

Leadership and Global Governance

The International Leadership Series (Book Two)

Edited by

Adel Safty

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Leadership and Global Governance
The International Leadership Series (Book Two)

Sponsored by:

The International Institute of Leadership and Public Affairs
Bahcesehir University. Istanbul. Turkey. 2001

In cooperation with:

The Carnegie Commission On Preventing Deadly Conflict.
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LEADERSHIP AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

**OSCAR ARIAS
HASSAN BIN TALAL
GEORGE BUSH
JIMMY CARTER
HARLAN CLEVELAND
ALVARO DE SOTO
JAN EGELAND
PAUL FINDLEY**

**BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI
MIKHAIL GORBACHEV
HARRIET MAYOR-FULBRIGHT
YUKIO MATSUYAMA
SHIMON PERES
ADEL SAFTY
CORNELIO SOMMARUGA
DESMOND TUTU**

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The support of the United Nations University for the undertaking of this project is gratefully acknowledged.

I dedicate this book to
Aunt Loula and Uncle Farouk

Adel Safty

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INTRODUCTION

This book contains a selection of presentations made by distinguished leaders at the First and Second International Leadership Conferences I organized in Amman, Jordan, in 1997 and 1998, and essays on leadership by other distinguished leaders. In the book entitled *Leadership and the United Nations*, I reviewed the history of the initiative for an international leadership organization, and the role played by former Jordanian Prime Minister Abdel Salam Majali in persuading the United Nations University to endorse the concept, if only as an experimental project. Queen Noor of Jordan chaired the Advisory Committee and played a crucial and supportive role in guiding me both in the conceptualisation, and in the logistical arrangements for the two major international conferences focusing on leadership.

As organizer of the Second International Leadership conference I set out to apply the lessons learned from the First International Leadership conference. First, we selected a much smaller number of emerging leaders, 50 as opposed to more than 165 for the First International Leadership Conference. The smaller number would be more manageable given the small support staff available for the conference. In addition, the learning opportunities would be much more interactive and experiential in nature; each emerging leader would literally have an opportunity to interact with the distinguished leader both during and after the plenary sessions. Secondly, the conference acquired the characteristics of working graduate seminar sessions, complete with discussion groups, required readings, and a

final personal essay on leadership. This was designed to help the participants make a ready synthesis of the various discussions on leadership and global challenges, and articulate more concretely some personal leadership skills and attitudes that may be helpful in the particular situation of each emerging leader. Thirdly, the study tour component of the first conference, which proved very popular with the participants despite its logistical challenges, was expanded to include, in addition to the Middle East, Southern Europe and Asia.

I postulated that leadership could not be taught, but that certain skills commonly associated with the activity of leadership could be learned. For learning opportunities to be effective, they must be organized in such a way as to reflect sound research-based pedagogical principles. The most effective pedagogical approach to learning is one which combines three essential elements: (a) research-based approach to instruction; (b) a subject matter that is meaningful and relevant to the learner; and (c) the active involvement of the learner in the learning process, recognized and strengthened by positive reinforcements (Safty, 1993). The literature on effectiveness in instruction and education suggests that the most effective instruction is usually one which combines direct instruction (lecture format) with indirect instruction (small group format, and learning by discovery). I therefore organised the Second International Leadership Conference in such a way as to provide direct interactive instruction, interactive small group discussions, direct learning through research and paper writing, and indirect learning through interactions with leaders, fellow emerging leaders, as well as experiential learning through the various study tours.

Leadership activities, leadership skills, and leadership attitudes remained the principal subject matter of this second international leadership conference. Leadership was also the

contextual frame within which distinguished world leaders and emerging leaders addressed global issues, of concern to the United Nations and to the international community as a whole. In this respect, I have invited distinguished leaders to discuss the relationship between leadership and peace, leadership and development, leadership and democracy, and leadership and the emerging global challenges facing the international community.

I have discussed in the volume devoted to Leadership and the United Nations the emerging of leadership as a field, largely concerned with effective management. Here, as in the previous book, we are concerned with leadership in public policy and with global leadership. Why leadership? Because, as Jordanian Prime Minister Abdel Salam Majali argued some fourteen years ago when he presented the project for an International Leadership Academy to the United Nations University Council, in a world of emerging global civil society, the world needed leaders committed to bringing peoples and cultures together. In its 1995 report entitled *Our Global Neighbourhood* The Commission on Global Governance agreed: "The world needs leaders made strong by vision, sustained by ethics, and revealed by political courage" (The Commission on Global Governance, 1995).

The overwhelming response we received for participation at the First and Second International Leadership Conferences suggests that there is a remarkable global interest in the activities of leadership and in how they can effectively enhance the way we tackle the challenges facing all of us. Further, the commitment in time to, and in active participation in the leadership conferences, demonstrated the consensus shared by all who came to the conferences that leadership in public policy and issues was of immediate and meaningful relevance to our lives.

There can be no meaningful learning experience without the active involvement of the learner in the learning process. I proposed therefore to the emerging leaders attending the Second International Leadership Conference and representing some 50 countries, a set of learning opportunities, which offered innovation and flexibility designed to maximize their involvement in the learning process. Thus, while making room for theoretical reflections on, and reading about leadership, the program emphasized experiential learning through interaction between experienced leaders and emerging leaders, on the one hand, and through the cultural and leadership experiences of the study tour, on the other hand.

At the same time experiential learning in a multicultural context with a diversity not only of cultural and political views, but also of learning styles, cannot easily lend itself to a compartmentalized and neatly divided set of learning outcomes, as a modern curriculum syllabus would traditionally seek to achieve. This is because in a world increasingly awash with information and sources of knowledge, interdisciplinary knowledge is no longer an exclusive domain available only to the cultured elite, it is becoming a necessary tool for thoughtful and interactive decision-making. In short, interdisciplinary knowledge is an important leadership skill. This is all the more so in the face of the paradox of complexity and simplicity, which the information and communication revolution is bringing to bear upon the field of epistemology. Veteran America diplomat Harlan Cleveland captures this paradox in a wonderful way when he discusses the relationship between leadership and chaos.

One of the first important challenges a leader must face has to do with what the literature on management as leadership calls prioritising. This is the ability to make sufficient sense of the prevailing chaos in order to untangle from it what is

most immediately relevant to one's own situation and decision-making responsibility. For the emerging leader, the necessary understanding of which information is more relevant and more urgent than the rest is only the first step. He or she must then strive to transform this information into knowledge. He then must be able to make use of this knowledge to advance the cause of his or her community or organization. And it is at this stage that leadership skills and attitudes can help transform knowledge into applied knowledge, into wise decisions, into effective actions, and finally into good results for the common good of one's community or organization.

And it is in this manner that leadership can be a transformation activity, not only transforming information into knowledge, into judicious decision and effective action, but also transforming, through empowerment and ownership, followers into leaders and leaders into followers. In this way, emerging leaders, using ever-growing networks of connections and bonds of friendships, and acquiring the skills and attitudes to engage in leadership activities by transformation and service, can work together to tackle global challenges for the common good of humanity.

At our First International Leadership Conference many of our emerging leaders were eager to get the distinguished leaders/speakers to describe how they became leaders and to share with them, as it were, their leadership recipe. Almost without exception, none of the distinguished leaders/speakers was able to do so. That is because, first, leadership cannot be taught, and, second, real leaders do not set out to become leaders by following a prescription. But they do become leaders through learning, application of lessons learned, hard work, and a combination of other factors.

The most common characteristic of the responses of our distinguished leaders was that they did not know how they

became leaders, but that they knew that they had always been open to learning, and that they had always been committed to hard work. To these crucial factors, former President Mikhail Gorbachev, whom I invited for a separate series of seminars on leadership and the responsibilities of the intellectual, added two important traits: the ability to learn from one's failures, and the importance of positive thinking. The latter is crucial not only for the leaders' ability to understand and effectively learn from failures, but also for their ability to motivate the people around them.

Emerging leaders from around the world also showed a sustained interest in finding a commonly accepted definition of leadership. Again, many of the distinguished leaders who came to the leadership conference, hesitated to offer a clear definition of leadership. This is not surprising. First, because there are as many definitions of leadership as there are leadership activities.

Second, because leadership not being a popularity contest, it involves making hard choices and difficult decisions, which will necessarily be perceived differently by different people. The late Egyptian President Sadat and former President Mikhail Gorbachev are cogent examples of leaders whose perceptions of leadership, vision, and hard choices were viewed by some as evidence of leadership at its best, by others as proof of failed leadership (Safty, 1991). Third, most of our distinguished speakers were leaders who were much more occupied with the activity of leadership than with theoretical reflections about leadership. They spend more time actively pursuing leadership goals than wondering about an appropriate theoretical definition for leadership.

I have divided the presentations and essays in this book in two sections: the first deals with leadership and global challenges, the second with leadership, peace, governance, and peaceful resolution of disputes. The first section starts

with my own essay on Global Leadership Humanitas, in which I argue that the time has come to recognize the need for a new conception of global leadership. Such a conception should be multidisciplinary and multicultural; it should benefit from the experiences and lessons of institutional leadership, namely that global leadership must be based on shared universal human values. It should also benefit from the experiences and lessons of leadership as effective corporate management, namely that the effective manager/leader must have a proactive approach to problem solving, balance task orientation with people orientation, and effectively communicate a personal vision to empower and inspire. The new conception of global leadership should also reflect the lessons learned from the experiences of leadership in politics and governance of states and institutions, namely that effective leaders are those who represent the aspirations of their people in any process of change.

I argue therefore that the time has come for a conception of global leadership that is multidisciplinary and multicultural, based on good governance, good management, and multilateral cooperation. To give reality to this conception I have set up, with the support of distinguished and emerging leaders from around the world, a Centre for Global Leadership dedicated to bringing peoples and cultures together, providing interactive leadership learning opportunities, and fostering multilateral cooperation.

Harlan Cleveland, political scientist and public executive, is President of the World Academy of Art and Science. A Princeton graduate in 1938, a Rhodes Scholar, a United Nations relief and rehabilitation official (in Italy and China), in the 1940s, Dr. Cleveland served in the Kennedy administration as Assistant Secretary of State. He also served in the Johnson and Nixon administrations. Author of hundreds of articles and eleven books, Prof. Cleveland is the

recipient of 22 honorary degrees, the US Medal of Freedom, and the Peace Corps Leader for Peace Award.

In his essay on Leadership and the Information Revolution, he argues that hierarchical organizations are out of date and that today's effective organizations are systems in which control is loose and decision-making diffused. The bigger the problem, therefore, the larger the number of people involved in its solution. Dr. Cleveland urges leaders to embrace the revolution of information and communication for its ability to encourage democracy, diversity, equality, and a better utilization of human potentialities for the purpose of rationally solving human problems.

Desmond Tutu is chair of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and a 1984 Nobel Peace Laureate, for his outspoken opposition to the apartheid regime. Reverend Tutu was appointed bishop of Johannesburg in 1985, and was Anglican archbishop of Cape Town from 1986 until he retired in 1995. In his essay On Leadership, Reverend Tutu argues that the real leader is one who has credibility and ability, ability to represent the aspirations and the identities of the people he or she leads. The good leader is one who is able to empower his or her followers to do their best and to feel a sense of commitment and ownership in whatever they undertake. The good leaders are not threatened by the accomplishments and talents of others. Such leaders are able to inspire and motivate.

The Most reverend Tutu explains that the good leader must also have other qualities: he or she must have good intuition and be able to trust his or her intuition for doing the right thing at the right time. The good leader is not a stubborn person or a hard-liner on any particular issue. He or she understands that being stubborn and a hard-liner may help win some battles until sooner or later he or she must face the inevitable ignominious and crushing loss. The good leader

must have the courage of flexibility and the ability to make concessions and compromise when it is needed. He or she must understand how to use the art of losing the battle in order to win the war.

Mrs. Harriet Mayor Fulbright is the widow of the well-known late US Senator William Fulbright. A leader in her own right, Mrs. Fulbright is the Executive Director of US President Clinton's Commission on Art and Humanities. Her humanist approach to leadership challenges is rich in insights and inspiring thoughts. She calls for leadership that is focused on long-term goals and committed to enhancing the common good of humanity. This can only be done, she argues, if our leaders of today and those of tomorrow can succeed in achieving a fundamental change in the prevalent mindset of today's political leadership. This will be a difficult but not an impossible task. Mrs. Fulbright argues that the arts and humanities can help bring about this fundamental change in mindset because they offer unique vehicles to bring peoples and cultures together, and free them from the restrictions of self-interest in order to focus on the common good of humanity. Leaders who can manage to use the arts and humanities as tools for achieving such goals will success in giving us all hope for a brighter future.

Mr. John Alexander is President of the Centre for Creative Leadership (CCL) and a Rhodes scholar. The basic leadership model used by the CCL is borrowed from the field of psychology. The assumption is straightforward: Anyone aspiring to engage in leadership activity and its various dynamics must start by self-knowledge. The better you know yourself, your learning style, your creative and dynamics potentials, the more effective you will be in your leadership endeavours. This seems like a good starting point.

Congressman Paul Findley is a veteran Representative from Illinois, who served for more than 22 year in the US

Congress, and is a widely-read distinguished author. In discussing the challenges facing a superpower such as the United States, he argues that the only superpower left in the world must recognize the limitations of its power, both domestic and international. Congressman Findley also suggests that the US must pursue policies that are supported by the international community. These two issues, recognizing the limits of power and pursuing policies supported by the international community, are, according to Congressman Findley, the most important leadership challenges facing a superpower such as the United States. In terms of his own experience, Congressman Findley describes the leadership challenges an American congressman faces, especially if he espouses controversial causes. He was helped in his successful political career by his ability to develop a following in his constituency and by his peoples' skills. In a sense, he provided leadership by representing the views, however controversial in the general political arena, of the people he represented in Washington.

Mr. Yukio Matsuyama is a veteran Japanese journalist who served as the editor-in-chief of the largest circulation newspaper in Japan, Asahi. In his discussion of Japanese leadership, Mr. Matsuyama argues that a Japanese leader is like a young chairman of a corporation's board of directors, he must wait for consensus to develop before making decisions. Mr. Matsuyama explains that Japan is a consensus society in which people value harmony and try to avoid conflicts and direct confrontations. Mr. Matsuyama argues that this means that the most interesting feature of Japanese leadership style is the lack of leadership. This has led to what he argues is the second most important characteristic of Japanese leadership: the ascendancy of bureaucrats. Bureaucrats, argues Mr. Matsuyama, more or less rule Japanese society. They enjoy power and considerable privileges. And this explains why the top Japanese university graduates compete for bureaucratic positions.

Mr. Matsuyama points out that there are three kinds of relations between nations: government to government, business to business, and people to people. He urges that international relations stop being a government to government business and become what it should be: a people to people relation. This is an important challenge for the emerging leaders of the world.

Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali was UN Secretary-General from 1992 to 1997. He is a veteran Egyptian diplomat who actively participated in the negotiations which led to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1978 (Ghali, 1997). He served as Egypt's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs from 1977 to 1991. He became Deputy Prime Minister of Egypt for Foreign Affairs shortly before his appointment as UN Secretary-General. He is currently Secretary General of La Francophonie. Secretary General Boutros-Ghali was an advocate of a strong and reinvigorated United Nations. He begins the second section of this book on Leadership, Peace, Governance, and Peaceful Resolution of disputes, with a discussion of the leadership qualities needed to help prevent conflict. He identifies effective communication skills, courage, cooperative spirit, and intuition as essential leadership qualities. He argues that in this age of transition, the world needs leaders who are attuned to the needs of their peoples, and who are able to project a compelling vision for addressing these needs, and making and following through the hard decisions required for the solutions to our most pressing concerns.

President Oscar Arias is a Noble Peace Laureate and former President of Costa Rica. His involvement in the peace-process in Central America, and his continued active involvement in promoting peace around the world are well-known. In his discussion of Leadership and Governance, he makes a simple and straightforward argument: the leader

must be an educator; there can be no real leadership without education and commitment to learning. The learning Dr. Arias is most concerned with is in the area of peace, disarmament, eradication of poverty and the creation of a new code of political ethics. The leader as educator can use education as an instrument of change to bring about greater public commitment at all levels to an ethical and more responsible approach to the proliferating arms trade, to the still persistent widespread poverty, and to the abuses of human rights. President Arias believes that responsible leaders as educators, operating in an environment of democracy and on-going public learning, can guide humanity towards a more hopeful future of shared responsibility for the common good of humanity.

Prince Hassan bin Talal is former Crown Prince of Jordan, distinguished author and an internationally recognized Arab thinker. He is, among other involvement, founder and President of the Arab Thought Forum. In his discussion of Challenges for Emerging Leaders from the South, he argues that leadership is about inclusion; it is also about capturing the spirit of the moment and being able to tap into a reservoir of skills and ideas in order to articulate a broader vision for a society in progress. A successful leader, he writes, is a “a wise manager of things and of people, not an authoritarian.” Leadership is not about hierarchies, it is about an ability to include all sincere people doing sincere things at all levels from the bottom to the top of the ladder.

In this process of leadership, Prince Hassan argues, the task for the emerging leaders in the developing countries is rendered all the more challenging because of the requirements placed upon them by the forces of globalisation. The new leaders in the developing countries will be called upon to be at once political reformer, economic liberaliser, and social activist. Leaders and emerging leaders in the developing countries will need to

recognize that they operate under more demanding socio-economic conditions than their peers in the West; they must urge their counterparts in the West to recognize this reality. Prince Hassan urges Western leaders to work with leaders from the developing countries, to achieve some degree of like-mindedness, possibly through the establishment of “a Parliament of Cultures” rather than a parliament of politics.

Dr. Sommaruga is former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland and the current President of the International Committee of the Red Cross. In his essay on the humanitarian challenges facing global leadership, he argues that the time has come for humanitarian and political organizations to adopt a coordinated strategic approach to the management of humanitarian crises, which will be capable of providing rapid strategic, political, and humanitarian responses in pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict situations. The most urgent task facing today’s and tomorrow’s leaders, Dr. Sommaruga believes, is the restoration of a political culture based on ethical and humanitarian values.

The phenomenon of globalisation has led to many discussions and theorization about its nature, its goals, and, more frequently than not, its impact on the economies of the developing nations. Critics have raised questions such as: How can we encourage a capacity-building approach to development without creating dependency? (Eade, 1997), How can we promote the structures and awareness necessary for good governance and citizen participation in decision-making as a basic requirement for sustainable development? (Ginther, Denters, and Waart, 1995).

In his essay on globalisation, Dr. John Ohiorhenuan, a veteran UN diplomat specializing in development, attempts to answer these and other questions. He argues that the countries of the South must strengthen their competitive

capacities in the global market. This will require that they address issues such as the high costs of trade-related financing, and high communication/transportation costs, and poor access to information and technology. They must also strengthen the relationship between the private sector and governmental institutions. He argues that to achieve this goal will require an enlightened leadership in the South. Such leadership is required to calm the uncertainties associated with rapid change, and to develop and implement appropriate strategies to achieve common goals

The world, Dr. Ohiorhenuan points out, is increasingly organized in large scale-systems that are interconnected. Only enlightened leadership can produce results that are bigger than the sum of its parts. Enlightened leadership will come, Dr. Ohiorhenuan asserts, from innovative thinkers who have the visions to elevate their tasks above the short-term gains, and the creative energies to turn these visions into realities.

George Bush was President of the United States from 1989 to 1993. He was President Reagan's vice-president from 1981 to 1989. Mr. Bush served as US ambassador to the United Nations, and director of Central Intelligence (1976). He formed and led an international coalition of countries whose armed forces liberated Kuwait from Iraqi occupation in 1991. In his essay on American Leadership and the Prevention of Deadly Conflicts, he argues that America can neither afford the option of isolationism nor that of unilateralism. The United States has a historic responsibility because the world looks to the US for leadership. American leadership, argues President Bush, means neither acting alone to remedy every wrong, nor the indiscriminate pursuit of narrowly defined American interests. Real American leadership means “engagement”: that is organizing and leading coalitions of like-minded friends and allies in the service of shared values.

President Bush also argues that the essence of US leadership is presidential leadership, especially in foreign policy. Leadership in foreign policy means the formation of successful coalitions, but an American president cannot succeed in foreign policy coalition building unless he can first obtain support at home from both the American people and the American Congress. President Bush then uses as an illustration of his argument that American leadership is indispensable to prevent deadly conflicts, the international coalition he built and sustained to successfully launch Desert Storm operation to evict Iraqi troops from Kuwait in 1991.

Mr. Alvaro de Soto, Assistant-Secretary General of the United Nations, is most notably credited with using successful diplomacy to bring about a peaceful resolution to the decade-long war in El Salvador. Mr. de Soto is a veteran UN diplomat whose presence at the First International Leadership Conference in 1997 was highly appreciated by the emerging leaders present at the conference. His agreement to come back to speak at the Second International Leadership Conference was all the more significant in view of what most people believed to be a turning point in the UN role of peaceful resolution of disputes after Secretary General Kofi Annan successfully averted a military attack by the US against Iraq in February 1998. There have been some setbacks since that euphoric assessment and in one instance, in December 1998 following the air strikes ordered by President Clinton against Iraq, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan described the Anglo-American decision to strike Iraq before the UN could react to the report submitted by the Chairman of UNSCOM, as “a sad day for the United Nations.”

In his presentation on the UN leadership role in peaceful resolution of disputes, Mr. De Soto argues that UN leadership in conflict resolution is exercised through

influence, and a process of consultation to determine what is feasible, and to make sure that it does not apply double standards to different cases. But he also argues that UN leadership in conflict resolution in the post cold-war era has become very difficult because the majority of conflicts today are what would be considered internal conflicts, and the UN is prohibited under the Charter from intervening in the internal matters of its member states. Alvaro de Soto also raised other important leadership questions such as: To what extent should the UN be involved in conflict resolution, and does that involvement for instance stop with the cessation of hostilities, or, should it extend, as Secretary General Boutros Ghali had argued, to address the root causes of the conflict?

Mr. Mikhail S. Gorbachev is former president of the Soviet Union, and current president of the Gorbachev Foundation, and of Green Cross International. President Gorbachev is author of *A Time for Peace* (1985) and *My Stand* (1992). He is also a 1990 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate. In the roundtable discussions I organized for him and his delegation from the Gorbachev Foundation, in Amman, Jordan, in April 1998, he discussed at length the events, which led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. He was repeatedly asked if he had any regrets about the series of reforms known as *Perestroika*, which precipitated the collapse of the Soviet Union. He occasionally admitted that the pace might have been too brisk, but he invariably argued that they were unavoidable and that their benefits would become clearer in the long run. In his essay on *Non-Violent Leadership*, he recalls that his critics at home and abroad continue to accuse him of betrayal and say that he “gave away” the countries of the socialist bloc. To these people, he writes, he responds with a question: “Gave them away to whom? Poland to the Poles, Czechoslovakia to the Czechs and Slovaks?”

He suggests that it was a mark of his non-violent leadership that he resisted pressure from critics in the Soviet Union and