
BOOK REVIEW

Unvanquished: A U.S.-U.N. Saga

**By Boutros Boutros-Ghali (Random House, 1999, 352 pages, Index)
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There are to date seven Secretaries-General of the United Nations. Except for Dag Hammarskjold (the second Secretary-General who had died in office in a plane crash in Ndola, in what was then Northern Rhodesia on 17 September 1961), the first six Secretaries-General of the United Nations have either resigned or retired from office at the end of their terms.¹ Most Secretaries-General of the UN, after their

¹The first Secretary-General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie resigned from office in November 1952. Trygve Lie's resignation became effective on 10 April 1953. For a personal account of events leading to his resignation, see Trygve Lie, *In the Cause of Peace: Seven Years with the United Nations* (Macmillan, New York, 1954), at pages 406-419. Dag Hammarskjold took over from Lie as Secretary-General on 10 April 1953 and served in the post until his death on 17 September 1961. U Thant became Acting Secretary-General on 3 November 1961, was affirmed as Secretary-General on 30 November 1962, was re-elected as Secretary-General in December 1966 and retired on 31 December 1971. U Thant repeatedly refused to serve a third term. For U Thant's accounts of his refusal to serve a third term and the prolonged deadlock over a successor, see U Thant, *View from the UN*, (David & Charles, 1978), at pages 437-438. Kurt Waldheim, in contrast to U Thant, vigorously campaigned for a third term as Secretary-General but was unsuccessful in his bid because China vetoed his candidacy for a third term 16 times before Waldheim withdrew. For an account of how vigorously and 'unashamedly' Waldheim campaigned for a third term as Secretary-General, see Stanley Meisler, *United Nations: The First Fifty Years*, (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1995), at page 201. For Waldheim's own account, see *In the Eye of the Storm: The Memoirs of Kurt Waldheim* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985),

retirement from office, wrote and published their memoirs (in the English language) about their United Nations years.²

Even before its publication, Boutros-Ghali's memoirs have been described as being the 'most frank' among all the memoirs written by former Secretaries-General of the UN. One can also say that at least in sporadic parts, it displays a certain amount of bitterness which this reviewer has not discerned in the memoirs of other UN Secretaries-General. It should at the outset be stated that this observation is not meant as a criticism. Indeed it is understandable that the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations should feel 'bitter'. After all, Boutros-Ghali is the only Secretary-General of the United Nations to be denied a second term of office. And this unprecedented and successful effort to deny an incumbent UN Secretary-General a second term was single-mindedly and single-handedly managed by the United States. The US action becomes even more significant since Boutros-Ghali was the first person from Africa and (so far) the only person from the Arab world to occupy the post of chief executive officer of the World Organisation.

Roughly about one-fifth of the book deals with how the United States administration officials, foremost among them, Madeline Albright, then Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations determinedly, relentlessly and ultimately successfully tried to prevent the re-election of Boutros-Ghali for a second term as Secretary-General.³

at pages 230-236. The fifth Secretary-General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, liked his two immediate successors, served for two consecutive terms but did not seek a third term. Boutros-Boutros Ghali sought and actively campaigned for a second term but due to the US veto, became the only Secretary-General who was not elected to a second term in office. Hence with the exception of Hammerskjold, all the previous Secretaries-General either resigned or retired at the end of their second terms of office. In the case of Waldheim and Boutros-Ghali though, it could be said that they were 'forced to retire' at the end of their second and first terms respectively since they did seek and vigorously campaign for their continuance in office.

²Trgve Lie's memoirs, *In the Cause of Peace* was published in 1954 within a year or so of his resignation from office. U Thant's memoir, *View from the UN* was published posthumously in 1978. Kurt Waldheim published his memoirs in 1985 and Boutros-Ghali published his memoirs in June 1999. As far as this reviewer knows, Javier Perez de Cuellar is the only former UN Secretary-General who has not published his memoirs in the English language.

³See generally pages 3-7, and major portions of pages 258-331 of *Unvanquished*.

Hence at least some parts of the book can be described not merely as a 'US-UN saga' but also perhaps as a 'US-Boutros-Ghali Saga' or even 'Albright-Boutros-Ghali Power Play' which will be discussed later.

The sub-title of Boutros-Ghali's book appropriately captures and encapsulates his theme which he makes time and again throughout his articulate and frank account of the years when he was at the helm of the United Nations. Boutros-Ghali became UN Secretary-General in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War when - at least during Boutros-Ghali's years at the helm of the UN - the fortunes of the sole superpower was in the ascendant. In addition, the domination of the United Nations - at least in some aspects of it - by the United States became more pronounced during the same period. In fact, the author himself acknowledged that the fact that the cold war had ended in the early 1990s made him more interested in the post of UN Secretary-General. Boutros-Ghali writes:

... in recent years I had thought about the post of UN secretary-general. I had no such desire during the cold war, when the United Nations had been pushed aside by the superpowers. But now there was a real role to play and a chance to put into effect ideas I had been working on for years.⁴

In hindsight, can the former Secretary-General be considered to have underestimated the difficulties he would have had to face in what international relations scholars would describe as a 'unipolar world'? For, if previous UN Secretaries-General had to steer themselves and the World Organisation from the rivalry and the proxy conflict of the two superpowers,⁵ Boutros-Ghali had the unenviable task of unraveling

⁴*Ibid* at page 9.

⁵For the first UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie's efforts to steer the United Nations in the 'proxy conflict' between the then two super powers in the Korean War, see Lie, *In the Cause of Peace* (note 1 above), at pages 322-366. For U Thant's efforts to successfully mediate a more direct potential super power conflict, see Thant, *View from the UN* (note 1 above), at pages 154-194 which falls under the Chapter heading, 'The Cuban Missile Crisis'. For Kurt Waldheim's views and reflections on super power rivalry which were published about five years before the end of the Cold War, see Waldheim, *In the Eye of the Storm* (note 1 above), at pages 239-265.

the 'US-UN Saga' which perforce had been thrust upon him virtually from the moment he assumed office.

However, as Boutros-Ghali also acknowledges, during his term of office, the United Nations has had remarkable success stories such as those in El Salvador and Mozambique, accounts about which the author has not included in the book. These, as well as other issues such as 'Cyprus and Western Sahara' are not included in the book, because the author has apparently given due deference to 'the patience of the reader'.⁶ Yet one cannot but feel that the (most immediate or recent)⁷ former Secretary-General might also have to meet the publisher's deadlines. He would also like to have his memoirs see the light of day before the fact of his (virtual) forced retirement faded into a distant memory.⁸ Hence his memoirs were first published within two and a half years of his retirement as UN Secretary-General.

Dr. Boutros-Ghali is, for his age, an energetic person who has had a varied and productive career. One hopes that circumstances permitting, he would write his second book of memoirs or reflections dealing with some of the other issues affecting the United Nations which he himself had said were not covered in *Unvanquished*. He could probably express

⁶These statements about the topics which are not included in *Unvanquished* are mentioned by Boutros-Ghali in 'A Note on the Text' which is in the unnumbered opening pages of the book.

⁷As of January 2000, three former UN Secretaries-General are alive. The most recent former UN Secretary-General being, of course Boutros-Ghali of Egypt who served from 1992 to 1996. Boutros-Ghali's two immediate predecessors were Javier Perez de Cuellar of Peru who served from 1982 to 1991 and Kurt Waldheim of Austria who served from 1972 to 1981. Hence Boutros-Ghali is the most recent or immediate former UN Secretary-General.

⁸U Thant's memoirs were published posthumously in 1977 or 1978, three to four years after his death in November 1974. Probably because of the posthumous publication of U Thant's memoirs, the reviewer recalls reading Brian Urquhart's (an Under Secretary-General who had served with five Secretaries-General) comment that U Thant's memoirs were 'all but forgotten'. Therefore, it may be arguable that Boutros-Ghali would like to 'seize the moment' and write and publish his memoirs within a relatively short time. In addition to the 'common sense of the author' and 'patience of the reader', time constraints might have prevented Boutros-Ghali from writing about other major developments which had occurred during his UN Secretary-Generalship.

his views on further developments which have taken place within the United Nations since his retirement.⁹

It was previously stated that the author is very frank in his memoirs. That openness can also be discerned in his statement that starting from about mid-1991 - the year he was appointed as Secretary-General - he had 'campaigning' for the post of Secretary-General and that even before he did so he had 'looked forward to campaigning for the job as a wonderful adventure'.¹⁰ In this regard it should be pointed out that the first three Secretaries-General did not campaign 'for the job'. Trygve Lie,¹¹ Dag Hammarskjöld¹² and U Thant¹³ were sought by the office (or the job) rather than the other way around.

The 'campaigning' for the job of Secretary-General began when U Thant, the third Secretary-General refused to serve a third term

⁹It is not unusual to seek the views, published or otherwise of previous UN Secretaries-General regarding United Nations and other affairs. For example, a few days before his retirement, in an editorial entitled, 'The Liberation of U Thant', the *New York Times* of December 27, 1971 concluded with this sentence, 'The wise counsel of this dedicated man of peace [U Thant] will still be needed after his retirement'. It is also heartening to learn that a proposal initially made by former UN Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim in 1985 that the UN should create a new post of Deputy Secretary-General as the Secretary-General's 'alter ego' has been implemented by the United Nations since the new post of Deputy Secretary-General was established by the United Nations in February 1998. However, Dr. Waldheim was, from hindsight, not quite correct when he wrote in 1985 that '[t]he common objection to proposals for a Deputy Secretary General is that his election would pose an insuperable political problem' (Waldheim, *ibid.*, at page 214). As it was, the appointment of a Deputy Secretary-General was not an 'insuperable political problem' since the UN General Assembly did appoint Louis Frechette of Canada as the first UN Deputy Secretary-General in February 1998. Moreover, the person selected was not, as Dr. Waldheim wrote in 1985 (in what would now be described as gender-specific language), a 'he' since Ms. Frechette is female.

¹⁰*Unvanquished*, at page 9.

¹¹For Trygve Lie's own account of 'How I Became Secretary-General', see Lie, note 1 above, at pages 1-21.

¹²For Lie's own account of how his successor was chosen, see Lie, *ibid.*, at pages 413-417.

¹³For U Thant's own account of how he was chosen - initially as acting UN Secretary-General - to replace the late Dag Hammarskjöld, see Thant, (above note 1), at pages 3-19. For another person's account of how U Thant became Secretary-General, see June Bingham, *U Thant: The Search for Peace* (Victor Gollancz, London, 1966), at pages 211-221.

when his second term in office came to an end in December 1971. This campaigning reached its peak when Kurt Waldheim and then the Tanzanian foreign Minister, Salim Ahmed Salim (later Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity) actively competed with each other in 1981 when Waldheim made his unprecedented bid for a third term. As it was, it was the 'non-campaigner' Javier Perez de Cuellar who became the fifth Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Boutros-Ghali does not elaborate in detail who else apart from himself 'actively campaigned' for the UN Secretary-General post when he unsuccessfully sought a second term in 1996. Nevertheless, he does write that though the United States had, throughout its campaign to unseat him, claimed that 'any African' (apart from Boutros-Ghali of course!) was 'acceptable' (to the United States), it 'had long before, chosen Kofi Annan'.¹⁴ This, Boutros-Ghali unmistakably writes, was only one among 'a record of insults to Africa'¹⁵ that the United States had made in its sustained efforts to deny him a second term. Boutros-Ghali writes that 'every one knew that the United States' candidate was Kofi Annan of Ghana' and that 'Annan was well aware that he was seen as Washington's choice'.¹⁶ The author also revealed that Annan himself 'had come to [Boutros-Ghali's] office to declare that he [Annan] would never present himself as a candidate for secretary-general'.¹⁷ But Annan did eventually become Secretary-General. If Annan did not present himself or volunteer as a candidate for Secretary-General, at what point in time, in the selection process, did he become 'available' for appointment? It is a point about which Boutros-Ghali is silent. Perhaps frankness even from a person such as Boutros-Ghali has its limits.

Boutros-Ghali writes that after his 'investiture' (swearing into office) 'in New York on December 3 [1991]'¹⁸ on 'December 18,

¹⁴*Unvanquished* at page 326. At page 322, Boutros-Ghali also writes that "Even as the United States continued to profess a willingness to see any African other than me as secretary-general, it encouraged Ghana to begin openly to promote the U.S. choice, Kofi Annan".

¹⁵*Ibid*, at page 326.

¹⁶*Ibid*, at page 298.

¹⁷*Ibid*.

¹⁸*Ibid*, at page 12.

1991, [Egyptian president] Hosni Mubarak embraced me and awarded me the Grand Cordon of the Nile'.¹⁹ It should be noted that Boutros-Ghali is an Egyptian national and the award was given by the Egyptian government. There has also been another instance where the government of which the Secretary-General was a national awarded him the 'highest title' as an honour, immediately after that person became Secretary-General of the United Nations. As U Thant wrote in his memoirs:

... a few hours after my appointment [as Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations on 3 November 1961] the Burmese Cabinet had decided to confer on me one of the highest title ever awarded. After a hurried consultation with Mr. C.V. Narasimhan of India, who was to continue as chef de cabinet (head of the executive office of the Secretary-General) I sent a cable to my government thanking them for the very kind congratulations and gracious award of high honors. I had to point out however, that in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and based on Article 100, a tradition had been established that the Secretary-General does not accept any award or title confer by any government. So I had to decline the award.²⁰

In the light of U Thant's declining to receive an award from his national government and Boutros-Ghali's accepting - and proudly narrating about - it, has the 'tradition' about which U Thant has written about, become inapplicable in United Nations practice today? Or can we rationalise or explain away Boutros-Ghali's acceptance of the award by his own government in December 1991 as taking place when he was not yet formally Secretary-General and that U Thant was already

¹⁹*Ibid.*, at page 13.

²⁰Thant, note 1 above, at pages 18-19. See also Bingham, note 13 above, at page 219 where the author writes: "[Burma's] Premier [in November 1961 when U Thant became UN Secretary-General] had scheduled U Thant for the nation's highest award, *Thado Thiri Thudhamma*. But once U Thant had moved from being the servant of Burma to being the servant of the UN, he thought it inappropriate to accept an award".

(Acting) Secretary-General when the award was made by the Burmese government?²¹

In terms of the structure of the chapters in the book, Boutros-Ghali arranged the topics of his chapters not on a geographical basis of the events he had to deal with as Secretary-General²² or generic topics such as those of human rights or refugees or the arms race²³ or chronologically.²⁴ Hence one could find issues such as those relating to Cambodia,²⁵ the Balkans,²⁶ Somalia²⁷ and Haiti²⁸ in a single chapter entitled 'Encountering New Conflicts (1992)'.²⁹

As a student of international law, the reviewer notes that during Boutros-Ghali's term as Secretary-General, at least three developments occurred which could be said to have had international legal ramifications or at least connotations.

The first development is the establishment of the United Nations International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the territory of former Yugoslavia since 1990³⁰ and also the

²¹Boutros-Ghali was designated as Secretary-General elect on 20 November 1991 and officially became Secretary-General on 1 January 1992 (although one should add that though not formally Secretary-General as yet, Boutros-Ghali had on 3 December 1991 already taken the his oath of office) (see *Unvanquished*, at page 12). U Thant had already been sworn in and assumed office as Acting Secretary-General on 3 November 1961 when the Burmese government conferred him its highest title which he declined.

²²For example, apart from other classifications, U Thant's memoirs (Thant, note 1 above) can be said to have discussed the issues he dealt with as Secretary-General on a geographical basis.

²³For example, Kurt Waldheim's memoirs discussed the issues of human rights, refugees and the arms race under the respective chapter headings of 'Human Rights and Wrongs', 'Stranded Millions' and 'The Race Against Time' (Waldheim, note 1 above.)

²⁴The memoirs of Trygve Lie (Lie, note 1 above), the first Secretary-General of the United Nations, can be said to have discussed the events of his seven years in office roughly in chronological order from the time of his appointment to his resignation.

²⁵*Unvanquished*, at pages 31-36.

²⁶*Ibid*, at pages 36-53.

²⁷*Ibid*, at pages 53-60.

²⁸*Ibid*, at pages 60-64.

²⁹*Ibid*, at pages 30-64.

³⁰See UN Security Council Resolution 827 (1993).

establishment of the International Tribunal for Rwanda.³¹ The establishments of these tribunals are landmark developments in the fields of international humanitarian law and international criminal law.

The second development is the NATO and United Nations role in the use of military force or the blurred line between peacekeeping and 'peace enforcement' operations with or without the United Nations, some of which took place in the Balkans and in Somalia respectively during Boutros-Ghali's tenure.

And the third development is the unprecedented involvement of the United Nations in Cambodia, not only in peacekeeping and the sponsoring of elections in May 1993 but also prior to that in jointly 'governing' the country with the Supreme National Council of Cambodia.

Dr. Boutros-Ghali is a distinguished jurist and scholar of international law. He does discuss all of the three events. But the discussions are mainly in terms of the intricacies of diplomacy and the twists and turns of events that these had on his and the United Nations efforts to overcome or solve the military, political, humanitarian or logistical problems that had arisen from these events.

Among the three developments enumerated above, the establishment of the Yugoslavia and Rwandan tribunals was perhaps the most prominently legal of them all and it is on this topic that Dr. Boutros-Ghali has the 'sparsest' of (legalistic) comments. A UN Secretary-General's memoirs is not an article in a learned (or refereed) legal journal. Moreover, a book for the general audience cannot be expected to necessarily include even the rudiments of legal discourse or opinion on even a select few of the issues a Secretary-General has had to face. Still, given Boutros-Ghali's status as a distinguished international legal scholar, the reviewer had wished that the former UN Secretary-General would have expressed his views in a slightly more legalistic manner on say, the establishment of the two ad hoc international criminal

³¹See UN Security Council Resolution 955 (1994).

tribunals even if he had expressed his views elsewhere in journals of a more academic nature.³²

It is interesting though that just a few months into his term of office, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, had in his own words, 'found [him]self in trouble over a Middle East [legal] issue'.³³ Boutros-Ghali had at a press conference on 'March 19, 1992 [expressed his opinion that] UN Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967 [which called for the withdrawal of Israel to the pre-5 June 1967 borders and for the rights of all States, including Israel to exist in the area] was not binding because it was not based on the chapter [VII] of the Charter that deals with the enforcement of the Council's resolutions'.³⁴ Dr Boutros-Ghali states that his pronouncement 'brought down upon [his] head the weight and clamor of a falling piano'. He graciously acknowledges that even the UN legal adviser from whom he later sought legal advice consequently contradicted the Secretary-General in a memo whose bottom line reads 'all in capital letters: NO SECURITY COUNCIL

³²Other Secretaries-Generals had, in their memoirs, discussed albeit briefly, a few issues from a particularly legalistic perspective. For example Trygve Lie discussed the effect of the UN Security Council resolution requesting member States to repel North Korean aggression in June 1950. The Security Council resolution was adopted because the Soviet Union boycotted the meetings of the Security Council. Its legality was discussed and justified by Trygve Lie in Lie note 1 above, at pages 335-37. U Thant also briefly mentioned a legal issue in relation to the Cuban missile crisis (Thant, note 1 above, at pages 160-61). Also in relation to the 1967 Middle East war U Thant reproduced a legalistic analysis of Egypt's closing of the Strait of Tiran, before the 1967 Middle East War. U Thant reproduced and apparently approved of what law Professor Roger Fisher of Harvard wrote in the *New York Times* of 11 June 1967 that the closing of the Strait under the circumstances could arguably be justified under international law (Thant, note 1 above, at pages 263-64.) Kurt Waldheim too had pointed out certain restrictions of the 1951 Geneva Convention on refugees which, according to him amounted to 'a legal problem'. (Waldheim, note 1 above, at page 155).

³³*Unvanquished*, at page 182.

³⁴*Ibid.*

RESOLUTION CAN BE DESCRIBED AS UNENFORCEABLE'.³⁵ Somewhat self-deprecatingly,³⁶ Boutros-Ghali writes:

I got the message. I decided that I would let some time pass before pronouncing myself on an Arab-Israeli issue again.³⁷

A final comment on the author's bid for a second term as UN Secretary-General can be made here. As indicated earlier, a considerable portion of the final part of the book deals with the author's (in Boutros-Ghali's own words) 'love-hate relationship'³⁸ with Madeline Albright. This 'love-hate relationship' intensified when Albright led the Clinton administration's efforts to 'unseat' Boutros-Ghali. These efforts took place when she was US Ambassador (Permanent Representative) to the United Nations and in the dying days of 1996 - and that of Boutros-Ghali's tenure as UN Secretary-General - as 'Secretary of State-designate'. In writing about Madeline Albright, Dr. Boutros-Ghali described her in certain contexts as being 'overbearing'.³⁹ At the same time, Boutros-Ghali states that Albright had described Boutros-Ghali's farewell speech to the United Nations as 'nasty'⁴⁰ (in his farewell speech, Boutros-Ghali has stated that since the United States has vetoed him and a new Secretary-General has been appointed 'there remains no excuse for [the US] not to pay its due to the United Nations fully and immediately, as it [had] promised.'⁴¹)

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶In another part of the book and in relation to the praise President Clinton heaped on him in an address to the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 26, 1995 - several months before the Clinton administration decided to block Boutros-Ghali's bid for a second term - the former Secretary-General candidly writes, "I have never been known for downplaying my abilities and achievements...". *Ibid.*, at page 253.

³⁷*Ibid.*, at page 182.

³⁸*Ibid.*, at page 303.

³⁹*Ibid.*, at page 304.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, at page 332.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, at page 331.

At one point in his narrative, Dr. Boutros-Ghali, almost philosophically, quotes and paraphrases Machiavelli: Fortune is a woman, Machiavelli said, and should be treated roughly, but in this case it was the woman who was rough, and fortune favored her.⁴²

'Hear the other party' commands one of the most basic legal maxims. One wonders whether Madeline Albright has commented either at news conferences or in published papers with regard to Boutros-Ghali's description about their relationship. If not, since the comments made by the author of *Unvanquished* about Madeline Albright are quite extensive, one may have to wait for the 'rejoinder' until Albright writes her memoirs.

Boutros-Ghali praised his successor when Kofi Annan was finally and unanimously recommended by the Security Council to replace him.⁴³ Earlier though, he had in effect written that, 'the United States and Britain [by] "double-vetoing]" all Africans except Kofi Annan ... asserted to the world that the only acceptable African was America's and Britain's African'.⁴⁴ And while stating that '[m]any among the UN staff did indeed favor' the election of Kofi Annan he also writes that '[o]thers saw an increasingly marginalized United Nations either ignored by, or operating almost entirely under the instructions of Washington'.⁴⁵

The book contains a few factual errors or descriptions about which contentions can be made. The Oslo Accords (between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation) were signed on the White House

⁴²*Ibid*, at page 304.

⁴³*Ibid*, at page 330.

⁴⁴*Ibid*.

⁴⁵*Ibid*, at pages 330-333. In a dinner at Boutros-Ghali's residence, the day after his farewell to the UN General Assembly, Boutros-Ghali described Kofi Annan to Madeline Albright as "your candidate [who was] elected in my place" (*ibid*, at page 332). Boutros-Ghali's portrait, as a former Secretary-General, was unveiled at the United Nations headquarters in New York on 14 June 1999. Secretary-General and Mrs. Annan, as well as Dr. and Mrs. Boutros-Ghali were present at the ceremony to honour the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations. At the portrait unveiling ceremony, Secretary-General Kofi Annan mentioned his predecessor's most recent book [*Unvanquished*] and remarked that "it told many interesting stories". Kofi Annan praised Boutros-Ghali, as a person who had "the courage to stick by his decisions and the fortitude to stand by his decisions" (*United Nations Press Release SG/2055.ORG/1285*).

grounds not in 'September 1994'⁴⁶ as stated, but on 13 September 1993. And when Prince Sihanouk became King of Cambodia, also in September 1993, he was at least in the factual sense, not 'A New King for Cambodia'⁴⁷ as described in a section heading of the book. Sihanouk was King of Cambodia from 1941 till 1955 when he abdicated. From the early 1940s to date, the Cambodian people have had only one King and Sihanouk, whether as Prince or King is not 'new' to Cambodia.

At one place in his book, Boutros-Ghali narrates the events of November 1996 as: '[d]uring these middle days of November I had been in Rome at the World Conference on Food'⁴⁸ when a correct or more appropriate description would be 'during those middle days of November ...'.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali's book should prove to be a useful handbook of reference for historians, scholars and students of history, political science, international relations, international law and the United Nations. Its style is readable, frank and in the complimentary sense of the words, informal, at times, even 'gossipy'. In the section entitled 'Information about the Author'⁴⁹ it is stated that Boutros-Ghali 'now serves as secretary-general of the International Organization of the Francophonie, an association of fifty-two countries sharing a political, social and cultural solidarity around the French language'. Considering his sojourn and saga as the sixth Secretary-General of the United

⁴⁶*Unvanquished, ibid.*, at page 204.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, at page 82. Other Secretaries-General have also, in their memoirs, stated inaccurate facts or incorrect descriptions. U Thant, for example, stated (Thant, note 1 above, at page 417) that "Lumbini, the capital of Nepal, is a very sacred place for Buddhists all over the world" when in fact the capital of Nepal is Katmandu. Kurt Waldheim also stated (Waldheim, note 1 above, at page 258) that "the first atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima on 5 August 1945" when it actually did on 6 August 1945. Waldheim also described (*ibid.*, at page 249) Henry Kissinger as the "former US Foreign Minister" when in fact Kissinger is the former US Secretary of State.

⁴⁸*Unvanquished*, at page 317.

⁴⁹The one-paragraph information 'About the Author' appeared in the second-last unnumbered page of the book.

Nations, one could but wish him well in his current position of yet another Secretary-Generalship of yet another international organisation.⁵⁰

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⁵⁰Boutros-Ghali reveals that Madeline Albright persuaded him, in mid-November 1996 to step down voluntarily as UN Secretary-General. If he did so the "United States would create a foundation just for [him]" and he "would be its director". In addition, he "would become "Secretary-General of the United Nations Emeritus" ". Boutros-Ghali declined the 'offer' (*Unvanquished*, at page 317). Hence Boutros-Ghali is no longer Secretary-General of the United Nations (Emeritus or otherwise) but at least when the book was published in 1999 Boutros-Ghali held another Secretary-Generalship at another international organisation.

LEGISLATION

The following list of Laws passed in Malaysia is a continuation of the list contained in (1998) 25 JMCL.

FEDERAL ACTS

Bil Akta Act No.	Tajuk Ringkas/Short title
593	Criminal Procedure Code
594	Akta Pelesenan Kenderaan Pelancongan 1999 Tourism Vehicles Licensing Act 1999
595	Akta Hubungan Konsular (Konvensyen Vienna) 1999 Consular Relations (Vienna Convention) Act 1999
596	Akta Kumpulan Wang Buruh India Selatan (Pembubaran) 1999 South Indian Labour Fund (Dissolution) Act 1999
597	Akta Suruhanjaya Hak Asasi Manusia Malaysia 1999 Human Rights Commission of Malaysia Act 1999
598	Akta Badan Berkanun (Kuasa Meminjam) 1999 Statutory Bodies (Power to Borrow) Act 1999
599	Akta Pelindungan Pengguna 1999 Consumer Protection Act 1999