

**THE LEAGUE OF LEGENDS: AN EXPLORATORY PUBLIC SERVICE BARGAIN ANALYSIS  
OF UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIES-GENERAL**

by

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# Abstract

This paper attempts to explain the variation in leadership style among United Nations Secretaries-General. In doing so, I co-opt the typology of public service bargains (PSB), traditionally used to understand the behavior of public servants acting on behalf of their political masters. I frame the Secretary-General as an international public servant, working as the agent of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The historical PSB analysis of Secretaries-General demonstrates that the clear majority of Secretaries must possess diplomatic competencies in order to manage their multiple principals on the Security Council who often have clashing interests. However, Secretaries-General are increasingly found to need administrative prowess in the face of financial strain within the United Nations and pressure from Member States for reform. Further, breakdowns in the bargain are identified, which lead to misplaced blame on the Secretary-General.

# Lay Summary

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, despite the high profile of the position, is poorly understood. Secretaries-General differences in leadership style have not been properly compared against each other; further, we do not know why and under what conditions certain types of Secretaries are appointed. In tackling these problems, I liken the Secretary-General to a senior civil servant, who must act in accordance with the wishes of the permanent five members of the Security Council. I find that though diplomatic skills are the most important quality, at times administrative skills are in greater demand and a more reserved Secretary-General is chosen for the job.

# Preface

This thesis is the original, unpublished work of the author, Jungroan Lin.

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# Introduction

On August 18, 2018, Kofi Annan, one of the most impactful Secretaries-General (SG) in the United Nations' short history passed away. In the remembrances immediately following, Annan was commended as a 'pioneer' for his development of the 'responsibility to protect' (R2P) principle (Patrick 2018), praised for his "humanity and solidarity with those in need" (*UN News* 2018), and celebrated as "one of the greatest diplomats in history." (Kell 2018). But these articles also reminded audiences of the mixed perception of his legacy, paying attention to his troublesome relationship with the United States - particularly accusations towards Annan of corruption during his tenure (*ibid.*). His unwavering resolve to speak truth to power resulted in ugly political consequences; yet, a surveying look at past Secretaries who were equally unrestrained shows considerable variance in how much backlash they faced from Member States. As if in direct response to Annan's activist approach as Secretary-General, a muted and reserved Ban Ki-moon was chosen as his successor in 2007. Now, Antonio Guterres leads the United Nations, and is said to possess the "experience, vision, and moral authority to tackle... challenges head on," a stark juxtaposition to the quiet administrative character of Ban (Kerry 2016). The diversity of these three - and too Secretaries past - begs countless questions about their role. What skills are required of Secretary-Generals? What sort of leadership style should they exhibit? Why are some Secretaries allowed to make greater moral claims than others?

In an attempt to answer these questions, this paper re-imagines the Secretary-General as an executive civil servant. I use the concept of public service bargains (PSB) to frame the relationship between the Secretary-General and the permanent five members of the Security Council (P5) as a series of exchanges: on one side, the P5 demands a set of

competencies and loyalties that change over time. If the Secretary-General fulfills these conditions, he is granted a mix of monetary and intrinsic rewards. Through this analysis, I attempt three primary projects. First, I explore the variation in style between different Secretaries-General. I also explain why at times the relationship between the SG and the P5 breaks down, and subsequently predict possibilities of future breakdowns. Finally, this paper introduces the idea of PSBs to the study of international organizations.

# A Typology of Public Service Bargains

Public administration scholars have often used the idea of public service bargains (PSBs) as an analytical tool to explain strategic behavior of bureaucrats towards their political masters. The idea of a public service bargain (PSB) is generally traced back to Bernard Schaffer's description of Australian public services in his book, *The Administrative Factor* (1973). Schaffer identifies a bargain between clearly distinct political and bureaucratic officials (252). By sacrificing their political identity, public servants secure an honourable and predictable career (ibid.). Methodologically speaking, PSB analyses fall somewhere between pure rational choice theory and historical narrative. Hood and Lodge (2006) capture the nature of PSBs as such:

Overall, PSBs offer an angle of vision on executive government that combines comparative or historical analysis of political systems with a strategic-action perspective on the making, breaking, and maintenance of the compacts between bureaucrats and other players in politics. Ernest Rutherford once declared that 'all science is either physics or stamp collecting', and while political science is sometimes conceived as a kind of physics, stamp collecting is necessary too for any kind of systemic analysis... It is a way to establish the range of patterns and possibilities, compare the starting points and (preliminary) end points of reform processes and explore the cultural, religious, and other conditions that are associated with different kinds of PSBs." (14)

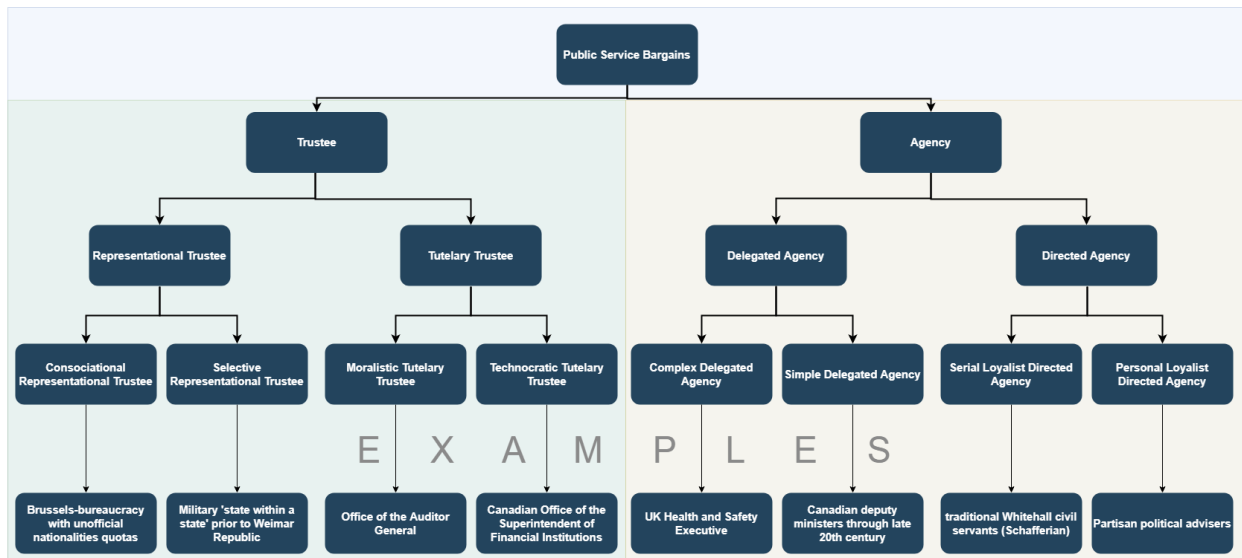
This paper expands on the PSB typology put forth by Hood and Lodge emphasizing three components of the bargain - reward, and loyalty and responsibility, and competency - that help to identify the bargain type present. Their typology includes eight

different bargain types (shown in Figure 1), half of which are between a public servant as an agent and a political principal, and half which place public servants as trustees of some notion of public good, possessing a degree of autonomy and not merely taking orders from a political master (ibid., 25).

'Trustee' bargains are separated into *consociational representational*, *selective representational*, *moralistic tutelary*, and *technocratic tutelary* subtypes. A *consociational representational* PSB demands that public service positions are fairly distributed among society in exchange for general support of the regime (ibid., 35). *Selective representational* bargains give disproportionate amount of power to one particular group in society, supporting some idea of 'ethnocracy' (ibid., 36-37). The two tutelary subtypes, *moralistic tutelary* and *technocratic tutelary* PSBs, differ from representational ones in that they recognize the need for public servants to be insulated from societal groups. They look to select public servants on the basis of some sense of merit - *moralistic* bargains requiring moral and cultural wisdom, while *technocratic* bargains requiring technical expertise in specific subjects (ibid., 38-39).

The four main 'agency' bargains are *complex delegated*, *simple delegated*, *serial loyalist*, and *personal loyalist*. Delegated agency bargains are closer to the 'trustee' types, in that public servants do have personal autonomy over a defined space that has been delegated by their political principals. Within their portfolios, they may exercise personal discretion "as to how to achieve the objectives they have been set (ibid., 57). The *complex* and *simple* simply refer to whether the agent serves multiple or a single principal (ibid., 51). *Serial loyalists* theoretically have no political identity of their own, undertaking to be loyal to whatever principal they are given, able to transfer loyalty from one principal to the next. *Personal loyalist* bargains similarly remove political identity, however, implies that the public servant is tied to a single principal for life, rising and

falling with their particular principal (ibid., 54).



*Drawing 1: Differentiating Public Service Bargains (adapted from Hood and Lodge 2006)*

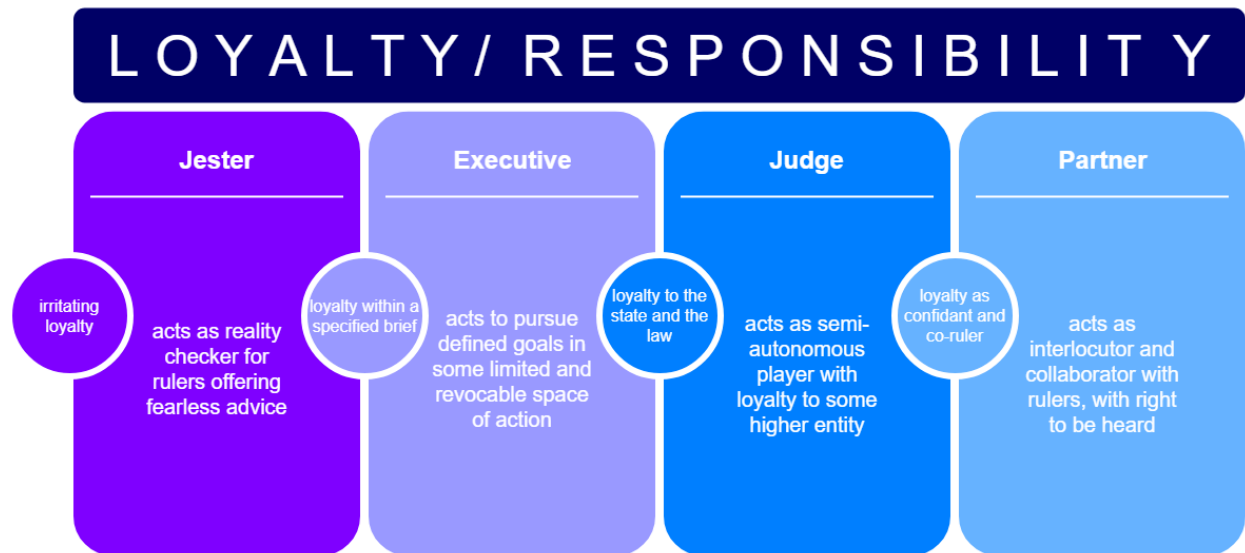
## Reward, loyalty, and competency: three dimensions of PSBs

Reward refers to that which is reaped by public servants. Weberian and Hegelian conceptions of public service reward include things like permanence, career progression, generous pensions, and a steady, but modest, income; however, Hood and Lodge also note the existence of more volatile reward systems, such as the spoils system seen in the United States through to the late 19th century (ibid., 65). For reward, this paper looks at salary, length of tenure, and intrinsic motivators - mostly uncovered through the memoirs, autobiographies, and interviews of Secretaries-General.



*Drawing 5: Reward (adapted from Hood and Lodge 2006)*

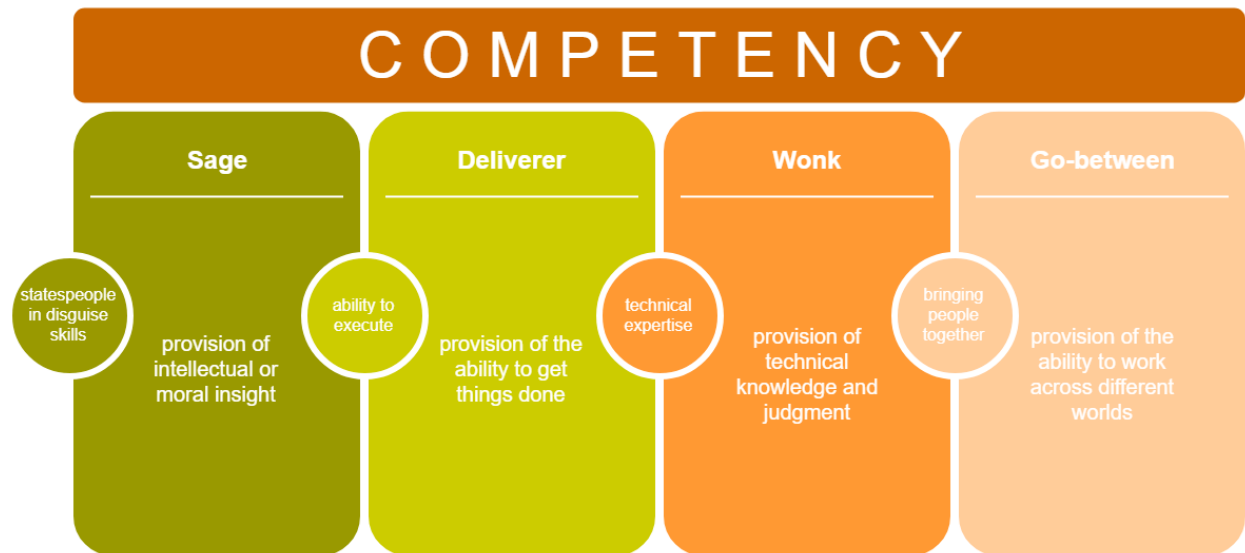
In terms of loyalty and responsibility, Hood and Lodge separate four key types. 'Jesters' actively critique rulers behind closed doors, exchanging fearless advice for intimacy with the ruling group; this type of loyalty is found usually only at the very highest echelons of the public service (ibid., 122-123). 'Partnership'-type bargains similarly include an understanding between actors of little blaming and a high degree of intimacy, however, emphasize public servants' loyal implementation rather than critical advice. 'Executive'-type loyalties refer to a more rigidly defined set of loyalties and responsibilities where public servants are "separately identifiable as individuals but are not free agents in any political sense" (ibid., 121); that is to say they do have some individual personality, but only insofar as they are working within their specifically assigned portfolio, answering strictly administrative questions, and avoiding partisan-political statements. Finally, a 'judge'-type bargain would entail public service loyalty to a higher abstract entity - a constitution, law, principle - rather than to any tangible principal (ibid., 112). In determining loyalties, this analysis looks for criticism of Security Council members from the Secretary-General, the nature of the relationship between them, and/or self-stated loyalties and responsibilities from the Secretary-General himself.



*Drawing 9: Loyalty and Responsibility (adapted from Hood and Lodge 2006)*

The other dimension, competency, broadly describes the skills held by a public servant, most easily identified from the public servant's background. In the early-mid 20th century, politicians wanted intellectual insight and/or technical knowledge from their agents. Over time, politicians came to demand public servants who could 'get things done', reframing the role of top civil servants as high-level private sector managers (ibid., 106). Moving into the 21st century however, the criticism that governments departments were functioning as individual 'silos' has become increasingly common, thus, the call for 'boundary-spanning' or diplomatic skills has only grown louder (ibid., 96). To illustrate competencies demanded, my analysis focuses on educational background, work experience before entering the SG role, and personal style as SG; country of origin is also taken into account.





*Drawing 13: Competency (adapted from Hood and Lodge 2006)*

## Why a public service bargain for the Secretary-General with the Permanent Members of the Security Council?

This paper recognizes that the United Nations is not a state government, nor is the Secretary-General an anonymous nonpolitical public servant. Thus, several key justifications must be made for the application of PSBs to this domain. Firstly, we are inspired by former League of Nations Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, who put forth his guiding conception for the Secretary-General as “an international civil servant.” (Schwebel 1952, 4) This legacy followed into the early years of the United Nations, when the Secretary-General was referred to as “the world’s top civil servant.” (Ravndal 2017, 447). This understanding of the Secretary-General’s character has been defended by the Secretaries-General themselves. Dag Hammarskjöld, for instance, directly rejected Nikita Khrushchev’s belief that “an impartial civil servant cannot exist in a deeply divided world.” (Heller 2001, 24) Rather, Hammarskjöld explicitly envisioned the Secretary-General as a public servant “there in order to assist... those who take the decisions

which frame history.” (United Nations 2012, 8)

Further, PSB analyses have gained traction over the past two decades as a way to make sense of complex relationships between politicians and civil servants (see Hondeghem and Steen 2013; Savoie 2006; Bourgault 2011; Lodge 2009; Hood and Lodge 2006). An emerging trend in particular is the application of PSBs to relationships other than the conventional bargain between these two actors. Shaw and Eichbaum (2016) use PSBs to explain the interplay between ministers and appointed political advisers, who unlike Westminster civil servants, are partisan. Siegel (2015) applies a PSB framework to his analysis of chief administrative officers and municipal councils, the former of which must strike a balance between speaking truth to power with the political ramifications of critiquing their political principals.

Despite the inherently interdisciplinary nature of the study of international organizations, theories of public administration have yet to be substantively explored, a gap that I aim to fill in this paper. My analysis is also useful insofar as it suggests possible ways that actors ‘cheat’ on the bargain, primarily blame shifting (Hood and Lodge 2006, 161-165). This paper also demonstrates the applicability of public service bargains to a wider range of areas outside of traditional public administration.

## Theoretical implications of a Secretary-General bargain

In applying a PSB framework to the relationship between Secretaries-General and the permanent members of the Security Council, three initial distinctions are made that differentiate this bargain from the traditional public service bargain between civil servants and politicians. First, the Secretary-General is inherently a political figure. As one of the most significant figures in the realm of international affairs, the Secretary-General does not share the assumption of anonymity which is the basis for more traditional public

service bargains. Secondly, there is no assumption of permanent tenure; nor is there an assumption of 'personal loyalty', where an agent would be loyal to an individual rather than an office, and thus subject to the rise and fall of a specific principal (Hood and Lodge 2006, 54). The latter possibility is considered moot as the the P5 as a 'principal' has multiple personalities within it, and the Secretary-General's term does not coincide with the term of national leaders within the P5. Thirdly, competencies are understood much more broadly. Hood and Lodge remind us that competency includes not just ability, but also such qualities as honesty, loyalty and previous political affiliation (2006).

This paper goes a step further to include characteristics such as diplomatic style, achieving a greater level of granularity when understanding the type of go-between competency desired by the P5 at the time, and country of origin, recognizing article 101 of the UN Charter's note that "due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible." While this clause refers to the powers of the SG to appoint, rather than the conditions for appointing the SG, it has undoubtedly been taken into account, given the political call for geographical rotation of SG appointments (Novakovic 2016, Thakur 2017).

Articulating the theoretical role of the Secretary-General is the first crucial step this paper takes for two main reasons. Beyond establishing the foundation for illustrating the PSB elements for the agent, describing the role of the Secretary-General is a helpful exercise for uncovering what the principals may reasonably expect in the bargain.

The United Nations explicitly describes the Secretary-General as "equal parts diplomat and advocate, civil servant, and CEO... a symbol of United Nations ideals and spokesman for the interests of the world's peoples, in particular the poor and vulnerable among them." (United Nations 2017a) Though specific deliverables are not mentioned,

the scope of responsibility for the SG includes the delivery of functions entrusted by other UN organs, e.g. the SC and GA, alerting the Security Council of matters concerning international peace and security, and also speaking for the peace of nations, which may run “the risk.. of challenging or disagreeing with those same Member States.” (ibid.) Rushton (2008, 98) also points out that article 98 of the UN Charter assigns the SG responsibility for reporting, mediation, and oversight of mission conduct. More importantly, article 99 of the Charter, stating that “The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security”, ultimately serves as “the prime and unmistakable affirmation of the political character of the Secretary-General.” (Schwebel 1952, 24).

The literature agrees with the official description of the Secretary-General’s role, but emphasizes that the SG is “one of the world’s best examples of responsibility without power, a situation that is often not understood.” (Urquhart 2007, 31). In this sense, the SG cannot simply demand member states fulfill their stated responsibilities; instead he must leverage his political influence and diplomatic skills. Ravndal argues that the role of the Secretary-General has expanded significantly in a political sense since 1945 (2017, 443). In this capacity, Thakur suggests that the “single most important political role of the Secretary-General is to provide leadership: the elusive ability to make others connect emotionally and intellectually to a larger cause that transcends their immediate self-interest.” (2017, 3)

The five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council - China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States - play a critical role in appointing the Secretary-General and in exerting influence throughout an SG’s term. Though officially the SG is “appointed by the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Security

Council,” (United Nations Secretary-General 2017b), the underlying process suggests quite a different picture. Following the 1945 San Francisco conference, the appointment of the Secretary-General has been essentially hijacked by the Security Council (Novakovic 2016, 173). The ‘recommendation’ stage effectively signals the point at which a SG has already been selected; no Security Council recommendation has ever been rejected in the General Assembly (Thakur 2017, 9). Additionally, a negative vote from any of the P5 during the appointment process has veto strength (Novakovic 2016, 174). Though Thakur (2017) speculates that the influence of elected Security Council members has been overlooked, the consensus remains that “five permanent, veto wielding members of the Security Council [exercise] the greatest power in the selection process,” even in the most recent appointment of Antonio Guterres (Terlingen 2017, 115). In other words the SG must appease the P5 to secure both first and second terms (Novakovic 2016, 189).

Historically, the P5 have favoured a SG who is “weak and pliable” (Baumann 2016, 461; Thakur 2017, 9) as opposed to a “powerful advocate for the international interest... transcend[ing] the national interest in addressing collective action problems like climate change.” (Thakur 2017, 9). They also prefer a SG with “proven political leadership skills and strong managerial competence.” (Baumann 2016, 462)

Given these descriptions, we would expect the Secretary-General to possess a mix of sage, go-between, and deliverer competencies while exhibiting either a judge-type loyalty or executive-type loyalty. The Secretary-General’s salary, in line with the levels of pay for professional staff, follows the *Noblemaire* principle “which states that the international civil service should be able to recruit staff from its Member States, including the highest-paid.” (United Nations 2017c) The SG’s current salary is approximately \$227,000 USD, drawing comment from SG spokesman Eckhart, who stated that

“nobody would do this job for the money.” (Thirteen, 2017).

| Assigning Possible Bargains |                        |   |                     |   |                    |   |                 |                 |  |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|---|---------------------|---|--------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|--|
| Bargain Type                | Approach to competency |   | Approach to loyalty |   | Approach to reward |   |                 |                 |  |
| Consociational              | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ |                 |                 |  |
|                             | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ |                 |                 |  |
| Selective representational  | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ | Sage            | Wonk            |  |
|                             | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ | Deliverer       | Go-between      |  |
| Moralistic trustee          | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ |                 |                 |  |
|                             | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ | Jester          | Judge           |  |
| Technocratic trustee        | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ | Executive       | Partner         |  |
|                             | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ |                 |                 |  |
| Complex delegated agency    | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ | Lottery of life | Pyramid         |  |
|                             | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | X                  | ✓ | Turkey race     | Noblesse Oblige |  |
| Simple delegated agency     | X                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ |                 |                 |  |
|                             | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | ✓ | ✓                  | ✓ |                 |                 |  |
| Personal loyalist           | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | X | ✓                  | ✓ |                 |                 |  |
|                             | ✓                      | ✓ | X                   | ✓ | X                  | ✓ |                 |                 |  |
| Serial loyalist             | ✓                      | ✓ | ✓                   | X | X                  | ✓ |                 |                 |  |
|                             | ✓                      | ✓ | X                   | ✓ | X                  | ✓ |                 |                 |  |
| ✓ = Strong Fit              |                        |   |                     |   |                    |   |                 |                 |  |
| ✓ = Some Fit                |                        |   |                     |   |                    |   |                 |                 |  |
| X = Poor Fit                |                        |   |                     |   |                    |   |                 |                 |  |

Table 1 Assigning Possible Bargains (adapted from Hood and Lodge 2006)

Referring to Hood and Lodge’s typology (Table 1) and taking into the theoretical review of each actor, the most likely bargain types would be the moralistic tutelary trustee bargain, the consociational representational bargain, and the complex delegated agency bargain. If the Charter interpretation of the SG is most salient, an appeal to its principles as a higher authority and assigning a moralistic trusteeship bargain would be compelling. On the other hand, the notion of the Secretary-General as spokesperson for interests of all nations agrees with the idea of consociational representation. If, however, the analysis shows significant influence of the P5 over the SG, then the probable agency-type bargain would be the complex delegated variant, given both the absence of a

loyalist-type relationship and the need for go-between-type competencies to negotiate with multiple states.

# Shifting Bargains

## Trygve Lie (1946-1952)

Since his teenage years, the first Secretary-General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie, had been politically active, joining the Norwegian Labour Party (NLP) Youth Organization (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.). After graduating with a law degree from Oslo University, Lie remained active within the NLP, serving in a variety of roles, including legal adviser to the Norwegian Trade Union Federation, national secretary, Minister of Justice, and Foreign Minister (ibid.). As Secretary-General, Lie has been described as unimaginative:

“On the one hand, his speeches, and even more the introductions to the annual reports and other public statements such as the Berlin letter, have won a fair amount of publicity, particularly in the more literate sections of the world press. On the other, it cannot be said that Mr. Lie has succeeded in capturing the popular imagination. Important impersonal factors are responsible, as is, to a lesser degree, Mr. Lie’s personality... [he] does not possess the vivid eccentricities and personal magnetism of a Roosevelt or a Churchill.” (Schwebel 1952, 180-181)

Part of this may be attributed to the somewhat ambiguous conception of the role from Lie himself. He balanced three hats, none of which he saw as more significant than another: administrative chief of the United Nations, political representative of the UN Charter and world peace, and as the leader over governments, telling them what should be done as a sort of ‘first citizen of the world’ (Schwebel 1952, 55). He still felt that the single most important job of the Secretary-General happened behind the scenes,



bringing member states together and doing work “very much like the processes of settling labor disputes. Investigation, mediation, arbitration.” (ibid., 139). Lie did not shy away from harsh critiques, for example, offering a ‘gloomy assessment’ on the threat of Communist China or dishing up a comprehensive survey suggesting a United Nations which required “vigorous development” in a world in much need of significant advancement of human rights (Gaglione 2001, 62).

Though Lie’s appointment was mostly due to support from the Western bloc, he was often critical of them. On the Berlin blockade issue of 1948, Lie proposed a meeting between American and Soviet powers to negotiate a solution. This proposal was shut down by Britain and the United States, despite cooperation from the Soviet Union (Ravndal 2017, 452). Generally, Lie was seen as a Western candidate - given Norwegian alliances during the second World War with the Allied powers - but was tolerated by the Soviet Union, given his greater sensitivity to Eastern cultures than the other frontrunner at the time for the SG role, Lester B. Pearson (Schwebel 1952, 52). But this lukewarm reception was abandoned at the end of Lie’s first term, when the Soviets consistently advanced other candidates and vetoed his nomination for a new term (with China abstaining from the vote).

Despite the veto, Lie was rewarded with an extension of his existing term (as opposed to a reappointment), before he resigned in 1952 (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.). Lie was paid an annual salary of \$20,000 USD (adjusted to approximately \$267,000 USD in 2017)<sup>1</sup> and provided a furnished residence and expense allowance of the same amount (ibid., 35). Despite having many of his proposals vetoed by Security Council members, these initiatives “created precedents for the SG’s role that amounted to an

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1

See Appendix 1 for a chart of all SG salaries and SG salaries adjusted for inflation, using year of appointment as the point of reference and 2017 as the base year.

expansion in a political direction.” (Ravndal 2017, 456). In addition to establishing a greater political capacity for the SG’s role - e.g. as a substantive voice within Security Council discussions - Lie also appointed special representatives, taking a broader interpretation of Article 101 of the UN Charter (ibid.). Lie's legal background and involvement in foreign affairs would suggest either a sage, wonk, or go-between type of competency. The three roles he describes for himself tell a similar story, though substituting wonk competency for a more deliverer-type competency as the organization's 'administrative chief'. Sage and go-between competencies seem to be the most compelling though, given Lie's statement that the "single most important job" of the SG was bringing key parties together. His fearless critique of P5 states would favor a judge-type loyalty; Lie was comfortable with an adversarial relationship (at times) with his direct principals, instead feeling obliged to a higher sense of world peace. From a reward perspective, the *Noblemaire* principle seems to be in place with a \$20,000 USD salary. However, a slight 'lottery' aspect is merged in when looking at both the uncertainty of his term's extension, as well as how he was able to expand the office of the SG. His establishment of the precedent of challenging the Security Council on substantive matters was made possible only by surprising support by the Soviet Union towards the SG's powers (Schwebel 1952, 94).

From the perspective of competencies, Lie’s term best fits either the complex delegated agency bargain, the moralistic trustee bargain, or the selective representational bargain; the reward structure would allow for any of these, though fitting slightly better with the selective representational type. On balance though, Lie seems to have perceived the relationship in a way that more closely mirrors a trusteeship bargain, given his general disregard for the political wellbeing of his P5 principals.

## Dag Hammarskjöld (1953-1961)

Hammarskjöld finished his doctoral thesis in economics after studies in linguistics, economics and law. He then served in the Swedish government (though never claiming any sort of partisan identity) as Chairman of the Board of the National Bank, Permanent Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Finance, Adviser to Cabinet on Financial and Economic Problems, Secretary-General of the Foreign Office, and eventually the Swedish representative to the United Nations' 6th and 7th sessions (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.).

Like his predecessor, Hammarskjöld wore three distinct hats: as a “trained lawyer who saw himself acting within and promoting international law and who made a signal contribution to its development,” as a “profoundly ethical individual individual” informed by personal beliefs and strong values, and as “administrator, diplomat, and economist, who used his expertise to influence the conduct of the UN and states.” (Sinclar 2015, 750) His ‘trained lawyer’ hat is often discussed, as his use of the Charter has been described as ‘innovative’, interpreting the document as a “living, evolving, and experimental institution.” (Heller 2001, 18; Sinclair 2015, 754).

The Western bloc selected Hammarskjöld for his skills as an efficient administrator while the Soviets saw him as mostly harmless (Heller 2001, 14). As his term progressed - and especially during his middle years - Hammarskjöld found that diplomatic competencies from the SG were “increasingly demanded by Member Governments” (Hammarskjöld 1958 [Press Release SG/683]). He emphasized in his latter speeches the importance of discussions behind closed doors: “the human factor carries more weight there, and confidential exchanges are possible even across frontiers which otherwise appear impassable.” (Hammarskjöld 1959 [Press Release SG/813]).

Though originally viewed as politically inoffensive, Hammarskjöld later exhibited “evidence of authoritarian, even arrogant, behavior.” (Heller 2001, 1) He had little regard for the opinions of his principals, suggesting that UN “officials on the spot had no time to consult higher authorities on the issue: they had to act on their own responsibility, within their general mandate, in order to meet the emergency which they were facing.” (Sinclair 2015, 753). His legal background seems to have been especially important in determining his of loyalty, claiming a “deep allegiance to the principles of the UN Charter.” (Sinclair 2015, 751) When tackling political questions, Hammarskjöld saw only two possible lines of action. On one hand, he could take a constitutionally objective position to “preserve the neutrality of the office.” Conversely, he was also willing to “accord himself the right to take a stand in these conflicts to the extent that such stands can be firmly based on the Charter and its principles and thus express what may be called the independent judgment of the Organization.” (Hammarskjöld 1959 [Press Release SG/813]) In either scenario, Hammarskjöld only saw action under the jurisdiction enabled by the Charter as justified.

Hammarskjöld’s salary remained at \$20,000 a year (roughly \$182,000 in 2017 USD). This salary continued to be justified on the basis that a “reduction in compensation would send a message to the world that UN jobs were unimportant and that the organization was not performing a useful function”; further, his salary was below corresponding diplomatic positions (Heller 2001, 27-28). He was re-appointed for a second five-year term which was unfortunately cut short by his death in 1961 during his fourth trip to the Congo (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.). Beyond tangible compensation, it was unmistakably a moral reward that drove Hammarskjöld to take the position of SG:

“Nobody, I think, can accept the position of Secretary-General of the United Nations, knowing what it means, except from a sense of duty. Nobody, however,

can serve in that capacity without a sense of gratitude for a task as deeply rewarding as it is exacting, as perennially inspiring as sometimes it may seem discouraging.” (Hammar skjöld 1957 [Press Release SG/616])

On balance, Hammar skjöld’s bargain seems similar to Lie’s. The significance of the Charter to his term emphasizes a sage or work competency and suggests a judge-type loyalty to the document rather than to a specific principal. He found diplomatic work behind closed doors crucial to the job, thus go-between competencies were still largely demanded in this bargain. For the P5, Hammar skjöld’s non-allegiance to any nation in particular came as no surprise, Security Council member states “[seeing] him as an apolitical compromise candidate” during his selection.” (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.) Reward in this case reaffirms a *noblesse oblige* reward type, though the unpredictable nature of the job - and the gratification and frustration it granted Hammar skjöld - emphasizes the lotteries of life reward type. The selective representational and moralistic trusteeship bargains are once again most apt to capture the nature of the relationship between Secretary-General and the P5 here, though this time favouring a moralistic trusteeship bargain when considering the Charter’s centrality to each dimension for Hammar skjöld.

## U Thant (1961-1971)

U Thant was appointed shortly after Hammar skjöld’s death. Under both Lie and Hammar skjöld, the United Nations had a distinctly Western direction; moving into the tense Cold War era, it became evident that the new Secretary-General would need to come from elsewhere. Thant himself was advocating for the appointment of Tunisian ambassador, Mongi Slim, though this idea was effectively vetoed by France due to a serious conflict with Tunisia (Firestone 2001, xv). Support from third-world nations for a

representative from their own bloc combined with the fact that Burma, Thant's home, "was not involved in any festering conflict that could alienate any of the great powers" strengthened Thant's candidacy (ibid., xvi).

Thant spent his early career as an educator and administrator at National High School in Patanaw, before moving into bureaucratic work, rising to the rank of Ambassador (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.). Stylistically, Thant could aptly be characterized by his nickname, the 'Bronze Buddha', given to him by his associates due to his unwavering mood and stalwart personality (Firestone 2001, xviii). Firestone distinguishes him from his predecessors as such:

"Thant projected the image of an honest but unimaginative civil servant, reluctant to test the limits of his office and its prerogatives. In contrast to the UN's first secretary-general, Trygve Lie, who spoke openly and sometimes intemperately on controversial issues, and unlike his immediate predecessor, Dag Hammarskjöld, who projected an almost ethereal presence, Thant appeared considerably more restrained, down to earth, and colorless. This contrast was particularly striking in juxtaposition to Hammarskjöld, who, with his penchant for international globe-trotting, dramatic and personal diplomatic initiatives, and intellectually rich descriptions of his office, had cut a wide swath in the field of international diplomacy. Thant, by comparison, relied more heavily on subordinates to engage in sensitive negotiations and showed himself to be less intellectually reflective on his position. Thant was primarily a practitioner, not a conceptualizer, and to his detractors this was a major failing." (ibid., 101-102)

Without affiliations to either the Western or Eastern blocs of the P5, Thant, like his predecessors, was initially viewed as nonpartisan. However, he was intent on critiquing

those very world powers for the damage that their colonial ventures had caused on the third-world. Though he held a liberal interpretation of Article 99, seeing the Secretary-General as a powerful political voice within the Security Council, he primarily saw his role as “an agent of the Security Council and the General Assembly.” (ibid., xxi). Thant was willing to give blunt critiques of various P5 nations - of the United States’ involvement in Vietnam, of French policy in Algeria, or the Russian take on Congo (ibid., xix). However, in the Cuban missile crisis, Thant proved to be an effective agent of both the United States and Soviet Union. Soviet leader Khrushchev used Thant as “a means to indirectly introduce an initiative” and US President Kennedy relied on him to bridge the gap between the two nations (Dorn and Pauk 2009, 290)

Thant’s salary was boosted to \$27,000 USD annually (roughly \$221,000 in 2017 USD) to catch-up the SG’s salary with inflation; though in real dollars, Thant made less than Lie. He was also the first Secretary-General to serve two full terms, and was even pushed to serve a third term by member states. However, the series of conflicts through his tenure had “left Thant totally dispirited” as he “believed himself unfairly criticized”, subsequently becoming quite ill; he thus gave up any interest in a third term (Firestone 2001, 95; Sciora 2004). The discretion allotted to the office of the Secretary-General decreased during Thant’s time, mostly due to Soviet pressure and American disdain for Thant’s comments on US involvement Vietnam (Firestone 2001, 43). His active opposition of American military involvement was criticized by President Johnson, leading to an erosion in the powers of the Secretary-General as the P5 began to treat Thant as a ‘glorified clerk’ (ibid., 102). Much more than past Secretaries, Thant was required to exercise go-between competency in a time when the supposed world order was heavily threatened. The sage-style competencies provided by Lie and Hammarskjöld would have been unpalatable given the sensitivity of US-Russia relations at the time, though Thant still

made clear his moral stance on certain issues such as the Vietnam War. His PSB is likely far more agent rather than trustee oriented. The Russian and American usage of him as a mediator, in conjunction with his own prescription of the SG as agent of the SC and GA point us toward the complex delegated agency bargain. Finally, the decrease in his office's scope throughout his term demonstrates the uncertainty of bureaucratic expansion as a reward, which in his case, was clawed by his political principals.

## Kurt Waldheim (1972-1981)

Waldheim completed his doctoral degree in jurisprudence from the University of Vienna before joining the Austrian diplomatic service (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.). Until his appointment as Secretary-General in 1972, he navigated his way into nearly every crevice of Austrian foreign affairs, heading the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, serving as Ambassador to Canada, leading the Austrian delegation to the United Nations, and even emerging as a leading candidate for the Austrian Presidency (ibid.). Upon entering the office of the Secretary-General, Waldheim was met with the sobering reality that he held no 'real power', instead relying on "his personality, his objectivity, his realism, [and] his good will" to accomplish political tasks (Sciara 2004). He attributed his successes to a mix of quiet diplomacy and personal contacts, then weaving this in with a calculated degree of public appearances (Gauhar and Waldheim 1982).

Part of Waldheim's lack of power is attributable to the then financial crisis of the United Nations who was owed by member nations over \$204 million USD (United States, General Accounting Office 1974, 4). This required him to focus primarily on administrative tasks such as "meetings with government officials on such mundane subjects as expediting payments for the budget and soliciting additional financial support for U.N. programs." (Jackson 1978, 239). In balancing the administrative demands of the



Secretary-General's office against his role as world moderator, Waldheim found himself more often than not in the administrative realm of affairs, rather than exercising moral leadership (ibid., 242; Sciora 2004).

In the face of financial constraints, Waldheim put up little resistance, posing “no objections to Soviet and French views expressed repeatedly in the Security Council that the Secretary-General work under the supervision of the council in matters related to peace and security.” (Jackson 1978, 240). Far from the conceptions of judge-type loyalty - to a grandiose dream of world peace by Lie and to Charter principles by Hammarskjöld - Waldheim was an agent of the Security Council to a greater degree than even U Thant who at least *attempted* challenged the Security Council's attempts to take away autonomy from the Office of the Secretary-General.

Waldheim entered the office alongside a significant boost in pay, raking in \$69,000 USD (approximately \$406,000 in 2017 USD) (Berliner 1973). Given Western economic growth in the decade preceding, this pay raise was expected. Like Thant, Waldheim served two full five year terms as Secretary-General and made an initial bid for a third term before being shut down by the Chinese veto; China felt another candidate from the third world was overdue (Waldheim 1985, 232). Waldheim had a fairly tumultuous tenure, describing the years as “an almost unbroken series of frustrations and bitter disappointments.” (ibid., 230). He is the first Secretary-General to prioritize deliverer-type competencies, though still requiring some go-between capacity as stated by himself (Sciora 2004b). His direct loyalty to the P5 (as opposed to a ‘higher’ entity) is even more pronounced than Thant's, and shared similar reward patterns - though perhaps having a slightly over-inflated salary when compared to other SGs. Taking these factors into account, we begin to notice a pattern away from the morally guided PSBs of the early Secretaries-General in favour of clearer agency-type bargains - likely one of the

delegated agency bargains.

## Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (1982-1991)

In the wake of the Chinese veto of Waldheim, a new candidate satisfying third world demands was needed - Javier Pérez de Cuéllar from Peru fit the bill. He had previously built ties with the Soviet Union, having served as the Peruvian Ambassador to Moscow and was also palatable to the Western bloc (Waldheim 1985, 235). Pérez de Cuéllar spent his early professional years as a lawyer before entering the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs where he began his journey as a career diplomat (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.). He served in France, the UK, Bolivia, and Brazil before being appointed as Peruvian Ambassador to Switzerland, the Soviet Union, Poland, and Venezuela (ibid.). From 1971 onward, Pérez de Cuéllar was involved with the United Nations, notably as Waldheim's special representative to Afghanistan (Waldheim 1985, 235).

He saw negotiation as the most important activity for a Secretary-General, stressing the necessity of bringing all parties involved to the negotiating table (Sciara 2004).

Specifically, Pérez de Cuéllar coined this type of skill as 'multilateral diplomacy', "a diplomacy that consists of maneuvering, of clever tricks, of agreements, of multiple engagements in order to obtain promises of support." (ibid.) However, he also believed the Secretary-General must have a personality independent of the aggregate opinion of Member Nations:

"...the Secretary-General is supposed to be a kind of a conscience of the international community, he has to be honest enough to say what he really believes without being moved by such considerations as whether member-countries will like or dislike his report." (Gauhar and Pérez de Cuéllar 1984, 14).

In stark contrast to the lack of agency exhibited by Waldheim, Pérez de Cuéllar took the position of SG without any clear loyalties, other than to the Charter (Gauhar and Pérez de Cuéllar 1984, 19). Of particular significance to Pérez de Cuéllar was Article 100 stating the the SG “shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization.” He interpreted this clause as a guarantee of the independence and impartiality of the Secretary-General (Pérez de Cuéllar 1996, 12). The circumstances of his appointment further strengthened his claim to impartiality:

“My Government wished me to be a candidate and informed Security Council members that I was available, but I refused to campaign. I did not ask for anyone’s support. I did not go to New York. I made no commitments to Member States or anyone else to become Secretary-General; there was no quid pro quo, no do ut des. I thus came to office having promised no one anything.” (Pérez de Cuéllar 1996, 12)

However, Pérez de Cuéllar’s independence from P5 nations did not lead to an adversarial relationship. He exercised greater restraint when it came to criticizing individual nations in contrast to Secretaries like Lie and Thant. Consequently, he maintained the favor of the Security Council. In public, he refrained from commenting on Security Council actions unless he believed such moves would be “both productive and positive (Gauhar and Pérez de Cuéllar 1984, 15). And in return, the Security Council accepted his reports, even allowing more provocative criticism as his term continued (ibid., 14)

Javier Pérez de Cuéllar saw a salary increase to about \$156,000 USD annually, in current dollars slightly less (\$387,000 in 2017 USD) than what Waldheim was paid. He

was also one of the few Secretaries-General to be pushed by Member States, and most importantly by all permanent members of the Security Council, to pursue a third term. Although he ultimately declined, Pérez de Cuéllar felt that he “enjoyed a succession of fairly satisfying results, which [he owed] to the loyal support of the member states” and his colleagues (Sciara 2004). Though the United Nations was still in a state of financial strain, Pérez de Cuéllar’s tenure marked a return to the go-between and sage mix of competencies required by the role. His savvy diplomacy also suggests a wide mix of applicable loyalty types, likely including aspects of jester, judge, and partner style loyalties, especially when considering the Security Council’s acceptance of his annual reports. The adjusted pay marks the continued guidance of the *Noblemaire* principle for pay, though his term makes it evident that the reward of a third term and/or increased autonomy is highly contingent on the individual performance of the Secretary-General. The moralistic trustee and complex delegate agency bargains arise again as the best fitting types.

## Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992-1996)

Boutros Boutros-Ghali graduated with both a Bachelor of Laws from Cairo University and a Ph.D. in international law from Paris University (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.). Following, he was a Professor of International Law and International Relations at Cairo University, then serving in various legal positions in the realm of international affairs. Prior to his appointment as Secretary-General, Boutros-Ghali was the Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt (ibid.).

Whereas Javier Pérez de Cuéllar was an expert negotiator, Boutros Boutros-Ghali has been described as independent, stubborn, and arrogant (Rushton 2008, 105-106). He was unable to effectively handle the situation in Yugoslavia, struggling to bring the

United States to the same negotiating table as the key European actors (Sciora 2005). With regards to the Yugoslavian war, Pérez de Cuéllar felt it was “practically impossible for the United Nations to resolve a conflict if the principal protagonists [are] in disagreement (ibid.).

Again in contrast to Pérez de Cuéllar, Boutros-Ghali refused to set aside the Egyptian national interest. Instead, he claims to have been explicitly pro-Arab, never hiding “the fact that [he] was pro-Palestinian and a defender of the Third World, all of which couldn’t help to create friction” with the Security Council (Sciora 2005). He was even more critical than early SGs, “chiding the council for their preoccupation with a ‘rich man’s war’ and ‘ethnic cleansing’ in the former Yugoslavia, while neglecting war and famine in Somalia.” (Burgess 2001, 91) Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s relationship with the United States was especially rocky, who he criticized for inaction on major conflicts in Bosnia and the Rwandan genocide (ibid., 178-180).

As a result of his shaky relations with the P5, Boutros Boutros-Ghali was immediately met with the threat of a veto when announcing his candidacy for a second term through a leaked press release to the *Wall Street Journal* (ibid., 187). He remains the only Secretary-General to have not been granted a second term (though Lie’s was an extension rather than a re-appointment). His 2017-adjusted salary registers at about \$338,000 (\$192,000 1992 USD). Generally, Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s time as Secretary-General was mostly remembered for its failures, though, he was able to expand the scope of the office through his *Agenda for Peace*, bringing armed peacekeeping into the arsenal of UN options. The PSB analysis of Boutros Boutros-Ghali is illuminating in a different way than the analyses completed for other SGs. His relationship with the United States demonstrates a need for go-between competency that he did not possess, instead preferring to bring almost solely a sage-type competency to the table. Further,

the United Nations needed an effective administrator at the helm, as Pérez de Cuéllar had left the organization “in a precarious financial situation” and Boutros-Ghali lacked the capacity to address this. (*United Nations Chronicle* 1992) This, multiplied by a judge-type loyalty to the Third World and Arab nations resulted in a dysfunctional bargain between Boutros-Ghali and the Security Council - or more specifically, the United States. While his salary remained relatively constant, the denial of a second term very clearly denotes a broken bargain between the two parties. It is evident that Boutros-Ghali envisioned a moralistic trusteeship bargain, while the Security Council would have preferred to have a more obedient agent.

## Kofi Annan (1997-2006)

Moving into the 21st century, the United Nations’ remained financially unstable. Kofi Annan of Ghana had a strong administrative background and experience working in the UN’s economic organs that primed him for the job; in fact, his capacity for administrative reform “was the principal reason why the Clinton administration selected Annan.” (Burgess 2001, 206). The first career UN official to reach the post of Secretary-General, Annan had a bachelor’s degree in economics from Macalester College and a graduate degree from the Sloan School of Management (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.; Crossette 2007, 383).

More importantly, he was able to translate these skills into results, implementing the majority of his administrative reforms - mostly staff and budget cuts - within a year of his appointment (Burgess 2001, 206). Annan also served as a political coordinator, reintegrating various UN departments that had become siloed over the years and had little communication between them (Barber 2009, 389; Jang 2007; 164). He brought a unique view of the United Nations, believing it to represent “a guarantee of efficiency,

because it can bring together all the governments of the world so they can join forces to combat these problems they all have in common.” (Sciara 2005)

Learning from the mistakes of Boutros-Ghali, Kofi Annan sought to maintain the favor of the United States. He built a strong personal connection with both Presidents Clinton and Bush, though this is not to say he was at their whim. Rather, the relationships were characterized by mutual respect and understanding of each others’ political responsibilities (ibid.). Further, Annan believed that the Office of the Secretary-General had grown too much to serve the governments of the world, and through his term aimed to “put the individual at the center of everything.” (Annan 2012, 13). However, in the latter part of his term Annan is noted to have increasingly strengthened his commitment to a greater moral authority (Lynch 2016).

Kofi Annan’s appointment marks the last time the Secretary-General received a pay raise, collecting an annual salary of roughly \$227,000 USD (\$346,000 in 2017 USD). Like most other Secretaries-General, he was appointed for two full terms. Towards the end of his second term, Annan found himself “bruised by American attacks and at the same time let down by resentful developing nations, which blocked his cherished administrative reforms on the ground that he would rob them of power at Washington’s request.” (Crossette 2007, 384). Annan was clearly brought in by the Security Council to pursue administrative reform, and both his background and work in office reflect a deliverer competence. However, he still considered his role as political coordinator to be paramount. Taking into account the prior SG-US relationship, Annan had to more actively appease the United States - especially during his first term. We are thus lead to a complex delegated agency bargain, favouring a mix of go-between and deliverer competencies and executive-type loyalty.

The increasingly activist approach to the role taken by Kofi Annan as his term progressed led to a degrading bargain. In dysfunctional delegated agency bargains, principals cheat by encroaching upon the discretionary space originally set aside for agents; in Annan's case, his reforms were denied, despite his original mandate to implement these measures. Like Boutros-Ghali, Annan and the P5 simply did not see eye to eye on the terms of the bargain, the SG desiring to be a moral exemplar and the P5 preferring a pliant agent.

## Ban Ki-Moon (2007-2016)

Building on a platform of administrative reform, Ban was brought into the post, in part for his background in public administration, but “mainly because it was Asia's turn, under an unofficial rotation system, and partly because the Bush administration wanted someone less outspoken than Annan.” (MacAskill 2010) Ban spent the majority of his pre-SG years working in the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, having been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time of his election as Secretary-General (United Nations Secretary-General n.d.).

Rather than emphasizing cuts and leaner administration, Ban focused on accountability mechanisms, especially for senior management, signing individual compacts with each senior manager stating they should clearly “identify their priorities and should be accountable at the end of their term of duty.” (Sciora 2008). While Ban regarded the role of Secretary-General as a combination of “both capacities of secretary and general” (Sciora 2008), his public face was rather muted, “leaving aides to keep their heads down to avoid catching his eye.” (Lynch 2016)

Ban Ki-moon's appointment came as a result of strong support from both China and the United States. His loyalty to the United States held strong throughout his tenure as SG.



This was evidenced when Ban overruled his own officials' recommendation to include Israel on the United Nations' 'list of shame' that would have categorized Israel alongside groups like Boko Haram, ISIS, and al-Qaeda (Cook 2015, 12). This executive decision came only after several months of American lobbying, followed by a direct appeal from United States Ambassador, Samantha Power, for the removal of Israel from the blacklist (ibid.). The agency-type loyalty displayed by Ban was so clear to his colleagues that he has been regarded as "a key contributor to the diminishing moral authority of the United Nations." (Thakur 2017, 4)

Ban's reserved nature resulted in a content United States and tolerant Security Council on the whole, leading to his reappointment for a second term from 2001-2006. Adjusting for inflation, his salary in 2017 USD was \$272,000, though, as previously mentioned, has not been changed since Annan entered the SG position. Ban has been accused of nepotism throughout his SG career, though it is somewhat unclear whether he actually reaped these rewards, or was merely a victim of rumours. Allegations have been put forth that he made decision with the interests of his home nation, South Korea, as a sort of repayment for helping him attain the SG position (Lynch 2007). Additionally, the appointment of his son-in-law Siddharth Chatterjee to various high profile United Nations positions, especially when sent to Iraq in November 2007 as the UN chief-of-staff, drew many angry stares from the international community (Mcleod 2007; Rosett 2009; Lee 2009).

Almost without a doubt Ban Ki-moon's relationship with the Security Council is some sort of principal-agent bargain, rather than a trustee-beneficiary one. While any agency bargain requires deliverer competencies, the mix of partner and executive-type loyalty displayed by Ban would lead him towards the complex and simple delegated agency bargains. Taking into account the inherently diplomatic nature of the posting, the

complex delegated agency bargain type seems to fit best here.

# Discussion

An argument can be made that every Secretary-General's term took the form of a complex delegated agency bargain, a logical outcome given the necessity of go-between competencies for diplomats. We do, however, see variation in the degree to which this bargain type applies. U Thant and Kurt Waldheim were the first two Secretaries to operate primarily under this bargain, though for different reasons. Thant was subject to the high political tensions of the Cuban missile crisis, leaving little operating room for moralistic leadership. His role as a go-between for the United States and Russia was crucial to defusing tensions. Waldheim, on the other hand, was pushed towards an agency bargain due to the poor financial situation of the United Nations, requiring that his time be dedicated mostly to administrative matters (Jackson 1978, 239, 242).

Moving into the late 1990s and the early 21st century, the probability of a complex delegated agency bargain arises again, which should be no surprise given their abundance in bureaucracies worldwide around this time (Hood and Lodge 2006, 57).

Both Annan and Ban were meant to be 'secretaries' more than 'general, especially following the overly activist approach to the SG position taken by Boutros Boutros-Ghali which was "an annoyance to the [Clinton] administration." (Rushton 2008, 95). As such, the United States - and other P5 members - were careful in choosing a candidate that they thought would not bring the same brazenness to the table as Boutros-Ghali. The Security Council made clear that the discretionary space established for the Secretary-General during these periods was primarily administrative, emphasizing goals of greater organizational efficiency and accountability.

That said, the role of Secretary-General is also grounded in a sense of trusteeship, usually spoken about as loyalty to the United Nations Charter, especially by Pérez de

Cuéllar and Hammarskjöld. The early years of the United Nations, following the Second World War, required that the Secretary-General held a higher moral appeal - loyalty and power that went beyond the demands of the superpowers. The Charter allegiance of early SGs is tied in part to their prior legal training and work experience, and further enabled by the crucial importance of Article 99 which was heavily debated in the General Assembly prior to the appointment of Trygve Lie (Schwebel 1952, 23-26). Chesterman (2015) argues that the influence of the SG is “greatest in orphaned conflicts and marginal causes,” thus the more stable the global state of affairs, the more likely we are to find a trustee bargain. Any PSB would also include a sense of consociationalism, since SGs are appointed partially on the basis of geographical diversity as per an unwritten agreement among the P5 on rotational selection of SGs (MacAskill 2010).

## ‘Breaking the Bargain’

Hood and Lodge remark that “wherever there are agreements or bargains, there is the possibility of breakdown” (2006, 153); my study reaffirms this. In the complex delegated agency bargain identified, cheating by principals consists of undermining the agent's delegated decision-making space or unfair blame shifting - throwing an agent under the bus for something he/she is not responsible for. Annan has mused that the abbreviated ‘SG’ actually stands not for Secretary-General, but rather for scapegoat (Ravndal 2017, 446). On the other hand, disloyalty by the agent is expressed through actions such as embarrassing leaks, unfair criticisms, or bypassing the interests of the principal altogether (Hood and Lodge 2006, 164-165). Cheating of this sort was especially evident during U Thant's term. The United States was unwilling to negotiate within the diplomatic windows created by Thant, “spurning his 1964 efforts at peace”; in retaliation, Thant persistently attacked American foreign policy, further degrading relations between Thant

and senior American officials (Firestone 2001, 70).

Moralistic tutelary trustee bargains are also susceptible to cheating, but centered around moral authority. Agents 'cheat' on the bargain when they fail to act as moral exemplars, while principals do so when they deny agents the freedom to exercise their moral authority (Hood and Lodge 2006, 261). Boutros Boutros-Ghali's turbulent term was replete with such examples. His explicitly pro-Arab/pro-Palestinian approach went against the expectation established by Pérez de Cuéllar of unbiased leadership. As a result, France, the UK, and the United States were reluctant to allow Boutros-Ghali to follow his moral compass. The fallout of the dysfunctional SG-P5 relationship was mutually destructive; Boutros-Ghali was denied a second term, and the United States was isolated as the lone veto on the Security Council to his reappointment (Williams 1997).

# Conclusion

Two public service bargains - moralistic tutelary trusteeship and complex delegated agency - emerge as the most accurate depictions of the relationship between the Secretary-General and the Permanent Five. These bargains share a common need for go-between competency and a relatively reserved reward structure, but differ greatly in terms of loyalty. The complex delegated agency bargain sets the members of the P5 as principals, the Secretary-General balancing their sometimes competing interests and often serving as mediator. Conversely, SGs operating in a moralistic tutelary trustee bargain root themselves in the discretion set out by the Charter, or at times, to greater ideals of world peace and order.

Guterres' term may very well offer a completely new direction, given his experience as Prime Minister of Portugal prior to his appointment. As neither the first choice of the United States nor Russia (Terlingen 2017, 115), we may expect Guterres' PSB to edge towards the moralistic-type. Given his prior role as a national leader, special attention should be paid to the possibility of Guterres cheating on the bargain by placing Portuguese interests ahead of the independence and impartiality demanded by Article 100 of the Charter.

The Public Service Bargain analysis applied in this paper illuminates the variation in style between Secretaries-General. It demonstrates that diplomatic skill - or go-between competency - is often desired by the P5. However, Ban Ki-moon's term demonstrates that suave diplomacy is not always necessary. At times, the P5 demands a leader with an administrative focus, especially during times of fiscal strain. This paper further suggests that trustee bargains are more likely to emerge when the P5 are not engaged in serious conflict. However, even Secretaries operating in a trusteeship bargain cannot

carelessly voice their opinion; in doing so, they risk 'breaking the bargain', and are then subject to political punishment from P5 members - and in Boutros Boutros Ghali's case, the denial of a second term. Secretaries-General must balance the egos and interests of important nations while setting aside their own biases to effectively operationalise their moralities.

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## Appendix A: Secretaries-General Salaries

Salary (USD) and Salary (in 2017 USD, adjusted for inflation)

