

Leadership And Human Development

Oscar Arias
Ergün Olgun
Harriet Mayor Fulbright
Howard Berry
Mansour Yousef Elaagab
Bernard M. Bass
Bruce Lloyd
Carol Allais
Mahy Abdel Latif
Anjelika Baravikova
Jiang Xuewen
Hafiza Golandaz
Fathi El Shazly
Ingmar Karlsson
Halil Güven
Adel Safty

Edited by

Adel Safty
Halil Güven

With a Preface by
Oscar Arias

**The International Institute of Leadership and Public
Affairs, Bahcesehir University. Istanbul.**

Leadership for Human Development
The International Leadership Series (Book Four)

Sponsored by:

The International Institute of Leadership and Public Affairs
Bahcesehir University, Istanbul, Turkey, 2002

First edition published by the International Institute of
Leadership and Public Affairs, of the University of
Bahcesehir. Istanbul. Turkey. 2003.

Copyright © 2002 Adel Safty and Halil Güven
All rights reserved. No unauthorized photocopying.

Published by:

Universal Publishers/upublish.com
USA • 2003

ISBN: 1-58112-614-X

www.upublish.com/books/safty4.htm

Table of Contents

Chapter	Page
Preface Oscar Arias	3
Introduction Adel Safty	6
Leadership for Human Development Adel Safty	24
Leadership for Peace and Dialogue Oscar Arias	51
Ripeness in the Resolution of International Conflicts: the Significance of Leadership Ergün Olgun	63
Leadership and Human Progress Harriet Mayor Fulbright	68
Constructing the World Anew Howard Berry	80
Leadership and Human Rights Mansour Yousel Elaagab	89

II

New Paradigm and Ethics of Leadership Bernard M. Bass	117
Leadership, Globalisation And the New Economy Bruce Lloyd	136
Leadership for Nation-building in South Africa Carol Allais	148
Leadership and Conflict in Africa Mahy Abdel Latif	159
Leadership in Russia: The case of Mr. Putin Anjelika Baravikova	191
Leadership in China Social Stability v. Freedom of Expression Jiang Xuewen	218
Leadership for Creativity: The case of Indian Emperor Akbar Hafiza Golandaz	242
Clash of Civilisations: A Muslim Perspective Fathi El Shazly	261

III

Clash of Civilisation: A European Perspective Ingmar Karlsson	276
Civilisations and Natural Laws Halil Güven	289
Dialogue of Civilisations Halil Güven	306
Leadership in Education Halil Güven	322

Acknowledgement

This book is the result of the contributions of many distinguished leaders and scholars who came from over the world in response to my call to address the issue of Leadership for Human Development. The Conference was also the inaugural conference of the International Institute of Leadership and Public Affairs (IILPA), which was established at Bahcesehir University in Istanbul. The Global Leadership Forum, and therefore this book, and for that matter the IILPA itself, would not have been possible without the leadership, vision, and support of Mr. Enver Yücel, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of Bahcesehir and of Prof. Halil Güven, President of the university. To them goes my first debt of gratitude and appreciation.

The holding of a major international conference is always a demanding affair and a necessary teamwork. In the six months that I worked preparing for this Global Leadership Forum, I was ably assisted and helped by Dr. Halil Güven, the President of Bahcesehir University who actively participated in every aspect of the organisation, providing leadership and valuable can-do-attitude. I also wish to thank Dr. Tamer Atabarut who acted as my personal assistant, and who kept a smile under all circumstances. I was naturally assisted by a host of helpers from the University of Bahcesehir who gave of their time and energy to ensure the success of an international conference of this magnitude. I wish to thank them all and record my debt of gratitude and appreciation to them. These people are: Ercan Akin, Prof.

Dr. Zafer Dogan, and Murat Çöpçü. From Public Relations: Faika Bürkan and Havva Salman. From The School of Foreign Languages: Dr. Olga Atacanova, Beatrice Vanni, Anna Meskhi, Arzu Karakurt. Beldan Özant, Canan Mendi, Kösker. Fehime Muhaffel, Kemal Karagöl, Mehran Shahid, Mürüvvet Çolakoglu, Nilay Oguz, Sibel Erkman, and Vafa Kazdal. From the administrative assistance department: Aynur Imer, Burcu Alarslan, Alev Durmusoglu, Yasemin Özdemir, Sezen Gülsen, Senay Mutlu, Fatma Çakiroglu, Murat Çöpçü, and Engin Güner. From the camera department: Ozan Konrot, and Bülent Güven. From the graphics department: Meral Hiçsönmez and Tayfun Akman, and from the Information Technology department: Yalçın Çekiç, Ferhat Konakoglu, Ersun Aydın, and Safak Bülbül. Thank you to you all.

I also wish to thank my able assistants from the United Nations Leadership Conference Committee who came from all over the world to participate and assist in yet another international gathering concerned with the ideas and activities of leadership. Their contribution and commitment are testimony to their own leadership. I wish to thank them one by one: Dr. Mahy Abdel Latif (Egypt), Dr. Carol Allais (South Africa), Ms. Marina Tyasto (Russia), Ms. Anjelika Borokovic (Austria), Mr. Fisan Bankale (Nigeria), Congressman Jose Gomez (Venezuela), Mr. Rupert-Douglas Bates (England), Mr. Leong Sze Hian (Singapore), Mr. Jiang Xuewen (China), Dr. Mansour Elaagab (Sudan) and Professor Hafiza Golandaz (India). I appreciate their support and value their friendship.

Adel Safty
Istanbul, July 2002

Preface

Oscar Arias

It is a pleasure to be here at this grand occasion celebrating one of the most important concepts, and certainly one of the most needed qualities, in the world today: leadership. I had the privilege of participating in one of Dr. Safty's United Nations leadership programs in 1998, and so I am very aware of the high standards and quality of his work. For that reason, I gladly accepted when he asked me to come halfway across the world once more to talk about what it means to be a leader.

Leadership, my friends, is something, which has many definitions. We can speak of political leadership, business leadership, and educational leadership, among many other areas. We can speak of visionary leadership, effective leadership, magnetic leadership, or efficient leadership, and each of these phrases might bring to mind a different type of individual. In reality, leaders come in all shapes, sizes and colours, and with many different personalities, styles, and convictions. So how do we recognize a leader when we meet one? By the fruits of their labours. Just as the sweetness of the fruit indicates the health of the tree, the results produced indicate the quality of the leader. Judging by these standards, I would say that Professor Adel Safty has proven himself time and time again to be both a philosopher

and an achiever, a learner and an educator, a person of both flexibility and conviction--in sum, an outstanding leader. For all of your achievements, Professor Safty, and especially for the opening of this promising institution, which we are here to inaugurate today, I heartily congratulate you.

What is the significance of the International Institute of Leadership and Public Affairs? Standing here in Istanbul, a city both ancient and modern, a place which from the beginning of civilization has been at the crossroads of East and West, North and South; and synthesizing leadership perspectives from the fields of governance, management, and multilateral cooperation, this institution stands for authentic leadership for the twenty-first century. For the leadership that the world requires today is based on ancient wisdom but open to innovation, rooted in a home culture, but reaching out to all people; it is a leadership, which is not afraid to learn and is equally eager to teach. It is leadership, my friends, that not only proclaims a vision, but also makes that vision a reality. It is my hope and my belief that this institution will serve as a greenhouse for the incubation of the seeds of this type of leadership, seeds which will later be planted, cultivated, and brought to flower and bear fruit in different lands around the world.

More than thirty years ago, Martin Luther King Jr. had this to say about leaders, and it still applies today: "The urgency of the hour calls for leaders of wise judgment and sound integrity—leaders not in love with money, but in love with justice; leaders not in love with publicity, but in love with humanity; leaders who can subject their particular egos to the greatness of the cause." I am confident that many women and men who fit this description will be passing through the doors of the International Institute of Leadership and Public Affairs, in order to develop, debate, and refine their ideas

and practice of leadership. May this institution serve them well, so that they may serve humanity well.

Introduction

Adel Safty

This book continues the leadership series, which I started shortly after I set out to organise the United Nations Leadership conferences in 1996. It follows, therefore, Leadership and the United Nations, Leadership and Global Governance, and Leadership and Conflict Resolution. In this latest volume, Leadership and Human Development, I include the presentations made by distinguished leaders and scholars of leadership at the Global Leadership Forum I organised in Istanbul in June 2001, as well as presentations made by two distinguished diplomats after the Global Leadership Forum. The Forum brought together distinguished leaders and scholars from around the world, as well as representatives of more than 20 international organisations. It also brought together my United Nations Leadership Conference Support Committee, which I first set up in 1997, with representatives from the United States, Venezuela, England, Russia, Austria, Egypt, Nigeria, South Africa, Singapore, India and China.

In his preface, Dr. Oscar Arias, Noble Peace Laureate and former President of Costa Rica, argues that the leadership that the world requires today is based on ancient wisdom but open to innovation, rooted in a home culture, but reaching out to all people; it is a leadership, which is not afraid to learn and is equally eager to teach. It is leadership that not only proclaims a vision, but also makes that vision a reality.

Although I proposed leadership for human development as the theme of the Global Leadership Forum, the participants were free to define leadership and human development from their own perspective. For me for instance, all leadership activities, whether in the private or public sector, whether in the academy or in citizens' associations, are ultimately about human development. In his/her concern for the professional and personal development of the company's staff, in the national leader's responsibility to serve his people, in the United Nations' and global civil society's efforts to promote peace and development worldwide, the effective leaders are in the final analysis those who never lose sight of the larger picture linking leadership to human development. For this to happen, leadership needs to be freed from the domination of the business model, liberalised and related to human development, and ultimately democratised to be made accessible to leaders in all fields.

In his discussion of Leadership for Peace and Dialogue, Dr. Oscar Arias distinguishes five qualities, which he deems indispensable for successful leadership in this area: Patience, perseverance, humility, commitment, and compromise. He asks rhetorically: Wouldn't we all like these qualities to be more prominent in our elected representatives? For these qualities are not only personal virtues, but also necessary job qualifications. They are, Dr. Arias says, what allow progress to be made in the face of ordinary, everyday conflict and disagreement. He advises aspiring politicians and public policy leaders to do everything they can to cultivate and defend these values, in themselves and in their colleagues.

The same qualities, Dr. Arias says, are also crucial for those whose leadership will be in the areas of business, education, civil society, or any other field. In any of life's endeavours, he affirms, very little is ever achieved by clinging to a single

point of view or way of doing things. We must hold to our principles, Dr. Arias advises, but be also prepared to compromise. If we want a world at peace, he argues, we cannot allow ourselves to fall prey to extremism of any sort. We should begin, he advises, by examining our own hearts and minds and eradicating the seeds of exclusion, intolerance, and violence that exist within each one of us. We must, he says, weed our internal gardens to make room for the healthy plants of respect, compassion, integrity, and trustworthiness. With these qualities, Oscar Arias concludes, we will be able to provide capable leadership in the most difficult of situations.

Ergün Olgun is Under-Secretary to the President of the TRNC. In his discussion of the Ripeness in the Resolution of International Conflicts and the Significance of Leadership, he argues that conflicts are usually protracted because of asymmetry of hurt by the parties, in which case the stronger party insists on a zero-sum outcome. It is possible, however, argues Mr. Olgun, to have a win-win negotiating outcome to major conflicts, if the parties and especially the leadership accepted the notion that their respective interests would be better served by such an approach than by the unilateral pursuits of zero-sum outcome.

Mr. Olgun points out that proactive and progressive leadership plays a significant role in the transformation of conflict from a confrontational zero-sum mindset to a win-win problem solving mindset. Transformation in the mindset of conflicting parties is by far the most critical turning point in the process of negotiation, he says, and it is this turning point, he argues, which opens the door for meaningful negotiation and for resolution. It is however, Mr. Olgun points out, a dramatic turning point for political leaders because it involves a departure from accustomed and safe popular positions to ones that are risky and necessitate the

payment of attention to the concerns and interests of traditional 'enemies'.

Such transformation, Mr. Olgun concludes, requires strong leadership, foresight and the realization that by working together and addressing the legitimate concerns of each other all parties would have realized their interests far better than they would have done unilaterally. This requires hard choices, which only strong leaders can make.

Harriet Mayor Fulbright is former Executive Director of the President's Committee for the Arts and Humanities in the Clinton Administration and of the Fulbright Commission. In her discussion of Leadership and Peace, she focuses on the great changes that have occurred in the past century and argues that visionary leadership is urgently needed more than ever. Great leaders, she says, must have a vision of how to bring about and maintain peace, prosperity and the well being whether they are leaders of a company, a community or a country. To do this successfully, Mrs. Fulbright argues, it is essential that leaders learn to increase their capacity of foresight. They must also learn, she says, to create teams to translate complicated issues into understandable language. Leaders, especially political leaders, Mrs. Fulbright argues, must work hard to put in place policies that benefit humanity rather than the special interest that might have enabled their election.

Mrs. Fulbright cites the example of her late husband Senator William Fulbright as a leader who had a vision, to serve humanity not just his country, and who worked hard to make his dream a reality. His vision of peace in the world led him, in 1943, to initiate a Congressional resolution to create a multi-national organization for the purpose of promoting peace among nations, the United Nations. It was peace in the

world that led him to create the international education exchange program that bears his name. He believed, says Mrs. Fulbright, that if potential future leaders learned how to exchange ideas and realized that we are all human beings with the same underlying aspirations, perhaps they would not be so quick to exchange bullets.

The late Prof. Howard Berry was the co-founder and President of the International Partnership for Service Learning in New York. In his discussion of *Reconstructing the World Anew: Education and Leadership*, he argues that yes leadership is indeed ultimately about human development, but it is also about character, virtues, and inner democracy. Professor Berry points out some of the contradictions in the phenomenon of globalisation. He says that economic globalism is self-contradictory. It is driven by a consumer economic structure, yet this very structure leaves out large segments of society who cannot buy the goods produced. He raises an important moral issue when he asks: Where is the countervailing voice to economic globalism and worldwide consumerism? Where is the leavening institution speaking for and attending to the alienated, those unable to speak or act for themselves?

Professor Berry then develops his long-held and cherished vision of service linked to learning in universities around the world. He rhetorically asks: Is it too much to think of the idea, through service connected to education, of a social apprenticeship, or an apprenticeship in civic virtue? This is a vision, he says, but it is not chimerical. It is not limited to the poets, the novelists, the philosophers, or the idealists and radical activists. Professor Berry argues that the businessperson who understands this is a better businessperson; the engineer is a better engineer; the lawyer is a better lawyer. He urges everyone to dare to begin the

journey of realising his or her dreams. As many from philosophy and religion have told us, he points out, the value is in the striving, not merely in the achieving — else what’s a heaven for. Professor Berry summons Goethe to his aid: “Whatever you can do or dream you can, begin it. Boldness has a genius, power and magic in it.”

Dr. Mansour Yousef Elaagab is former elected Member of Parliament of Sudan and currently chairperson of the Organisation of Sudan Human Rights. In his discussion of Leadership for Human Rights, he argues the need for leaders who are committed to democratic practices, human rights and democratic institutions, to economic self-reliance, equitable distribution of wealth, full employment, and balanced development with a human face. He places particular emphasis on the need for leaders committed to real popular participation in economic, political, and social decisions. This means that we badly need leaders who have integrity, accept accountability, display authority, and who have positive mental attitudes. Leaders who hold the principles of consideration and respect, and constancy of purpose, and who are committed to team building and consensus decision-making. Such leaders, argues Dr. Elaagab, are leaders who believe in serving people and are ready to make sacrifices and take risks. Such leaders are learned, enlightened people who are open to new ideas. Only such leaders can seriously claim to be committed to leadership for human development.

Dr. Bernard M. Bass is distinguished Professor and Director of the Centre for Leadership Studies at Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York, in the United States. In his discussion of transformational and transactional leadership styles, Professor Bass explains that *Transformational* leaders raise the awareness of their

followers about what is important and increase followers' concerns for achievement, self-actualisation and ideals. They motivate followers to go beyond the followers' self-interests for the good of the group, organization and /or society. *Transactional* leaders cater to the self-interests of their followers by means of contingent reinforcement. If the followers carry out their assignments, as agreed, they are rewarded, promised rewards and praised.

Professor Bass argues that the leadership and management can be conceived, as transformational and transactional leadership respectively. Furthermore, he points out that the rapid changes in the environment have required much more need for leaders and followers to be more flexible and imaginative. Leaders are faced with a rapidly changing workforce, technology, markets, societies and communities. Globalisation, whatever one thinks of it, is a fact of life.

To deal effectively with this rapidity of change, Dr. Bass advises that, the good supervisor, the good official and the good executive have to be both good managers and good leaders. In this new environment of the late 20th and early 21st centuries, they have to be good managers who plan, organize and control as well as good leaders who envision, enable and empower.

Dr. Bruce Lloyd is Professor of Leadership and Management at South Bank University, London, England. In his discussion of Leadership and the New Economy, he places the emphasis on the need to place the issue of values at the heart of any approach to leadership. He believes that the whole issue of leadership begins and ends with the need to combine that greater concern for 'others', with a more insightful and relevant balance between Power and Responsibility issues.

Professor Lloyd argues that leadership should not, in any way, be preoccupied with Power and the 'self'. He strongly believes that it is crucial for the sanity and success of individuals engaged in leadership and management activities, and therefore for the success of the organisation, to get the relationship between the self and others, between Power and Responsibility, right. Dr. Lloyd says that this balance that we must all seek is the key issue to leadership and it is one that we can have an impact on. Only when we strive to get this broader balance right, will we be able to focus on the theme advocated by Dr. Safty, namely the relationship between leadership and human development.

Dr. Carol Allais is chairperson of the Department of Sociology at the University of South Africa. In her discussion of Globalisation and the Challenges of Leadership in South Africa, Dr. Allais reviews leadership as a critical factor in the transformation of South Africa and examines the most effective leadership style for addressing democratic nation-building in South Africa. In the wake of the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, leadership gaps are being experienced at all levels. Leaders, as change agents and holders of values, in interaction with their followers, can play an important role in the process of transition and the achievement of national social and economic goals. Leaders, or their masses, cannot go it alone.

The leadership style of the most effective leaders, Dr. Allais argues, may be identified as interactive. This is leadership that is in constant interaction with its constituencies/followers, co-leaders and adversarial elites/leaders. It strives to maintain bottom-top and top-bottom communication. Dr. Allais looks at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission under the chairmanship of

Archbishop Desmond Tutu as a post apartheid civil society initiative in democratic nation building.

Dr. Mahy Abdel Latif is Counsellor in the Egyptian Foreign Ministry. She was also a political analyst at the Organisation of African Unity. In her discussion of Leadership and the Changing Nature of Conflicts in Africa, she argues that intra-state conflicts do not represent the only challenge that Africa is facing, but that it is impossible to reflect on intra-state conflicts without considering the dimensions that could trigger inter-state conflicts as well.

Conflicts, Dr. Abdel Latif writes, of whichever nature or kind, have adverse and negative ramifications on peace, security and stability in the African continent as well as on its prospects of socio-economic and human development. Africa finds itself in a vicious circle of causes of conflicts, argues Dr. Abel Latif, their negative repercussions on socio-economic development, the impact of poor economic performance on the society and on the state's capacity to respond to internal tensions, demands and pressures, and the eruption of conflicts in Africa.

If Africa is to avoid political and economic marginalisation, concludes Dr. Abdel Latif, difficult decisions must be made and serious national commitments undertaken. There is urgent need for a leadership committed to promoting durable peace and sustainable development in Africa.

Mrs. Anjelika Baravikova is a Political Analyst at the International Agency for Atomic Energy in Vienna. She discusses the leadership style of President Putin of Russia and says he is no ordinary politician because he skipped several steps on the way to the presidency. The first election he ever fought was for the office of President. In analysing

his leadership style, Mrs. Baravikova finds that Mr. Putin is a statesman, for whom Russian interests are most important. He has a sharp sense of state interests and is most determined to strengthen the role of the state. Mrs. Baravikova wonders how much the process of strengthening the state will affect social reforms. She cautions against the widespread fear that the strengthening of the Russian state would be at the expense of civil liberties and the civil society. She argues that much will depend on the circumstances and foreign factors. Mr. Putin wishes to modernise Russia, she says, but it is the same familiar “modernisation from above”, in a different way, as those of Peter the Great, Lenin or Stalin.

Mrs. Baravikova says that Mr. Putin is not an anti-Western politician. He is prepared to promote political and economic integration in the globalisation process, but while firmly keeping in mind specific Russian interests, not American interests. Mrs. Baravikova argues that Mr Putin is trying to modernise the Russian economy but without blinding following imported prescriptions from the West. The West is very cautious about Putin, says Mrs. Baravikova, as Western observers think that such an independent policy as that followed by Putin could lead to less democracy in Russia and more authoritative/authoritarian style of leadership in Russia.

Mr. Jiang Xuewen is an award-winning radio broadcaster in China. In his discussion of Leadership in China: Social Stability and Freedom of Expression, he says that in the eyes of Western society, the leaders of China emphasize social stability at the expense of freedom of expression. In the Chinese wisdom of administering a country, however, Mr. Xuewen argues, social stability and freedom of expression complement one other. This is because freedom of expression requires effective guarantees of an economic

development, which in turns requires social stability. Never in the history of humanity, writes Mr. Xuewen, have we witnessed absolute freedom of expression, because freedom is a relative and dynamic process of evolution.

Mr. Xuewen argues that on the one hand, the maintenance of definite social stability and the promotion of economic development will give further impetus to the achievement of freedom of expression; and, on the other hand, freedom of expression may also advance the development of the economy, and in turn enable the society to maintain economic prosperity and social stability. The practice in China, he says, reveals that only under the prerequisite of social stability and economic prosperity will freedom of expression be able to expand continuously. Mr. Xuewen concludes that the Chinese leadership's determination to give priority to the maintenance of social stability and the development of national economy are based on some historical, cultural, realistic, and understandable reasons.

Professor Hafiza Golandaz is Professor at The International Leadership and Management Alliance (ILMA) Mubai, India. In her discussion of Leadership for Creativity: The Case of Mughal Emperor Akbar, she says that in a group, leadership roles are people-centered and task-centred and can be performed theoretically by one person. This is common knowledge, she says, but what are less commonly known is the nature and the importance of the role of the leader in encouraging the emergence of creativity in a group. Professor Golandaz uses the example of Emperor Akbar who identified, brought together, encouraged and rewarded not one but nine creative persons who effectively became nine Jewels in the King's Crown.

In examining Akbar's leadership style, Professor Golandaz finds support and fresh vindication for the basic axiom of synergy that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Indeed, Akbar himself often suggested that the genius of a great leader consisted in the "constant harmony" of holding variety of great purposes in mind all at once.

Professor Golandaz credits Akbar's imagination for his extraordinary ability to range across the large mass of details that confronted a war leader. Among Akbar's many other qualities, Professor Golandaz singles out candour, plain speaking, decisiveness, imagination and vision. She also discusses the King's ability to balance a view of the whole scene with attention to details, ability to take bold new initiatives, ability to delegate, flexibility in problem solving approach and tolerance for heterogeneity. Emperor Akbar was also remarkable for his ability to accept dissent and to surround himself with people who knew more than him.

Ambassador Fathi El Shazly is Egypt's ambassador to Turkey. In his discussion of Clash of Civilisations: A Muslim Perspective, he argues that Trans-Civilization cultural interaction has always existed with differing intensity and different directions. Long before the post cold war attempts of theorization, London hosted in 1936 a joint session of dialogue between Al-Azhar and the Vatican. Al-Azhar hosted another session in Cairo in 1978.

The Barcelona Process, writes Ambassador El Shazly, for building a comprehensive partnership between the EU and twelve Mediterranean countries made a valuable contribution to the debate about the future relationships between cultures around the Mediterranean. The United Nations declared the year 2001 as the year of dialogue between civilizations. What added a sense of urgency to the subject, Ambassador

El Shazly points out, was obviously the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 on New York and Washington.

Ambassador El Shazly points out those civilizational dimensions are now being politicised in order to promote national interests and serve strategic objectives. He argues that most of the 20th century combating parties to the two World Wars that left tens of millions of victims and caused devastation and terrible sufferings, belonged to the same civilization. The driving force behind the conflicts, he points out, was conflicting interests. When an alliance was formed in the 2nd World War between the two European axis powers and Japan, that alliance was not founded on a common civilization but simply on shared interests.

In the age of globalisation, Ambassador El Shazly warns, any attempt to impose universal cultural uniformity is against the thrust of history. A uniform global outfit, he says, cut and trimmed according to the measurements dictated by the World Information Order will result in repulsion, resistance and withdrawal.

In the era of Information Technology, he concludes, what could and should be done is to deploy technological innovations for the propagation of a multifaceted plural culture knitted around the moral system common to all civilizations.

Ambassador Ingmar Karlsson is Consul General of Sweden and Director of the Istanbul Centre for Turkish-Swedish Cooperation. In his discussion of Clash of Civilisations: A European Perspective, he argues that Huntington's argumentation has seemingly been justified by the tragic events of September 11. Ambassador Karlsson argues, however, that the Clash of Civilisation thesis contains a

number of weak points: Huntington divides the world into “seven or eight major civilizations”: Western, containing Western Europe and North America, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slav-Orthodox, Latin American and “possibly an African civilization.”

This division, says Ambassador Karlsson, is rather inconsistent. Some civilizations seems to be defined according to religious and cultural criteria while in other cases the key factor seems to be geography. Ambassador Karlsson asks: What distinguishes the Western civilization from the Latin American? Both North and South America are inhabited by European immigrants who brought along values that they have retained ever since. In fact, both South and North America can be characterized as Western civilizations but with different degrees of other cultural elements.

Ambassador Karlsson writes that Huntington seems to be on a firmer ground when he claims that conflicts at the micro level will run along the “fault lines” between cultural spheres. The civil war in Tajikistan and the conflicts in the Caucasus seem to support this thesis and even more so the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia where the front lines largely followed the traditional frontier between the Eastern and the Western Roman Empires and between the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires.

Even these arguments, Ambassador Karlsson points out, do not bear closer examination. Not a single war during the last century was provoked by a clash between civilizations. In 1914, he points out, the Protestant Berlin got allied with the Catholic Vienna and Muslim Istanbul against the Orthodox Moscow, the Catholic Paris, and the Protestant London. The aggressors in the Second World War, Italy, Germany, the