

Leadership and the United Nations

The International Leadership Series (Book One)

Edited by

Adel Safty

Preface by

Queen Noor

Universal Publishers
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The International Leadership Series (Book One)

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LEADERSHIP AND THE UNITED NATIONS

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Major-Gen. R. M. Kupolati
Nafis Sadik
Alvaro de Soto**

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Jan Egeland
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Arundhati Ghose
Abdel Salam Majali
Clovis Maksoud
Paul McCloskey**

**Andreas Pastrana
Adel Safty
Simon Veil
Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan
Hui Yongzheng**

Edited By
ADEL SAFTY
With a Preface by
QUEEN NOOR

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

I dedicate this book to

My sisters and brothers

Nana, Mimi, Zizi, Fairy, Sassa, Mohssen, Sameh,
Essam, and to the memory our beloved late brother Fouad

Adel Safty

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PREFACE

Noor Al Hussein

Queen Noor Al Hussein made the following welcoming address to leaders and emerging leaders gathered in Amman, Jordan, from all over the world, for the first UN International leadership conference.

Bismillah Alrahman Alrahim. On behalf of the people and Government of Jordan, and as Chair of the United Nations University International Leadership Academy's Advisory Committee, I wish you all a very warm welcome to Amman and a successful inauguration of this International Leadership Program. We are delighted to host the Academy in Jordan, for we believe this exciting endeavour will contribute a valuable new dimension to the United Nations' quest for peace and progress.

The Academy and your presence here mark the beginning of an innovative venture to promote dynamic and successful leadership for the 21st Century - to forge new generations of leaders who are able to address our world's complex challenges from multi-disciplinary and multi-cultural perspectives; these principles are very familiar to us in Jordan, for our land and people have been shaped by five thousand years of history at one of the world's most strategic crossroads of cultural and human interaction. We are also

enriched by a tradition of participatory open-minded leadership that makes Jordan quite an appropriate home for this Academy. Omar Bin-Alkhattab, the 2nd Caliph, used to say to his people: “ If I am wrong, correct me”.

The establishment of the UNU/ILA itself is a case study in the fundamentals of ‘responsible’ leadership, as it is the outcome of the clear vision, conviction and determination of one man - Prime Minister Abdel Salam Majali, a former Chair of the UNU Governing Council.

Nearly a decade and a half after Dr. Majali first proposed the idea, the ILA was officially launched by the UN Secretary General in October 1995 in New York, during the UN’s 50th anniversary celebrations.

We thank Dr. Majali for his ambitious and far-sighted vision and persistence, and the UNU for endorsing and establishing the Academy. And we thank Dr. Safty and his staff for their impressive work over the past year to make possible this inaugural leadership program.

Also, we should acknowledge the invaluable support and resources committed to this project by the Jordanian Government and the University of Jordan.

In the five decades since the founding of the UN, peace and security issues have become much more closely identified with social and economic development needs. Today’s primary threats to international peace and stability are not so much conflicting ideologies, as was the case at mid-century, but rather human want, social turbulence, and growing economic disparities.

We must, therefore, place increasing emphasis on the importance of sustainable development, human rights, and economic and social justice among and within nations.

In addition, the marked globalisation of issues in the past years has underscored the need for a new kind of leadership that is more creative and more comprehensive in its approach to problem solving.

Although the UN bodies and specialized agencies that came into being after 1945 have made impressive progress in their respective fields of action, the major UN summits and conferences of the past decade - on children, the environment, human rights, population, social development, women, trade, human settlements, and food security - have increasingly and consistently emphasized the complex and global inter-relationships among these issues and called for more integrated approaches to these challenges.

Today, for example, we see the measurable impact of women's advancement on children's welfare, world population control, food production, poverty, and environmental protection. We also easily recognize the extent to which progress in any one field is dependent upon parallel developments in other fields.

Furthermore, the unprecedented pace of change today is affecting almost every aspect of life such as political and economic systems, social transformation, gender relations, environmental sustainability and technology.

The various societies and communities of our world, compared to those of the past century, are increasingly urban, mobile, mercantile, multi-cultural and democratic. The coming generations of leaders will have to be particularly well equipped and resilient to successfully address the new complexities of this quickly changing world.

The ILA hopes to cultivate a network of enlightened men and women who have the knowledge to synthesize solutions to

complex problems from a wide range of sources, and the skill to put those solutions into action, inspiring others to new levels of awareness and commitment. Walter Lipman's obituary for President Roosevelt was: "The final test of a leader is that he leaves behind him in other men the conviction and the will to carry on. The genius of a good leader is to leave behind him a situation which common sense, without the grace of genius, can deal with successfully". This is what makes ILA unique.

Rather than concentrating on one specific issue or problem with the tools of academic research, the Academy's holistic approach hopes to provide the leaders of succeeding generations with wider perspectives, more creative approaches to problem solving, and greater awareness of how different sectors influence one another. And, rather than post-graduate students studying with professors, those training at the Academy will be working directly with prominent current practitioners of the art of leadership.

To meet the challenges of the 21st century effectively, national leaders need to use their global awareness and multi-dimensional perspective to improve the human condition at all levels - local, national, regional and global. The world needs leaders who can develop local networks and tap into growing global ones - leaders who while faithful to the fundamental ideals and principles of the UN, are able to forge new means to achieve them; and leaders who appreciate and understand the crucial and direct relationship between sustainable development, participatory decision-making, and world peace.

World peace is the driving force for the UNU/ILA, as it was the primary objective of the UN system half a century ago. Peace, however, is not to be understood just as the absence of war, but as a dynamic process of sustained economic and societal well-being.

The multi-dimensional nature of peace - what it is, what it requires, how it is achieved or disrupted, and how it is maintained - forms the very core of ILA programs.

Peace is at the core of the work of my most admired leader in the world, who is not so important for name, gender or accomplishments but for individual qualities, not for infallibility but tranquillity, forgiveness and compassion and generosity of spirit. For integrity, optimism, unwavering conviction and faith, pride in heritage and belief in unlimited possibility and responsibility to all members of the larger community and future generations.

I wish you, our distinguished participants from around the world and all walks of life, very fruitful and satisfying exchanges with our respected speakers.

Thank you.

Introduction

This book is about leadership, its various conceptions, and the different ways in which it is reflected upon, and used to advance causes and concerns particularly those of the international community and the United Nations. The book's title "Leadership and the United Nations" is a reflection of three realities. The first is that of the leadership role that the United Nations played in making possible the very first international leadership conference, which led to this book. The second is that of the global leadership challenges tackled by the series of UN international conferences which marked the tenure of former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, many of which are reflected upon here by their principal organizers and coordinators, as well as by other contributors actively involved in the field. The third reality is that of the interconnectedness of the challenges of peace, global governance, and peaceful resolution of disputes addressed by distinguished leaders and scholars, to the very issues and concerns pursued by the United Nations in the areas of peace and global governance.

The presentations contained in this book were made during a unique gathering of emerging leaders and distinguished world leaders and scholars, all interested in reflecting upon, and discussing the skills and attitudes required for a new leadership for the next generation of leaders as we enter the 21st century. It is interesting to note that although most leaders spoke directly from their personal experiences, the leadership lessons they were eager to share with the emerging

leaders were very much those supported by findings from research on effective leadership. They ranged from being open to learning, to having effective communication skills and a passionate commitment to a vision or a dream, to making the defence of the truth a basis for their pursuits.

Leadership as a field of study and seminars is a growing field, especially in the United States and Western Europe. There is even one university in the US, which started in 1992 the first undergraduate program in leadership studies. But back in the early 1980s when leadership was confined, in general public discussions of the term at least, to political leadership, and, tangentially, to leadership of corporations, there were few programs purporting to offer studies in leadership.

It was during that period that a visionary Jordanian University President, Dr. Abdel Salam Majali, proposed to the Council of the United Nations University, of which he was a member and subsequently the Chair, the establishment of an international leadership program. He proposed that such a program be offered by an International Leadership Academy whose mission it would be to bring leaders and emerging leaders from different cultures to think creatively about new paradigms of leadership, and help bring about a new generation of enlightened global leaders. The idea, like all great ideas, was simplicity itself, and at a time when tensions were mounting and the cold war seemed to be pushing the superpowers to a galactic race for star war confrontations, the timing seemed opportune. But, also like all great ideas, Dr. Majali's idea found few supporters. Like a true leader, he persevered, and even when he became Prime Minister of his country, the burden of his public responsibilities never made him lose sight of the importance of his vision. Finally, perseverance paid off, and in December 1994, the United Nations University Council, at its Forty-first session, held in Accra, Ghana, approved the establishment of

the UNU International Leadership Academy (UNU/ILA), in Amman, Jordan.

In April 1995, Mr. Andreas Pastrana, former Mayor of the City of Bogotá and now President of Colombia was appointed Director of the Academy. An Advisory Committee was formed to provide counsel and recommendations in the formulation of principles and policies to govern the activities and operations of the Academy. The Advisory Committee was chaired by Queen Noor, then Queen of Jordan, and included Ambassador Hisashi Owada, then permanent representative of Japan to the UN, Mr. Jan Egeland, then Norwegian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Bartolome Mitre, editor of the Argentinean newspaper *Diario de La Nacion*.

On October 20, 1995, the UNU/ILA was officially launched at UN Headquarters in New York in the presence of the then UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. On October 22, 1995, on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations, the late King Hussein of Jordan, in his address at the Special Commemorative Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, referred to the establishment of the UNU/ILA in Amman, Jordan: “This academy,” he said, “will be the first of its kind in the world. It will be the first branch of the United Nations University in the Middle East, which will work to build bridges of human contacts among future leaders. It will give them the opportunity for dialogue and exchange between them and their diverse cultures. It will prepare programs and courses that enroll leaders in the political, social, economic, religious, and cultural sectors from all over the world, to foster dialogue, understanding, and cooperation between peoples and civilizations.”

In October 1996, I became the Director of the UNU International Leadership Academy and was thus entrusted with the task of turning its mission into practical reality, by

organizing its first international leadership program. This I did with the help of many people for whom I am most grateful, especially Queen Noor and Prime Minister Majali. And in June 1997, the First International Leadership Conference took place from June 1 to July 4, 1997. The program brought together some 165 emerging leaders from some 65 countries. The emerging leaders were selected from some 700 applicants from all walks of life: elected officials, diplomats, international doctors and lawyers, university professors, private sector leaders, national and international civil servants, women activists, leaders of non-governmental organizations, and UN officers. These emerging leaders interacted with some 40 distinguished leaders from around the world during five weeks of seminars organized under the general topic of leadership and covering such issues as peaceful resolution of disputes, democracy, development, and peace and security issues. The program also included a study tour in the Middle East where we visited Israel and met with Israeli leaders including the Likud Speaker of the Parliament, Mr. Dan Tichor, and visited Palestine where we met with Palestinian President Yasser Arafat. We also visited Egypt and met with Egyptian leaders.

I have organised the book in three sections. The first section offers international perspectives on leadership. The second section contains the presentations of current and former officials from the United Nations, the World Bank and the South Centre on the challenges facing the UN and the international community. The third section contains the reflections of distinguished leaders and scholars on issues of leadership, peace, and global governance.

In the first section on international perspectives on leadership Dr. Meena Wilson, a research fellow at the Centre for Creative Leadership presents research findings on what makes international managers successful leaders. Successful international managers were found to be extroverted people

with assertive but helpful personalities, and a tendency to evaluate the consequences of their statements and actions. These skills and attitudes are helpful whether the leader is a manager of an international corporation or the director of a multilateral institution.

Professor Jose Abueva is former Secretary of the United Nations University and currently President of the Centre for Leadership, Democracy and Citizenship in the Philippines. He uses his involvement in the national debate in the Philippines over the issue of renewal of the treaty with the United States to station military personnel in the Philippines, and his experience as President of the University of the Philippines, as illustrative examples to reflect upon leadership and public policy. He argues that leadership is about capacity building, good governance, and empowerment. The end result of these is a contribution to the building of a more just and humane society.

Dr. Jean-Marc Coicaud is a French writer, a former speechwriter for UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali, and currently a senior academic officer at the United Nations University. Dr. Coicaud uses his experience in politics to present a critical set of observations not only about leadership but also about the politics of leadership and its pitfalls. He argues that effective leaders are effective because they are good communicators at a variety of levels. They inspire people by speaking to their concerns, their need for clarity in understanding, and their need for belonging. Effective leaders are also good role models who bring the best out of their followers by inspiring in them humility, humanity, and self-knowledge.

Congressman Paul McCloskey represented California in the US House of Representatives and ran for president against President Richard Nixon in 1972. He uses his long experience, which includes distinguished service in the US

army and in the Congress, to reflect on some leadership defining moments with President John Kennedy and Speaker of the House Tip O'Neal. He argues that we should all consider it a defining moment when, faced with difficulties, we can bring ourselves to question our strongly held beliefs and show a readiness to change convictions and the courage to do it.

Minister Yaqub Khan has had a distinguished career as a general in the Pakistani army, an international diplomat, and as Foreign Minister of his country. He speaks seven different languages and is equally at ease in each one of them. He presents here a set of challenging intellectual ideas to urge the generation of emerging leaders to develop the character and the intellect. But he warns against exclusive reliance on a rational scientific model of decision-making, because this can only lead to a tunnel vision. He is a strong believer in the humanities and especially in intuition which he says must complement intellect and character development, and without which, he says, there can be no truly enlightened leadership.

Princess Aysha Al Hussein, daughter of the late King Hussein, and an officer with many earned distinctions in the Jordanian army, concludes this section on international perspectives on leadership. Princess Aysha shares her personal experience of working gradually to bring about changes in the Jordanian army to make available opportunities for service for a growing number of Jordanian women. She exercised leadership for change through what she calls progressive gradualism, an approach, she says, which describes well the path that Jordan has taken: by choosing the middle road, Jordan can look ahead to meet tomorrow's challenges while being firmly anchored in its culture.

The second section is devoted to the United Nations and Global Challenges. The first contribution is by Dr. Nafis

Sadik, the Executive Director of the UN Population Fund and Secretary General of the 1994 UN Cairo Conference on Population and Development. Dr. Sadik reviews the major challenges facing the international community in this area, discusses the achievements of the Cairo conference, and outlines progress accomplished since the conference as well as the work remaining to be done. In particular, she urges all leaders to work hard to create enabling environments, which can protect women's reproductive and sexual rights, and make available to them economic and educational opportunities. It is critical, she argues, to exercise leadership in order to mobilize the political will necessary to implement the recommendations of the Cairo Conference. Leadership here will mean a great deal of hard work, a great deal of advocacy, and a great deal of courage to speak up against injustices and denial of opportunities.

Mr. Alvaro de Soto is a veteran Peruvian diplomat who has served with three UN secretaries-general. He served as UN Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, and is currently Under Secretary General for Cyprus. Mr. Alvaro de Soto demystifies some current and prevailing popular mythologies about what the UN can and cannot do. He 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?

Major-General R. M. Kupolati is Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization with headquarters in Jerusalem. In his presentation on the peacekeeping challenges facing the United Nations, he argues that a system of collective security is needed, and that such a system must be based on consistent and appropriate response, appropriate resources, and sustained commitment. He explains that peacekeeping operations have moved from the cold war era of inter-positional deployments to the post cold-war era of internal conflicts and similar situations not hitherto covered by the UN. These new situations require a new approach based on harmonizing the activities of the military, civil police and other organizations involved in the peacekeeping operations. General Kupolati argues, however, that by far the most important requirement for the success of the UN peacekeeping missions in this new environment is the support of the parties to the dispute. The leadership challenge for the UN in this field is therefore to secure, in a timely fashion, the consent of the parties to the conflict, to be able to have ready access to such adequate military forces as may be needed for the task, and to provide such forces with realistic rules of engagement and mandate.

Jacques Baudot was the Comptroller General of the United Nations for over 20 years. He was also the Secretary General of the United Nations Social and Development Conference held in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1995. He is currently senior advisor to the Danish Ministry of Social Development. He argues that the socio-economic organization of any community may be measured by its ability to give meaningful roles to a maximum number of its members by providing them with employment opportunities. He identifies a set of challenges, which all leaders should tackle to build on the achievements of the Social Summit. These include renewal of the struggle against inequalities, a determined effort to humanize globalisation, and a commitment to use

public office and leadership positions for serving people. Service-based leadership is thus the thrust of Mr. Baudot's approach to power and authority.

Dr. Denis Benn was the Director of the Office of Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries at the United Nations Development Program when he delivered his critical analysis on development policy and globalisation. He argued that although the process of globalisation presents some opportunities for developing countries with a well-developed production structure, it carried with it the danger of potential marginalisation of those developing countries, which do not have sufficiently developed production structure to enable them to compete in the new global order. He calls on the developing governments to exercise leadership by not leaving the development process solely to the market place, and by providing the necessary conditions, not only for stimulating and encouraging private initiative, but also for ensuring equity in the development process.

Dr. Noel Brown is a veteran UN official whose last post was that of the Director of the United Nations Environmental Programme. In his critical discussion of the environment and the politics of globalisation, he argues that there is an urgent need to address environmental issues with potentially serious global implications. Dr. Brown believes that the new realities of global governance, such as democratisation, urbanization, the power of the information and communication revolution, and the emergence of global civil society, present unique opportunities for empowering the Global South. Leaders from the South should seize these opportunities to forcefully address issues of environmental degradation and growing social and economic inequalities.

Tareq Husain, who was manager of the Centre for Learning and Leadership at the World Bank when he delivered his presentation instead of James Wolfensohn., President of the

World Bank, continues this critical examination of unequal development. In his presentation on the Challenges of Human Development, Mr. Husain points out there has been over the past 15 or 20 years economic decline or stagnation in one hundred countries where the average incomes today are below their 1980 levels, and that in 40 of these countries the average income today is even less than it was in 1970. Mr. Husain reminds us that the world still has 850 million illiterate adults, 2.5 billion people without sanitation, and 1.3 billion people with no access to safe water. Meanwhile, this world spends \$780 billion per year on defence. Mr. Husain concludes that the most important leadership challenge today is to transform the world into communities bound together across national and ethnic boundaries by common interests. He calls on community, public, and private sector leaders to join together and rise to this global leadership challenge.

Mr. Branislave Gosovice is Director of the South Centre, a multilateral government institution based in Geneva. He has a distinguished career at the United Nations and multilateral institutions. Mr. Gosovice focuses on the much-debated issue of reforms at the United Nations. He feels that the current reforms are inspired by what he considers to be the determination of the North to use the UN as an instrument to deny the South its previous ability to use the organization to present a common front on global issues. Mr. Gosovice regrets the dependency of the organization on the great powers, and especially on the United States. He argues that as long as the UN remains financially dependent on its great powers, the chances for a truly democratic and reasonably independent organization will remain slim.

The third section in this book, devoted to leadership, peace and governance, begins with a passionate appeal from Mr. Andreas Pastrana, President of Colombia, for a new kind of leadership, which will restore to politics and global governance their tarnished respectability. He argues that

leadership, not only in politics, but in community and private institutions, must rise to the challenge of recovering lost values, eliminating poverty, defeating terrorism, combating poverty-caused social subversion, confronting and defeating drug traffickers, and saving the planet. President Pastrana calls for leaders made strong by their convictions and able to show the way. Leaders, as distinct from managers, says President Pastrana, must not be content simply with having a vision, they must have a dream; they must also have the determination to make it come true.

Lord Judd is member of the House of Lords in England. He served as Minister of Overseas Development, as Director of Oxfam, and as Director of the London School of Economics. He is currently serving as Chairman of Alert International. His presentation on the cost of conflict is a passionate appeal for leaders and emerging leaders in all walks of life to apply the lessons of reason. It is patently absurd, Lord Judd points out, for the five permanent members of the Security Council to account for over 85% of the world's conventional arms trade, two thirds of which are to the poorest countries in the world. Lord Judd believes that the biggest single challenge to global governance is finding the means to ensure accountable governance around the world, respect for human rights and cultural diversity. Lord Judd proposes strengthening the UN by increasing its conflict-resolution resources, giving it the means to monitor and reduce the world arms trade, and giving it the tools and independence to engage in active pre-emptive diplomacy.

Professor Hui Yongzheng is Deputy Minister of Science and Technology in the People's Republic of China. Prof. Hui used China's experience to discuss the role of science and technology in facilitating development. He argues that through its contribution to food and energy supply, improvement of human health, elimination of poverty, protection of global biosphere, natural resources and national