations and their propensity to use their contributions as a leverage for influencing its policies, time has come to give serious considerations to the restructuring of the system of assessing Member countries' contributions to the U.N. budget. In this connection, it is worth recalling that towards the end of the 1960s, in one of the meetings of the Industrial Development Board of UNIDO, a group of developing countries, including India, had informally circulated a proposal to revise the system of assessed contributions in order to peg the contributions of major donors at a lower level and oblige the better off among the developing countries to assume the resultant additional financial burden. In the proposal, actual figures of contributions of member countries had been worked out, based on the revised principle. However, the initiative had to be dropped due to the strong opposition among others, by the United States on the ground that it was mainly designed to reduce its influence over

the U.N. system. Later, this idea was revived in the U.N. General Assembly, but it did not receive much traction even among developing countries. This initiative should now be revived. Apart from other reasons, such an initiative is now warranted by the shift that has taken place in the global economic power balance from United States and Europe to Asia. China can make a real difference in the situation today by assuming much enhanced responsibility commensurate with its newly acquired economic power, to finance the U.N. budget. Other developing countries mainly from Asia, including India, Brazil and South Africa which are capable of paying more than their currently assessed shares, should also accept enhanced shares.

It is also necessary to enhance U.N.'s capacity in the peacekeeping area. And there is no better source to draw upon than BBG's proposal contained in the document "Agenda for Peace" submitted to the U.N. Security Council in June 1992. Some of the important suggestions made in this document are endowing the U.N. with stable resources for carrying out its peacekeeping activities and to this end establishing a U.N. Peace Endowment Fund and a Revolving Fund; permitting the Secretary General to negotiate with member governments under Article 43 of the Charter, to arrive at special agreements whereby they would make armed forces, logistic facilities and other assistance available on demand to the Security Council, for being deployed in peacekeeping operations; and creating a Rapid Deployment Force of the United Nations.

In view of the changed global situation, it is also necessary to update and enlarge the mandate of the United Nations. This will call for the creation of new institutions to deal with critical issues like food and energy security, globally equitable sharing of strategic natural resources, ensuring international accountability of transnational corporations, averting economic and financial crises in the world economy, which have been occurring at regular intervals during the last few decades mainly on account of insufficient regulations of the global financial market, fostering global cooperation for the generation and equitable diffusion of eco-friendly technologies, liberating the poorest countries from their onerous external debt burdens, and channelling the surplus resources of the world and facilitating transfer of

technology for the development of developing countries. (page xvii of the Foreword).

In *Unvanquished*, Boutros-Ghali BGG has made a strong case for the issue of the development of developing countries remaining one of the principal vocations of the United Nations. He has stated: "Any Secretary General, from whatever region of the world, must advocate the cause of the developing countries. In a world of many big and wealthy powers, it is the United Nations' job to look out for those marginalized because of ethnicity, gender, religion, poverty etc. ...For, as far ahead as we can see, the United Nations must continue to be the main voice for the weakest and the least regarded peoples, to defend them from the detrimental effect of globalization, and to help them find ways to succeed in the global economy". (pages 336-338). The only other high ranking U.N. official who had put U.N. unequivocally on the side of the development of developing countries, was Raul Prebisch, the Secretary General of UNCTAD. He had placed the resources of the UNCTAD Secretariat at the disposal of G-77 in furthering their just cause of development, which was not only in the interest of the G-7 members, but also in the enlightened interest of developed countries.

In the context of the restructuring of the U.N, another issue which was of abiding interest to Boutros-Ghali was making arrangements within the U.N. for hearing the voice of the people. He wanted "the people of the world, as represented by civil society organisations and social movements, to participate and contribute to reorienting the world society...". According to him, "they should have structured access to and regular presence and a voice in world affairs. (page xvii of the Foreword). A related means for ensuring the representation of the citizens of the world at the United Nations advocated by him was the establishment of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. He was one of the early signatories to the initiative launching the "campaign" for promoting this objective.

To the question raised by Boutros-Ghali as to whether it is possible to practice democracy in a nation without its being practiced among nations, I would like to add the question: can we have a democratic international order consisting of nation states most of which are undemocratic? It will be agreed that demand made by an undemocratic state or states for democracy

at the international level, carries no moral authority. A drastic but straightforward way of resolving this moral dilemma will be to make the membership of the United Nations conditional upon a country practicing democracy. This, however, will be impracticable. The first question that would arise is: What form of democracy a country should practice in order to qualify for the membership of the United Nations? It will be inappropriate to suggest that all member countries should follow the Westminster or the U.S. Federal type of democracy. A vast majority of the nations of the world would reject any such proposition. Therefore, an alternative that can be pursued is to make it obligatory upon members of the United Nations to adhere to a set of democratic principles and norms. This should include firm commitment to basic human rights, granting freedom of expression and to pursue one's faith, non-discrimination, and equality and equal opportunity for all citizens irrespective of their religion, ethnicity, and disability of any kind or sex. Another feature of democracy that should be made obligatory for member states could be the existence of an independent judiciary to ensure that the rule of law prevails in the country concerned. Yet another issue on which an understanding should be reached through negotiation is the circumstance in which and the means by which a change in government could be brought about.

It will be very difficult to reach an agreement on the above principles. It will be even more difficult to ensure their implementation. But the basic issue of democracy in member countries cannot be kept under the carpet without compromising the credibility of the world body. Moreover, today, the qualified mandate of the U.N. to promote democracy is hardly making any progress in the absence of an understanding on a set of minimum norms for democracy which each member must follow. This is giving major powers a *carte blanche* to use democracy as a pretext for bringing about regime changes in the developing world with their horrendous consequences.

The restructuring of the United Nations on the lines suggested in the above paragraphs is not going to happen by itself. A country or a group of countries will have to take initiative for bringing this about. India is uniquely placed to take such an initiative. This will be in keeping with the ideals and values it has inherited from the past and which inspired its freedom movement. This is

perhaps the most important initiative that India can take in the prevailing situation in the world. This will also be in accordance with the basic tenets of its foreign policy and in pursuance of the provision in its Constitution which obliges the State to "promote international peace and security, maintain just and equitable relations between nations, and foster respect for international law ..." (Article 51 of the Constitution).

Moreover, India is now widely recognized as a significant global military and economic power. It has, thus, acquired a greater capacity to influence world events. If in the process it can bring China, among others, on board, its influence would multiply manifold.

The task for mobilizing world-wide support for the U.N. of the future is going to be difficult and time-consuming. In spite of this, an effort in this direction is very much worth undertaking. For, even if, in the ultimate analysis, a consensus is built on a much scaled down version of the vision projected in the paper, it will have the advantage of setting in motion a process of dialogue which seems to be indispensable in the prevailing world situation.

Tactically, the blueprint of a new, dynamic and democratic multilateralism under the U.N. should be discussed first in a smaller group of like-minded countries, preferably IBSA, that is - India, Brazil and South Africa. It should at the same time be taken up for deliberation in the regional groupings of developing countries. After achieving a measure of consensus in these groups, discussion should move up to the Group of 77 and the forum of the Non-aligned Movement. Side by side, it will also be important to engage and seek the support of the BRICS group as a whole, including Russia. Russia may be persuaded to go along because of its relative isolation from the mainstream of the global community and the insecurity it perceives in the *status quo* of the world order.

The United States and its allies can be expected to resist any initiative for a major change in the *status quo* as it suits their interest ideally. But in view of the changed global economic power balance and the security scenario, even they can be expected to realize that it would be both untenable and unrealistic to maintain intact the present world order.

So long as President Trump is in power in the United States, U.S. can be expected to strongly oppose the proposed initiative and put pressure on other countries to do likewise. Even if there is a change in the U.S. Administration after the next Presidential election in that country, another Presidency, perhaps of the Democratic Party, is not likely to be much better than the present one in regard to this matter. All that may be expected from possibly next Democratic U.S. Administration is a cooperative attitude towards the U.N. system. But such an Administration also will be for the *status quo*, as it enables U.S. to maintain its hold on the world order. In the United States, the main hope lies in the resurgence of popular will, particularly that of the young generation, in progressive and futuristic direction under the leadership of Bernie Sanders, the Presidential aspirant who lost the democratic primary election to Hillary Clinton. India and like-minded countries should touch base with him and his advisors immediately after launching their initiative. After that, they can spread out to other opinion makers in the United States.



First Security Council Summit Level Meeting 31 January 1992

Hommage a Boutros Boutros-Ghali, homme de Culture et de paix

Dumas, Roland*

Boutros Boutros-Ghali a marqué par son action, par ses déclarations, par ses rencontres et par le temps partagé avec les grands responsables politiques, hommes d'Etat du siècle dernier.

Je l'avais rencontré, connu et apprécié avant même qu'il soit nommé Ministre des Affaires étrangères de l'Egypte. J'avais tout de suite remarqué en lui l'homme de culture, l'homme de paix. La formation qu'il avait acquise à l'Ecole des Sciences Politiques de Paris l'avait placé parmi les meilleurs esprits de son époque. Je garde particulièrement en mémoire une réunion qui a eu lieu à l'Ecole des Sciences politiques à laquelle j'assistais comme vice-président, au cours de laquelle un hommage solennel lui était rendu en sa qualité d'ancien élève et enseignant.

Mais je l'ai surtout fréquenté dans l'exercice de ses fonctions pour le compte de son pays, l'Egypte. Sa parfaite connaissance du droit international, sa maîtrise des langues et notamment du français ainsi que ses manifestations publiques en ont fait un homme parmi les plus éminents.

J'avais remarqué au cours de nos rencontres qu'il avait à cœur de poursuivre une réflexion importante sur la coopération internationale « transversale ». Il s'agissait de mobiliser et de développer entre les pays du tiers et du quart monde, une coopération qui aurait permis un développement utile sur le plan économique et donc sur le plan politique et social. Il y tenait beaucoup et nous avons travaillé ensemble sur le sujet. J'avais réussi à mobiliser l'ensemble des pays francophones à commencer par le

* Roland Dumas, Ancien Ministre d'Etat de la République Française, Ancien Président du Conseil constitutionnel français, Ancien Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Président Houphouët Boigny pour les mobiliser à cette fin qui comportait des objectifs tant politiques, qu'économiques et humanitaires aussi. Cette idée a vécu le temps qu'il a lui-même vécu...Elle reste toujours vivante cependant.

Responsable des affaires étrangères de ce grand pays qu'est l'Egypte, il y fit preuve de ses grandes qualités humaines et intellectuelles. Nos rencontres ont été fréquentes dans toutes les parties du monde.

Sa renommée était universelle, son nom répété par tous les dirigeants de ce monde qui partageaient son aspiration pour la paix, l'objectif de sa vie.

Le moment le plus fort de notre relation est lié à mon action et mes démarches visant à le faire nommer Secrétaire général des Nations Unies. J'avais fait part au Président Mitterrand des qualités de cet homme qu'il appréciait par ailleurs énormément. Je lui ai proposé un jour que la France intervienne pour faire nommer Boutros Boutros-Ghali à l'ONU du fait de sa carrure internationale et de sa parfaite connaissance du français, bien sûr, mais aussi de l'anglais et de l'arabe. François Mitterrand s'est immédiatement déclaré favorable à cette idée et m'a demandé d'entreprendre les démarches nécessaires. J'ai pris un avion du Glam et je me suis rendu en Egypte afin de rencontrer le Président Moubarak. Ce dernier était en vacances sur les bords du Nil mais il me reçut néanmoins très aimablement en me demandant les raisons du choix que faisait la France. Je lui ai fait remarquer que Boutros Boutros-Ghali était un Egyptien disposant d'une carrure internationale et qu'il était important que l'Egypte annonce officiellement sa candidature et la soutienne fermement. Après avoir longuement réfléchi, le Président Moubarak accepta l'idée et me donna son accord. C'est ainsi que Boutros Boutros-Ghali fut présenté par l'Egypte comme candidat au poste de Secrétaire général des Nations Unies à New York, soutenu par la France.

La concurrence était rude et les Américains voyaient d'un mauvais œil sa nomination à ce poste de premier choix précisément en raison de sa forte position dans le monde. Parmi les autres candidats se trouvait un Ministre des Finances d'un Etat africain et j'avais tout de suite compris en lisant le curriculum vitae de cet homme par ailleurs fort honorable qu'il ne remplissait pas les

conditions essentielles. Les textes des Nations Unies stipulaient très clairement que le Secrétaire général devait parler couramment et correctement deux langues, soit l'anglais et le français. Or ce Ministre anglophone qui avait le soutien des Américains ne parlait pas couramment le français. Je me suis prévalu de ce critère pour faire avancer la candidature de Boutros-Ghali auprès des gouvernements. Cela m'a valu à l'époque quelques frictions avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, atténuées par la suite comme cela est toujours possible en matière diplomatique.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali aura été un excellent Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, le meilleur en fait, et marqua de son autorité, de son influence, de son indépendance et de son intégrité le mandat unique que l'Amérique à l'hostilité grandissante lui permit d'exercer...

Je l'ai revu par la suite et nous nous sommes beaucoup rencontrés en privé lors de déjeuners ou de dîners diplomatiques pour discuter sans fin sur son sujet de prédilection, à savoir le Moyen-Orient, une région qui n'a jamais cessé de le passionner.

Comme tous ceux qui l'ont rencontré, je garde pour lui une estime et des sentiments profonds. Ce fut un grand homme politique comme il y en a peu, et un infatigable serviteur de la paix, comme il n'y en a plus.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali greets President of France François Mitterrand at first summit level meeting of the UN Security Council, 31 January 1992

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, pharaon des temps modernes

Dyckmans-Rozinski, Annie*

Je n'oublierai jamais ma première rencontre avec Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Je venais de rejoindre son Cabinet en qualité de speechwriter. C'était au début de l'année 1998, à Paris. Il avait été élu, en novembre 1997, à Hanoï, lors du Sommet des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement ayant le français en partage, premier Secrétaire général de la Francophonie. Un défi à la hauteur de l'appétit inextinguible de cet homme alors âgé de 75 ans qui, après une vie d'universitaire, de diplomate, de vice premier Ministre chargé des Affaires étrangères d'Egypte et un mandat d'une densité jamais égalée à la tête de Nations unies, aurait pu aspirer à une retraite bien méritée ou tout au moins à des activités purement honorifiques. Mais Boutros Boutros-Ghali, comme tous les grands hommes, n'a jamais eu d'âge, comme si le temps, reconnaissant ceux qui façonnent l'Histoire et s'excusant de faire son œuvre, retenait les heures, les jours, les années pour que puisse s'accomplir ce qui doit l'être.

C'est cette énergie électrique, cette force de vie irradiant de son regard et de tout son corps qui m'a fascinée lors de notre première entrevue, en même temps qu'une élégance naturelle, une courtoisie aristocratique et un sourire désarmant de charme. L'homme était intimidant, charismatique.

Dès le début de son mandat, Boutros Boutros-Ghali s'est emparé de la Francophonie avec sa pensée fulgurante, avec sa vision de l'homme et du monde, mêlée tout à la fois de réalisme, de pessimisme et d'idéal, avec ses révoltes jamais émoussées face aux injustices, aux inégalités, aux fléaux qui frappent les damnés de la terre, et aux conflits orphelins qui tuent des

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populations civiles que la communauté internationale abandonne trop souvent à leur tragique solitude.

Durant cinq ans, il s'est attaché, selon ses propres mots, à «émanciper la Francophonie, à l'affranchir de ses pesanteurs institutionnelles et administratives, à la libérer des clichés et des idées reçues, à l'ouvrir sur les autres cultures et les autres civilisations pour qu'elle ait les capacités de relever les défis de la modernité et de s'affirmer comme un acteur crédible sur la scène internationale, tout en restant fidèle à l'esprit de ses pères fondateurs»: Léopold Sédar Senghor, Diori Hamani, Habib Bourguiba, Norodom Sihanouk.

Il a d'emblée voulu créer une nouvelle dénomination, celle d'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie (OIF). Cette appellation s'est heurtée alors aux résistances les plus vives même si elle va de soi, désormais, pour les 84 États et gouvernements qui ont rejoint l'OIF.

Il a, ensuite, développé la dimension économique de l'organisation, dans une approche globale du développement, telle qu'il l'avait explicitée dans *l'Agenda pour le développement* présenté à l'Assemblée générale des Nations unies en 1993. Une vision ambitieuse et à long terme fondée sur l'interaction entre le développement, l'État de droit, la démocratie, les libertés fondamentales, la prévention et le règlement des conflits, l'éducation, la formation, l'information et l'environnement. Ce lien indissociable entre paix, démocratie et développement l'a conduit, en 2000, à donner à l'Organisation un texte normatif et de référence, la Déclaration de Bamako sur les pratiques de la démocratie, des droits et des libertés dans l'espace francophone, qui constitue aujourd'hui encore la boussole politique et diplomatique de l'OIF.

On lui doit, aussi, l'idée lumineuse d'avoir élargi la promotion de la langue et de la culture francophone à un engagement éminemment politique en faveur du plurilinguisme et de la diversité culturelle, avec l'appui des autres grandes aires linguistiques: arabophone, hispanophone, lusophone, anglophone. Il avait la conviction qu'il fallait substituer l'idée de défense du plurilinguisme à celle de défense de la seule langue française, substituer le concept de diversité culturelle à celui d'exception culturelle sous peine de voir la Francophonie tomber en désuétude.

La Conférence des ministres francophones de la Culture qu'il a réunie à Cotonou en 2001 a, sans conteste, ouvert largement la voie à l'adoption, en 2005, à l'Unesco, de la Convention sur la protection et la promotion de la diversité des expressions culturelles. Il avait pressenti que la diversité culturelle, assumée plutôt que revendiquée, partagée plutôt que protégée, était un préalable nécessaire à un dialogue des cultures et des civilisations, école de paix et gage de paix.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali a sorti la Francophonie de son monde pour l'inscrire dans le monde.

Mais Boutros Boutros-Ghali n'incarnait pas seulement une manière de voir le monde, d'agir sur le monde, il incarnait aussi une manière exigeante d'être au monde. Durant les cinq années de son mandat en Francophonie, Boutros Boutros-Ghali nous a appris, jour après jour, à nous ses collaboratrices et collaborateurs, ce que veut dire garder les yeux ouverts, garder les consciences éveil, et ne jamais se résigner. Il nous a appris, lui qui était de la race des seigneurs, le sens de l'humilité, la nécessité de se décentrer, de bannir les jugements péremptaires et les dictats, lorsqu'on entend œuvrer en faveur de la démocratie et du développement. Il nous a appris la recherche du compromis sans jamais verser dans la compromission.

Il nous a appris, lui, ce diplomate né, le recours au langage non diplomatique quand la gravité de la situation l'exigeait. Il nous a appris le goût des mots forts, sincères et sonores, le goût des idées et des prises de position courageuses, dérangeantes au besoin, du moment qu'étaient en jeu la justice et la paix, l'intérêt général et la dignité, surtout, des sans voix et des sans droits.

Il nous a montré jour après jour ce que peut accomplir la force de la seule volonté. Et si l'on a pu penser qu'il était exigeant envers nous, il ne l'a jamais été autant qu'envers lui-même, sollicitant jusqu'aux limites sa vitalité inépuisable et son incroyable capacité de travail.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali n'était pas seulement homme d'action. Il est toujours resté ce grand intellectuel qui convoquait le passé et l'histoire sans nostalgie, qui analysait le présent avec rigueur, lucidité et subtilité, qui pressentait l'avenir avec une acuité de voyant. Il n'est jamais facile de voir, de savoir, de dire avant tous les autres. Ce don lui a valu des déconvenues, mais aussi des

frustrations, et expliquait sans doute son impatience perpétuelle.

Le futur était son présent.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali était aussi un homme de l'écrit. À Paris comme au Caire, il aimait s'enfermer, de longues heures durant, pour lire et écrire dans son bureau couvert de livres du sol au plafond. Éditions rares, ou originales, de grands auteurs français et arabes côtoyaient dans un désordre savamment organisé des centaines d'ouvrages de droit, de politique internationale, d'histoire, d'art. Un sanctuaire aux couleurs du monde.

En l'assistant dans la rédaction de ses discours et de certains de ses ouvrages, j'ai eu la chance de partager avec ce grand homme des moments de proximité et de complicité inoubliables. Il aimait éperdument écrire. Il disait souvent qu'il aurait aimé être écrivain. À l'âge de 18 ans, il avait d'ailleurs publié une nouvelle, en français, sous le nom de Pierre (traduction française de Boutros) Boutros-Ghali. Cette satire grinçante des mœurs de la haute société égyptienne témoignait déjà d'un esprit caustique et d'un humour décapant qu'il n'a jamais perdu.

Dès l'adolescence et jusqu'à sa mort, il a couché, chaque jour, dans des carnets, de son écriture fine et nerveuse, ses rencontres, ses activités, ses analyses, ses impressions, ses humeurs. Formidable matériau qu'il consultait, ravivait à l'envi pour nourrir tel ou tel article, tel ou tel livre. Nous passions de longs moments à trouver le mot juste, la nuance qui exprimerait l'idée juste. Après avoir écrit trop longtemps en français ou en arabe, il s'agaçait souvent de devoir passer par un temps de réadaptation avant de retrouver toute son aisance dans l'une ou l'autre langue.

Ces séances d'écriture à quatre mains m'ont révélé au fil des années un aspect de sa personnalité qu'il dévoilait rarement. Maître de lui-même en toutes circonstances, il lui arrivait de s'abandonner dans l'écriture et il laissait transparaître alors une grande sensibilité empreinte de poésie, de lyrisme même. Il ne pouvait écrire sur l'Égypte sans être gagné par une vive émotion, parce qu'il était passionnément amoureux de sa terre natale, de ses fellahs et de ses pharaons, de ses felouques et de son désert, de ses couchers de soleil sur le Nil. Il vénérât l'Égypte comme une déesse. En pharaon des temps modernes, il

a toujours voulu pour son pays ce qu'il y avait de plus grand, de plus beau, de meilleur et ce pays, il l'a servi jusqu'à son dernier souffle parce qu'il l'emmenait avec lui partout où il allait. S'il a quitté un temps Le Caire pour New York puis Paris, l'Egypte ne l'a jamais quitté.

Je n'oublierai jamais ma dernière visite à Boutros Boutros-Ghali, quelques semaines à peine avant sa mort, son visage que j'avais vu s'émacier mois après mois évoquait de façon saisissante celui de Ramsès le Grand. J'ai su ce jour-là qu'il était prêt à sceller son destin avec celui de l'Egypte éternelle et que je ne le reverrais plus.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali, addressing the Summit of the International Organization of the Francophonie held in 1999 in Moncton, Canada

A Champion for human Rights

Fayek, Mohammad*

Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali had been my long-time friend with a lot of common interests and commitments, topped off by our work for the liberation, independence and development of African countries, as well as, our action in the field of human rights and the propagation of the values of democracy.

He was destined to succeed me as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, while I succeeded him as President of the National Council for Human Rights entailing a solid friendship and family relationships imbued with confidence, appreciation and respect.

The more you approached and knew Dr Boutros-Ghali, the more you respected and appreciated him, therefore due to his brilliant sense of humour he had many long-term friends that opened many doors to him.

The late Boutros-Ghali had a passionate fondness for the River Nile, thus he built his residence on one of its banks. He, like all Egyptians, considered the Nile the main source of life; hence he profoundly devoted himself to all its relevant matters.

If Boutros-Ghali – like all Egyptians – had understood the saying of Ancient Historian and Philosopher Herodotus that Egypt's gift was the Nile, still he discovered that the Nile was also a gift to Africa that served it with its waters and tributaries in many African countries. This led him to delve into Africa politically and economically and develop a vision of integration amongst the African countries. When he took over the Egyptian diplomacy portfolio, he worked to establish a Nile Basin Organization called the Endogo Organization – *Brotherhood* in Swahili. He has, always, advocated that the Nile should be a river of cooperation and not of conflict.

* Mohammad Fayek is President of Egypt National Council for Human Rights

Human rights issues preoccupied much of Boutros-Ghali's mind and interests to the point of almost overwhelming all others for a long period of his tenure, especially when he called for a series of conferences: inaugurated by Rio de Janeiro Environmental Conference and 1993 Human Rights World Conference organized by the United Nations, a landmark in the history of human rights due to its expansion of the concept of human rights and introducing the link between all human rights making them indivisible, i.e., the integration and interrelation of human rights.

Ghali's greatest concern was to link development and basic human economic and social rights along with civil and political rights, a policy that has been inculcated in the global human psyche and is deemed at the core and the crux of the 2030 Sustainable Development Program endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015, which is related strongly to the development of human rights.

Furthermore, he associated democracy with human rights until democracy was deemed a human right whose praxis are never complete until all other rights are honoured. Thus, it was a great victory for the National Council for Human Rights in Egypt, when he was chosen to be its president as Boutros-Ghali gave the council his own credibility.

He called for the establishment and expansion of national human rights institutions, which advised states to promote the status of human rights. Ghali deemed it necessary not only to achieve democracy at the local level, but it must also be extended to the international order and all other relationships.

Boutros-Ghali believed that there would be neither development nor democracy or human rights without security, stability and long-term democracy being an essential component of sustainable development. Finally, he concluded that human rights are the common denominator between development and democracy, which leads to the stability of all human society. He reached the conviction that peace, development and democracy are solidly bound together – without the strong bond of such elements no democracy can exist.

In appreciation of his role and efforts in bolstering the march of human rights, Boutros-Ghali was appointed as the first president of the National Council for Human Rights, which won the

council its international credibility. To honour the memory of the late Dr Ghali, the Council decided to award an annual prize in his name to the best study or book contributing to the promotion, respect and enhancement of the status of human rights.

In general, the vision of Professor Boutros-Ghali of the historical evolution emanated from his conviction in the principle of the role played by the individual in giving momentum to both history and humanity. The individual, for Ghali, remains the main driver and the pilot in the political development and socio-economic progress in the history of human societies, hence the professor's interest originated to a new generation and youth, who are to assume such responsibility in the future.

Ghali was a staunch defender of the causes of his own country and nation. He was well-known for his patriotism. He strove to serve the best interest of his country and nation. His intellectual, cultural and religious background made him a beacon exuding a sense of belonging to the homeland. He was a faithful defender of the rights of the Pan-Arab nation and its destiny. He was an African fighter who took pride in his association with the entire continent. He was unflagging in his endeavours to protect the independence and freedom of the African Continent and its right to develop and flourish. He never gave up on any of the rights of his own country nor the best interest of his nation.

The region and the entire world knew him to be a man of peace, who contributed to conflict-resolution in different corners around the world. He helped draft the peace agenda, which is the road map to stability and security.

He was unique in the diversity of the positions he had assumed. He worked as a university professor, a journalist, a political analyst, an international diplomat, a jurist of International Law and a Minister in the Egyptian government. His mastery featured prominently in all the positions he undertook. He believed deeply in the necessity of passing on expertise to new generations.

He believed in the important role played by *wise media* in serving the best interest of the nation, responding to the preoccupations of the country, fulfilling the aspirations of the people and boosting international relations. He perceived media as a mission and a mirror that faithfully reflects the aspirations, ambitions and even the woes of the nations. Accordingly, he deemed

the freedom of speech and freedom of expression as basic human rights. Thus, he perceived media to be discharging the lofty mission of dissemination of the values of justice and equality. Moreover, media, for Boutros-Ghali, played an important role in: assisting in the promotion of the culture of human rights; raising the societal awareness of such culture; bringing up children in such a culture; dissemination of the values of acceptance of the other and confronting hate speech especially in the light of dominance of globalization and its varied tools. Yet, professional media performance is heavily dependent on constructive criticism.

Such perspective of media implicitly calls for peaceful cooperation conducive to boosting peace and stability, locally and internationally. It is noteworthy that anyone who dealt with or was associated with Professor Boutros-Ghali truly felt that he was an extremely modest, tolerant and very clever person, who carried a diverse spectra of culture.

Professor Boutros-Ghali saw that there is a relationship between morals and powers; as he was convinced that morals are the basis of the behaviour of humans in all domains of life. In politics, one can never be an honest mediator, if one commits immoralities. Furthermore, all professions and occupations need moralities.

People might agree or disagree with Professor Boutros-Ghali's political opinions and stances, yet no one can but feel the deepest respect and appreciation to him and his knowledge.

Now if I may, it is time to talk about his spouse and soulmate: Mrs Leah Boutros-Ghali, who was his long-time companion. I would like to hail such a great woman for her courage. She was always by his side, supporting and encouraging him to reach for such an outstanding level in his respected international standing.

The Noble and Generous UN Secretary General

Ferrero-Waldner, Benita*

I first got to know Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his wife Lea when they came to Vienna in June 1993 for the Human Rights Conference initiated by the then Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock at the United Nations, Vienna, when I was in my rather new position of Deputy Chief of Protocol of the Austrian Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, being the first woman having served in this position.

With the permission of my Chief of Protocol, Ambassador Gustav Ortner, who thought that this conference should rather be organized by the UN, I finally took on the task to organize this meeting on behalf of the Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to be in charge of all Foreign Ministers of the different countries who participated and, of course, to accompany the Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his wife Lea and their delegation. Among their entourage was also the then Foreign Minister of Egypt, Amre Moussa, with whom I have been working very closely together for many years and who is still a good friend.

A few months later, Boutros Boutros-Ghali offered me – *ad personam* – the position of being his new Chief of Protocol of the United Nations in New York, once again being the first woman ever to hold this post.

Naturally, I accepted this with great pleasure, consciously being approved by my Austrian Foreign Minister and started my new function at the beginning of January 1994 in New York.

My new boss, who had formerly been Minister of State of Foreign Affairs of Egypt and an impressive Professor and academician,

* Benita Ferrero-Waldner was Head of Protocol to the Secretary General of the United Nations Boutros Boutros-Ghali. A career diplomat, she has been Secretary of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs in her native Austria, and Commissioner of the European Union.

was indeed awe-inspiring since he sometimes had a rather stern expression on his face – except when he was smiling and then his eyes had a special glance full of humor.

I immediately felt this intellectual, courageous Secretary General to be a very independently minded personality who always wanted to judge himself and seemed to know where he was heading. Therefore, this knowledgeable man did not always accept the opinion of others and did not easily succumb to pressures from outside. Moreover, he was a profound reader of the press and documents and a true workaholic.

At the beginning, I was rather cautious in dealing with him as many others were, but the more I got to know him, the more I understood his just personality and his humor that only collaborators that worked most closely with him, finally would detect.

Boutros was the model of a very correct, noble man who would never accept any corruption, indeed a highly ethical personality and finally a very cordial human being.

He preferred to speak French whenever he could, English when he had to, and Arabic when he had a discussion with his wife Lea. Lea Boutros-Ghali, his tall, beautiful, fair-haired wife, with her typical *chignon*, although not always being of the same opinion as her husband, in the end accepted what he stood for since she knew him so well.

In the UN the big-5 – USA, China, Russia, France and UK – usually asserted a considerable influence through the Security Council on the decisions that the SG had to implement. Boutros Boutros-Ghali however did not always accept the influence that e.g. the US-administration tried to exert on him and sometimes even refused to implement what they wanted him to do.

I fear that this, in the end, cost him a second term as Secretary General, as I personally witnessed during the election campaign. But even being fully aware of his opponents, Boutros Boutros-Ghali hoped to be reelected and was truly disappointed when his reelection failed.

Fortunately enough the French that had always supported him for a second term, offered him the post of Secretary General of the “La Francophonie” in Paris, which he then held for several years.

In the course of the fulfillment of my duties, I became a close collaborator of his and after an episode where I had even protested to him openly against one decision, he told me that he indeed apologized for it because he felt he had been unjust towards me. From that moment on, we trusted one another even more fully: He, because of my frank speech and me, being thankful for his clear understanding and maintaining a correct attitude.

After my early departure to Austria in May 1995 - I had been nominated the new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by the new Vice Chancellor and new President of my Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), Wolfgang Schüssel - that he accepted telling me: *"When your country needs you, you have to go!"*, I highly appreciated his generosity.

As Secretary of State and later as Foreign Minister of my country Austria, I used to often travel to New York and always had a chance to meet with him.

Also in my last political position as Commissioner for External Relations and Neighborhood Policy of the European Union, when I, together with my husband, from time to time, visited Boutros and Lea in their Parisian home, we had become close friends and whenever we saw each other, we of course, spoke about foreign policy. Even if we have not always shared the same opinion, today when I look back - I believe that in most cases he was right.

I was therefore very touched and saddened by the news of his passing because I felt that I had lost a great friend and an incredibly courageous, great personality. And of course, I am still happy from time to time to see Lea, his wonderful wife.

Strengthening the United Nations through regionalism?

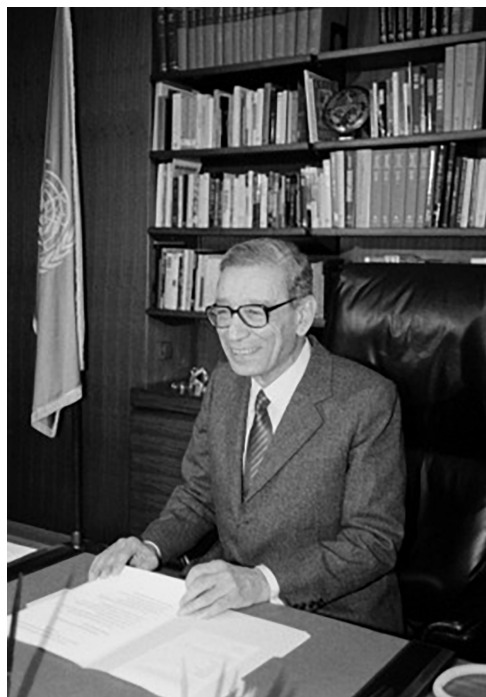
Gastaut, Thérèse*

The role of regional agencies in dealing with the maintenance of international peace and security is as old as the United Nations. The Charter devotes its full Chapter VIII to Regional Arrangements. From 1945 to 1991, negotiations at the Security Council involved repeatedly such regional organizations as the Organization of American States, the League of Arab States (LAS) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). However, resolutions supporting regional organizations were only adopted if they were in accordance with national interests of the five permanent members (the P-5) of the Security Council. In particular both the United States and USSR have made sure, jealously, that their respective zones of influence were respected and used their veto right as they saw fit. In addition, most of the time regional organizations while maintaining symbolically a united front were in fact divided along East -West lines.

This situation changed in December 1991 with the dissolution of USSR and its replacement on the Security Council by the Russian Federation.

In this overview, we will recall Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali's insightful vision relating to regionalism for peace, analyze how regionalism is faring in the 21st century and conclude on what could strengthen the call for „ ... regional solutions for regional problems”.

* Thérèse Gastaut is Former Director of Public Information at the United Nations and spokeswoman for Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali.



BBG first working day in the UN,
2 January 1992

1. A key legacy of Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali: An Agenda for Peace

On January 31, 1992, only four weeks after taking office, Dr Boutros-Ghali sat in the first ever meeting of the Security Council at the level of heads of State or government. The conclusion of the Summit was a request for the Secretary-General to submit: "recommendations on ways of strengthening and making more efficient the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peace-making and for peacekeeping". The President of the Security Council and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, John Major, summarized with a personal touch: "Our Secretary-General is a lucky man. He is the first secretary-general in many years to inherit a United Nations that is confident in its own ability to solve problems, while still being conscious of the magnitude of its task."

Dr Boutros-Ghali transformed this *luck* into a launching pad for the policies he had developed over decades, based on his sublimation of international law adjusted to his non-aligned and the South commitments. By mid-May 1992, he released an

ambitious and seminal document, *An Agenda for Peace*, which gained world acclaim. As of today, it remains a reference that continues to inspire leaders and is often quoted by scholars.

The Agenda's seventh part deals with *Cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations*. It emphasizes that "regional action, as a matter of decentralization, delegation and cooperation with UN efforts could not only enlighten the burden of the [Security] Council, but also contribute to a deeper sense of participation, consensus and democratisation in international affairs". Dr Boutros-Ghali believed that this approach: "could strengthen a general sense that democratisation is being encouraged at all levels in the task of maintaining international peace and security, it being essential to recognize that the primary responsibility will continue to reside in the Security Council".

The tensions between proponents of regional versus international settlements of disputes are very apparent in this Agenda's formulation. Based on Article 52(2) of the Charter, the first ones give priority to achieving peace through action by regional organizations. They are mindful of avoiding *political infiltration from abroad*, as already feared at the time of the Charter's adoption or, more mundanely expressed, of avoiding the meddling in their regions of the Security Council and its five veto-holding permanent members. The second group insists on the primacy of the Security Council as explicitly outlined in Articles 52(4) and 53 of the Charter, including the right of any Member State to bring a crisis to the Council and the duty of regional organizations to keep the Council informed. As expressed recently by Bruno Stagno Ugarte: "Looking at the UN Charter in its entirety, however, it becomes clear that the Security Council has primacy vis-à-vis the regional organizations with which it is interlocked based on the principle of subsidiarity".

During his five-year mandate, Dr Boutros-Ghali pursued the matter further and convened two high-level meetings of heads of secretariat of regional intergovernmental organizations in 1994 and 1996. Preparatory work was entrusted to one of his closest political advisors, Vladimir Petrovsky, the Director-General of the UN Office at Geneva and a former senior USSR official. It was an astute diplomatic move,

as some of these regional organizations that had participated actively in this new form of *conference diplomacy* included the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council for Europe, entities where Russia played a significant role. In parallel to this institutional action, all crises Dr Boutros-Ghali dealt with, be those relating to the situations in Somalia, Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, required him to collaborate with regional organizations, with, however, limited success.

2. Regionalism and the Security Council in the 21st century

For the new millennium, Dr Boutros-Ghali's ideas on peace and regionalism were further advanced. While the first meetings on this subject were held at the secretariat level, as of 2004, the Security Council itself at the political level – a token of their perceived political power – did actually convene them. More currently, the Council is organizing regularly encounters with two of its most active partners, i.e. with the European Union, represented in 2016 by Federica Mogherini, its High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and with the African Union (AU), represented nowadays by its Commissioner for Peace and Security, Smail Chergui and the chair of its Peacekeeping Commission, Ambassador Macharia Kamau (Kenya). In May 2016, the Council held its first consultative meeting with another key partner, the LAS.

At the United Nations, diplomats love adopting years-upon-years of repetitive texts, is perhaps a way for each new generation of diplomats posted in New York to justify its presence at Headquarters, but also, from a less cynical angle, with a view to advancing the cause of peace. This practical rule applies to texts adopted by the Security Council!

Following a meeting held on July 20, 2004, on "The Security Council and Regional Organizations: *Facing New Challenges to International Peace and Security*", the Council adopted a first Presidential Statement on the subject. Some twelve years later, on May 24, 2016, the President of the Council issued a new statement, quite repetitive of the 2004 one and those which followed and as aspirational but non-committal as the first one. The general message reiterated the primary responsibility of

the Security Council while admitting that effective partnership with regional organizations could improve collective security. Regarding peacekeeping, the statement welcomed the effective sharing of military cooperation and financial burden between the UN and the AU.

Now, let us look at some crises from the viewpoint of organizations' regional involvement. Regarding the situation in Syria, for five years, the LAS and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation have been ineffective and have left the heavy lifting in the hands of the United States and Russia. Once these two countries get their act together, it could be expected that the Security Council would eventually make some progress toward a political settlement.

In Yemen, the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) launched in 2014 a promising political transition process with the participation of all Yemeni parties, including the Houthis. In 2015, in view of the escalation of violence and invoking the right of collective self-defence as per Article 51 of the Charter, the President of Yemen asked five members of the GCC – i.e. the oil monarchies minus Oman – for immediate support in every form, including military intervention. The Saudi Arabian-led coalition, now joined by Egypt, Jordan and Morocco, started a bombing campaign in Yemen causing a tragic humanitarian crisis and thousands of civilian victims without advancing any peace process. With the tacit blessing of the United States, the Security Council has reacted mildly, asking for restraint and for the resumption of the Secretary-General Special Envoy in any mediating efforts.

Since 2014 in the Ukraine, the Security Council has been closely following events. In 2015, it endorsed the agreement reached on February 12 in Minsk between Russia, Ukraine, France and Germany, giving a prominent role in the Ukraine to OSCE including the responsibility of verification of the ceasefire regime. In February 2016 German Minister of Foreign Affairs Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Chairperson-in-Office of OSCE, enumerated the priorities of the Organization as renewing dialogue, rebuilding trust and restoring security. While Russia supports this position, the situation on the ground in the Eastern Ukraine is at a standstill.

As to the role of regional organizations, we can here conclude there is no *one model fits all* but, rather, a case-by-case scenario.

That being said, when an organization has the strong backing of a P-5 member and does not encroach on the vital interest of another P-5 member, it has some leeway for independent action and assurances not being interfered with by the Security Council.

3. In the future, how to advance further the motto: *regional solutions for regional problems*?

First, why would regional solutions be more appropriate and efficient when tackling regional conflicts than international ones? Let's return to the *Agenda for Peace*: reasoning being that regional solutions stimulate a sense of participation and ownership and *in fine* democratisation in international affairs. In a world organization that grants exorbitant powers to the five permanent Members and at a time when the reform of the Security Council, including its enlargement, remains a distant dream, regional solutions offer an attractive alternative to avoid the dominance of the Security Council or its stalling when facing veto from the P-5. As it stands – when it comes to UN peacekeeping operations – another important dimension is the active involvement of regional organizations, generally means substantial burden sharing as far as troops contributions and budgetary resources are concerned.

One essential condition for achieving a far greater role to regional organizations in the field of collective security is their actual strength in terms of legitimacy, popular trust and adequate financial capacities being rooted in a solid economy. Unfortunately, a good number of these organizations are in a state of great weakness, maybe a source of *Schadenfreude* for those who lament the failures of the UN to perform its intended aims of peace and prosperity: certainly a fact and a sad characteristic of today's world.

The European Union is in a state of disarray, having been unable to cope with crises relating to the Euro, Greece, economic stagnation, migration and terrorism. The latest setback to the European project came last June from the United Kingdom, when a majority of its citizens voted in favour of Brexit – i.e. to leave the Union. The African Union at its last Summit in July 2016 had to postpone the election of the President of its Commission

to January 2017, demonstrating some uneasiness in its ranks. While on the other hand, the Union has developed an impressive African Peace and Security architecture which still has to demonstrate its effectiveness in resolving the multiple armed conflicts on its continent. As for the League of Arab States, its current institutional weakness has led to a proliferation of parallel and sub-regional fora such as the GCC. As written by Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, the LAS: "was looked upon as an arena where political weight was gauged among the Arab states and *Realpolitik* dominated, with Arab citizenry and civil society having little to say".

The above comments touch briefly on the huge array of regional intergovernmental organizations but they tend to indicate that some of these organizations must win back support of their peoples and instil enthusiasm for their respective projects. The United Nations should encourage this *reset* of regional organizations as in any system where its entirety may be only as strong as each component.

Now the Security Council will continue to defend its primary role and its absolute power of interference in any situation in the name of maintaining peace and security. The P5 members as they stand, including a resurgent China, want to keep all options on the table and are not ready to rule out any avenues they may at some point decide to pursue. As a result, they would never endorse any acceptance of regionalism as the only solution for resolving crises.

This is the real world where the Security Council may still be the best instrument for maintaining peace; yet on the condition that it is not used to advance special interests of one great power or another. In the long run, economic rebalancing in the world with a more widespread balance of wealth beyond the current big powers should be able to nudge along the P5 members towards the acceptance of a new world order, where regionalism will achieve its rightful place.

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Boutros Boutros-Ghali And The Un Vanquished

*In appreciation of an exceptional
UN Secretary-General who dared ...*

Gošović, Branislav*

This essay, written as a personal homage to Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is also and primarily a comment on the United Nations, predicaments and challenges confronting those occupying the office of UN Secretary-General, and the overarching North-South entanglement in the world body.

It was in Caracas in the autumn of 1991 that I first met Boutros Boutros-Ghali. However, my association with him and getting to know and appreciate him as a person, intellectual and world leader only began later on in 2003

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, in his capacity as Chairman of the South Centre, at that time a two-year South Commission follow-up Office, was in the Venezuelan capital for the scheduled Group of 15 Summit. The phone rang in his hotel room and the receptionist announced that Boutros Boutros-Ghali was at the front desk and would like to pay a courtesy call. After an animated and interesting discussion, during which Boutros-Ghali spoke, among other things, of his early association with the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and his involvement with the developing countries and the South-South cooperation efforts in Africa, he said: "Mr. President, I have come to seek your advice and support. I would like to present my candidacy for the post of UN Secretary-General."

When Boutros-Ghali left, the conclusion was that, given the disagreements in the African Group regarding possible candidates from the countries south of the Sahara, his candidacy

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was virtually certain to succeed. Then, I ventured the prediction that, if he was to secure the support of the United States, Boutros-Ghali would have to commit himself to closing the Centre on Transnational Corporations (UNCTC).

This was not a wild guess but based on familiarity with the United Nations, including the study of and involvement with North-South issues, especially in the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and the developing countries' drive for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). One of the developing countries' key NIEO institutional initiatives, echoing the 1972 Salvador Allende speech to the UN General Assembly on the impact and role of multinational corporations, was to obtain the establishment of the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations and of the UN Centre on Transnational Corporations, although with the reluctant approval of the developed countries. This represented a major political and institutional breakthrough. It is within this new framework that negotiations were initiated on a UN Code of Conduct on Transnational Corporations, negotiations that two decades later had come to naught.

The UNCTC's work and its often probing studies caused growing irritation and discomfort, especially in the circles that opposed any kind of intergovernmental study, supervision or regulation, in the framework of the United Nations, of TNCs' activities and of what was considered the TNCs' eminent domain. This feeling was quite acute and evident during that period and it was only logical to hypothesize that the main country concerned, pressed by its own TNCs, and would use the appointment of a new UNSG to demand the dispensing with UNCTC as a conditionality for its support of the top contender for the post. The end of UNCTC was also an important objective of the North's sustained efforts to roll back and take the remaining wind out of the sails of the G77/NAM policy, of the institutional initiatives and gains spawned by the 6th and 7th Special Sessions of the UN General Assembly, and, ultimately, to diminish further the influence and limit the core functions in the economic and social fields of the United Nations, which had become the main platform and instrument for advancing the international development strategy and the developing countries' agenda.

And, indeed, the *de facto* dismantling of UNCTC turned out to be among Boutros-Ghali's first moves on becoming the UN

Secretary-General. He started out with a ready-made plan for a series of administrative reforms in the socio-economic domain, which involved, among other measures, the streamlining and consolidating of activities concerning transnational corporations, private investment and science and technology. The latter included the closure of UNCTC, a measure that caught everyone by surprise. The Group of 77 failed formally to question, act and oppose this move of the first UN Secretary-General hailing from Africa, but one can safely assume that their outcry would have been quite loud had he been from the North.

These initial actions by Boutros-Ghali were carried out with "a slash and burn reorganization fervour", in the words of one who was directly involved, and included abolishing the important post of Director-General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, also established in the wake of NIEO.

The undoing of UNCTC, which was based at the New York UN Headquarters, was a highly unusual administrative move on the part of a UNSG, since it involved an institution established by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The work of UNCTC, including on the Draft Code of Conduct on Transnational Corporations, was supported not only in the South and among the Nordic countries, but was also appreciated in some TNCs' home countries in the North, including Switzerland, F.R. Germany and France. Yet, what mattered was that the United States and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce were highly antagonistic to the UNCTC's work and ideologically opposed to its goals. The USA's Jeanne Kirkpatrick is said to have remarked that it was an even greater threat to Western Civilization than communism!

The displeasure with and opposition to the UNCTC demise and disbanding of its staff were assuaged, as part of this reorganization and rationalization of activities in the economic and social sector, by transferring some of the work and officials to UNCTAD in Geneva. There, the issue of TNCs was steered in line with the ongoing neo-liberal globalization and privatization tide, to which UNCTAD and its mandate were also subjected. UNCTAD's principal output in this domain became the drawing up of the annual reports on private investment, a valuable but non-controversial activity welcomed by TNCs. The reports attracted the attention of global media and competed with UNCTAD's flagship

Trade and Development Reports. The policy thrust and leadership projected by UNCTC existed no longer.

More than two decades later, I raised the issue of the UNCTC episode with Boutros-Ghali a few times, but he always replied that he could not remember. It was his way of avoiding sensitive issues that he did not wish to discuss, in this case his election negotiations with the Americans, the price he had to pay to secure their support, and his response on assuming office.

This period also witnessed an across-the-board coordinated push by the North that led to a visible weakening of the central Charter-mandated role of the United Nations in vital, key economic areas and the rise of the Bretton Woods-World Trade Organization (WTO) troika. In the reigning political environment, it was difficult to resist the mounting tide, a task that belonged to and was the responsibility of the developing countries, i.e. the Group of 77. An illustration of the North's institutional, often *sub rosa*, onslaught, during this period, on the UN and the institutional strongholds of the South within the World Organization's system is a little known recommendation made by the independent Commission on Global Governance in its 1995 Report *Our Global Neighbourhood*. The Commission proposed the scrapping of UNCTAD and UNIDO (UN Industrial Development Organization), as no longer needed and redundant institutions in the new politico-economic context of "changed realities" and in view of the "irrelevance" of the traditional North-South divisions.

This recommendation reflected the thinking at *Foggy Bottom*, but was sugar-coated and supposedly legitimized by being advanced in a background paper prepared for the Commission and signed by a former high-ranking UNCTAD official from a developing country. The recommendation summed up and articulated the basic objective of the key developed countries, the objective to eliminate the institutions that were set up on the initiative of the developing countries and provided those countries with significant support in the multilateral arena. Not surprisingly, the recommendation was cherry-picked from the Report and warmly welcomed by and in the developed countries. There was even serious talk of the 1996 G7 Summit in Lyon acting on this recommendation, a step that was probably not taken in the end only because of the strong opposition, voiced in extremis, by G77, in Vienna regarding UNIDO and in Geneva regarding UNCTAD.

Although aware of the kind of pressures Boutros-Ghali was being subjected to and concessions he had to make in order to accede to and survive in the UNSG post, and of the fact that his term of office coincided with the high point of the neo-liberal globalization tide, I was critical of the UNCTC episode and, from afar, inclined, like many in the South and the development community, to view his term of office with a somewhat jaundiced eye. And this in spite of his initiatives taken in the economic and social domains, including prioritizing of world conferences on highly important issues.

My opinion began to change on learning of his farsighted view that SFR Yugoslavia should not have been fragmented into separate independent states. However, my appreciation and esteem greatly increased after reading, with enthusiasm, Boutros-Ghali's seminal book, equivocally titled *Unvanquished, A U.S.-U.N. Saga*, published in 1999. In it, he depicted and placed on record, first-hand, the requirements and daily pressures of having to deal with the host country and its "wishes" and, in general, the conditions under which a UN Secretary-General has to work in order to carry on with the onerous tasks or simply just to survive in the post.

Unvanquished can be read as a chronological memoir of the author's tenure, focused on and seen through his interaction with the host country, as the book's subtitle "A U.S. – U.N. Saga" implies. It also could be read as a self-serving *revenge*, of a kind, on one member of the Security Council, whose veto denied him a second term of office. More importantly, however, it is a unique testimonial and exposé penned by a UN Secretary-General. While written in a popular style, it is an incisive, scholarly, empirical and theoretical study and analysis of the constraints imposed on the occupants of the UNSG post. It brings into full view and documents the environment in which a UN Secretary-General has to operate and the domineering role the host country plays vis-à-vis the UN Secretariat, one of the Organization's five principal organs under the UN Charter.

This intellectual *tour de force* was facilitated by the author's academic background as a university professor and scholar of international relations, and his habit of keeping a detailed diary of events, which he wrote in longhand at the end of each day. *Unvanquished*, a defiant first-hand account by the chief

protagonist cannot be dismissed and ignored as the usual academic books and second-hand analyses could be.

* * *

My first encounter with the "real" Boutros-Ghali took place during a meeting organized by the South Centre in Jordan in 2003, which he attended as one of the invited participants. He displayed a charming personality and wit, strongly supported the work and objectives of the South Centre, and underscored his interest in South-South cooperation and in the role of the media, information and communication. More than once, he highlighted the importance of the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, as a progressive counter-alternative to the Davos World Economic Forum. He also commended Inter Press Service (IPS), as a South-based news service, and recalled the fundamental importance of the New World Information Order (NWIO) initiative of G77/NAM that was derailed in UNESCO by the two leading developed countries.

When, shortly thereafter, the Chairperson of the South Centre Board, Gamani Corea of Sri Lanka, was unable to continue due to failing health, Boutros-Ghali was a logical choice to take over this role. Informally approached to accept the appointment, he agreed readily and with enthusiasm.

During his tenure as the Chairperson of the South Centre Board, he provided high-level political leadership, dynamism, visibility and substantive support and guidance to the Centre's work, which this fledgling intergovernmental organization needed. Like Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, the first Chairperson of the Board, Boutros-Ghali projected a charismatic aura of a world leader, which inspired those working with him, especially the small staff of the Centre's Secretariat, who could count on his support and advice at any time and on any matter requiring his attention. His guidance and wisdom were of great importance in organizing the work and consolidating and stabilizing the Centre following an institutionally turbulent period in the wake of the passing away of Mwalimu Nyerere. Boutros-Ghali's personal warmth and his informal style of an academic and intellectual, which reigned in the Centre during his chairmanship, were greatly appreciated. They were reminiscent of the days of Julius

Nyerere when he headed the Centre's Board and, prior to that, the South Commission.

* * *

Closer, personal association with Boutros-Ghali began only after my retirement from active duty in 2006, the same year he ended his term as the Chairperson of the South Centre Board, a function that was then assumed by the former President of Tanzania Benjamin W. Mkapa.

Our academic backgrounds and interests as students and scholars of international relations, which we continued to nurture during our respective careers and engagements related to the United Nations, our Third-World outlooks and roots (Egypt and Yugoslavia), our getting to know each other better during Boutros-Ghali's tenure as the Chairperson of the South Centre Board, and, importantly, the underlying closeness of our respective visions of global challenges helped to strengthen our bonds.

It was a great privilege to have had the opportunity to work closely with Boutros-Ghali during the latter years of his long career and life, when he was in his eighties and nineties. He was a relaxed, natural self, no longer encumbered by official duties and responsibilities, political, protocol or hierarchical considerations. Until the very end of his life, he was teeming with vitality, energy, good humour, interested in world problems and he projected the image of a committed internationalist and a genuine global leader. While he often joked about going "gaga", his sharp intellect, acumen and erudition were truly admirable.

The catalyst for our academic collaboration was Boutros-Ghali's article "Global Leadership: After the Cold War", which appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1996. After reading it at one of our meetings I remarked - in jest - that this article and his ambitious vision of the active leadership role the UN Secretary-General should play in the post-Cold War period was one of likely reasons why he was ruled out by the United States for a second term. He smiled but did not comment on yet another of my own "hypotheses".

In a letter at the end of January 2009, I suggested to Boutros-Ghali that he should write a sequel to this "visionary and ambitious

article" on the global leadership role of the UN Secretary-General in the radically changed world, dominated by the neo-liberal globalization and neo-con *realpolitik*. He declined and instead we decided to undertake to write a joint piece concerning the broader issue of "global leadership", focusing on "global" - i.e. "planetary systemic issues" of interest and concern to humankind as a whole, those that transcend any particular national or group interest. These included, for example, climate change and sustainable development, or "globalization" and "governance", namely the paradigm, system-related and organizing principles and goals of human society and the world order. Eventually, this resulted in our jointly authored monograph *Global Leadership and Global Systemic Issues: South, North and the United Nations in a 21st Century World*, first published by Transcend University Press and Kolofon Press - 2011.

* * *

For over a decade, I was in close contact and cooperation with Boutros-Ghali. He was always very discreet and diplomatic in expressing his personal views, leanings and political preferences. Still, I became convinced that deep down he was a genuine and sincere "Third Worlder". Indeed, in the "Afterword" of *Unvanquished*, Boutros-Ghali writes that, during his UN years, he was said to be "pro-Third World" and that this was taken to mean "anti-West", a simplistic dichotomizing of "you are with us or against us", to which he objected vehemently.

He, both intellectually and politically, matured during the period of the anti-colonial and liberation struggles of developing countries and their movement's rise on the world scene, and during the golden age of the United Nations. That age, which left a deep mark on his generation, had given rise to optimism and hope for systemic change. The developing countries saw the United Nations as the fulcrum and decisive means of the struggle against colonialism, imperialism, hegemony, aggression and wars, as a means for the promotion of world peace and global objectives, including of their own development aspirations, projected by the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77. This no doubt left a deep imprint on Boutros-Ghali's personality and world outlook. His roots and intellectual pedigree, as well as his temperament, made it hard for him to bear the dominance of the "one and only

superpower" and accounted for his occasional manifesting, to the extent to which that was possible and tolerated, of signs of dissent with the status of subservience and even of "rebellion" against the unipolar world order and one-power tutelage.

Indeed, Boutros-Ghali was a UN Secretary-General who ventured openly to show his interest in and support for the Group of 77, a posture that most likely "displeased" and "irritated" some members of Group B of developed countries. They must have considered it an "inimical" act not becoming a "neutral" official heading the UN Secretariat, who is not supposed "to take sides" in the North-South discord and show signs of sympathy for the developing countries' struggle. He was also the first UN Secretary-General formally to address a Group of 77 meeting.

In spite of his *realpolitik* and real-world experiences on leaving the ivory tower of academia and entering domestic and foreign-policy arenas, and in spite of being characterized by an analyst as a "realist in the utopian city", supposedly one who with skill navigated the turbulent and exigent waters of multilateral politics, Boutros-Ghali harboured and could not entirely mask his idealist – indeed *utopian*, streak. He sincerely hoped that the United Nations would help humankind in managing and overcoming problems, a vision shared by many academics who did not belong to the realist school of thinking, a vision that had also inspired and guided early leaders and personalities of the Third World.

Accordingly in his book *Unvanquished*, Boutros-Ghali made explicit his view that the duty and role of any UN Secretary-General, from whichever region of the world, was to "advocate the cause of the developing countries". He also presented his conviction that, in a world of "many big and wealthy powers", the job of the United Nations was to look after "those marginalized because of ethnicity, gender, religion, age, health, poverty" and that the UN must: "continue to be the main voice for the weakest and least regarded peoples, to defend them from the detrimental effects of globalization, and to help them find ways to succeed in global economy".

This activist outlook on world problems and advocacy role of the United Nations, which he harboured and aired on some occasions while in the UN office, and his braving to suggest to the



Boutros Boutros-Ghali

US Secretary of State and the US Permanent Representative to the UN that he, as the UN Secretary-General, should be allowed "from time to time to differ publicly from U.S. policy" in all probability contributed, among many other things, to his being considered "troublesome" and eventually ruled out for the second term.

In his concluding remarks towards the end of *Unvanquished*, to illustrate his efforts to be accommodating vis-à-vis the host country, Boutros-Ghali uses newspaper citations to depict his own stance and actions. One quoted a Deputy US Permanent Representative to the UN as saying when asked what it was that the United States had against Boutros-Ghali: "He would not do what we wanted him to do as quickly as we wanted him to do it", and another from the *Washington Times*: "He has done nearly all the U.S. wanted – even if he squawked about it."

When telling of his unsuccessful efforts to get re-elected, he recalls his own comments and prediction, based on his experience, that his likely successor, who, he said was favoured by the United States, would have to be a "puppet" of the US, which wanted an even more pliant UN Secretary-General than he had been, one who would do as told ungrudgingly.

And, indeed, the tenure of the Secretary-General who followed Boutros-Ghali was also marked by a number of actions and initiatives at the behest of Washington and its allies. They found it practical to rely on the occupant of the UNSG post from the South to articulate, advance or endorse concepts that favoured and served their own objectives and legitimized their actions. Examples of this include the notion of "humanitarian intervention" and R2P concept (i.e. "responsibility to protect"), which the North has repeatedly been steering in a way to advance its own interests and strategic goals. There are also the UN Global Compact, which helped to deflate the demands for international regulation of transnational corporations, and the MDGs, which diverted the focus of the international dialogue and negotiations away from the key economic issues central to North-South relations. These affected the nature and priorities of the United Nations and were unfavourable for the South and the international development agenda. The developing countries, as a grouping, again remained largely silent, undecided and on a defensive because the Secretary-General happened to be from their own ranks. And when, on one occasion, he dared "squawk" in public and questioned the legality of unilateral action of some Western powers, which ignored and bypassed the UN and the Security Council, retribution and disciplining was quick to come, but this is another story that remains and needs to be told.

Boutros-Ghali's "misfortune" was that he served as the UN Secretary-General at the very crossroads in the evolution of the post-WWII world order. During a period of rising unilateralism, when the "end of history" was announced and when the multi-polar, or bipolar, world system collapsed and was superseded by a newly assertive, hegemonic order of uni-polarity and global expansionism of the "victorious centre", imbued with the missionary zeal of "exceptionalism" and emboldened by the free hand it enjoyed. The traditional constraints imposed on the UN Secretaries-General by the Western powers, thus intensified during Boutros-Ghali's term.

The self-appointed "centre", heavily tilting to the right of the political spectrum, was now finally in a position to demand and exact nothing less than total obedience and absolute submission of anyone occupying this UN post and to treat the United Nations primarily as a tool and an extension of its own domestic

and global policies and aspirations, rather than as a democratic institution of "we the peoples" and the diverse family of sovereign and equal member states.

Therefore, one can surmise that had Boutros-Ghali served during an earlier period, when a different balance of forces and political outlook existed, he would have enjoyed somewhat greater policy space for "independent" initiatives. In spite of his "shortcomings" and an occasional intellectually assertive and politically audacious, independent stance in a ring where elephants tread, he most likely would have served a second term, like all the other occupants of that office, before and, indeed, after him. Much more importantly, however, given his convictions, intellectual background and strength of character, he would have been in a better position to play a role in resisting the erosion and undermining of the United Nations and its functions in the neo-liberal and neo-con dominated global setting.

Boutros-Ghali's intellectual assuredness and demeanour of an academic, his optimistic expectations about the promise of and the opportunities that would materialize in the period post-Cold War, a naïve, rosy view shared by many other world leaders and thinkers in the East, the South and some in the West, who failed to recognize the true nature of the ongoing changes and the deep-set global-empire instincts and designs of the "sole" remaining superpower, his vision of a key and constructive role that the UN Secretary-General could or, indeed, ought to play in building a new world order, including standing up for worthy causes and the powerless, a role of the kind he sketched out in his 1996 article "Global Leadership After the Cold War", and, ultimately, his Third-World and "non-aligned" roots and leanings and his having been Vice-President of the Socialist International could not be tolerated in the radically changed political environment, once more dominated by the resurgent forces of reaction and political views that the Third World liberation and independence movements had fought against. He thus simply had to go.

In the post-Cold War age, during which Boutros-Ghali was anticipating to serve a second term, the policy space enjoyed by the UNSG incumbents shrank even further, contrary to his hopes. Indeed, he on several occasions recounted to me his "induction" as the UN Secretary-General on his first day in office, when a UN colleague asked to see him and informed him that

he was required every Friday to send a weekly report to Washington about his main activities and actions. Boutros-Ghali, as a seasoned "realist", grasped the meaning of this and proceeded to promote that colleague to higher rank and from then on to invite him to be present at important meetings and visits that took place in his office, "so that he could also submit his own report [sic] to the interested party". Whom the top international civil servant was to please and follow became obvious by the end of Boutros-Ghali's term.

Similar to other UN Secretaries-General, the limitations that Boutros-Ghali chaffed under by having to toe the policy line and unilaterally imposed constraints on his office and the UN Organization as a whole, which he in some detail describes in his book, are of priority concern for the United Nations and international organizations in general. They matter in the continuing quest for an equitable and democratic world order and the democratization of international affairs, objectives that Boutros-Ghali harboured and the Global South and many in civil society continue to believe in and struggle for. Experiences and encounters in this UN post that he gives an account of raise some basic questions about the United Nations, its role in the world, and the Charter-defined but disregarded functions of one of the United Nations' five principal organs, the Secretariat, its staff and its Secretary-General. These issues are commonly overlooked in current analyses of the UN, in attempts at its reform and when the post of Secretary-General is discussed. Instead, consideration usually centres on administrative and management functions, or on the election process.

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In this "utopian city", the UN Secretary-General should not just be a CEO who manages and administers the Organization. In fact, the individual who holds this post is *de jure*, if not *de facto*, positioned on a higher, supranational plane, above rather than below those powerful member states (viz. principal "shareholders" in the Organization), whose officials and representatives usually perceive and treat the highest UN official as their underling and obedient employee. In his 1996 *Foreign Affairs* article, Boutros-Ghali, referring to Article 100 of the Charter, concludes that above all "independence" should characterize the role of

the UN Secretary-General, as a keystone of the mission envisaged for the holder of that office. The incumbent must defend the Charter's call for all member states to respect the "exclusively international character of responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities."

Regrettably, the realities of multilateral and world politics overshadow the views of idealists, views that are treated with scorn by the realist school of practitioners and thinkers, especially the ones at the global "centre", who feel that the "centre's" power, and its supposedly superior enlightenment and qualities, entitle it to impose its own vision and interests on and "lead" the rest of the world.

Thus, while Boutros-Ghali may have personally felt "unvanquished", as the title of his book can be taken to imply, the UN high office he held was more thoroughly "vanquished" by the end of his term and even more so in the period that has followed.

What has been billed as supposedly a new "democratic and transparent process of electing the next UN Secretary-General" has been launched. While the performance partly unfolds on the open stage and the same old process, requiring the unanimity of the P5 in the Security Council, continues behind the scene and will persist, the underlying question posed in Boutros-Ghali's writings should really be asked anew. Is the UN Secretary-General, who heads the world's civil service, to be "a mere puppet on a string" - primarily subservient to the signals, whims, and the worldview of a single country, one supported by its customary and obedient retinue of member states?

Or, as Boutros-Ghali himself implied, is the world's leading civil servant to be allowed to fulfil his/her Charter-assigned functions and also act as a global "leader". As one who has the necessary authority, latitude and resources to perform the assigned roles, who works for global objectives of humanity personified by the United Nations, without being pressured into following the "centre's" preferred line and fearing the outcry of influential voices in its public, including for allegedly planning to set up a "world government". As one who takes stands on major issues and advances proposals that reflect the basic objectives

of the United Nations, i.e. of the world community, and enjoys broad international support, in particular of those who constitute the overwhelming majority of humankind but are, nevertheless, side-lined and ignored by the realities and hypocrisies of power and the global realpolitik that the World Organisation was meant to overcome. This is an important issue for the future evolution of the United Nations, which continues to be bridled and increasingly marginalized, bypassed and ignored by the realities of raw power, double standards, hypocrisy, money and hegemony, and to be increasingly targeted by the mounting right-wing populism that considers it a mere bureaucracy and a bastion of "internationalism".

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In the jointly authored monograph *Global Leadership and Global Systemic Issues: South, North and the United Nations in a 21st Century World*, we suggest the relocation of the United Nations Headquarters out of the United States.

Boutros-Ghali recalled the deep anger of the host country when Germany had dared to raise the possibility of moving the New York UN HQ to Bonn. After his own experiences in New York, he seemed convinced of the benefit for multilateralism that would come from moving the UN to a neutral and friendlier location, one physically removed from the overbearing presence and round-the-clock intrusiveness of the host country, which intensifies the unilateralism and hegemony that haunt this organization. A location away from the proximity of US domestic politics and its many actors, including the government and its next door permanent mission, Congress, media, various interest groups and influential power-wielding and opinion-making individuals. The pressures have intensified in the period since September 11, as the host country has felt entitled, in line with its own national security interests and concerns, to increasingly control and have its way in running the United Nations, as an "enemy" organization in the eyes of the USA establishment, elites and large vociferous segments of the public.

Though most would say that this is impossible and an empty dream, given the interests, political, institutional and practical obstacles involved, and the deep roots of the UN in New York, it

is an outstanding existential issue that merits being placed on the UN agenda, as an item for discussion, study and review, and action.

The relocation of the UN headquarters from the United States would, in the very least, help to ease the current omnipresence of this country, provide an opportunity for the Secretariat and the Secretary-General to breathe more freely and be relieved of the burden and exigencies of daily interaction with a country that sees itself as the main “shareholder” in the World Organization, if not the owner. While not necessarily changing the power equation, no doubt a move to a location where the United Nations, multilateralism and international cooperation are valued, would be a symbol of system-change and democratization of the World Organization, and would be welcomed and widely appreciated not only in the South but in the North as well. It would imbue the UN, including all of its principal organs, with a fresh vision and dynamism, which would contribute to the Organization's renewal and ability to act as the leading institution of the world community in evolving a democratic, i.e. participatory and equitable multilateralism in the 21st century, an objective that Boutros-Ghali had cherished and worked for.

* * *

In our discussions, I did suggest to Boutros-Ghali that, as a scholar and practitioner, he ought to write his UN “testament”, in which, based on his experiences and insights, he would outline key policy and practical measures for the revitalization and strengthening of the World Organization to capacitate it to meet not only the current challenges but also those lying ahead. He declined.

Boutros-Ghali's remarkable and agitated UN trajectory, his writings, initiatives and documents that he took part in preparing as the UN Secretary-General, such as the *Agenda for Peace*, are a part of his legacy to the world community. His views were views of a person committed to and engaging in the struggle for the democratization of international relations, of an individual who dared sincerely to believe in the mission and potential of the United Nations, and who, while balancing on the high wire that UN Secretaries-General have to walk, tried, to the extent

possible, to steer the UN so that it would play a greater and more central role in world affairs.

The saga depicted in his book *Unvanquished* merits special attention. It is a unique study by an international relations scholar, though one hailing from the Third World and with a different political outlook and world vision from his many peers rooted in the Western academia who are wedded to and constrained by its reigning paradigm. It should be read not only by students of international relations, future UN Secretaries-General, and UN staff, but needs to be discussed and followed up on by the UN member states, which have failed formally to take into consideration Boutros-Ghali's views or, indeed, the implications of his pessimistic parting message in the last paragraph of his book. Namely, his conclusion that the transforming of the United Nations, with a view to enabling it effectively to act in changing the world, will be possible "if the United States allows it..." To put it differently, the future of the World Organization depends on positive changes in that country, whose outlook, interests and domestic, often log-jammed, politics radiate worldwide and reduce many key UN processes and outcomes to the lowest common denominator determined by the speed of the slowest ship in the convoy that that country represents, and often stall for decades or simply block action on vital issues for humankind.

As posited by Boutros-Ghali, until a process of a political transformation of that country, its dominant worldview and self-defined, -proclaimed and -assigned global mission, inspired by its national interests and dogmas, sustained by the education and outlook on the world imparted to its citizens from a tender age, comes about and is crowned with success (or until such a moment when the global balance of power changes significantly), the UN Secretaries-General will continue to face the challenge of how to avoid doing the bidding of that centre's holders of political, economic cum financial, military and media power, as well as S&T and cyber superiority, backed by the carefully nurtured intellectual hegemony they deploy in the ongoing worldwide clashes of ideas and paradigms and efforts to impress and form global public opinion in this information and knowledge age. All these factors play an important role in the revived and aggressive push to consolidate, diversify and modernize the traditional dominion of the West in a changing world, and evolve new and

sophisticated forms of 21st century imperialism, a comprehensive drive that ought to be a key concern of the World Organization and humankind.

In the years to come, regardless of the compromises and concessions he had to make as the UN Secretary-General, Boutros-Ghali's insights and ideas articulated in his writings and pronouncements will keep on being relevant as an important reference in the study and evolution of the United Nations and the UN system.

They will remain as a political and academic memorial of the author, a genuine internationalist and visionary personality, an intellectual and scholar of international relations and international organizations, an international civil servant who had dared "occasionally" to stand up to his "superior(s)", a champion of effective international law and structures not "parodied" by hegemony. One who highlighted the vital importance of the role of the United Nations as a think-tank for the global future, an all-important function that is frowned upon and is not allowed to develop. One who genuinely believed in the UN's role of evolving conceptual and ethical foundations for charting the course for the world community. One who saw this world organization as a multilateral instrument that should offer alternatives and act as a counterweight to the entrenched intellectual, political and, indeed, linguistic and administrative cum management "super-power hegemony" exercised by the West, spearheaded by its Anglo-Saxon *noyau dur*.

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This *spunky* Third-World UN Secretary-General, the first one from Africa, defiantly stated in his written message to the UN Secretariat Staff at the end of his term, "You are the UN!" Indeed, this fundamental truth that the United Nations staff are in fact, or ought to be, the brain, spine and soul of the World Organization and be empowered and endowed with the necessary resources for the fulfilment of their roles, has for years deliberately been undermined, neglected and not acted upon. Boutros or BBG, as friends and peers used to call Boutros-Ghali, highlighted the crucial importance of the UN Secretariat staff, including its all-important potential role of a progressive international

vanguard in the domain of political thought and ideas. A field that continues to be dominated and guarded by the North, the North's think-tanks, some of which have the role to conceptualize, justify and "market" policies of war and planet-wide aggression, the North's establishment-loyal academia, and increasingly by the North's corporate and financial sectors, and individual magnates wielding their billions to influence national and world politics and political thought, all working in tandem with their governments, security and defence institutions and structures to project and defend what is in fact a self-serving "reactionary" paradigm.

Boutros-Ghali drew attention to the unilateral subjugation, control and neutralization of this principal UN organ by a variety of means, including by turning it into a mere executive tool, which is increasingly submerged in financial, management, and administrative morass, overwhelmed by operational activities and exposed to insecure employment and short-term contracts. Also, by subjecting the *raison d'être* of this tangible and visible embodiment of the World Organization to unceasing attacks, especially by the political far-right of the host country, and by creating an atmosphere and a political environment that make international civil service careers unattractive to best brains and visionary individuals and constrain the UN Secretariat staff to carry on with their duties and mission as envisaged under the UN Charter.

* * *

One cannot but be tempted to daydream that someone of similar academic formation, inspiration and outlook as the *true* Boutros-Ghali will assume the post of UNSG and have the necessary vision and courage to elaborate a contemporary *Agenda for Peace*, a comprehensive agenda that would not have to deal, like its predecessor, only with peace-keeping and how the UN is to be used to control the turbulent spots in the South, but with fundamental causes of the growing threats to world peace, including multifaceted aggressions across the globe, the nature and state of the world economy and society, the global environmental issues, and the democratization of the nascent system of global governance.

The tenure, trials and tribulations of Boutros Boutros-Ghali as UN Secretary-General mirrored the ongoing and interrelated confrontations on the world scene, namely, the confrontation between the North and the South, and the confrontation between the realpolitik of power and systemic status quo and the aspirations for international cooperation as embodied in the UN Charter and reflected in much of the United Nations' work over decades, but now strongly challenged and denied.

Boutros-Ghali's own academic and intellectual prowess, his roots, political vision and personal courage made it possible for these two confrontations to fully surface and go on record. The Global South is politically predisposed and today has the power and is able to play a leading role in addressing and following up on these outstanding issues, in cooperation with many likeminded but often marginalized actors in the North, including those in civil society. This is both a challenge for the South, its countries, especially the major ones, and its peoples and an opportunity for them, via South-South cooperation and collective self-empowerment, to assume a leading position and role in the world arena in this century. The United Nations is the vehicle and a ready-made platform to perform such an epic undertaking.

In Memoriam

Han,* Sung-Joo

My association with Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali began in 1993 when I assumed the position of Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea. I first met him while visiting the United Nations in the summer of 1993, as a part of my effort to mobilize international support to resolve the North Korean nuclear crisis. As a former university professor, trained in international law and politics, he had much in common with my own background. In the course of my conversation with him, I found him to be a warm-hearted man, clear-thinking person, and an eloquent speaker. I immediately liked him and developed a high respect for him. He was attentive, understanding, and supportive of our effort to resolve the issue peacefully and by diplomatic means. Dr. Boutros-Ghali showed much empathy for a divided country such as Korea and was eager to be helpful not only in resolving the nuclear issue at hand, but also in achieving peace, reconciliation and ultimate reunification for the Korean nation.

In 1994, the Secretary General took the trouble to visit both North and South Korea in an effort to bring peace and reconciliation to the peninsula. There was a major obstacle, however. North Korea adamantly refused the Secretary General's offer to serve as a friendly intermediary between the parties. It insisted that, if negotiation takes place at all, it would be between itself and only the United States. He was disappointed, of course. But he never ceased to be interested, concerned about and involved in Korean issues, particularly the nuclear one. I found him to be enormously helpful every step of the way in our effort to find a peaceful resolution of the problem at hand.

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In 1995, after I left my foreign minister's position, I was visiting Harvard University to give a series of lectures – known as Reischauer Lectures. While there, I received a telephone call from Boutros-Ghali, who asked me if I would take on the responsibility of serving as the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) for Cyprus. Cyprus, like Korea, was a divided country and the United Nations had its peace-keeping force (UNFICYP) there since early 1964. According to Boutros-Ghali, I would be a good person to deal with the Cyprus problem as a person coming from another divided country, albeit from Asia. I recognized that as the first Asian diplomat dealing with a critical European issue, it would be a formidable challenge for me to take up this assignment. But in respect for the Secretary General's thoughtful consideration, I readily accepted the assignment.

Cyprus, as everyone knows, was divided when Turkish troops occupied more than a third of the Island following a military *coup d'état*, which threatened the lives of Turkish Cypriots. Following the 1974 Greek Cypriot *coup d'état* and the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) extended and expanded the mission to prevent the dispute turning into civil war, and UNFICYP was redeployed to patrol the *United Nations Buffer Zone in Cyprus* and assist in the maintenance of the military status quo. Since its establishment, the force has also worked in concert with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and representatives of the two communities to seek an amicable diplomatic solution to this problem.

As Dr Boutros-Ghali explained to me, my responsibilities as the Special Representative of the Secretary General were: 1) to resolve conflicts; 2) to promote reconciliation, cooperation and integration between the two sides; 3) to communicate and help communicate with and between the two leaderships; 4) to consult with other concerned governments and secure their cooperation; 5) to facilitate communication and understanding with the headquarters in New York; and 6) inspect, support and encourage the troops in UNFICYP – United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. The commander of the force when I visited Cyprus was an Argentinian General. A few years later, a Korean General – General Hwang Jin-ha – who later was a member of South Korean National Assembly, served as the UNFICYP commander.

From the way that the Secretary-General approached the Cyprus problem, it was clear to me that he had a special affection and concern for smaller countries and especially the divided ones, such as Cyprus and Korea. He did not relish or approve the bullying or arbitrary actions of the big and major powers. During my relatively short term (one and a half year) as the SRSG for Cyprus, despite my exhausting endeavour in dealing with not only several factions within Cyprus and other actors, including Turkey, Greece, the European Union, the United States, and Great Britain as well as the United Nations, we were not able to make any breakthrough or headway for a unified Cyprus. The only consolation I had for myself was that I, together with those concerned with peace within Cyprus, were able to prevent a major breakdown of order on the island. Although Boutros-Ghali was to serve only one five-year term until 1996, had he been able to go on to serve another 5-year second term, I was expectant that we together could have done something more to bring the Greek and Turkish Cypriots together and secure an acceptance, if not an approval for their reunification in order for Cyprus' admission to the European Union.

After Dr Boutros-Ghali finished his first five-year term as the Secretary General of the United Nations, he returned to the private sector and concentrated his efforts on two important fronts: development and progress in the developing countries through the South Center, which he chaired; and led promotion of democracy and human rights on the global level. On the latter front, he chaired the UNESCO project on *democracy and human rights in the Middle East*. I was honored to be invited to a couple of conferences convened under this important, yet very difficult project -- conferences held once in Byblos, Lebanon and one other occasion in Cairo, Egypt.

I had an extraordinary experience and witnessed the true quality of Boutros-Ghali when I attended the meeting on *democracy in the Middle East* held in Cairo in 2005. During that year, a presidential election was scheduled and President Mubarak was facing nine other candidates. Unfortunately, however, al-Ghad (Tomorrow) Party's Ayman Nur, an outspoken critic of Mubarak, had been jailed and was facing trial. When the international participants of the conference returned to the conference room after a luncheon break, we found that many of our seats had been

taken over and occupied by protesters – including Ayman Nur's wife – who were demanding the freedom of the jailed candidate and a free presidential election. What ensued was a shouting match between the protesters who apparently argued – we later learned through partial interpretation of our Arabic-speaking fellow participants – what is the use of having a conference on democracy and human rights when their candidate was being jailed on politically trumped up charges on the one hand, and the Egyptian conference participants who argued that the protesters had no right to disrupt an international meeting which is being held to promote democracy and human rights in the Middle East including Egypt. What brought calm and order to the crowd and orderly exit of the protesters was Boutros-Ghali's calm and assuring statement that it was precisely the purpose of the conference to bring about a democratic, fair and free election in countries like Egypt. I felt that Boutros-Ghali was truly a respectable man of conviction and persuasive skill.

When I heard about Boutros-Ghali's passing in February, 2016, I felt a devastating loss of a friend and a great man of peace, wisdom and human dignity.

Les grands hommes ne Meurent Pas Grâce à la Perpetuite de Leur Œuvre

Hatem, Elie*

Tel un Pharaon éternel, Boutros Boutros-Ghali laissa derrière lui non seulement des souvenirs, mais une œuvre intellectuelle et politique en perpétuelle régénérescence. Il avait la politique et la diplomatie dans les gènes tels ses ancêtres, autochtones de l'Egypte ancienne.

Après de brillantes études de droit au Caire et à Paris, il débuta sa carrière dans l'enseignement avant d'être appelé au devoir de la Cité. Dès 1977, il occupa successivement les postes de ministre des affaires étrangères et de vice Premier ministre de son pays.

A son insu, le Président François Mitterrand et son ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Roland Dumas, approchèrent le Président égyptien, Hosni Moubarak, afin qu'il présente sa candidature aux Nations Unies. A l'issue de cette initiative, il devint, en 1992, Secrétaire Général de l'organisation mondiale où il se consacra au service de l'humanité, en essayant d'avoir une autonomie d'action et de transformer l'ONU en un organe pouvant régler les déséquilibres de la scène internationale en faisant primer le droit et l'équité sur l'opportunisme politique. Cela déplaisait à certaines grandes puissances qui voulaient avoir une mainmise sur l'organisation mondiale. Il a donc rencontré maintes difficultés lors de l'exercice de son mandat et s'était affronté, sans cesse, aux pouvoirs politiques et aux groupes de pression (les « lobbies »).

Son indépendance d'esprit ainsi que sa liberté de parole et de pensée l'ont empêché d'être re-élu.

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En effet, à l'issue du massacre de la ville de Cana dans le sud-Liban, en 1996, il s'était permis de condamner cet acte commis par l'armée israélienne, à la fois verbalement et par écrit. Le Secrétaire d'Etat américain, Madeleine Albright, mena alors une campagne contre lui pour empêcher sa re-élection, parce qu'il n'avait pas obéi à sa demande de ne condamner ce crime que verbalement. Avec son humour habituel, il répondit aux manœuvres de cette dernière en rétorquant: « *Les Américains veulent de moi un Secrétaire et non pas un Général!* ».

L'effervescence de la violence dans les Balkans mais surtout le génocide au Rwanda furent ses pires souvenirs aux Nations Unies où il fut empêché et démuné de moyens pour y mettre fin. Il garda en mémoire, jusqu'à la fin de ses jours, l'image cruelle des cadavres décapités et en décomposition devant lesquels il s'inclina au Rwanda, avec « *une odeur de la mort indescriptible* » me répétait-il à ce sujet. Depuis, il se révolta contre le cynisme des politiques, ce qui lui valût paradoxalement une popularité mondiale.

Je partageais aussi avec lui ses souvenirs relatifs au conflit chypriote qu'il essaya de régler par la négociation et la médiation, durant son mandat, puisque j'ai consacré ma thèse de doctorat à cette question. Quelques années avant son décès, nous partîmes à Chypre et rencontrons les principaux protagonistes, notamment Raouf Denktash et George Vassiliou avec lesquels il mena les pourparlers. Il rappela au premier la crise de nerfs qu'il a eue lors d'une rencontre en Autriche avec le Président George Vassiliou et l'astuce par laquelle il le calma en proposant aux deux une promenade en forêt... Aussitôt arrivé à Chypre, lors de cette visite en 2011, les médias se ruèrent sur lui. Sa présence dans l'île, plus d'une décennie après la fin de ses fonctions, ranima l'espoir de faire revivre son projet de règlement de la question chypriote. Ce projet est toujours d'actualité. L'ensemble des Chypriotes regrettèrent la cessation de ses fonctions à la tête des Nations Unies alors qu'un règlement allait intervenir sous ses auspices.

Par ailleurs, il prêta une attention toute particulière au continent africain et tenta de préserver l'identité culturelle de chacune de ses composantes qui ont été affectées par le système occidental de l'Etat-nation qui leur a été imposé. Lors de la crise comorienne, en 1996, il m'a été d'une aide précieuse afin de régler

cette situation dans le respect des spécificités identitaires des populations de cet archipel.

C'est aussi par son intermédiaire et grâce à lui que j'ai réussi à assurer à Bob Denard une meilleure défense lors du procès qui lui a été intenté à l'issue de l'opération qu'il avait effectuée à Moroni, en 1995. En me mettant en rapport avec Nelson Mandela et le Président Jacques Chirac à ce sujet, j'ai pu constater la complexité des enjeux géostratégiques de cette époque ainsi que les nouveaux rapports entre la France et l'Afrique du Sud, que j'ai soulevés dans ce procès pour expliquer les motifs pour lesquels la France a abandonné Denard...

Son expérience politique aussi bien en tant que ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Egypte qu'aux Nations Unies, mais aussi dans d'autres instances internationales, y compris l'OIF, l'ont amené à analyser l'évolution du pouvoir à la fin du XXème et au début du XXIème siècle, en fonction notamment du phénomène de la mondialisation (« *globalisation* ») dont il a été le premier à mettre en exergue, en soulignant l'émergence des multinationales et des organisations transnationales vers lesquelles le pouvoir est transféré. C'est donc la raison pour laquelle ce dernier est « *dilué, voire invisible et que les Etats perdent de plus en plus de leur importance. C'est ce qui explique la crise de la notion de souveraineté. A cela s'ajoute la révolution technologique qui a renforcé les médias. Ces derniers disposent d'une emprise sur l'opinion publique et détiennent, de ce fait, une marge de pouvoir considérable* » m'expliquait-il.

Nous partageons la même vision de la démocratie qui, me disait-il, « *est devenue un cliché voire un slogan lancé pour amadouer l'opinion publique, en faisant d'elle le synonyme de la « liberté » alors qu'elle n'est qu'un mode d'exercice du pouvoir politique adapté à certains pays. Elle ne peut donc pas être transposée aux autres. Chaque pays a son histoire, sa culture, ses traditions, ses croyances et sa construction sociale qui doivent l'habilitier à établir ses institutions. L'avenir des nations devra être décidé par chaque nation. Il ne devra pas être imposé par une volonté transnationale d'instaurer l'exemple démocratique occidental à l'ensemble des nations* ».

Après les Nations Unies où il a exercé ses fonctions en toute liberté et indépendance, il prit la tête de l'Organisation

Internationale de la Francophonie et en fit son nouveau cheval de bataille. Francophone et francophile, il considérait que « *la France n'est pas seulement une grande puissance mais le centre de gravité du « monde francophone », bénéficiant d'une large sympathie auprès d'un bon nombre de pays grâce aux valeurs millénaires qu'elle incarne* ». Il voulait ainsi constituer un véritable « monde francophone » fondé sur des valeurs communes et érigé en une véritable puissance économique et politique pour faire face à l'hégémonie anglo-saxonne sur le monde. Conscient du déséquilibre provoqué par cette situation, il assista avec amertume à la dislocation des entités nationales et à l'émergence du fondamentalisme encouragé par les intrigues de certaines grandes puissances et des services secrets. C'est ainsi qu'il qualifia la mascarade du « Printemps arabe » en « Hiver interminable », en regrettant l'hypocrisie par laquelle des pyromanes sont venus mettre le feu et le renforcer (celui du fondamentalisme qui a été encouragé par des puissances internationales) afin de venir ensuite l'éteindre en provoquant le chaos ainsi qu'un phénomène de régression culturelle, économique, politique et sociale à l'échelon planétaire.

Déçu par cette tournure des relations internationales qui laisse émerger la violence et la haine, inquiet pour les générations futures, victimes de cette dérive, il manifesta une amertume profonde au crépuscule de sa vie.

Malgré cette déprime qu'il ressentait surtout au moment du coucher du soleil, malgré les problèmes de santé qu'il endura, il continua le combat entre hospitalisations successives, grâce à l'encouragement de son épouse, Léa, avec laquelle il forma un couple idéal et qui a beaucoup contribué à le faire survivre. A la fois joviale et pragmatique, elle partagea avec lui les moments de joie et de tristesse, en transformant ces derniers en expériences positives lui permettant de se redresser d'une manière vertigineuse.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali fût pour moi à la fois un mentor, un père (comme il aimait le dire) et un ami. En référence à ses origines coptes, je lui disais qu'il avait réussi à me coopter parfaitement... Il m'a appris la concision et la pertinence dans les écrits, le syllogisme et le sens de la formule dans le discours et le véritable sens de la diplomatie. A la fois clair et profond dans sa pensée, il s'exprimait avec simplicité et spontanéité, en étayant sa

conversation par des anecdotes appropriées au sujet. Son sens de l'humour, son humilité et son ouverture d'esprit traduisant sa vaste culture, à la fois intellectuelle et artistique, faisaient de lui une personnalité exceptionnelle pouvant s'adapter à toutes les situations et à tous les interlocuteurs qui appréciaient chez lui la courtoisie, le respect et le dévouement permanent. Il essaya d'inculquer ces valeurs que ses parents – en particulier sa mère dont il garda un grand souvenir – lui ont transmis, à travers sa vie et sa carrière.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali quitta le bas monde qui l'a déçu à la fin de sa vie pour reposer en paix.

Boutros-Ghali and his legacy

Iglesias, Enrique*

I had the opportunity to meet for the first time my good friend Boutros when, as Foreign Minister, I was accompanying the President of Uruguay on his visit to Egypt in 1987.

In those days, Boutros was a High Official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We had a remarkable encounter with him as he gave us a very thoughtful vision of the complex political and social situation of the turbulent area. We were able to appreciate a person so full of knowledge and as well, a balanced approach.

When, years later, he was appointed UN Secretary-General, I remembered very well the strong qualities of his personality that had made him such a highly experienced person for just this position.

Later on in 2000, he proposed myself to be his successor as the President of the Society of International Development (SID). He had persuaded me to take this position by making such an unforgettable case in support of this institution – one who would make great contributions to economic analysis and perform innovative development policies. Here, I must confess that I could not resist his invitation. His legacy to this council was elegantly memorialized through his commitment to development problems and, in particular, his sensitivity to social issues and inequalities, both in the national and international areas.

Throughout my career, I had several opportunities to meet again with him, one who always remained a humanist and his commitment to the big issues that still continue to divide and confront nations and societies.

He deserves all of our gratitude and to be remembered as one of the great international personalities of our times.

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Hommage À Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Kouyaté, Lansana*

Le 16 février 2016, la mort arrachait Boutros Boutros-Ghali à notre affection. L'œuvre gigantesque poursuivie sa vie lui survivra toujours. Je veux témoigner ici de ce que cet homme m'avait donné en tant qu'ami et comme mentor aussi. Me donner ce privilège est un cadeau offert à mon devoir de mémoire, ainsi qu'une épreuve pour ma capacité à évoquer l'homme tel que je l'ai connu, côtoyé, accompagné et admiré. Quelle belle et meilleure tâche aurais-je pu avoir qui combine à la fois mon subjectif inconscient et mon objectif de raison et de vérité!

Comment, en peu de mots, parler d'un homme dont la vocation d'ouverture, d'humanité, de rigueur, d'intégrité et de droiture, fécondée depuis le cocon familial s'est étalée devant le monde entier. Dans ma jeune carrière de diplomate, j'ai d'abord aimé le nom qui sonnait comme un vers ou comme une strophe, avant de connaître l'homme. Je n'avais pas eu tort tant son éducation et la puissance de sa quête de savoir ont été précisément incubés dans une famille exceptionnelle au nom prédestiné. Son grand-père, Boutros Pasha Ghali, son père Youssef Bey Boutros-Ghali, ses oncles Naguib Pasha et Wassif Pasha léguèrent, à mon sens, au jeune Boutros Boutros-Ghali, deux héritages essentiels : l'amour du service public égyptien et l'ouverture sur le monde.

Ce témoignage ne saurait couvrir toutes les facettes d'une vie si remplie d'exaltations et de difficiles achèvements. Il m'impose alors une limite: la cause de la paix dans le monde que l'illustre disparu a recherchée toute sa carrière durant, depuis l'Égypte,

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son pays natal, jusqu'à l'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, en passant par l'Organisation des Nations-Unies.

Le 1^{er} janvier 1992, Boutros-Ghali prend sa charge de sixième Secrétaire général de l'ONU. La campagne pour y aboutir parut brève tant sa compétence avérée dans la diplomatie bilatérale aussi bien que multilatérale lui en facilitait l'aboutissement. Cependant, un détail important mérite d'être évoqué. La France et les pays francophones ont toujours exigé que tout secrétaire général devra parler français, à côté de l'anglais.

Ce critère non-écrit était pour Boutros un formidable atout. Dire qu'il maîtrisait cette langue tendrait à en diminuer son mérite. Il a développé dans son esprit d'universitaire, de parlementaire, de juriste, de diplomate, d'écrivain, de politologue et de professeur tout ce que le français possède de subtil, de rutilant et de rayonnant. Il aimait évoquer sa rencontre, pendant la courte campagne, avec Théo-Ben Guirab, alors Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Namibie et candidat, comme lui, à la fonction de Secrétaire Général de l'ONU. Théo-Ben Guirab, mesurant son sérieux handicap dans la langue de Molière, s'empressa de le saluer dans un français aussi approximatif que circonstanciel. Boutros, avec humour, lui répondra: « mon cher ami, ce n'est pas tout pour un anglophone de parler français, encore lui faut-il parler anglais avec un accent francophone !! ».

Les années 1990 ont enregistré un bouleversement de l'architecture idéologique dessinée depuis la révolution bolchévique de 1917. La guerre froide née de la victoire des alliés aux idéologies diamétralement opposées venait de prendre fin. Les diplomates et analystes politiques prévoyaient une ère de paix. C'est à cette période que Boutros Boutros-Ghali sera élu Secrétaire général de l'ONU. Très clairvoyant, il ne partagera point l'optimisme jouissif de l'Occident vainqueur. Plus que quiconque, il savait que des crises locales hibernaient, naguère contenues par la vigilance intéressée des deux blocs de l'Est et de l'Ouest, dont le rapprochement aura comme effet pervers de lever la soupape des crises localisées susceptibles de naître des velléités de dislocation et de recomposition. Les guerres des Balkans, suite à l'implosion de la Yougoslavie, le génocide au Rwanda, la guerre de Somalie, l'instauration du régime islamiste en Afghanistan par les Talibans après la chute du régime prosoviétique de Najibullah, sans compter les crises et guerres qui prévalaient déjà

en Angola, au Mozambique, au Libéria, en Sierra Léone, etc. mettront à rude épreuve le système des Nations-Unies.

Longtemps mis en sommeil sous l'avalanche des droits de vetos estampillés Est/Ouest, le Conseil de sécurité fut saisi d'insomnie, sollicité de toutes parts par des conflits régionaux nés de diverses origines. La sollicitation du Conseil de sécurité rimait inévitablement avec celle du Secrétariat. C'était le moment pour Boutros Boutros-Ghali de mesurer l'incompressible nécessité de recentrer l'ONU sur sa vocation première de préserver la paix et la sécurité dans le monde. Gigantesque défi auquel il fit face avec courage et ténacité. Mais les résultats, inévitablement, varieront d'un conflit à l'autre. En la matière, le verre à moitié vide attire davantage l'attention que le verre à moitié plein. La paix au Mozambique, au Cambodge, au Salvador et au Guatemala sera portée à l'actif de l'ONU. La création des tribunaux internationaux pour juger des crimes commis en Bosnie-Herzégovine et au Rwanda devra être également citée comme succès.

Il fallut à Boutros Boutros-Ghali, assisté par ses collaborateurs, réfléchir, concevoir ou approfondir les mécanismes de préservation de la paix. « Préserver les générations futures du fléau de la guerre » est le premier objectif de la Charte, mais aucun de ses chapitres ne définit les opérations de maintien de la paix. La Charte des Nations-Unies traite en son chapitre VI le règlement pacifique des conflits tandis que le chapitre VII prescrit les actions contre la menace à la paix y compris par l'usage de la force. En clair, la Charte prévoit soit la médiation politique et diplomatique, soit l'usage de la force, lorsque les voies pacifiques auront abouti à des impasses. Cette position tranchée de la Charte fera dire à l'un des prédécesseurs du sixième Secrétaire général qu'entre le Chapitre VI et le Chapitre VII, il y aurait place pour un Chapitre VI et demi.

Partout des réflexions sont menées pour faire face aux guerres qui prolifèrent. Très tôt, deux écoles de pensées feront surface. L'école dite française privilégie la diplomatie préventive alors que celle dite américaine optera pour l'intervention militaire préventive. Boutros Boutros-Ghali considérera qu'entre les deux existe une solution intermédiaire: le maintien de la paix consiste à obtenir la paix par la médiation pour dissuader ensuite sa violation ou sa rupture par une présence militaire de l'ONU qui ne ferait usage des armes qu'en cas de légitime défense. Nous sommes

dans ce cas en dehors des champs de l'imposition de la paix. Déjà pointait l'immense ouvrage de Boutros-Ghali: *l'Agenda pour la paix*, qui est une profonde réflexion sur la prévention, la gestion des conflits et surtout l'indispensable consolidation de la paix dès lors qu'elle est obtenue. Les contributions à cette consolidation sont variées: agences humanitaires de l'ONU, Organisations non-Gouvernementales et Etats seront sollicités. Boutros-Ghali ne s'arrêtera pas à ces acteurs. J'atteste de tous les efforts qu'il déploya auprès des institutions de Bretton Woods pour les impliquer dans la reconstruction des pays fraîchement sortis de conflits. Inutile de citer le fameux D.D.R (Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réintégration) qui est devenu un classique du processus de consolidation de la paix ni du retour des personnes déplacées et des réfugiés.

Aux Nations-Unies, Boutros Boutros-Ghali a rêvé d'une plus grande convergence entre Etats puissants et Etats moins puissants, entre pays développés et pays sous-développés, entre pays riches et pays pauvres, entre les membres du Conseil de sécurité et les autres membres de l'Organisation mondiale. Il a rêvé d'un équilibre entre tous les Etats fondé sur la justice et l'équité. Il savait mieux que quiconque que le monde ne serait en paix que lorsque la tentation de domination céderait à la philosophie du partage. La promotion de la démocratie au plan national devrait avoir son corolaire au sein des relations internationales, dont l'ONU est la première incarnation. Comment réussir une opération de maintien de la paix lorsque les pays participants poursuivent des intérêts divergents? Comment, au plan militaire, mener à bien de telles missions lorsque le concept d'opération élaboré est soit confus, soit subrepticement combattu. Boutros-Ghali aimait appeler les casques bleus les soldats de l'ONU, les soldats du monde. Dans son esprit, l'appellation était porteuse d'une intense signification parce qu'il mesurait plus que tout le manque d'unité de commandement des troupes, chacune ne répondant qu'aux instructions de son état-major national.

En un mot, Boutros-Ghali a voulu donner à l'ONU un esprit d'autonomie au service de toutes les nations. Incompris, il le sera lorsqu'on lui prêterait l'absurde intention de vouloir créer une milice internationale au service du Secrétariat des Nations-Unies. Brimé, il le sera aussi lorsque dans l'exercice de sa fonction il

a cherché à faire ce que la Charte lui assignait comme rôle et responsabilités. Avant lui, le premier Secrétaire général, le Norvégien Trygve Lie, ne décrivait-il pas la fonction de Secrétaire général des Nations-Unies comme « le boulot le plus impossible au monde ».

A cause de son indépendance d'esprit, une indépendance pourtant prônée par la Charte, son mandat ne sera pas renouvelé dans les conditions que l'on sait, et qu'il serait oiseux de rappeler. Il rejettera en particulier toute idée de rajout d'une seule année additionnelle que lui proposait Madeleine Albright, non pas à cause de son amour propre égratigné, mais simplement à cause du respect qu'il avait pour l'institution où un tel saucissonnage ne serait que dégradant. Si la carrière de Boutros-Ghali s'était arrêtée à cet épisode, c'eût été une symphonie inachevée.

Heureusement que les pays francophones et la France en premier lieu, auront compris le gâchis. En 1997, Boutros-Ghali est élu premier Secrétaire général de l'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie au sommet de Hanoï. De 1997 à 2002, il donnera un visage politique à la Francophonie, tout en veillant sur les fondamentaux de la coopération culturelle et technique. Il s'investira pleinement dans la mise en œuvre des plans d'action de Hanoï (14-16 novembre 1997) et de Moncton (3-5 septembre 1999). Tous ces plans ont mis l'accent sur l'appui à la paix, le règlement des conflits, la primauté du droit et la bonne gouvernance, conditions essentielles à la prévention et au règlement des conflits. La promotion de la démocratie et le respect des droits de l'homme étaient au cœur du dispositif institutionnel qu'il mit en place. Conscient de la nécessité pour toutes les organisations internationales de coopérer dans la protection de la paix et la sécurité, il signa des protocoles de coopération avec plusieurs organisations régionales. Il initia et en signa un avec la CEDEAO dont j'étais Secrétaire Exécutif.

La Déclaration de Bamako adoptée lors du symposium international sur les pratiques de la démocratie, des droits et des libertés dans l'espace francophone (du 1^{er} au 3 novembre 2000) marqua un tournant dans la quête de la paix et de la stabilité dans les Etats membres. A Bamako, la Francophonie se déclarera indissociable de la démocratie. A ce titre des engagements précis ont été pris pour la consolidation de l'état de droit, la tenue d'élections libres, fiables et transparentes, la promotion

d'une culture démocratique intériorisée et le plein respect des droits de l'Homme, mais aussi le respect scrupuleux des actions prescrites dans la Déclaration sous peine de sanctions, après constat, de toute rupture de la démocratie ou de violations massives des droits de l'Homme. Tous ces outils portent la marque de Boutros Boutros-Ghali. La Francophonie tint son rang dans la gestion des conflits ou des tensions dans les pays de l'espace francophone. Qu'il s'agisse du Togo, des Comores, de la Côte D'Ivoire, de Madagascar, le Secrétaire général dépêchait des envoyés spéciaux ou représentants spéciaux pour apporter la contribution de notre Organisation commune à la résolution des conflits dans le strict respect de ses textes normatifs. Ici, je tiens à associer à cet hommage tous les juristes et les constitutionnalistes en particulier qui ont contribué à l'élaboration ou à l'adaptation des constitutions des pays membres de l'OIF.

En conclusion, si je fus toujours impressionné par l'ardeur au travail de Boutros-Ghali durant sa vie active, je le fus encore davantage par ses capacités de réflexion et sa lucidité, même dans ses moments de repos. De fait, il n'en eut guère accordant interviews, animant débats, répondant aux sollicitations académiques et à son insatiable besoin d'écriture jusqu'à sa dernière lune.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali: political idealist and visionary of world order

Lončar, Budimir*

Boutros Boutros-Ghali was a distinguished diplomat and statesman of contemporary Egypt; a legitimate representative of the emerging post-colonial world; and, finally, the leading figure in the United Nations, whose ideas, visions and projects remain a standing legacy of great importance in the face of contemporary global developments and growing international crisis.

I had the privilege of knowing Mr Ghali, with whom I worked on numerous joint diplomatic activities in resolving a number of international challenges and issues. Among those many great statesmen and diplomats I have met during my long-serving diplomatic career, Mr Ghali was definitely the one with whom I had a very strong professional relationship and mutual understanding, sharing his ideals and philosophy of the politics of Non-Alignment. Our long and productive cooperation eventually led to his decision to appoint me as his special representative of the Non-Alignment Movement in 1993.

Mr Ghali played a significant role in Egypt's diplomacy and politics. Although he never officially held the post of Egypt's foreign minister, his influence from the 'political background' was great. Delicate questions and issues regarding Egypt's political position in a volatile Middle Eastern region were often his responsibility, with which he could deal in his non-official capacity. For example, there were tensions with the Arab League, especially after the Camp David Accords in 1978, and the attempt on the behalf of some Arab nations at the UN, to exclude Egypt from

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the Non-Alignment Movement at the VI-Havana Summit in 1979. Such a crucial situation might have resulted in Egypt's international political defeat, but Mr Ghali diplomatically managed to maneuver and turn any losses into Egypt's political gains.

His rise to the post of Secretary General of the United Nations was challenging, and turned into a long and complex process. Mr Ghali had to prove on a worldwide scale that he was a man of great diplomatic skills, integrity and vision. By chance, I became personally involved in his promotion to the leading post at the UN. Before his final decision to accept the nomination before the UN General Assembly in New York in 1991, I was presiding over the Non-Alignment Movement on the ministerial level. We held three-hour long discussions, where we analyzed the given situation and concluded that his chances of being elected Secretary General were very much a realistic possibility.

In these discussions, Mr Ghali was too self-critical, claiming that his chances were actually small, for he had already been rejected twice before. In order to persuade him, I insisted categorically that his third attempt would be a success. It was my strong belief that his nomination reflected the general interest and attitude of the Non-Alignment Movement. As I correctly predicted, this movement greatly approved his nomination.

However, at the beginning of the 1991 election year, I received a message from Egypt's foreign minister Esmal Abdel Meguid, in which he urged me not to support Mr Ghali's nomination. According to Mr Meguid, Mr Ghali's eventual third rejection would be damaging to Egypt's international status – first time he was rejected to head UNESCO and second time the ILO. Then it was truly obvious this message reflected Egypt's own internal political tensions and disputes, and that Mr Ghali had to battle his way through his own domestic diplomatic circle to receive his due recognition. Of course, I neglected Mr Meguid's suggestion and ignored his proposition.

Mr Ghali became the Secretary General of the UN at a time of dramatic international change; the end of the Cold War and the attempt by liberal democracies to set-up a new world order. Nearly thirty years on, his vision and the global agenda he promoted are now as relevant as ever. Mr Ghali was without a doubt a diplomat determined by his strong humanistic principles; he

was a peace promoter and committed to global democratization with his agenda for peace as a longterm UN program for the new world order; an intellectual, leader and innovative visionary the UN had not seen since the tragic death of its greatest Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld in 1961. However, for these very same reasons regarding his strong idealism, Mr Ghali characteristically lacked the sense for immediacy of political situations and power politics. Furthermore, he was often criticized in some diplomatic circles at the UN as he was disinclined to consult with his closest associates.

However, being such a character, Mr Ghali did not hesitate to express his opinions and convictions, and even – to the surprise of many – criticized those political tendencies he found dangerous to world stability. For example, his subsequent warning at the UN of the emerging tendencies in the rise of conservative right-leaning fundamentalism in the US Congress was both brave and prophetic. Although this might have been the reason why he was not reelected for the second term as Secretary General, his concerns would eventually prove right; it would be precisely the US neo-conservative right-wing ideology, and its war adventurism in the early 2000s, that has inflamed our present world crisis and instability, and restored a Cold War mentality.

My final comment here would be that today, by observing the present world order, we could ask why post-Cold War stability remains unsustainable; why is the international political system so deeply divided and lacking trust among the international actors? The answer could be found in the very same reasoning why Mr Ghali was not reelected as the Secretary General of the UN. Simply, there were much stronger political forces that remain opposed to his idealistic vision of a more humanized and democratized world order.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali – intellectual, diplomat, politician

Mahr, Horst*

On May 23rd 1984 I was, once more, driving along the Sharia al Tahrir in Cairo to the northern part of the Garden City, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The guard led me up the broad steps to the main room of the representative Palace of royal proportions, built close to the bridge leading to Gezira and overlooking the relics of the elegant international Shepherd's Hotel at the Corniche, which saw so many political secrets and intrigues at its central position between Europe and Africa.

The guard left, and Professor Boutros Boutros-Ghali welcomed me as hospitably as many times before. As usual, he met my expectations fully. At that time, I was doing final research for my book: *The role of Egypt in the Foreign Policy of the USA and the USSR*. There was nobody else who could be a more experienced and superior interview-partner, as an actor and witness of Egypt's role at the crossroads between the Mediterranean and the African Continent. Dr. Boutros-Ghali never became tired of my questions, but also confirmed his arguments by handing out brochures, his lectures printed by the Ministry of Information, like the one I received that day, titled: *Egyptian Diplomacy 1984-1985*, a translation of an article by Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Minister of State of Foreign Affairs, published by *As-Siyassa ad-Dualiya* (International Politics), Cairo, January 1985.

Since the 1960s *As-Siyassa ad-Dualiya*, a quarterly, was published by Boutros-Ghali for the Political Institute of *Al-Ahram* to enable students and professors who could not afford expensive international magazines to be seriously informed about international developments, a typical decision of Boutros-Ghali, to

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help make academic youth conscious of the world outside of the Nile valley. When President Anwar Sadat took him away from his academic life as Professor for International Law in 1977 and appointed him as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, he asked the President whether he might keep the editorship for his favorite project. To make important political and economic matters public and transparent was one of his main matters of concern, an activity which was due to his being politically accepted with a national and international standing. During his period as professor of International Law at Cairo University, he published the weekly *Al-Ahram al-Iqtisadi*, the economic paper of the "Al-Ahram"-Group.

He and his wife Leia Maria made time for and enjoyed informal conversations with friends. The correct meeting place, late in the afternoon, was the pool of the Nile Hilton Hotel, where he had rented one of the small cabins. Opposite from there, the "Cairo-Tower" at the Gezira Sporting Club was so eye-catching. A useless tower, built by President Nasser from the US\$ 3m banknotes, presented to him by the CIA in 1958, to prove that he is not open to bribery.

Boutros-Ghali came from a large and great Coptic family of Egypt and was married to a Jew, Leia Maria, from Alexandria, always a symbol of an ethno-religious harmony. The Copts of Egypt are the largest Christian minority in the Middle East, estimated at a tenth of Egypt's population. The Coptic Orthodox church traces its history back to the middle of the first century AD. Egyptian cabinets usually include two or three Coptic ministers. Today ISIS has declared war on the Coptic Christian community unleashing a series of bloody attacks. As this Islamic group loses ground in Iraq and Syria, it hopes to take advantage of rising religious tension in Egypt. What a bitter change for the worse! One grandfather of Boutros-Ghali was Prime Minister during the period of the British mandate and was killed. One of his brothers was General in the Egyptian Army. But he was also a product of the French Lycee in Cairo and of the Sorbonne, where he has a Doctorate in International Law. His Francophone style of living accompanied him throughout his life - M. Albright defined this as imperial - and he returned to France in the 1990s. (From his letter to me.)

From his family background and education he became an expert on the Third World and Africa. He participated in numerous international conferences about the problems of these parts of the world and was joking at that time, by defining himself *Le sous-développé de service*. Yet overall, his foreign policy objective was to help make Egypt a leading member of the group of Non-aligned States.



The historic core and the present CBD, where the ECPD Headquarters is located

After President Sadat appointed him Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in 1977, he had to bear the whole responsibility and work on everything related to Egyptian Foreign Policy. A change in his carrier resulted from the Camp-David Conference of 1978. Due to the visit of Sadat to Jerusalem in November 1977, the Foreign Minister, Ismail Fahmi, resigned and during the Conference his successor also resigned. Both were afraid that Sadat would give up too many of the Arab interests. Boutros-Ghali kept his position as Deputy Foreign Minister. Only a Sunni, as the unwritten law was, could become Minister. But the Foreign Minister came and went off again, but the Deputy Foreign Minister had to keep the extremely difficult foreign policy position of Egypt for ten years, which began, when Egypt was expelled from the Arab League, and ended with its return to the league some ten years later. Due to his general international acceptance, Boutros-Ghali could keep the contacts unofficially with the Arab and African World. He has served very different Presidents – Sadat and

Mubarak – but firstly he never gave in to either of them and continued to work in the best interests of his country.

On Tuesday, December 3rd, 1991, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt was elected UN Secretary-General by the General Assembly of the United Nations. He overcame American and British reluctance to him with the Security Council insecurity due to his outspoken Francophone background and his strong profile in Middle Eastern Affairs. Amazingly, he became the first African and the first Arab to hold the post and took charge of the UN in 1992.

Yet almost from the start his relationship with the incoming Clinton administration ran into severe problems. Differences developed in foreign policy and personal frictions between him and the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher and Washington's Ambassador to the UN, Madeleine Albright. During his term in office, some unexpected severe civil wars began in Somalia, in the former Yugoslavia, in Rwanda in addition to another dozen or so trouble spots like Cambodia, El Salvador, Angola and Mozambique. However, to assist in effective peacekeeping the UN members should have been prepared to offer enough peacekeeping troops – in the case of Bosnia, Boutros-Ghali asked for 35.000, but only received some 8.000 – and an even more tragic similar situation would unfold from the Rwandan genocide. Later on, the Clinton staff would apologize for such inaction.

Late in 1996, the UN Security Council overwhelmingly voted to give Boutros-Ghali another term. But M. Albright, in her last days as US Ambassador cast the decisive veto as the only one of the permanent Council members, thus making him the only Secretary-General to serve a single term. His strong-minded and independent character had not allowed him to accept the *marching orders* of the USA.

In his 1999 memoir *Unvanquished: A U.S.-U.N. Saga*, Boutros-Ghali stated that the Americans had told him where not to travel, whom to avoid meeting and what to say and not-to-say in speeches; to avoid ruffling the feathers of President Clinton; to stay away from Congress and merely soft-pedal any discussion regarding America's \$1.3 billion debt to the UN. This unfortunate campaign to unseat him – led by then Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, demonstrated an enormous level of influence at the UN that even Washington today would find it difficult to repeat once again.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali: une vie aux défis du monde

Maïla, Joseph*

Le destin singulier de Boutros Boutros-Ghali a voulu que cet homme voué à l'enseignement et à la recherche soit l'acteur et le témoin privilégié des grands moments qui marquèrent la deuxième moitié du vingtième siècle et le début du millénaire tant pour son pays que pour le monde. A la croisée des chemins de l'histoire, l'homme d'action ne renoncera jamais aux exigences du professeur, et les analyses et visions du monde de l'intellectuel bénéficieront de la détermination du diplomate. La formation académique de Boutros Boutros-Ghali l'avait préparé à l'appréhension politique des rapports interétatiques et au rôle de la régulation juridique dans l'expression des engagements et dans le règlement des conflits. Son parcours de vie l'amènera très tôt à confronter ses idées avec un réel rebelle parcouru par les aspirations à l'indépendance et à l'autodétermination. Fils de l'Egypte immobile mais tout autant de celle de la révolution, il gardera ouverte cette sensibilité aux clameurs des plus pauvres, peuples et nations. Cela lui vaudra les suspicions de l'unique superpuissance et toutes les méfiances du vainqueur pour un temps de la bataille du sens de l'histoire.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali campait sur ses positions et ses principes. Ses convictions étaient celles d'un esprit qui croyait à la force des règles en matière de relations entre Etats, à l'importance des droits de l'Homme et à la nécessité d'aller vers toujours plus de démocratie comme garantie des deux ordres - interne comme international. Il savait toutefois la complexité des situations politiques des pays qui s'éveillaient à la démocratie dans la décennie qui suivit la chute du Mur de Berlin. Il savait aussi les obstacles que constituent le patrimonialisme politique

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et le népotisme sur la voie de l'avènement de la démocratie et de l'Etat de droit. Il comptait toutefois sur les dynamiques endogènes des sociétés civiles, sur les femmes dans leur lutte pour occuper la place qui de droit leur revient y compris dans la formation des jeunes dans les sociétés en guerre et comme forces de changement pour accompagner un développement durable. On trouve, comme illustré, cet optimisme conceptuel, si l'on nous permet l'expression, dans les lignes directrices tracées par le Secrétaire général des Nations Unies dans les « Agendas », qui porteront sa marque réflexive et qui resteront comme l'amorce par l'organisation universelle d'une approche de rupture avec l'ordre des Etats au profit de celui des sociétés, et d'une approche sociétale et développementaliste d'élimination de la violence. La paix et la démocratie ne se décrètent pas. Porté par l'idéalisme du droit, mais lucide sur les conditions de son enracinement, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, le diplomate et l'homme des situations concrètes sera amené à tempérer l'impatience démocratique de tous les prophètes de l'avènement immédiat des utopies par l'amorce raisonnée d'une construction d'un ordre international dont le droit serait la figure de proue mais le développement le moteur manifeste.

Ordre et changement: mutations de l'histoire

Face aux soubresauts tragiques de l'histoire récente, Boutros Boutros-Ghali fut aussi celui qui reçut, du fait de ses charges éminentes, mission d'en accompagner le cours, mais surtout de décliner les actions déterminantes susceptibles de renforcer l'ordre institutionnel international. L'histoire ne fut pas avare en opportunités qui placèrent l'homme face à l'événement toujours insoupçonné et décisif. Qu'on en juge : ministre d'Etat en charge des Affaires étrangères de son pays, il participe à la mise en place diplomatique de la décision inouïe du président de reconnaître l'Etat d'Israël et devient l'artisan égyptien des négociations de la paix de Camp David; Secrétaire général de l'*Organisation des Nations Unies*, il est le premier titulaire de cette charge dans le monde de l'après-guerre froide au moment où l'espoir du monde se portait sur une *Organisation des Nations Unies* renouvelée et adaptée; premier Secrétaire général d'une alliance d'Etats francophones devenue sous son égide l'*Organisation internationale*

de la Francophonie, il en redéploie les activités et la dote d'un instrument normatif d'importance la *Déclaration de Bamako*.

La postérité retiendra sans doute de l'action internationale menée par Boutros Boutros-Ghali cette aptitude à faire prendre aux institutions l'orientation et les changements nécessaires pour faire face aux défis de l'époque. Lorsque Boutros Boutros-Ghali accède à la fonction de Secrétaire général des *Nations Unies*, le monde sort du plus grand bouleversement qu'il ait connu depuis la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale. Les *Nations Unies*, organisation paralysée, subissant l'impact de la rivalité des deux grands et le blocage induit tente un retour au multilatéralisme et à la coopération entre les Etats. Le temps est au changement. C'est pour en prendre la mesure que le Conseil de Sécurité tient une réunion historique le 31 janvier 1992 au niveau des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement. L'ordre mondial de l'après-guerre se profilait. Mais quel ordre? La définition ne put en être jamais donnée, sauf que les options étaient toutes ouvertes. L'hégémonie du plus fort pour les uns était inéluctable. Pour les uns, elle ne pouvait aboutir qu'à une nouvelle marginalisation des Nations Unies, obstacle sur la voie de l'affirmation du nouveau leadership mondial. D'autres encore étaient aux prises avec les incertitudes issues de la décomposition de l'empire vaincu et déchu. D'autres enfin commençaient à inventorier les voies possibles de l'avenir d'après la bipolarité. Boutros Boutros-Ghali s'attelait lui, à l'invitation du Conseil de sécurité, à identifier les grands défis et à tenter de scruter les voies du renouveau. C'est là sans doute où l'inclination intellectuelle du professeur Boutros Boutros-Ghali connut son inflexion majeure en rencontrant l'exigence de l'action. En théoricien et en architecte des relations internationales, Boutros Boutros-Ghali aura alors esquissé ce qui peut être reconnu comme une contribution majeure à l'évolution des institutions internationales et de leurs fonctions.

La vie internationale entre sécurité et fragilité de l'Etat

La première contribution à la compréhension de l'ère nouvelle fut de la penser en dehors et à distance du référent de la puissance et de la focalisation sur le seul recours à la force. Il ne s'agissait pas dans l'esprit de Boutros Boutros-Ghali de répondre par un surcroît d'interventions comme un antidote à une décennie où allaient éclater des guerres qui seront dites « nouvelles » et

caractéristiques de l'effondrement des Etats du Salvador au Cambodge, de la Somalie à Haïti, en passant par l'éclatement de la Yougoslavie, le génocide du Rwanda et les turbulences libanaises. Jamais période ne fut plus imprévisible, avec des conflits où l'identitaire, ethnique ou communautaire, et le politique se trouvaient à ce point imbriqués. Pour le Secrétaire général de l'Organisation mondiale, les rouages institutionnels et les interventions en matière de maintien de la paix et de résolution des conflits étaient adaptés aux différends interétatiques. L'éclatement des Etats révélaient la faiblesse de la construction étatique, la fragilité du sentiment civique et de la citoyenneté. Il appelait à d'autres approches et d'autres outils de restauration de l'ordre interne effondré. Du coup, étaient à réviser la philosophie et la logistique des opérations de paix, leur finalité, leur impact et leurs chances de succès. Sur tous ces sujets, les commissions et les rapports et préconisations ne manqueront pas sous Boutros Boutros-Ghali ou son successeur Kofi Annan. Mais l'intention de Boutros Boutros-Ghali fut de s'atteler à élucider en même temps les racines profondes des désordres sociétaux. Les trois « Agendas » successifs établis par Boutros Boutros-Ghali reflètent cette démarche. Un Secrétaire général théoricien se fait un devoir d'ériger le triptyque - paix, développement et démocratie - en socle du progrès vers la stabilisation du monde. Le réalisme classique, celui qui fait de l'état des rapports entre Etats la voie royale de la paix entre nations passe ici au second plan. Du coup, la violence se donne désormais à penser comme le résultat d'un échec - celui de la construction de l'Etat de droit. Un échec qui est un danger pour des peuples broyés par guerres intestines, à la rapine, livrés sans protection aucune aux vols et aux viols; échec pour la paix avec les interventions étrangères, les débordements des stratégies d'implications des dictateurs et autocrates du voisinage. La paix se pense en amont. En aval, il est déjà trop tard sauf à répéter les mises en place, certes indispensables, de cessez-le-feu incertains et toujours recommencés ainsi que d'opérations de maintien toujours bousculées. La paix est à penser avant la guerre comme une édification de digues à la violence et non comme la conséquence et la fin supposée des affrontements et des tueries. La guerre est un succédané des attentes sociétales déçues et des aubes démocratiques qui tardent à se lever. Boutros Boutros-Ghali se fera le champion des approches de la paix par la prévention des conflits, l'alerte précoce, la médiation, la propagation

de l'éducation à la paix, à la culture démocratique, aux droits de l'Homme et au développement. En réalité tous les éléments qui composeront ce que l'on théoriserait par la suite comme la doctrine de la « sécurité humaine » étaient là. Ce pensé nouveau tirait la bureaucratie onusienne hors des problématiques traditionnelles liées aux failles et faillites de la sécurité et l'obligeait à se tourner vers les raisons souterraines des violences étouffées. Au tournant du XXI^e siècle Boutros Boutros-Ghali aura aidé à infléchir les narratifs habituels de la causalité conflictuelle.

La Francophonie dans l'ordre international

Le second apport de Boutros Boutros-Ghali à un meilleur fonctionnement du système international sera sans conteste l'empreinte qu'il laissa à la suite de son action à la tête de la Francophonie. En remodelant la vénérable organisation intergouvernementale de coopération entre les Etats et les gouvernements francophones, en la dotant d'institutions rénovées aux Sommets de Hanoï et d'Antananarivo, en repensant sa Charte, en suggérant la création du poste de Secrétaire général de la désormais *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie*, Boutros Boutros-Ghali se posait en véritable modernisateur du dispositif institutionnel francophone, mais poussait surtout l'Organisation francophone à prendre sa place résolument aux côtés des autres organisations intergouvernementales ou régionales.

L'impulsion d'envergure fut cependant d'entraîner la Francophonie sur le terrain de la politique. La Francophonie politique fut le Grand Oeuvre de Boutros Boutros-Ghali. En novembre 2000, à la Conférence ministérielle de Bamako, fut proclamé une Déclaration qui aura valeur d'aiguillon pour la Francophonie. Le quart des nations du monde s'engageaient à respecter les valeurs essentielles définies par ce que j'ai appelé le « périmètre » de Bamako, à savoir: la consolidation de l'Etat de droit, la tenue d'élections libres, fiables et transparentes, l'établissement d'une vie politique apaisée et la promotion d'une culture démocratique et de plein respect des droits de l'Homme. La Déclaration confiait au Secrétaire général le suivi des pratiques de la démocratie, des libertés et des droits de l'Homme dans l'espace francophone et lui donnait des possibilités de sanctions allant jusqu'à la suspension d'Etats membres dans les cas avérés de manipulations électorales, constitutionnelles ou de coups d'Etat. Tout au long

des journées de l'élaboration définitive de la Déclaration par une équipe restreinte sous la houlette de Christine Desouches, Boutros Boutros-Ghali se montra un négociateur habile mais ferme sur les principes. Quelques Etats, trois, émirent des réserves. Mais le texte de la Déclaration fut adopté. Par la suite, quelques années plus tard en 2006 à Saint-Boniface au Canada avec Abdou Diouf comme Secrétaire général, la Francophonie se dota d'une autre Déclaration qui adoptait la doctrine de la sécurité humaine et le principe de la responsabilité de protéger. La Francophonie prenait toute sa place dans le monde des organisations intergouvernementales.

Démocratiser les relations internationales

Enfin, on doit à Boutros Boutros-Ghali, décidément rénovateur de l'ordre international, l'idée qu'il fallait à présent s'atteler à la démocratisation des relations internationales. Par là, l'ancien secrétaire général de l'ONU entendait faire participer à part entière la société civile à la gestion de l'ordre international. A cette thématique, Boutros Boutros-Ghali consacra un ouvrage. Dans le dernier texte publié qu'il rédigea, il revint sur la nécessité d'associer la « société civile qui se mondialise à l'élaboration des normes et à la prise de décision » (1). Que deviendra cette idée? L'histoire nous le dira qui prend toutefois aujourd'hui une orientation qui inquiétait l'observateur vigilant qu'était resté Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

La dernière fois qu'il me reçut, ce fut au Caire, chez lui, avec son épouse, quelques semaines seulement avant sa mort. L'homme était fatigué. Il ne put entamer son dîner, sans doute usé par les thérapies successives qui s'acharnaient à venir à bout du mal qui allait l'emporter. S'il était affaibli, son esprit demeurait toutefois étonnamment vif. Une inquiétude intérieure le rongea : il avait de grandes appréhensions sur la situation dans son pays. L'horizon international, d'après lui, s'était obscurci. Nous avions vécu un cycle qui s'achevait, pensait-il. L'espoir démocratique s'était évanoui mais n'avait pas disparu, ajoutait-il, car les sociétés s'étaient réveillées. Elles allaient questionner l'avenir. La flamme ne s'était donc pas éteinte...

Postface à « De Dakar à Dakar. 25 ans d'engagement de la Francophonie au service des droits de l'Homme, de la démocratie et de la Paix », sous la direction de Christine Desouches, Bruylant, 2015

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, democratic multilateralism

Mayor Zaragoza, Federico*

"If we don't do everything possible to democratize globalization, globalization will pervert national democracies", said the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, as *President of the International Panel on Democracy and Development*, set up by UNESCO and chaired by the man who had worked so hard, at a global scale, in favor of giving voice to the peoples – as required in the first sentence of the Charter of the United Nations – to allow constant participation from citizenry, as should be the rule in a genuine democracy.

He also mentioned how risky it was to exchange *trade for aid* because it would lead to putting an end to foreign aid for the sake of integral, sustainable and human development, leaving such initiatives in the hands of major trade corporations. "Globalization is not governed by democratic principles, and decisions taken are neither the result of a process of free expression of opinion... I think the essential philosophy for the proper operation of global democracy is the same as for national democracy: promoting a countervailing power, listening to everyone's opinion, in particular the opinion of the members of the opposition and of the weakest, in order to reach agreements that make everyone feel duly represented".

This was Boutros Boutros-Ghali's way of thinking, those were the ideas he clearly expressed in his Agendas for Peace, Development and Democracy, the ideas that led many rich countries –in particular the United States Republican Party – to feel prejudiced against a second mandate from a Secretary-General who

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had so openly and convincingly expressed his opinion against such globalizing neo-liberalism.

His book *En Attendant la Prochaine Lune* (1997-2002) ... begins with the reflections he made on 1 January 1997 about the reasoning that prevented him from being nominated for a second term to such a high-level position, as was normally the case. The relevance of this book lies in the memories that the former Secretary-General recalls from this painful period. In the first place, he mentions the moment when he was replaced by the new Secretary-General, Kofi Annan. I had the opportunity to personally attend this event. The Secretary-General that had made the greatest contributions to the democratization of United Nations was forced to quit his job because President Clinton was a rather weak president, confronted by an influential Republican Party that dominated the power scenario in the United States – under the leadership of Senator Jesse Helms. And this is why, disregarding the support of a vast majority, Boutros Boutros-Ghali gave yet another lesson for common sense and his sense of timing when he accepted being replaced by a civil servant from the United Nations who met all terms and conditions due to his recognized undertaking of the tasks that he was entrusted with, and to his personal and family background. He wrote: "I don't really regret leaving behind a job, a way of living, a house, friends... but rather to have to start from scratch at 74, under a new sky, new responsibilities, in an environment that is still completely odd to me".

On 1 January 1997 he flew to Paris on board a Concorde jet with his wife Lea, a woman with an unusual personality, very much up to the standards of her well-known husband. When they arrived to the Hotel Le Meurice, "as if everything was the same... the scenery that had remained unchanged was a great relief and it helped me start a new life after having left the UN behind".

On 10 January, he was greeted by President Chirac at the Élysée "with the cordiality, simplicity and true friendship that were one of his best kept secrets". "We had both lost a battle... because he had been in this last period my strongest pillar, my floating log, when other Nations had decided to abandon me pressed by the American hurricane...". In another one of his "diaries" he wrote: "I knew that the Republicans and the Zionists would oppose my re-election". During this meeting he was introduced by Chirac for the position of General Secretary of "*La Francophonie*" an organisation whose aim was to protect multilingualism and

cultural diversity" and would be officially elected at the Summit Meeting of Heads of State and Government to be held in Hanoi in November 1997. The French President suggested that starting from May he should begin his travels around Africa and Asia to ensure the success of his candidacy.

He describes the occasion when on 4 March – during the presentation of the *Amicorum Liber* from Héctor Gros Espiell – Karel Vassak invited him, with my persistent support, to prepare his own. Lea was very pleased with this project. Boutros seemed somehow reluctant to accept the proposal, but he finally did. On 12 May he recalls we had lunch together and I asked him to chair the International Commission on "democracy and development". He explained: "Federico Mayor had previously created a Commission chaired by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on *culture and development*, and he had entrusted Jacques Delors with the responsibility of yet another Commission on *education and development*... On 18 May he told me who the 22 members of the Panel were, amongst them well-known international personalities such as Nadine Gardiner, South Africa, Basma Bint Talal, Jordan, Mohammed Charfi, Tunisia, Abid Hussain, India, Attiya Inayatullah, Pakistan, Robert Badinter, France, Bruce Russett, U.S.A., Juan Antonio Carrillo Salcedo, Spain, Rosario Green, Mexico"... "This will be – he says – a new and wide-scope academic adventure. I am fully aware of the challenge I will be faced with". But, there is no doubt that he had a great expertise in this particular area. In fact, in December 1996, when the 51st session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was about to end, as was his term as Secretary-General, Boutros-Ghali submitted his third Agenda within which one of the issues for discussion entitled "Support by the United Nations system to efforts made by Governments to promote and consolidate new or restored democracies". Amongst the six sections, it included the most important and certainly timely concern devoted to *Democratization at an international scale*. Once again B. Boutros-Ghali was running ahead of events, because he was familiar with the ins and outs of oligarchic groups supported by neo-liberalism. He names the *new actors* in the international scenario that need to be taken into account: "regional organizations, NGOs, members of the Parliament, local authorities, academic and scientific circles, companies... and, in particular, mass media".

According to him: "A culture for democracy leads to the promotion and reinforcement of a culture for peace and to development by means of an adequate governance".

Despite being fair and universal, the United Nations cannot promote democratization movements. Yet it can, however, help every country to find its own way towards democracy. Boutros was the first Secretary-General who, despite reaffirming United Nations neutrality, overtly declared himself in favor of the democratic system, a declaration that reflected a change in what had been up to then the traditional position.

"Democracy contributes to preserve peace and security, to protect justice and human rights and to promote economic and social development". As a matter of fact, Boutros Boutros-Ghali's perspective and action duly completes the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The different *Summits* that were held since 1992 also highlight the need to finally give a voice to "We the peoples...": they were allowed to speak about the environment in Rio de Janeiro, 1992; about population in Cairo, 1992; about human rights in Vienna, 1993; about women in Beijing, 1995; about habitat in Istanbul, 1995 about social development in Copenhagen, 1995.

The next meeting was the Millennium Forum that gathered together, in May 2000, at the United Nations headquarters in New York, 1350 representatives of NGOs, civil society organisations, associations representing new actors. It was, therefore, urgent to make an assessment of the meetings held during the first part of the 1990s, so that attention was finally paid to the specific directives that were required to allow implementation – at a national, regional and international scale – of suitable actions for the 21st century and the third millennium. The Forum concluded with the Final Declaration from the Civil Society – *We the peoples* – and the Agenda for Action ("Strengthening the United Nations for the Twenty-First Century") that included specific proposals such as: transforming the Security Council; reshaping the International Court of Justice... all of which have been ignored up to now, although they remain at the disposal of mankind, once we will no longer be distracted and subjugated by the gigantic media power, and we will realize that there are essential changes that must be made without delay.

The titles of the extensive work written by Boutros Boutros-Ghali are an unusual and extraordinary reflection of his life as a politician and as a human being: *The Problem of the Suez Channel* – 1957; *General Theory of Alliances* – 1963; *The African Union Organization* – 1969; *The Egyptian Path to Jerusalem* – 1997; *My Life in the Glass House* – 1999; *Peace, Development, Democracy: Agendas for the Management of our Planet* – 2001; *Democratizing Globalization* – 2002 ...

The 19 November 1997 was the 20th anniversary of the wise and courageous visit of President Anwar el-Sadat to Jerusalem, "the most important event in my political and diplomatic career... 20 years have elapsed: history will recall this exceptional visit as one of the greatest moments of the 20th century".

In my own contribution to his *Amicorum Disipulorumque Liber* on *The Human Right to Peace* I wrote in the prologue "Boutros Boutros-Ghali's term occurred at the same time as a series of radical changes in international affairs". The *post-Cold War* had indeed nothing to do with *previous post-wars*. And yet, Boutros Boutros-Ghali knew what the priorities were. And which ones were the main references and recommendations raised during the most relevant meetings of the United Nations. We had the raw materials... but we lacked the ability to use them in a hostile environment headed by a United States Republican Party. In my paper, I recounted the following story: "My granddaughter asked me recently why we hadn't kept the promises we made during the Earth Summit. I told her that to take action one needs to feel involved, responsible, one needs to recall, to compare. She is still waiting for that to happen. Everyone, men and women are still waiting. I hope we will not deceive them. I hope the United Nations will have the support they need to put into practice plans to promote tolerance, dialogue, cultural exchange, peace". Boutros-Ghali's friends and pupils unveiled – in his book *Amicorum* – an extraordinary man in extraordinary circumstances. I felt satisfied...that UNESCO, a "thinking" organisation within the United Nations family, had been at the root of this book. Some of the contributors worthwhile mentioning were the following: Jacques Delors, Mikhail Gorbachev, Juan Antonio Carrillo, Gro Harlem Brundtland, Enrique Iglesias, Robert Badinter, Shimon Peres, Ismail Serageldin ...

Finally, I would like to mention how vividly I still recall the proposal made by Karel Vasak, Bernard Kouchner and myself to the Secretary-General of the United Nations concerning the *humanitarian interference*, a concept that should prevent atrocities such as those committed in Cambodia and Rwanda from ever happening again without having any reaction from the international community. The UN blue helmets should only intervene in two specific cases: general violation of human rights and genocide. But the *duty to intervene due to humanitarian reasons* was overtly at odds with the sacred sovereignty of Nations – despite massacre? How many victims are hiding behind the term *sovereignty*? Could Pol Pot really claim that he had *the* legal powers that justified his atrocious insanities? If the United Nations were *re-democratized*, they would be in the position to rely on article 42 of the Charter that allows an armed intervention in case of massive violations of human rights, or in case of “clear menace against peace and international security”.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali was overthrown... but he would reappear as leader of *La Francophonie*, as President of the Council of the European Centre for Peace and Development; he, therefore, made his re-entry back onto the international scene, and he shall remain there forever as a beacon thanks to the audacious and truthful messages he conveyed about peace, justice, development and democracy, all of which demand the implementation of multilateralism, which he so longingly yearned for.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali chairing the Meeting of CNC, July 1995.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali – a tribute

Nambiar, Satish*

Boutros Boutros-Ghali assumed charge as the Sixth Secretary General of the United Nations in January 1992, soon after the end of the Cold War. The euphoria over what was then seen particularly in the Western world, as the victory of capitalism over communism and all that it represented, was soon tempered by the reality of the global situation; the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the break-up of unitary states under the pressures of ethnic, religious, economic, tribal and other divisions, as in the case of the former Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav conflict that erupted in 1991 in what was Europe's backyard, was the first post-Cold War test for what was then the European Economic Community (EEC). Having mishandled it, the Europeans thrust the crisis on the United Nations, to be dealt with by setting up of a UN peacekeeping operation; Boutros Boutros-Ghali's first *peace and security* challenge in his new assignment.

In accordance with normal practice, soon after the UN Security Council had taken a decision to set up a UN peacekeeping mission for the former Yugoslavia in February 1992, the UN Secretariat approached member countries for provision of personnel and equipment. As a regular contributor of personnel for such missions (since 1948), India was also approached. However, for political reasons – primarily the erstwhile *Tito* connections in the non-aligned movement – and despite requests at fairly senior levels in the UN, the Government of India stood by its position not to provide troops for the Yugoslav mission. Needless to say, India provided sizeable contingents and personnel for the

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missions that were set up for Cambodia, Somalia and Rwanda. Finally, one is given to understand, in an effort to secure India's participation in the Mission, Boutros Boutros-Ghali personally spoke to the then Prime Minister of India PV Narasimha Rao. And on being apprised of the reasons for not acceding to the request, Boutros Boutros-Ghali expressed his understanding of the position taken by the Government of India. Even so, he persisted and secured the Prime Minister's agreement to provide a senior Indian Army General to head the mission as the Force Commander. In end February 1992, a panel of names (that included mine) was drawn up and placed before the Prime Minister by the then Defence Minister, Sharad Powar. I was at that time the Director General Military Operations at the Army Headquarters in New Delhi and happened to be away in Ahmadnagar, chairing a regimental conference as the Colonel of the Mechanised Infantry Regiment. On 25 February 1992 I was informed by telephone that the Deputy of my nomination for the assignment and was asked to hasten back to New Delhi in preparation for moving to the UN HQ in New York on 1st March 1992. That set the stage for my association with the United Nations and its then Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. An association that I treasure, as much for the professional satisfaction that I derived from the experience of setting up and heading what, at that time, was the largest peacekeeping mission that the UN had embarked on, as for the great honor and privilege of working under the stewardship of a person of the stature and caliber as Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

I had the privilege of meeting him three times in the one-year period from 3rd March 1992 to 2nd March 1993, while serving as the first Force Commander and Head of Mission of the United Nations Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR). Our first meeting was in New York in the first week of March 1992, soon after I reported for briefings and administrative formalities prior to heading out to the mission area. During one meeting he did recall the circumstances under which I, as an Indian Army General, had been nominated. And of course, to apprise me of the magnitude of the tasks ahead, the political minefield that I was entering, the expectations of the international community in the aftermath of the termination of the Cold War, and that I could always rely on him and his staff for total support in the conduct of the mission. What impressed me most at that meeting with him was his composure and reassuring demeanor; at a

time when he was, no doubt, under great pressure and strain. I do recall coming away from that meeting with a determination that I would spare no efforts to support this great person in his endeavors.

This is not the forum to record the mission activities. But one must state quite unequivocally that the support and understanding that I received from UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his staff – led very ably by the late Marrack Goulding, then Under-Secretary-General in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, together with the then Assistant Secretary-General Kofi Annan, and my Indian colleague, Shashi Tharoor – in running the mission was quite outstanding, making my difficult task so much easier. I cannot recall a single instance in the one-year period when I did not receive the assistance and support of the hierarchy at UNHQ. A privilege very few heads of missions can claim, I am sure. That of course precludes the inadequacies my subordinate staff encountered due to bureaucratic UN procedures and deficiencies. Such unqualified support enabled me to negotiate the political minefield that I was cautioned about. Particularly in the context of the fact that whereas the mission was deployed for overseeing the agreement following the conflict between Croatia and the Federal authorities in Belgrade, the developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina overtook us while we were deploying for the original mission. In fact, something that had never been understood (or possibly deliberately ignored) by many of the European countries, as also by some others, and by the Western media, is the fact that UNPROFOR never had a peacekeeping mandate for Bosnia-Herzegovina; at least, not till I left the mission area on 2nd March 1993 on relinquishing command. The saving grace in so far as we in UNPROFOR were concerned, was the fact that this position was understood by the Secretary-General and his staff at UN HQ.

My second meeting with Boutros Boutros-Ghali was when he visited Sarajevo on New Year's Day 1993. I accompanied him on his visit to the Egyptian contingent deployed there under extremely trying conditions. And for his meetings with the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities who pilloried him for what they claimed was inaction on his part to initiate military action against the Bosnian Serbs. However, what I vividly recall from that visit in terms of this narrative is his statement that was much criticized

of, how Europe was so focused on the Balkans whereas places like Somalia, where there was so much more conflict and loss of life and misery, were relegated to inadequate attention; a developed region receiving all the focus of the media and the powerful countries, as against the plight of those in the *undeveloped* part of the world. As someone who in ten months as the Force Commander and Head of Mission in the former Yugoslavia, had been privy to the machinations and manipulations of the leadership of the parties to the conflict, as also to the hypocrisy of the international community – including some of its more powerful members, it was indeed most heartening and refreshing to hear Boutros Boutros-Ghali have the courage of conviction and moral strength to articulate the feelings of the developing and less developed world. A position that no doubt played a major part in his being denied a second term.

My third meeting with Boutros Boutros-Ghali was in the first week of March 1993 on my way back after relinquishing command of the Mission on 2nd March 1993. A meeting under somewhat delicate circumstances as I had declined his offer of extension as the Head of UNPROFOR and decided to return to the rolls of the Indian Army. A decision I took with some regret in the knowledge that I would not be around to assist him in dealing with what we could clearly anticipate, was increasing intrusion by NATO, the US Administration and some of the more powerful European countries, in the conduct of the UN mission. I tried to ease the *spill-over* effect of my decision by publicly attributing it to personal family commitments. At our meeting, however, in what was typical of his greatness, as an outstanding political personality and as a person, he thanked me profusely for the highly professional manner in which I had run the demanding mission so successfully, and wished me well in my future endeavors. The warm letter of thanks he wrote me after my return is one of the most treasured possessions of my professional career. I understand he also wrote a letter to Prime Minister Narasimha Rao lauding my performance as the Head of UNPROFOR and thanking the Prime Minister for deputing me in that capacity.

I continued to follow with great interest the events in the former Yugoslavia and could only marvel at the efforts of the UN Secretary-General in managing the conduct of the UN mission there through the machinations of the Western world led by

NATO. It is another matter that more or less simultaneous crises occurred, in Cambodia where India had a sizeable contribution; Somalia – where again India had a sizeable contribution and one I visited as the Deputy Chief of the Indian Army in May 1994; and, in due course in Rwanda – for which I oversaw the deputation of the Indian Army contingent, again as the Deputy Chief, together with other smaller ones that had demanded his attention and, in due time, setting up a large scale UN peacekeeping operations there. Something the UN Secretariat was just not organized or equipped for at that time – during the first half of the 1990s. It is indeed a tribute to Boutros Boutros-Ghali's vision, ability, dedication and composure, that, given the limitations of the organisation, he steered the UN through these commitments as effectively as he did.

A final point that merits mention in this tribute relates to the seminal documents put out by Boutros Boutros-Ghali in the form of *An Agenda for Peace* in June 1992 at the request of the UN Security Council in January 1992, and the updated supplementary to it in January 1995. These documents set out the dilemmas and challenges faced by the United Nations in the prosecution of peace operation duties and made recommendations on all major aspects the world body itself needed to address in order to effectively ensure the maintenance of international peace and security under the radically changing circumstances from the aftermath of the post-Cold War period. Among the many other important aspects it covered: to ensure unqualified political support to missions in the field; preventive diplomacy; preventive deployment; provision of personnel and equipment to match conferred mandates; provision of units for enforcement action when required; post-conflict peace-building; cooperation with regional organisations and arrangements; safety of personnel; and so on. Together with the recommendations made by the Brahimi Panel in 2000, these documents placed on record what was necessary to be done. It is indeed a sad irony that, rather than focusing on implementing what these documents had recommended, the international community represented by the United Nations, dithered and procrastinated. And, in an effort to try and demonstrate to the world community at large that something was being done, resorted to commissioning more studies from time to time, which produced reports that

only reiterated, probably in more impressive language, all the points made in *An Agenda for Peace* – 1995.

In my view, Boutros Boutros-Ghali was one of the leading international statesmen of the immediate post-Cold War period. I deem it an honor and privilege to be part of the effort to rectify somewhat the lack of acknowledgement of his outstanding contributions in pursuit of the noble cause of maintaining international peace and security. May his soul rest in peace.

A man of unlimited aspirations for our world

Owada, Hisashi*

It is a great honor and privilege to have been invited to make a contribution to this volume on the late Boutros Boutros-Ghali. His passing has not only been a great loss to me personally, but has also been a great loss to the international community.

I first met Boutros in the 1980s, while he was serving as the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Egypt. At the time, I was engaged in the Middle East peace process as the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Our paths crossed for a second time during his tenure as Secretary-General of the United Nations, while I was the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations. I have a particularly fond memory of working directly with him on the reform of UN peacekeeping from a new era perspective.

I also had the opportunity to work with him on the International Panel on Democracy and Development, which was set up by UNESCO. He was the Chairman of the Panel, and I collaborated with him as one of its members. At the time, Boutros was also serving as the *Secrétaire général de la Francophonie*, and a few years later, he recruited me to serve as a member of *Le Haut Conseil de la Francophonie*, even though Japan is neither a French speaking country, nor a member of *La Francophonie*. Finally, while he was President of the National Council for Human Rights of Egypt, our paths crossed yet again at the International Conference of Cairo on Democracy and Human Rights, organized by the Council and by UNESCO.

I had the fortune of getting to know Boutros in many different capacities. Looking back at my interactions with him, it becomes

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apparent that no matter what hat he was wearing, he never wavered from his central theme: humanity and democracy.

Two examples, among many, stand out in particular. The first concerns his time as Secretary-General. The 1990s were a very difficult time for the United Nations. Among other things, the organization came under heavy criticism for its peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Somalia. As is now well known, Boutros was responsible for a fundamental reform and expansion of U.N. peacekeeping. Some perceived this reform as a power grab, a usurpation of military power by the U.N. But these people failed to understand the true motives driving Boutros. It was his humanitarian concerns.

Although the number of peacekeeping options undeniably grew under his watch, it is important to remember the areas where additional resources were being used: election monitoring, political reform, judicial reform, refugee resettlement, civil reconstruction projects, education, economic rehabilitation, removal of anti-personnel mines, confiscation of weapons, public security. For the first time, someone was taking a holistic approach to conflict resolution. It was not just a "holding action" as originally conceived in the early 1960s. It was not just about keeping the peace. It was also about pre-conflict prevention and post-conflict peace building. Through his humanitarian initiative, UN peacekeeping today has become, to borrow a phrase from the Brahimi Report, "truly credible as a force for peace."

I had the privilege of witnessing and playing a role in the implementation of this revolutionary policy over the course of my work with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. In the original operation plan, Boutros set forth the principal components of the operation: human rights, elections, ceasefire, arms control, mine clearing, civil administration, repatriation of refugees, rebuilding. This is of course not to say that everything went perfectly; we ran into many difficulties. But guided by Boutros's vision, we achieved what we had set out to do: create a lasting peace for the Cambodian people.

A few months after his term as Secretary-General ended, I delivered a statement before the UN Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations in my capacity as the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations. At the end of my

speech, I declared: "[I]n the new international environment of today, peace-keeping operations of the United Nations are proving to be one of the most effective tools for peace that are at present available in this Organization." I imagine that I was not the only person in the room thinking of Boutros as I said those words.

Let me now turn to my second example. This one concerns the UNESCO International Panel on Democracy and Development. UNESCO is the only organization in the U.N. system whose Constitution refers to democratic principles. But there has long been a debate about the relationship between development and democracy. The task of the Panel was not only to clarify the relationship between the two concepts, but also to understand the dynamics between them. Over the course of our meetings, one of the central issues that became the subject of a heated debate was the question of whether an authoritarian or a democratic government would be most conducive to development in a post-conflict situation.

Boutros, maintaining the neutrality required of him as the Chairman of the Panel, but at the same time playing devil's advocate, questioned our notions of democracy. He reminded us that mass media had historically manipulated many political elections, that even Hitler and Mussolini had been elected democratically, and that democratic elections would have facilitated rather than prevented the Rwandan genocide. Of course, his message was not that democracy is intrinsically a defective system of government. Rather, his message was that democracy is much more than majority electoral politics. In his own words, "Elections are just the visible part of the iceberg." Democracy also includes pluralism, tolerance, and other universal values. Similarly, development is much more than just economic development; it is a holistic concept that contains social, political, cultural, and psychological dimensions. These were terms to which I think most, if not all members of the Panel ultimately agreed.

Boutros did not, however, take a position of his own on the principal question. As the President of the Panel, he had to stay impartial and encourage a free and open exchange of views. But in the winter of 1999, I invited him to the Japan Institute of International Affairs in Tokyo to give a talk on peace, development and democratization. Towards the end of his speech, he asked

the audience: Should we be pursuing development and democracy at the same time? Or does democracy require as a condition precedent a certain level of development? Boutros did not give us a direct answer. Rather, he gave us a guiding principle. From his own words, "There is no one model of democratization or democracy suitable to all societies. Democracy cannot be exported or imported. Each State must be free to decide for itself its priorities for the welfare of its people."

I could continue with more examples of Boutros's contributions to humanity and democracy, but I will limit myself to these two for now. Needless to say, Boutros dedicated his life and career to promoting the universal values of Man. He will forever serve as a role model for those who knew him and for those who have shared his aspirations.

A man of the South

Prashad, Vijay*

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the first African to head the United Nations, died in Cairo in 2016, where he was born, at the age of ninety-three. A broken leg did not stop him, nor did the chaos in the world and seemingly ineffectualness of the United Nations. Boutros-Ghali hoped, till the very end, for a better world. For, after all, what is the point of being alive if not to hope to improve the planet on which we live?

Boutros-Ghali came from a Coptic family of great prominence, with a grandfather who had served as Prime Minister of Egypt. He had neither the temperament nor the politics for anything other than that considered conventional. By the time he came of age as a law professor, Boutros-Ghali's convention was Arab socialism. As Professor of Law at Cairo University and as a Central Committee member of the Arab Socialist Union, Boutros-Ghali explored questions of inequality between the West and the Third World. He wrote widely about matters of development, with an eye to the difficulty of national projects given the rigged world economic system. Boutros-Ghali was an Egyptian nationalist, an Arab nationalist and a Third Worldist, all at the same time. In 1971, he wrote, 'One must never consider Egypt as an independent entity; it must be seen within the framework of the Arab world, for there is no hope for her to pull through alone' ('Monde Arabe et Tiers Monde', *Éléments*, no. 89, Paris, 1971, p. 35). Much the same way, there could be no Arab nationalism without the bedrock of the Third World Project.

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Egypt's Surrender

Boutros-Ghali's talents appealed to the government, which took him into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is here – as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs – which Boutros-Ghali had to carry a weight that discomfited him. In March 1979, Egypt's Anwar Sadat cut a peace treaty with Israel. Later that year, in November, Sadat summoned Boutros-Ghali to the presidential retreat in Ismailia, with the Suez Canal outside his window. Boutros-Ghali had just returned from a long tour of Arab states and from the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Cuba, where he represented Egypt. At each of these meetings, Boutros-Ghali felt the brickbats of disapprobation. Cuba's Fidel Castro called Sadat's decision a *treasonous action*. Boutros-Ghali responded with words that he did not fully believe – 'It is because Sadat is an authentic revolutionary that he went to Jerusalem to help liberate Palestine. We are the only Arab power fighting to liberate Palestine. One does not have to agree with our procedure, but one cannot say that we have become the gendarme of American imperialism' (*Le Monde*, 5 September 1979). When challenged by an Algerian delegate, Boutros-Ghali responded, 'Algeria wants to fight Israel to the last Egyptian soldier'. But now, in the privacy of his conversation with Sadat, Boutros-Ghali implored the president to reconsider the deal. It was seen as a separate peace and not part of the liberation struggle. Egypt, Boutros-Ghali said, was isolated. Sadat lectured him about the importance of the peace. 'I am not afraid of condemnation. I am not afraid of countries severing diplomatic relations with us. And I am not afraid of the provocation and trivia of the Arab world'. The last was a sentiment entirely opposed by Boutros-Ghali, who saw the views of the Arab world and of Arab nationalism as central to Egypt's future.

Three years later, after Sadat's assassination, Boutros-Ghali returned to the theme of Palestine. 'Occupation by Israel of the West Bank and Gaza will have to end', he wrote, 'for three million Israelis cannot go on forever governing one and half million Palestinians and ignoring their national rights and aspirations'. Egypt's surrender not only to Israel, but to imperialism, was to be its death-knell. Sadat was followed by Hosni Mubarak, under whose rule Egypt grew into a security state with little concern for the well-being of its population. The agenda of Arab socialism

withered under Mubarak. The Bread Riot of 1977 was a harbinger of what was to come – worse economic conditions for the Egyptian masses. The conscripts' riot of 1986 and the crackdown by the Egyptian military – with the full backing of the United States – indicated how poor the attitude was of the new regime to its population. All this was anathema to Boutros-Ghali.

United Nations' Acquiescence

In 1991, Boutros-Ghali moved to the United Nations as the Secretary-General. Sadly, his ascent as Secretary-General came at the most difficult of times. Restraints on Western power had been eroded by 1991. The USSR had collapsed and the Third World bloc had been weakened by the debt crisis. Surrender to the US seemed the mood. Harmony between the US agenda and the UN seemed inevitable. Older ideas of development would be set aside in favor of globalisation and liberalisation. Multilateral discussions about security and peace would not stand a chance against the need to conduct regime change against rogue states. Boutros-Ghali's impossible task became to preserve the independence of the UN.

During his tenure at the UN, Boutros-Ghali laid out an *Agenda for Peace* (1992) and an *Agenda for Development* (1995). In the former, Boutros-Ghali argued for more robust UN action towards the sources of instability in the world. It was not enough to increase UN peacekeeping missions – to send out the 'blue helmets' to police the world. That was merely a symptomatic approach to crises. The UN needed to tackle the roots, to understand how the 'sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields have become threats to peace and security. To get beyond such symptoms, Boutros-Ghali hoped to drive a new 'agenda for development', which would counter the tendency to allow unfettered corporate power to undermine the interests of the millions. Impoverishment created the conditions for insecurity. A secure world would require the human needs of the people to be taken seriously. Debt of the Third World had to be forgiven. No IMF-driven recipe for growth should be forced on weak countries. 'Success is far from certain', he wrote of his agenda, which seems charming in light of what followed.

Boutros-Ghali warned, in 1992 – 'The powerful must resist the dual but opposite calls of unilateralism and isolationism if the United Nations is to succeed'. He had in mind the United States, which believed that it need not heed the diversity of opinion in the world, but could push its own parochial agenda in the name of globalization. Boutros-Ghali's appeals went unheeded. In 1993, at a lunch with Madeleine Albright, the US Ambassador to the UN, and with Warren Christopher, US Secretary of State, Boutros-Ghali said – 'Please allow me from time to time to differ publicly from US policy'. He recalled that Albright and Christopher 'looked at each other as though the fish I had served was rotten'. They said nothing. There was nothing to be said. The sensibility of the moment was that the Secretary-General of the UN needed to take his marching orders from the White House. The Americans do not want you merely to say yes, he would later say, but *yes sir!*

A private man, Boutros-Ghali was not easy with the press nor with the diplomatic core. He did not build up his own power base. The media in the West pilloried him, as the countries of the Third World found themselves too weak to defend the Secretary-General. One international disaster after the other marked his tenure – the second intervention in Somalia from 1993 to 1995 and the Rwandan Genocide being the most destructive. Boutros-Ghali was given the blame for all this, despite the fact that these were US-driven. There was no second term for him. An American veto hung heavily over him. Roberto Savio of Inter Press Service went with him to the airport as he left the UN. He refused the diplomatic lane. 'My friend', he said, 'those times are gone. I am now a citizen like you'.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali: une figure Emblématique!

Prera, Anaisabel*

Boutros Boutros-Ghali ne fut pas seulement une figure emblématique mais il posséda un charisme hors pair!

Monsieur Boutros Boutros-Ghali était incontestablement une des personnes qui s'est dédiée de plus à la défense des valeurs internationales et en particulier à la démocratie internationale.

Il a eu le courage d'affronter, en tant que Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, le sujet qui a fâché les cinq pays permanents du Conseil de sécurité en ne cessant de prôner un discours dénonçant le dysfonctionnement d'un système enclavé par un pouvoir centralisé en haut de la pyramide (!).

Il y avait beaucoup de bon sens dans ses propos et personne n'osait le contredire car, comment peut-on exiger des Etats membres une démocratie à l'échelle nationale alors que cinq pays se sont vu accorder le statut privilégié de membre permanent du Conseil de sécurité ainsi qu'un droit de vote particulier, connu sous le nom de « droit de veto »? Cette question n'a jamais quitté les discours de BBG et n'on jamais cessé de le hanter je dirais, d'une manière presque obsessionnelle.

Tout le monde se remémore l'initiative historique qu'il a prise en tant que Secrétaire général des Nations Unies, sans passer par l'Assemblée générale ni par le Conseil de sécurité: Il convoqua en 1993 à Vienne la première réunion mondiale sur les droits de l'homme depuis celle de 1948 à Paris. Il s'agissait de réunir, dans une seule et même déclaration, les droits civils et politiques et les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels. Sous le titre de «Déclaration de Vienne», le projet de résolution fut adopté par les 171 Etats membres le 25 juin 1993. Désormais, tous les droits

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de l'homme (civils et politiques; économiques; sociaux et culturels) étaient déclarés universels, indivisibles et interdépendants.

Un homme à la fois respecté par la majorité des Etats Membres et redouté par certains. Il ne laisse pas indifférent et avec le recul, on réalise à quel point il a marqué l'histoire par son courage et les défis qu'il a su relever malgré les résistances des plus grandes puissances.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali: Un homme engagé pour l'universalité de la démocratie!

Ce fut aussi un véritable visionnaire et humaniste qui a défendu corps et âmes le droit de chaque femme et de chaque homme, et ce que je retiens de lui c'est le fait qu'il était un homme résolument indépendant ! Son charisme, son engagement et son indépendance intellectuelle et morale inspiraient le respect, des gouvernants, des diplomates, des intellectuels, des experts et de tous ceux qui l'ont approché de près et de loin.

Quand il a quitté les Nations Unies, Federico Mayor, alors Directeur général de l'UNESCO, l'a invité à rejoindre l'Organisation pour alimenter le débat international sur la démocratie pour piloter une réflexion internationale sur « l'interaction entre démocratie et développement ».

L'UNESCO, connu comme étant la conscience des Nations Unies, est devenue sa passion depuis son départ des Nations Unies car il voulait poursuivre sa quête de **l'universalité de la démocratie**.

La notoriété de Boutros Boutros-Ghali a favorisé des rencontres de très haut niveau dans l'enceinte de cette magnifique Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture, lieu par excellence privilégiant la liberté de parole non seulement des intellectuels, des penseurs, mais aussi des journalistes, des artistes et de tous ceux qui souhaitent s'exprimer à travers l'écriture, l'art et la création! Aujourd'hui certaines paroles pertinentes et résolues émanant de personnes peu ou très connus résonnent encore dans mes oreilles.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali fut un homme très engagé et toujours épris de paix et de justice, défendant les valeurs de liberté d'action et de pensée.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali: Un homme à franc-parler!

J'ai eu le grand privilège de le connaître de très près et notamment quand j'étais la Conseillère principale et spéciale du Directeur général de l'UNESCO (1994-1999) et j'avoue avoir été absolument fascinée par sa force de persuasion et par ce qu'il était capable d'accomplir. Rien ne lui résistait car il avait l'art d'allier la bonne parole et son charme naturel que lui procurait sa franchise.

Il avait un franc-parler qui étonne plus d'un et d'une. Il rêvait d'un monde meilleur, d'un monde moderne et en phase avec notre temps.

Comme beaucoup le savent, Boutros Boutros-Ghali avait un humour désarmant emprunté d'intelligence et de malice: animé d'un dynamisme et d'une perspicacité qui l'on véhiculés certainement jusqu'à son dernier souffle!

Boutros Boutros-Ghali And The Cause Of Development

Ricupero, Rubens*

"I want you to know that I was not consulted about your indication!" Those were the first words which Mrs. Madeleine Albright, then the United States Ambassador at the United Nations in New York, addressed to me when I paid her a courtesy call after Boutros-Ghali had nominated me as the 5th UNCTAD's Secretary General in September 1995.

That undiplomatic phrase conveyed American resentment in reaction to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali's decision not to allow UNCTAD to slowly die out from neglect and ideological hostility.

Since April 1994, UNCTAD had been left without a Secretary General. In 1995, the *so-called* independent Commission on Global Governance had issued its *Our Global Neighborhood* report recommending the elimination of "no longer needed and redundant institutions in the new political-economic context of changed realities" and the "irrelevance of North-South divisions". UNCTAD figured prominently among the institutions to be scrapped.

It is useful to call to mind that 1994/1995 marked the peak of United States' *unipolar moment*, halfway between the disintegration of the bipolar confrontation of the Cold War and the era inaugurated by the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. China's rise to power seemed all too far off in a distant future. No serious obstacle seemed to threaten the overwhelming dominance of the USA and western worldviews.

It was also the heyday of economic globalization. For years, international trade had been increasing by two, three percentage

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points above the rate of world economic output. GATT's Uruguay Round had just been brought to a successful conclusion. A new institution, the World Trade Organization (WTO) had been born. Renato Ruggiero, its first Director General, predicted in a moment of triumphalism that WTO was to become the constituent assembly for economic globalization.

In this atmosphere of delusion, when UNCTAD's Trade and Development Report warned about the dangers of premature financial liberalization ahead of the 1994 Mexican crisis, a *Wall Street Journal* editorial had derided UNCTAD's economists as contemporary Rip Van Winkles coming from the backwoods of a long-ago past. Since 1990, UNCTAD's had been practically the only voice of caution regarding the incoming decade that would be characterized by the frequency, intensity and destructive power of monetary and financial crises.

To make matters worse, such predictions were actually becoming true. After UNCTAD had foreseen the 1994 Mexican crisis, the huge French mass protests of November-December 1995 signaled that imbalanced globalization had set off a mass backlash movement against its socially regressive impacts. The UN and UNCTAD had been proven correct in their warnings.

Of course, to be right against the mainstream was a sin not to be tolerated. It was feared that the G7-meeting to take place in Lyon by the middle of the following year would act in favor of accepting the Commission on Global Governance's recommendations, crippling the UN role in matters of economic analysis and development advice.

Between the French protests of late-1995 and the Lyon G7-Meeting six to seven months later, there was only a short window of opportunity to avoid such a negative outcome. It was then, in its 9th session (April to mid-May 1996), in Midrand, South Africa, that UNCTAD, under Boutros-Ghali's leadership and the vigorous support of President Nelson Mandela, succeeded in reopening dialogue and cooperation between advanced and developing economies.

The result was immediately forthcoming. In Lyon, the G7 economic communique, paragraph 44 stated: "UNCTAD IX was a major milestone in the renewal of UNCTAD. In close partnership with the other member States, we succeeded in reforming

UNCTAD's intergovernmental machinery and in refocusing its work [...]. We also welcome the WTO and the renewed UNCTAD initiative to enhance mutual cooperation with each other".

As UNCTAD's new Secretary General, I was fortunate to participate, under Boutros' guidance, in that significant moment of multilateral diplomacy. Fighting against overwhelming odds, we were able to overcome deep-seated mistrust and conflicting approaches to economic and social development.

The Midrand Conference was an impressive example of the ideas and goals that Boutros-Ghali had set forth in his *Agenda for Development* of May 1994 and before that, in the *Agenda for Peace – Preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peace-keeping* (June 1992). Together, "these reports showed the Secretary General's innovative thinking and they continued to influence reforms over the following decade", in the words of the Global Policy Forum.

It is a pity that in spite of the innovative character of both agendas – or perhaps in part because of that disrupting tone – Boutros-Ghali was not given a second term nor the resources and support to put into place the ideas he had promoted. The economic communiqué of the Lyon G7-meeting had been officially called *Making a success of globalization for all* (Lyon, 28 June 1996). The title, particularly the words – *for all* – suggest that at that early stage, diplomats and politicians suddenly became aware that the mass protests of organized French workers had inaugurated a trend that would never cease to grow.

From then on, the backlash against globalization in developed countries would become a feature of G7 and G20 meetings. In due time, the protests would disrupt the ministerial meeting of WTO that should launch the new millennium negotiations in what came to be known as the *Battle for Seattle*.

A sad conclusion about the futility or lack of sincerity of the more advanced countries is that, 20 years after their commitment to "make globalization a success *for all*, the situation has become much more serious than in the mid-1990s. The unprecedented level of wealth and income concentration in the hands of fewer than ten individuals is the irrefutable evidence of the failure to provide a globalization that works for everyone.

This failure has had an ironic epitaph. Nowadays, at the 2017 meetings of the G7 and the G20, the attacks on globalization's effects on employment originate from the country that used to be its more intolerant promoter: the United States of America. There is a touch of poetic justice in the fact that a clever manipulator succeeded in conquering the US Presidency by shrewdly exploiting – for his own political goals – just these grievances of millions of globalization losers.

Were he alive today, this poetic justice would not be lost on this man with such a delightful sense of humor as Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The irony would certainly be tempered by his deeply felt moral duty of looking after “those marginalized because of ethnicity, gender, religion, age, health, poverty”, as he wrote in his memoirs *Unvanquished, a US-Un Saga* (1999). A quotation from this same book is a befitting end for this article: “the UN must continue to be the main voice for the weakest and least regarded peoples, to defend them from the detrimental effects of globalization”.



BBG meets Nelson Mandela, ANC president, 29 September 1993

Boutros Boutros-Ghali: turning point in the United Nations

Savio, Roberto*

It is no coincidence that Boutros Boutros-Ghali, was the only Secretary-General in the history of the United Nations to have served only one of the two terms that have always been allowed. The United States vetoed his re-election, in spite of the favorable vote of the other members of the Security Council. He was considered too independent.

We have now forgotten that in 1992, on U.S. request, BBG authorized a UN intervention in Somalia, run by a U.S. general, the aim of which was to distribute 90 million dollars of food and aid to the former Italian colony, shaken by an internal conflict among several war lords. The intervention cost 900 million U.S. dollars in military expenses and ended with the downing of two Black Hawk helicopters and the tragic death of 18 American soldiers, dragged through the streets of Mogadishu.

An obvious expedient for the United States was to put the blame squarely on BBG, who become the scapegoat during the electoral campaign for the 1996 U.S. presidential election. In his campaign, Bill Clinton referred to him as "Boo Boo Ghali", and an alliance was made with the then U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeline Albright, to get rid of him in exchange for her becoming Secretary of State.

As you can see, I do not intend to write a ritual commemoration of BBG. I travelled with him on the same flight to Paris when he left the United Nations (only the Italian ambassador went to say goodbye at the airport), and I remember the ease with which, when we arrived at the immigration line, he went to the Non-EU queue, in spite of a policeman inviting him to the diplomats' exit.

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He said: "My friend, those times are gone, now I am a citizen like you." And when we took a taxi, he had to fight with the driver, an Egyptian, who did not want him to pay.

BBG was not extremely popular. He was very strict, very private (he never went to any reception) and very aloof. He was, in reality, a Professor of International Law, which was his real interest in life. He did not like very many people but suddenly became alert when he met somebody with a personality, or an unusual person. And he looked on the world of the United Nations as too pompous and formal. He always preferred a book to a diplomat, but if you became his friend, you found a very ironic and amusing mind, with striking intellectual depth and shy human warmth.

BBG came from an historical Egyptian orthodox family, which was very rich until [President Gamal Abdel] Nasser's nationalizations. He considered that, because of his family, he could not be conditioned by power. He was a Copt, married to a strong and intelligent Jewish Egyptian, Leila, and he was able to make a career up to the level Secretary of State, while maintaining his university tenure. When he was vetoed by the United States for a second UN term, he told me: "Americans do not want you to say 'yes', they want you to say, 'yes sir'."

He never forgot his identity. He spoke of himself as an Arab, and openly wondered whether he would have had the same treatment had he been white and American or European. He openly sympathized with what he called the "underdogs" and the "exploited", and he tried to make the United Nations once again a forum of global governance. We have to remember that when BBG became Secretary-General in January 1992, the United Nations was at the end of a long process of decline which has started with [U.S. President Ronald] Reagan in 1981.

Eight years earlier, in 1973, the UN General Assembly had unanimously approved a global plan of governance, under which international cooperation became the basis for its actions. Out of this plan, for example, the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) was created, and a Summit of Heads of State was even held in Cancun, Mexico, in 1981 to advance on a New Economic Order. It was the first overseas visit of newly-elected U.S. President Reagan, and he immediately made it clear that the days of the United Nations were finished. The United States, he said, would not tolerate being straightjacketed in an absurd

democratic mechanism in which its vote was equal to that of Monte Carlo (he probably meant Monaco!). The United States had become rich because of trade, and its slogan was 'trade not aid'. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was also part of the Cancun Summit, and she and Reagan established an alliance making markets and the free movement of capital the new basis for international relations.

From 1981 to 1992, the world changed dramatically, not only because of the collapse of a bilateral world with the end of the Soviet Union, but because the winners took literally the end of communism as a mandate for a capitalism disencumbered from any form of governance.

BBG was not a left-wing person, but he felt how the big powers were marginalizing the United Nations. Finance and Trade – the two engines of globalization – were already running outside of the organization and BBG spoke about this trend based on national interest with the concern of an Arab and the distaste of a Professor of International Law.

In his early days as Secretary-General, he made a strong effort to establish an Agenda for Peace, a strong juridical document on a clear role for the United Nations, which was conveniently ignored by the great powers. He then proceeded to convene a number of extraordinary conferences, from the one on Environment (Earth Summit) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (the basis of the path towards the Paris Climate Conference), to the conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, the conference on Population in Cairo in 1994, the Social Summit in Copenhagen in 1995 and the conference on Women in Beijing in the same year. In all those conferences, the United States and the other great powers had to bow again to the rules of international democracy and accept resolutions and plans of action that they would gladly have avoided.

When they finally got rid of him in 1996, the decline of the United Nations resumed its course. Even Kofi Annan, who was chosen to succeed BBG on Madeline Albright's request, eventually fell into disgrace, because he tried to retain some independence for his actions.

Today, the United Nations has no funds for action, and has become a dignified International Red Cross, left with education,

health, food, children and any other humanitarian sector which is totally extraneous to the arena in which the politics of money and power is played out. The Millennium Development Goals, adopted with great fanfare from the world's Heads of States in 2000, would cost less than 5 percent of the world's military expenses. The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are responsible for the international trade of 82 percent of weapons, and the Council's legitimacy for military intervention is a blanket conveniently used according to circumstances. The sad situation of Iraq, Syria and Libya is a good example. Meanwhile, the great powers have not hidden their agenda of displacing the debate on governance from the United Nations. The Group of Seven has become the Group of 20, and the World Economic Forum in Davos a more important space for exchange than the UN General Assembly.

BBG viewed the decline of the UN with regret. After he left, he moved into positions which were consistent with his concerns. He became Secretary-General of the International Organization of La Francophonie, where again he had trouble with the French because he wanted to make alliances with other Latin language areas. His view was to create a cultural front for the defense of the French, and for this make alliances with the other Latin languages, with more success and efficiency than just a linguistic front. He then became Commissioner for Human Rights in Egypt and did not deviate from his overall political view by becoming Honorary President of the Belgrade-based European Centre for Peace and Development, an organization created by the UN General Assembly which has played a unique role in creating academic cooperation all over the Balkans and other countries of Eastern and Central Europe. In this center, he found a place where his ideals of justice and peace, development and cooperation, were still vibrant and active.

BBG died in the moment of clashes between the fundamentalists of Islam and the others. He had tried to draw attention to this problem which he had clearly seen looming, and he leaves a world where his ideas and ideals have become too noble for a world where nationalism, xenophobia and conflict have become the main actors in international relations.

It is time now to look more at those idea and ideals, and less to BBG as a human being, with his inevitable flaws and

shortcomings. This would also be as he would like to be remembered. With him, we lived through what unfortunately looks now as the last great moment of the United Nations, and of international law as the basis for cooperation and action.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali: a Global Legacy

Serageldin, Ismail*

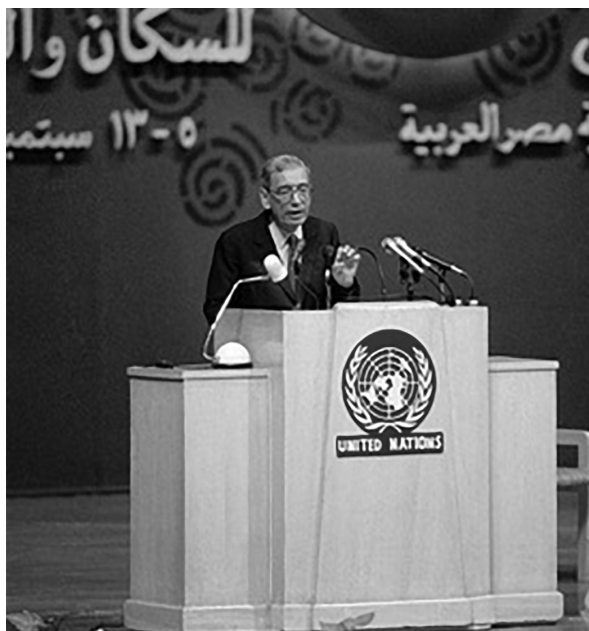
I have had the privilege of knowing Dr. Boutros-Ghali as a family friend, a mentor and an inspiring intellectual. I have admired his work and his scholarship as a university professor, teacher and author, as well as the founding editor of Egypt's most influential journal of foreign policy *Al-Siyasa Al-Dawliya*. I admired his deft diplomatic touch and his bold visionary actions as our Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, where he was a key person in working out the Camp David Accords, and a brilliant artisan of the return of Egypt to various international institutions thereby undoing the effects of the Arab boycott of Egypt following them. He was engaged with all aspects of international affairs, and supported the Global South. He profoundly cared for the human condition. He was also a committed Africanist, and we used to meet at the annual OAU summits. A brilliant career in every way, but it was still to be crowned by his service as Secretary-General of the United Nations as well as by his subsequent work on leading the Francophonie Movement and on launching and chairing the Council for Human Rights in Egypt.

In this short article, I cannot do justice to all of his distinguished career, and therefore I will only focus on his tenure as the Secretary-General of the United Nations. During those five years, I had the opportunity of seeing him regularly as I was at that time a senior official at the World Bank, and he had personally asked the President of the World Bank to let me come to New York regularly for discussions with him. The President agreed, and accordingly I would go to New York and spend a few hours with him. Given his and my travel schedules, we met about once a month or so. I do believe that his achievements at the UN

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deserve a deeper look from all of us, and in particular, two actions that impressed me profoundly: The Agenda for Peace and the Global Summits.

Initially, upon taking office, Dr. Boutros-Ghali prepared and released a little booklet called *An Agenda for Peace*. In that document he argued for two changes in the manner in which the peace-keeping operations of the UN should be done. First, he wanted the UN Security Council to consider adopting the idea of preemptive deployment, namely that the Blue Helmets could and should be deployed in hot spots as a barrier between the parties in conflict before these parties came into full-scale war, while allowing the diplomatic efforts to proceed, rather than waiting for the parties to escalate the conflict into war, then arrange for a cease-fire and then deploy the Blue Helmets to try to keep a ceasefire. This simple idea was actually implemented only in Macedonia, and it is noteworthy that it was one of the only places in the former Yugoslavia where there was no violence despite the furious fighting that accompanied the collapse of the former Yugoslav state.



BBG addressing UN conference on Population and Development Cairo, 5 September 1994

The second idea in the *Agenda for Peace* was also simple enough. Namely, that the major powers, the permanent members of the Security Council, should have particular units and arrangements made for deployment of troops under the UN flag when the Security Council formally passes resolutions to do so. The Secretary-General is *not* the one who makes such decisions: They are made by the Security Council, and that will not happen if a single one of those five members opposes it. But under the current arrangements, such decisions from the Security Council required – and still require – that the Secretary-General engages in lengthy contacts to negotiate with many different countries and people to seek to translate the decision into a reality of *boots on the ground*. Ah, if the powers that be were not so short-sighted how many more lives could have been saved, how much faster and more effective UN response to crises could have been. But the proposals have been made and they are there along with all the other proposals to improve the UN and its functions, from the restructuring of the Security Council to the streamlining of the bureaucracy, that await the emergence of real political will among the major powers to turn them into reality.

But if Dr. Boutros-Ghali did not succeed in getting the governmental powers to support his eminently sensible proposals, he succeeded brilliantly in reaching the people of the world in a particular and spectacular way. It was under his tenure that the UN System held six remarkable summits, at which he supported the expanded presence of people being represented – beyond their official government delegations – by the parallel summits for NGOs. In our discussions, he was fond of reminding me that the UN Charter, starts with the statement: "We the peoples of the united nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and: to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small..." Governments, he pointed out, were the instruments to legalize the actions of nations, but the original mandate to create the UN and to seek these noble aims is from "The peoples" of the world. Governments were the necessary interlocutors of the UN administration, but not the only ones. So each of these six summits included a parallel NGO forum next to the formal

meeting of governmental delegations and addressed a major developmental challenge that faced the world.

These six summits were:

- **UN Summit on Environment and Development (1992 in Rio)**, which adopted Sustainable Development as a paradigm. It was also known as the Earth Summit, attended by 114 heads of state and government – which produced the Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) and the Biodiversity Convention.
- **The UN Summit on Population and development (1994 in Cairo)**, which affirmed a consensus for promoting universal primary education in all countries by 2015; reduction of maternal, infant and child mortality; and Access to reproductive and sexual health services including family planning.
- **The UN Summit for Social Development (1995 in Copenhagen)**, which saw 117 world leaders pledge to put people at the center of development, and to make the conquest of poverty, the goal of full employment and the fostering of social integration, the overriding objectives of development.
- **The UN Summit on Women Empowerment (1995 in Beijing)**, which included more than 5,000 representatives from 2,100 NGOs and nearly 30,000 individuals attended the independent NGO Forum as well as about 5,000 media representatives. This essential summit produced The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.
- **The UN Summit on food and hunger, also known as the World Food Summit (1996 in Rome)**, where 112 Heads or Deputy Heads of State and Government, and by over 70 high-level representatives from other countries, of the Rome Declaration and the World Food Summit Plan of Action, provided the framework for the actions needed to achieve 'Food for All'.
- **The UN Summit on Urbanization and Cities (1996 in Istanbul)**, which was the last summit attended by Boutros-Ghali. Popularly known as the *City Summit*, it brought together high-level representatives of national and local

governments, as well as the private sector, NGOs, research and training institutions and the media, where they all endorsed the universal goal of ensuring adequate shelter for all, and to make human settlements safer, healthier and provide more livable cities.

To this great list, some of us added our own initiatives (not formally sponsored by the UN) for global conferences on **Micro-finance (1997 in Washington)**, attended by approximately 3,000 from 137 countries, and later the **Summit on Youth Employment** in Alexandria, Egypt in 2002.

But, returning to these six official UN Summits, I believe these enormous public events profoundly changed the world. They created a consensus around each of these major themes, whereby a new global perspective on development was formed. It produced a much more well-rounded, more human-centered view of development than that being articulated in the Bretton Woods Institutions, along with the US treasury, known as the Washington Consensus, which focused almost exclusively on the macro-economic balances of countries, and which was supported by the official and commercial financiers through the so-called Paris and London Clubs, where debt rescheduling for the poorer debtor nations was undertaken.

I submit, that it was the success of those summits that laid the foundation for the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals in 2000, which carried the world a major step forward. This, of course, in no way diminishes the enormous efforts of Kofi Annan and the many people who worked with him on the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals after Boutros-Ghali left office, nor does it belittle the work of those who worked on the organization of the Earth summit or each of the successive summits. It does, however, recognize that it was Boutros-Ghali who presided over the UN during all these summits and brought the prestige of the Secretary-General to bear so that the NGOs and the government delegations were brought together in an embrace of the UN system, and these actions had laid the groundwork for the global consensus on development that continues to this very day.

The tenure of Boutros-Ghali at the UN was also a period of enormous crises – from the collapse of Yugoslavia to the wars

in Africa and the genocide in Rwanda. I know how deeply he cared about each life being lost, and tried as much as he could to handle each situation in the best possible way. That included trying to organize the "Oil for Food" program in Iraq in 1995, which was to ensure that it was not the children of Iraq who suffered while regime of Saddam Hussain continued to thrive, despite the sanctions imposed after the first Gulf War undertaken to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi annexation.

There were political struggles with the US administration, over the negotiations on the "Oil for Food" program, and Boutros-Ghali's firm position against Israel over the Qana bombing in 1996, where Israel had fired shells at a United Nations compound in southern Lebanon, killing many civilians. These two issues certainly contributed to depriving him of a second term as Secretary-General of the UN. He received 14 positive votes for his nomination, but lost the all-important American Vote. There is a certain irony there, as in the early years of his tenure he had been seen by many as being too eager to please the Americans. While at the same time, his view was that with the collapse of the USSR, the real danger for the UN was not American dominance, which was a fact, it was that the US would increasingly act outside of the UN framework, thereby rendering it irrelevant in the evolution of global affairs.

Thus to keep the multilateral framework of the UN as the basic framework of legitimacy, it was essential that the US continue to function within its perimeter. And Boutros-Ghali considered it his duty to strengthen the UN and to have it serve all of humanity. But he also considered himself responsible for the staff of the UN, many of whom died in the bombing of Qana. The USA had initially accepted his nomination with a caveat that they assumed that he would serve only one term. So after "Oil for Food" and "Qana", that second term was therefore definitely denied to him through an American Veto.

After the UN, Boutros-Ghali became the first Secretary-General of the new Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF), a successor organization to the original initiative of 1970, which comprises 57 member states and governments, three associate members and twenty observers... all having a notable affiliation with French culture. He held that post till the end of December 2002. This international Francophonie movement was another

forum where we met and discussed, as I am also a prominent voice for Francophonie. But he and I saw it in a much broader light than just the promotion of the French language. It was the forum which recognized the right of each nation to express its culture in the language of its choice, and to have the right to publicly support and subsidize the production of such cultural output, which should not be subjected simply to the rules of commerce. This "cultural exception" from the international trade agreements that the WTO enforces, is a profound manifestation of cultural diversity and a human right.

Returning to Egypt, he would lend his enormous prestige, as a widely respected Egyptian and as the former UN Secretary-General, to the creation of the National Council for Human Rights (NCHR) in 2003. He would head it until 2012. His involvement with that organization elevated its status both nationally and internationally, and gave it an important voice on the Egyptian political scene.

The scion of a great Egyptian family, an intellectual who was also a man of the world, who had seen the best and the worst of leaders and their followers, who remained firmly anchored to the most noble of values, and was therefore supremely self-confident in the course of action he would choose to pursue, Boutros Boutros-Ghali could sometimes strike people as aloof. But for us who have had the privilege of knowing him, we would all say that to really know him was to understand the twinkle in his eye, to appreciate his great sense of humor as well as the breadth of his intellect and the variety of his interests, and to admire his profound humanity. For me, and for many others, he will always remain the one and only Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who will live on forever in our memories and in our hearts.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Somavia, Juan*

The sixth Secretary General of the United Nations (1992-1996), fiery Egyptian diplomat and for almost twenty years Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, presided over the World Organization in trying times and saw his brilliance, perceptions and knowledge put to the test in the break-up of the fragile Yugoslavia, the grotesque Rwandan civil war and the debacle in Somalia, among other international crises that erupted during his tenure.

Born in Cairo to a prominent Coptic family, he was a true cosmopolitan, a sophisticated intellectual, with a keen intuition, and a passion for order and detail. And so he was perceived by the colleagues who shared his interest in African issues, international law and a tight tactical and strategic approach to world affairs.

I had not met Mr. Ghali prior to his election as Secretary General but was well aware of his reputation as an eminent scholar and successful diplomat who had played a key role in the Camp David negotiations between Egypt and Israel which had an enormous impact in the volatile Middle East.

Boutros-Ghali began his tenure in 1992 as Secretary General when the Security Council held for the first time ever a Summit of Heads of State and Governments as the cold war began fading from the front ranks of international concerns. The leaders of the Council made clear their intention to deal with threats to international peace and security through the United Nations and its Security Council, using all instruments at their disposal, giving Boutros-Ghali their full backing by underlining the vital role

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of the Secretary-General. A promise whose application became elusive.

Various world leaders included in their statements the conviction that without economic and social development, lasting peace and stability would not be achieved. To underscore this point, and to the surprise of the new Secretary-General, seven of the leaders, among them President Mitterrand of France, made specific references in support of a World Summit for Social Development, a proposal I had made in the name of Chile, the year before in May 1991.

At the time of his election, I served as the Permanent Representative of Chile, appointed by Mr. Ghali's predecessor, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, as his personal Representative to conduct consultations requested by the Economic and Social Council on the views of member states, on the possibility of convening a World Summit for Social Development.

The task, that in private, Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar assigned to me was precise: to "consult and convince" the UN members of the importance of such an event, since he was one of the first to give his full support to the Summit. When Mr. Ghali took office, the process was left dangling, in a purely procedural stage of uncertainty.

In my first meeting with the new Secretary-General I explained the foundation of the proposal for a Social Summit. Boutros-Ghali realized that continuing the consultation process initiated by his predecessor Perez de Cuellar was at the heart of the economic and social component of his mandate as Secretary-General and consequently confirmed my position as his Personal Representative. I told him, and he agreed, that I would deal with the problems and keep him informed and only when necessary I would ask him to act. The rules of the game were clear.

The report on my consultations became his report to ECOSOC in mid-1992, giving the rationale, method of work and outcome of the Summit and reflecting the wide support to the idea. ECOSOC approved the report and proposed to the UN General Assembly that the Summit be convened. The GA decided to hold the Summit. In the brief period from mid-1991 to late-1992 the World Summit for Social Development had become a reality.

I was later appointed President of the Preparatory Committee where we built the first global consensus on eradicating poverty, generating full employment and promoting social integration. The government of Denmark offered to host it and it was celebrated in March 1995 in Copenhagen with the participation of 117 Heads of State and Government, the biggest gathering at that level in the history of the UN up to then.

Looking back over the years leading to the Summit, the Secretary-General made very clear in speeches, public statements and conversations with world leaders that the holding of the social summit was a priority for him. In his speech at the opening of the World Summit for Social Development he stated: *"The message of this World Summit for Social Development should be clear. The international community is today taking a clear stand against social injustice, exclusion and poverty in the world."*

The decisions of the Summit had great influence in the formulation of the Millennium Development Goals in 2000. Later as social issues became center front in all countries, including developed ones – and inequality was growing exponentially –, the Social Summit became the cornerstone of the social dimension of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, together with the economic and environmental dimensions.

Sometime in May of 1996, the United States announced that it would *not* support Boutros-Ghali for another term, in fact vetoing his re-election. No Secretary-General of the UN had been denied a second term thus far and, adding insult to injury, the announcement was made a full seven months prior to the renewal of the post. This decision came as a shock to many members of the Council, since only a few months earlier, at the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the UN; then-President Clinton had praised the Secretary General, adding among other laudatory comments that Boutros- Ghali had effectively placed the UN at the forefront of international affairs.

Chile at the time was a member of the Security Council, body charged by the Charter of the UN to propose to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General.

Sometime after the announcement of the veto, the US Ambassador, Madeleine Albright, with whom I had, and still have, a good personal and professional relationship, phoned me to say she

wanted my assistance in this endeavor to avoid a confrontation in the Security Council.

I said that I did not feel comfortable with her request as I felt he had done a good job and could not see a strong reason to deny him a new mandate. From the moment the US position had been made public I did not see any space for compromise.

Furthermore, I suspected many of her diplomatic allies would not support the US on this. On November 19, 1996, the Security Council voted on the resolution to renew Boutros- Ghali's mandate. The result was fourteen in favor, with the US casting the sole veto, putting an end to his time as Secretary-General. Three weeks later the Council agreed on Ghana's Kofi Annan to replace him who would eventually become, together with the UN, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate.

A few years later, in 1999, Boutros-Ghali published his memoirs, "*Unvanquished: A U.S. – U.N. Saga*". A razor-sharp, erudite study and analysis of the constraints imposed on the occupants of the UNSG post.

After leaving the UN Boutros-Ghali did not ride off quietly into the sunset but remained very much active. He went on to become President the International Organization of La *Francophonie*.



BBG addressing UN World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen, 11 March 1995

As Director General of the International Labor Organization (responsibility to which I was elected in 1999), I signed a cooperation agreement between the two organizations with Boutros-Ghali. Later still, we met regularly at the South Center in Geneva, where he became Chairman of the Board. I also discovered at the time, that he had been a member in the past of an important ILO committee overseeing the applications of its Conventions.

I have warm recollections of Boutros-Ghali. Initially, I found him very competent but somewhat remote but as we got to know each other he revealed a highly personable side, blending elegance with wit, humor and charm. He was an effective Secretary-General, displaying enormous courage and skill in handling the most intractable situations.

He will be remembered fondly, and with great respect, for his management of extremely complex problems, in the course of which, while steadfast, he could also be, at turns, both flexible and obstinate. His tenure coincided with one of the UN's most difficult periods where the lack of resolve of the major powers lent a facet of the impossible to his goals, thus a dose of admiration to his accomplishments.

Impossible to reminisce about BBG without thinking of the attractive personality and strong character of his wife Leia. Together with Adriana, my wife, we gathered socially in some occasions after his departure. But it was in an official visit to Chile when we were both aide-de-camp to them that we interacted up close. It was fun to see the human being in their personal and informal moments as well as the very formal person in the official functions. Yet, both dimensions had a weaving thread: lots of sense of humor and a little cynicism from time to time to look at private and public life.

The tolerant giant

Unger, Felix*

Boutros Boutros-Ghali comes from a Coptic Christian family. His grandfather Boutros-Ghali was the first Christian Prime Minister in Egypt, while his nephew was Minister for Economy and Finances. He was Professor at the University of Cairo and published many scientific papers and books.

What is remarkable about Boutros Boutros-Ghali? He strongly promoted tolerance, was very active in establishing peace between Egypt and Israel, and he was the architect of the Camp David Treaty/Accord.

During his time as Secretary-General of the United Nations he was actively working for world peace: he supported peace forces in Somalia and was also very active in resolving the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. He also supported the Oil-for-Food Programme which contributed to the improvement and health of the people in Iraq. He was indeed a man of peace and remained very disappointed about the limited budget of the United Nations to cover the costs necessary for handling such crises. This remains a topic which is ever present today when we hear about growing numbers of refugees coming to Lebanon and Turkey receiving far too little financial support.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali was a promoter of tolerance within politics and his effort were not always adequately appreciated. Our wish today is that more renowned figures – like Boutros Boutros-Ghali, will continue to serve.

* Felix Unger, cardiac surgeon, habilitated in 1978. as a University lecturer. He was the director of the University Clinic for Cardiac Surgery in Salzburg. In 1990 he was co-founder of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts in Salzburg and has since been its president.

Patriot of Egypt and friend of Russia

Vasiliev, Alexey*

The role of Boutros Boutros-Ghali in the post-Nasser period of history of Egypt and in international relations is exceptional. He was one of those who considered that for his country the politics of multilateralism was the most constructive approach. A patriot, a convinced liberal, well recognized and respected in the West, he considered himself to be also a friend of USSR and Russia. Boutros-Ghali was convinced that the national interest of Egypt dictated the necessity to maintain and develop the utmost cooperation with the USSR, and later Russia, without scarifying its close contacts with the West.

His book "Egypt's Road to Jerusalem", translated into Russian and published in our country with my help became a revelation for the Russian readers. In this book he demonstrated how important and vital for Egypt was a step towards the exit from the confrontation with Israel and the arms race which was ruining the country taken by Anwar Sadat, who signed the peace treaty with Israel. Boutros-Ghali has participated in these negotiations.

In those years in the Soviet Union, Sadat was treated like a man who had betrayed friendly relations with Moscow, undermining decades of cooperation in the past – but history has proved that this decision, at least as far as Egypt's relations with Israel were concerned, was correct and corresponded to the national interests of his country.

During the later years when the relations between Egypt and USSR/Russia were at their lowest point, Boutros Boutros-Ghali has manifested real courage insisting upon the necessity to maintain the links with the USSR. His stature and authority

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allowed him to conserve the Society of Friendship between Egypt and the USSR/Russia which he presided.

At the moment of the election of the new UN General Secretary, the former Director of the Russian Institute of Africa Anatoly Gromyko and myself contributed to influence the Soviet position in favor of Boutros-Ghali's candidature. Accepting our arguments Moscow realized that it would be difficult to find a better candidate to occupy this post. In his person he combined the capacities of a well-known political figure, a scientist, diplomat, former student of the famous Science Po in Paris, possessing French, American and Egyptian diplomas, an Arab and an African, an Egyptian Christian married to a Jewish wife coming from a rich family and the Chairman of the Society of friendship between Egypt and Russia.

When I arrived in Cairo as a correspondent of the Soviet daily "Pravda" in 1975, I established close and friendly relations with Boutros-Ghali, who was, at that time, directing the Center of strategic studies of "Al Ahram". He was definitely a first-grade star inside the journalist community. I admired him dictating letters to his secretaries in Arabic and English or easily shifting to French. We maintained friendly relations when he became the State Minister for Foreign Affairs, while I entered the Academy of Sciences. After he became the UN Secretary-General, we regularly met in London, New York and Moscow.

This was the period when, after the end of the Cold War, the world appeared to have become unilateral and dominated by the USA. Russia passed through a short period of hopes of eventual integration in the Western world on the basis of the assumption that the Cold War had ended – not with the defeat of the Soviet Union, but just the collapse of the totalitarian regime. But at the time when this pro-Western curve in Russian politics started to straighten, the Western world chose to ignore the interests of the giant Russia with its independent tradition, its nuclear potential and its permanent seat in the UN Security Council. The UN itself was treated by Washington as the appendix of the State Department.

Understanding well the power of the USA, Boutros Boutros-Ghali tried to pursue a balanced policy. This provoked the negative reaction in Washington. Under the pressure of the former

US State Secretary Madeleine Albright, the US declared their opposition to his election for a new term. Boutros-Ghali once told me the joke: "Somebody whose face was covered, enters the Oval office at the time of President Clinton carrying a tray with a chopped head of Boutros-Ghali. Clinton reacts: "you should not hide, Madeleine, I know it's you who did it."

Despite the fact that Boutros-Ghali was a prudent diplomat, he declared once to a circle of his friends: "This unattractive woman tries to govern me". Naturally, this remark was reported to Albright who never pardoned Boutros.

In Russia, Boutros Boutros-Ghali was well known and respected. He was elected the foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the doctor honoris causa of the Institute of International Relations and Institute of State and Law. Russian Patriarch Alexey II presented to him the award "For the outstanding activity in the field of strengthening the unity of the people of Orthodox faith". His book "Years inside the Glass House" was published in Russia.

After his failure in the elections for the second term as the UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali was elected President de la Francophonie. In this capacity he organized a seminar on the relations between the francophonie and russophonie. His initiative proved its value ten years later, when an organization in Russia was launched – "The Russian World" – with the aim to promote relations between millions of Russian speakers across the world, members of Russian diaspora and their native country.

Besides being a highly respected specialist in the field of international relations and international law, Boutros-Ghali was also a great expert in the domain of human rights. After ending his mandate as the head of Francophonie, he was appointed by the Egyptian government for a post of special representative on the questions of human rights and organized several conferences on this subject in the framework of UNESCO in Beyrut and Cairo.

Boutros-Ghali was a real Egyptian patriot, proud of his country with its 5000 years history, proud of his ancestors, and of the particular character of the Egyptian civilization. At the same time he was a man who understood well the problems of other peoples. Having served in Egypt before his nomination to the post of the UN Secretary-General, as a State Minister for foreign affairs,

he was responsible for the African continent and was well aware of its problems. Being the champion of liberal views, free market and political democracy when referring to the African problems, Boutros-Ghali permanently stressed the importance of the state and of the public sector in economy as an organizing force in the absence of other stabilizing forces. He knew well the dramatic African reality, yet even in his capacity of the UN Secretary-General he did not succeed in organizing the intervention of UN forces to prevent the genocide in Rwanda.

Boutros-Ghali was a man of peace and personified the merits of the three great religions which were born in the Middle East. At the same time, as a Copt he remained Egyptian Christian close to the Orthodox religion. I remember our travel to Serguyev Posad – the residence of Russian Patriarch – and the image of his excited face with tears in his eyes when he was listening to the sound of the bells during the visit of Orthodox churches. On this occasion he made an important personal donation for the restoration of these shrines.

I keep in memory the personal charm of Boutros-Ghali, his talent for communication and capacity, like a magnet, to attract people of different opinions and religion. His outstanding intellectual level was honored by well-deserved scientific titles and decorations confirming his contribution to the world science. His political and scientific activity will remain in the memory of millions of Egyptians as the achievements of the great son of the nation. Boutros-Ghali will also certainly be considered and valued by the Russians as the man who made an exceptional contribution to the cause of better understanding between our peoples and countries and to their common action on the world scene. His name is evoked in Russia with warmth and love.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali – Temoin et Acteur D'une Vie Dans Le Siècle

Vettovaglia, Jean-Pierre*

I met him in 1993 for the first time as a Swiss Ambassador to the UN and then as Personal Representative of the President of the Swiss Federal Council to the International Organisation of the Francophonie. I was among his last and best friends, including during the later years of his retirement in Paris.

Le bilan d'une vie ne se trouve pas dans le décompte des succès et des échecs d'un homme, celui de ses idées infirmées ou confirmées au fil du temps. La question n'est pas de savoir si les événements lui ont donné tort ou raison. La dignité de cet homme rare que fut Boutros Boutros-Ghali est à rechercher dans sa loyauté comme professeur, Ministre, Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies et de la Francophonie, dans la générosité et l'humanité de ses idées, ainsi que dans son courage et sa détermination, sans oublier son exigeante indépendance.

A ces divers titres, il mérite l'admiration des jeunes générations qui ne le connaîtraient que trop peu. L'objectif de cet article est de le leur faire comprendre.

Loyauté sans faille

BBG a effectivement servi loyalement des Présidents aussi différents que Nasser, Sadate et Moubarak, comme il servira loyalement les Nations Unies et la Francophonie, puis le Conseil égyptien des droits de l'homme malgré toutes les difficultés, les désillusions et même les nombreuses vexations subies. Sa

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foncière honnêteté sera toujours incorruptible. De plus il restera profondément attaché à son pays.

Au service des Nations Unies, il sera le Secrétaire général qui revendiquera le plus son indépendance de jugement et d'action davantage que tous ses prédécesseurs et successeurs (article 100 de la Charte des Nations Unies). Cette loyauté associée à sa vive intelligence, son érudition juridique et sa précision d'analyse en ont fait le meilleur Secrétaire général des Nations Unies avec, peut-être, Hammarskjöld.

Volonté de faire bouger les choses

La récupération du Sinaï, même au prix d'une paix avec Israël et de l'inimitié des pays arabes, figura parmi ses priorités. Il fut l'un des seuls à vouloir ouvrir son pays à l'identité arabo-méditerranéenne sur l'Afrique subsaharienne, il fut l'un des seuls à comprendre le caractère crucial d'un accord sur le partage des eaux du Nil avec les riverains en amont d'où le titre de son dernier ouvrage publié en 2011 « Entre le Nil et Jérusalem ».

Partout où il a passé et contrairement à tous ses prédécesseurs et successeurs en date, il a laissé un héritage substantiel marqué par des écrits exaltants qui lui survivent : un Agenda pour le maintien de la Paix, un autre sur le Développement et un troisième sur la démocratie dans les relations internationales et la mondialisation sous son autorité de Secrétaire général des Nations Unies à un moment crucial de l'histoire contemporaine, celui où l'on a pu croire que tout redevenait possible avec la fin de la guerre froide, la « Fin de l'Histoire »...

Il a aussi posé les premières pierres d'une justice pénale internationale et de la responsabilité de protéger les populations menacées au plan humanitaire.

Comme Secrétaire général de la Francophonie il a pu faire avaliser par les Etats membres le texte le plus avancé de son époque sur une vie politique pacifiée : ce fut l'incroyable aventure de la « Déclaration de Bamako » adoptée le 3 novembre 2000, un texte qui ne pourrait plus être ratifié aujourd'hui dans un monde en profonde régression au plan des pratiques démocratiques. Ce texte avait la volonté d'être une étape significative dans le dialogue sur l'approfondissement de la démocratie et le respect

des libertés au sein de l'espace francophone. Il insistait sur l'interaction entre démocratie et développement. Resté sans conséquence, le mérite d'avoir été conçu ne saurait lui être enlevé. Après tout, un secrétaire général n'est que le premier fonctionnaire d'une organisation gérée par ses propres Etats membres.

Défense de la démocratie et des droits de l'homme respect et promotion de la diversité des cultures, des langues et des croyances

Boutros-Ghali s'est battu contre de nombreux moulins au nom de la défense et de la promotion de la diversité des cultures et des langues. En témoignent toutes ses actions au service des Nations Unies et de la Francophonie ensuite. Ses constructions intellectuelles n'ont jamais eu de dimensions religieuses. Au contraire, il a souvent déclaré son appartenance à la « grande tribu des croyants ». Il a mené le combat du multilinguisme, des diversités et de la démocratisation de la mondialisation en voulant s'appuyer sur la société civile, les parlementaires et les ONG. Même si au fond de lui-même il ne devait pas croire à l'établissement de la paix au Moyen-Orient et voyait combien la démocratie et les droits de l'homme étaient quotidiennement bafoués dans l'espace francophone. Il a réussi à faire confirmer, à la Conférence des Nations Unies à Vienne en 1993, la valeur universelle précisément de la « Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme » de 1948 à l'unanimité des membres de l'ONU.

Exigeante indépendance

Il a fait front à tout, n'a jamais renoncé à dire ce qu'il pensait et a refusé divers accommodements que Madeleine Albright lui proposait avant de lancer contre lui l'opération «Orient Express» vouée à le priver d'un deuxième mandat en vertu du seul veto américain. Boutros-Ghali est arrivé à New York au faîte de l'hyperpuissance qui voulait façonner le monde selon ses intérêts exclusifs et surtout unilatéralement, ne portant pas l'ONU dans son cœur. Du génocide rwandais qui n'intéressait personne (le Sud des damnés intéressait davantage le SG que le Nord des riches) aux interventions de l'OTAN en Serbie pour en arriver aux bombardements du camp de réfugiés de Qana au Sud Liban par l'aviation israélienne, le Secrétaire général est devenu l'ennemi

personnel de Madeleine Albright, furieuse de son indépendance, et rien ni personne n'a pu sauver son deuxième mandat. Ce fut l'unanimité du Conseil de sécurité contre le veto américain. Son indocilité ne convenait plus au Secrétariat d'Etat, ni à la Maison Blanche ni à l'armée américaine. Mais, comme il l'a dit à Madame Albright qui lui proposait des « arrangements »: « les Boutros-Ghali n'ont jamais accepté de bakchichs ». Ses Mémoires onusiennes portent le titre de « Unvanquished » qui peut se lire Boutros Boutros-Ghali vaincu ou « UN vanquished », l'organisation onusienne vaincue...par les desiderata américains. En fait, son indépendance d'esprit et d'action sera sa marque et lui vaudra son surnom de « pharaon ». Ces dispositions n'étaient au fond que le reflet de ses qualités d'intellectuel de très haut vol.

Conclusion

Le monde qu'a connu Boutros Boutros-Ghali en tant que témoin et acteur n'existe plus. Il n'y a, semble-t-il, plus de recours contre cette avalanche de nouveaux conflits qui nous assaillent et bien peu d'espérance dans le développement et les libertés démocratiques...

A l'impuissance des politiques traditionnelles ne répond plus que la vacuité des politiques alternatives. Les inégalités et la désespérance gagnent des couches de la société de plus en plus grandes. La France et ses fameuses valeurs dont elle est si fière et dont Boutros Boutros-Ghali était profondément imprégné (francophone et francophile) est humiliée par la plus stupide des idéologies, la plus barbare des temps modernes. Le seul objectif semble n'être aujourd'hui en Occident que le «bonheur» individuel des citoyens. Ailleurs dominent souvent le communautarisme et la puissance des idéologies de masse, celles des totalitaires fanatiques. Boutros Boutros-Ghali n'aurait pas aimé voir cela. Il n'a jamais failli à sa tâche. Tant d'ambition et tant d'intelligence, tant de travail aussi pour en arriver là: au bout de l'amertume.

Il est resté un homme debout, combattant de la paix et de la justice. Et a laissé une impression profonde. Il a frappé par son courage, sa ténacité, son intelligence, sa force de travail et sa volonté de comprendre. Chez lui, pas de lâcheté, pas de médiocrité, pas de haine. Ce n'est pas faute d'avoir essayé si les défis

immenses qu'il a essayé de relever se sont montrés rebelles à toute résolution. Il n'aura donc pas vu la paix et le progrès sur les terres d'un Orient traumatisé et déchiré qui l'a vu naître et mourir.

Boutros-Ghali aura été un utopiste concret, une exigence, une dignité. Pour cette raison, il n'a jamais voulu se mêler de la politique intérieure égyptienne après sa retraite internationale : « tôt ou tard, la politique rend fou, disait-il en grimaçant, et corrompt absolument ». Les livres auront été pour lui ses meilleurs amis !

Que Dieu l'ait en bonne garde!

A great figure

Wallace, Don*

My dealings with Boutros-Ghali were brief and slight, many years ago before he became Secretary-General of the United Nations, but they may shed a small light on why he did become Secretary-General.

In the 1970s, the International Law Institute of which I was then academic director was exploring the possibility of establishing a regional center based in Cairo (which we eventually did do). Almost without exception, all the Egyptians whom I consulted on how to proceed and how to be of greatest use said speak to Boutros Boutros-Ghali. I believe he was Deputy Foreign Minister at the time and very busy, but each of the several times I called, he took my call. He did not know me, but wished to help. He was a great figure and shall be missed.

* Don Wallace, Chairman, International Law Institute; Professor of Law, Georgetown University Law Center; Counsel, Winston & Strawn.

Boutros-Ghali: an exceptional man of our time

Zahedi, Ardeshir*

In the afternoon of Tuesday, the 16th of February 2016 the world said goodbye to one of its most accomplished diplomats, Boutros Boutros-Ghali who passed away at the age of 93.

He was a man who meant much to me and to the rest of the world.

Just a few weeks earlier, in December 2015, he and his wife Leia were my guests in Gstaad, Switzerland. Despite his physical weakness, he kept talking about his busy agenda and his great projects for the future. He said he needed to return to Paris and go back to Cairo as he had to preside over a meeting of the Egyptian Human Rights Organisation.

In Paris, he fell and was hospitalised; yet, he could not forget his duty. The ambulance took him to the airport and he flew to his beloved Cairo on a stretcher while still suffering from his injuries. Such was the sense of duty of a man whose long life included an illustrious academic career, long service in the Egyptian government and five years as Secretary-General of the United Nations and above all a whole life devoted to serve the human community.

I recall memories of more than fifty years of acquaintance and friendship with Boutros and lady Leia, their devoted love for one another and their generosity and affection towards friends.

I first met Boutros Boutros-Ghali when I visited Egypt as Iranian Foreign Minister on an invitation from my colleague, Mahmoud Riad, and I was guest of the Egyptian government. Boutros-Ghali, who worked with my late noble friend, President Anwar Sadat, was one of my hosts. From the very start I found him a man of

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principle who was ready to stand and fight for dignity and humanity.

When he was Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Americans and Israelis wanted him to ignore a report submitted by a UN mission to the Middle East that investigated the massacre of Palestinians. They insisted that he should not disclose the content which was not in any way favorable to Israel. Boutros categorically refused and this provoked the hostility of the US administration. At the end of his first term when he presented his candidacy for a second mandate, the USA decided to react and objected to his reelection.

Just before his election in 1992 as the head of UN, he happened to be in Montreux and we discussed his chances. I suggested that he should start the campaign with his own government in Egypt and have himself recommended by President Mubarak to the heads of friendly countries and particularly the leaders of the region, like King Hassan of Morocco and the Jordanian King Hussein.

I remember, and what a coincidence, that the second time he decided to run, I was having dinner with him and his friend and relative, Doctor Fakhry Abdel Nour. The then American Secretary of State, Madame Albright, called to persuade him either to withdraw his candidacy or accept a compromise and stay on for one more year, and then resign. Knowing the character of the man, I was sure he would not yield to pressure or this kind of political blackmailing. To my own satisfaction, Boutros bluntly refused the deal. The USA vetoed his re-election, but France warmly embraced him like a head of state and invited him to preside over *The International Organisation of Francophonie*.

Almost every year when Boutros and Leia came to Switzerland, I had the privilege of seeing them, enjoying their company and learning from his long-life experience in politics and international diplomacy. We shared many views on the state of the world and particularly the problems of the Middle East that so closely touch our two brother countries.

I shall soon be publishing the third volume of my Memoirs that deals with the years when I was the Foreign Minister of Iran and that gives me several opportunities to talk in greater detail about Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his relationship with me and my dear country.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali: un homme exceptionnel

Ziegler, Jean*

...En août 1991, l'Union soviétique implosa. Les gérontocrates du Kremlin avaient imposé aux peuples de l'URSS une dictature policière corrompue qui se situait à des années-lumière du gouvernement voulu par Karl Marx et vanté par le Manifeste de 1848. Au 38^e étage du gratte-ciel onusien de New York résidait, à l'époque, un homme exceptionnel : Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Intellectuel francophone brillant, pacha égyptien bénéficiant d'une longue expérience ministérielle, juriste subtil et érudit, Boutros-Ghali comprit immédiatement la situation. En tant que secrétaire général (1992-1996), il prit une initiative historique, sans passer par l'Assemblée générale ni par le Conseil de sécurité.

C'est ainsi qu'en 1993, il convoqua à Vienne la première réunion mondiale sur les droits de l'homme depuis celle qui s'était tenue à Paris en 1948. Il s'agissait de mettre fin à près d'un demi-siècle de glaciation et de réunir, dans une seule et nouvelle déclaration, les droits civils et politiques et les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels.

Boutros-Ghali se livra à Vienne à une très remarquable explication des droits humains :

En tant qu'instruments de référence, les droits de l'homme constituent le langage commun de l'humanité grâce auquel tous les peuples peuvent, dans le même temps, comprendre les autres et écrire leur propre histoire. Les droits de l'homme sont, par définition, la norme ultime de toute politique [...]. Ils sont, par

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essence, des droits en mouvement. Je veux dire par là qu'ils ont à la fois pour objet d'exprimer des commandements immuables et d'énoncer un moment de la conscience historique. Ils sont donc, tous ensemble, absolus et situés. [...]

Les droits de l'homme ne sont pas le plus petit dénominateur commun de toutes les nations, mais, au contraire, ce que je voudrais appeler l'irréductible humain, la quintessence des valeurs par lesquelles nous affirmons, ensemble, que nous sommes une seule communauté humaine. (Citée par Hervé Cassan, «La vie quotidienne à l'ONU du temps de Boutros Boutros-Ghali », in Mélanges offerts à M. Thierry, Paris, Pédone, 1998, p. 8.)

Paraphrasant Hegel, j'aimerais ajouter, expérience faite, que les droits de l'homme - les droits civils et politiques, comme les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels - constituent l'Absolu en relation, l'Universel concret. Ils sont bien, en effet, l'horizon de notre histoire. Mais un droit dont aucune force n'est en mesure de sanctionner la validité peut se trouver réduit à l'état de fantôme. En fait, la seule réalité des droits de l'homme face au crime, c'est la force de conviction qui leur est attachée, elle-même fonction de la crédibilité de celui qui les énonce.

La bonne foi, la sincérité du sujet parlant sont ici décisifs.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali jouissait de cette crédibilité. Sous le titre de «Déclaration de Vienne», le projet de résolution qu'il soumit aux représentants des 171 Etats réunis en ce moment historique fut adopté le 25 juin 1993. Désormais, tous les droits de l'homme (civils et politiques; économiques, sociaux et culturels) étaient déclarés universels, indivisibles et interdépendants.

A Vienne, les Américains, soucieux de ne pas s'opposer ouvertement à Boutros-Ghali, s'abstinrent au moment du vote. Jusqu'à aujourd'hui, ils refusent de reconnaître les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels - et notamment le droit à l'alimentation.

Mais l'Egyptien remporta à Vienne une autre victoire encore. Jusque-là, l'ONU n'avait disposé que d'un Centre pour la protection et la promotion des droits de l'homme, sis au palais Wilson à Genève. Boutros-Ghali fit voter la création d'une nouvelle instance, intitulée Haut-Commissariat aux droits de l'homme. La manœuvre était habile: elle permettait de valoriser le modeste Centre de Genève et de lui attacher plus de prestige. Hélas, cette promotion s'avérera largement fictive. Pour apaiser les

Américains, Boutros-Ghali dut finalement accepter que la nouvelle institution ne fût qu'une division du Secrétariat général de l'ONU. C'est ainsi que le Haut-Commissariat aux droits de l'homme est un faux haut-commissariat, dépourvu d'indépendance administrative, politique et budgétaire, et privé de conseil d'administration propre...

Entre le Haut-Commissariat aux droits de l'homme et le Conseil des droits de l'homme, les relations sont complexes, les conflits fréquents. La primauté appartient au Conseil, dont la tâche, rappelée au chapitre précédent, est double : contrôler la politique des droits de l'homme menée par chacun des 193 États membres de l'ONU, d'une part, édicter des normes de droit lorsqu'une situation nouvelle l'exige, d'autre part.

Le Conseil a à sa disposition des rapporteurs spéciaux. Il siège à Genève au cours de trois sessions annuelles de trois semaines (sans compter les sessions extraordinaires).

N'étant qu'un simple département du Secrétariat général de l'ONU, le Haut-Commissariat, de son côté, n'a pas de compétence législative. Il assure le secrétariat du Conseil et fournit une assistance scientifique et administrative aux rapporteurs spéciaux. En outre, il possède des bureaux sur les cinq continents, à Tunis, Amman, Bogota, Katmandou, etc. Par ailleurs, il fournit une assistance aux commissions nationales des droits de l'homme et assure une formation en matière de droits de l'homme aux officiers des armées et aux policiers. Il oriente les victimes de violations et les assiste dans leurs démarches sur le plan international (plaint procédures).

Dominé par une forte majorité d'États issus de l'hémisphère Sud, le Conseil reproche volontiers au Haut-Commissariat de faire avant tout la politique des États occidentaux, principaux bailleurs de fonds par le biais des «contributions volontaires». Rappel: seulement 40 % du budget du Haut-Commissariat est couvert par le budget ordinaire de l'ONU.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali est mort au Caire, le 16 février 2016. Je me souviens de lui avec affection.

Durant toute sa vie, Boutros Boutros-Ghali a incarné l'autre Égypte - l'Égypte fière, tolérante, profondément civilisée. Lea,

l'amour de sa vie, est issue d'une famille juive d'Alexandrie, lui-même d'une famille chrétienne copte. Son grand-père, Boutros pacha Nerous Ghali, avait été un nationaliste déterminé. Premier ministre sous la domination ottomane, il avait été assassiné en 1910 par un agent britannique¹. Boutros junior avait fait son doctorat de droit international à la Sorbonne. Il aimait passionnément la France.

Boutros a été le premier secrétaire général de l'ONU né sur le continent africain.

Je me souviens de ses fréquents voyages à Genève. Des agents de la police cantonale, lourdement armés, accompagnés de gardes onusiens, allaient l'accueillir à l'aéroport intercontinental de Genève-Cointrin. Evitant l'entrée principale du palais des Nations, la colonne des limousines noires se dirigeait vers l'entrée des cuisines, au rez-de-chaussée du corps central, en passant devant le local où s'entassaient les poubelles.

Boutros-Ghali me disait parfois en souriant : « Vous avez de la chance... vous pouvez entrer au palais par la grande porte! »

En tant que ministre des Affaires étrangères, Boutros-Ghali avait accompagné, en 1977, le président Anouar el-Sadate dans son voyage si surprenant à Jérusalem. La rumeur veut même que ce fut Boutros-Ghali qui écrivit le discours de réconciliation prononcé par le président égyptien devant la Knesset...

Des djihadistes assassinèrent Sadate à l'occasion d'un défilé militaire au Caire, le 6 octobre 1981. Ils jurèrent de tuer aussi Boutros-Ghali.

À Genève, le secrétaire général avait un proche ami et confident, le prestigieux professeur de droit international à l'université, Georges Abi-Saab. Et dans la belle villa d'Abi-Saab et de sa femme Rosemarie à Montreux se tenaient des soirées de discussions et d'échanges passionnantes. Nous y avons pris part à l'occasion, Erica et moi. L'érudition de Boutros-Ghali était stupéfiante. Son sens de l'humour, son ironie aussi. Son apparente modestie mettait immédiatement ses interlocuteurs à l'aise. Il était de stature frêle et portait des lunettes d'une grandeur disproportionnée, ne dissimulant rien de ses doux yeux bruns. Ses exposés en petit comité tenaient du feu d'artifice intellectuel.

En 1996, l'armée israélienne envahit le sud du Liban. Dans la localité biblique de Cana¹ était établi un poste de la FINUL, la force des Casques bleus de l'ONU au Liban. Les avions israéliens bombardèrent les villages. Plusieurs centaines de familles paysannes se réfugièrent alors à Cana. L'artillerie israélienne attaqua la bourgade.

Elle tua et mutila plus d'une centaine d'hommes, d'enfants et de femmes.

Boutros-Ghali constitua alors une commission d'enquête internationale, sous la responsabilité d'un général néerlandais. Madeleine Albright, secrétaire d'Etat américaine, exigea sa dissolution. Boutros refusa.

Les secrétaires généraux occupent généralement leur poste le temps de deux mandats de cinq ans chacun. Fin 1996, l'administration Clinton obtint le renvoi du récalcitrant Boutros-Ghali arrivé au terme de son premier mandat.



BBG with world leaders at UN 50th anniversary commemorative meeting, 22 Oct. 1995

About ECPD

ORIGINS AND MISSION

The European Center for Peace and Development (ECPD) founded in Belgrade, in 1983, as an independent, international postgraduate education and research institution, is a Regional European Centre of the University for Peace established by the United Nations.

The ECPD represents a unique institution in this part of the world, and has a special significance to countries of South-Eastern Europe.

The ECPD was founded by the University for Peace established by the United Nations with the main tasks and objectives "to organize and carry out postgraduate studies, research projects and dissemination of knowledge, which contribute to the promotion of peace, development and international cooperation". Following its mission defined in the Charter of the University for Peace established by UN and its own Statute, the ECPD "... brings together the intellectual potential from all parts of the world for the benefit of implementation of the programs of education and research projects devoted to the fulfilment of the ECPD aims and objectives".

For its significant contribution to the programme and objectives of the International Year of Peace, ECPD was awarded by UN Secretary General in 1987 the PEACE MESSENGER AWARD.

TASKS AND OBJECTIVES

Basic tasks and objectives of ECPD have been incorporated into its program structure, which features:

- (A) Studies leading to postgraduate degrees and specialist postgraduate training in the European Union law, International

business law, International Relations and Diplomacy, International MBA Studies in the field of strategic, financial, human resources, urban and ecological management and Health Management Studies within the international programme of Global School of Health.

- (B) Interdisciplinary research on sustainable development issues, regional development, multicultural, multi-confessional and inter-ethnic relations, eco-management and international relations;
- (C) Organizing international meetings, conferences, round tables, symposia, and workshops on topical issues from its programme;
- (D) Publishing conference proceedings, professional and scientific texts, research papers, case-studies, textbooks, etc.



En souvenir de Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Un Internationaliste Visionnaire
et un Leader Mondial

HOMMAGES ET RÉMINISCENCES

