

# **HISTORICAL EUROPEAN LEADERS: WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THEM?**

**5TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS**

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji  
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

005.2(063)(082)

HISTORICAL European Leaders: what can we learn from them?:  
5th international conference proceedings, Bled, June 7 and 8, 2007/  
conference organizer The European Leadership Centre, IEDC-Bled  
School of Management, Slovenia... [et al.]; [editor Arnold Walravens]. - Bled:  
IEDC - School of Management, 2007

ISBN 978-961-91698-9-6

1. Walravens, Arnold 2. Poslovna šola. Evropski center za vodenje (Bled)

235608320



# **HISTORICAL EUROPEAN LEADERS: WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THEM?**

**5TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS**

**BLED, JUNE 7 AND 8, 2007**

Conference organizer:

The European Leadership Centre,  
The IEDC-Bled School of Management, Slovenia

In cooperation with

The esmt-European School of Management and Technology,  
Germany

The Centre for Leadership Studies, University of Exeter,  
United Kingdom

and

The Berlin School of Creative Leadership, Germany

## *Danica Purg*

*President, IEDC-Bled School of Management;  
Director of the European Leadership Centre*

## *Welcome*

Today we have the pleasure of greeting 63 participants from 15 countries at our European Leadership Centre. The title of this conference is "Historical European Leaders - What Can We Learn from Them?" Actually, because some of those leaders are here with us, we could also ask, "What can we learn from you?"

The European Leadership Centre at the IEDC-Bled School of Management was established in September 2002 with the aim of promoting and assessing European leadership through conferences, workshops, round table discussions, and research on European leadership. We have been very successful as far as our conferences are concerned. Recently we also launched our first research project on this topic. I hope that we will be able to present some of its findings at one of our next conferences.

For the benefit of those who are here for the first time, I will mention that we have had four similar events at our Centre. The first conference was entitled "Creating an Agenda for European Leadership". Upon its conclusion we published a very interesting document comprising the conference materials. The next was devoted to the future of Europe: "Leadership at the Public-Private Sector Interface". The book that we produced on this topic is also worth reading. The topic of the third conference was "Leadership and the Media - the European Challenges". It was followed by "European Leadership Trends and Success Stories". We have published proceedings from all these events, which is an excellent way to inform the world about what we are doing.

This time we have more historians in attendance than before. We also have persons with various other profiles: professors of management, business people, and politicians, including ambassadors - those of

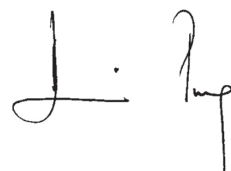
---

*Croatia, the Czech Republic, Germany, the Netherlands, Romania, Serbia, and the United Kingdom. Therefore I would like to say a few words about what we can learn from people who define the political and social fabric of our times.*

*All historical periods, including ours, have had great leaders. Are Nelson Mandela, Lech Walesa, Mikhail Gorbachev, or John Paul II not great leaders? All times call for specific features of leadership, but some traits are required in all historical periods. US philosopher Mortimer Adler mentioned them in Aristotelian terms: a good leader needs ethos, pathos, and logos. Ethos is moral character and a capability to persuade. Pathos is an ability to touch feelings and move people emotionally. This year I have attended several very large conferences, hosting six to seven hundred people each. With respect to leadership, the speakers talked a lot about the second quality: emotions and love. They all said that you must love the people that you lead. As for logos, that is a leader's ability to provide solid reasons for his actions in order also to move people intellectually.*

*Giovanni Agnelli made an important contribution when he said that there are at least two kinds of leadership. One is the leadership that cannot be challenged. The other is democratic. As you see, there has been a lot of thinking and writing concerning great leaders. In a global world, we do not need more and better leaders at the top of the pyramid, but in the middle and at the bottom. The focus is not how we can grade the great leaders, but to shed light on their main characteristics and what we can learn from them.*

*We hope that the main features of leadership will also be illuminated during this conference, and that they will help us to provide relevant answers to the questions of what we can learn from great leaders, and from each other.*



*Jonathan Gosling*

## Introduction



It is quite unusual these days to say "Let us pause in the helter-skelter rush to the future and consider what we have learned from our shared history". And yet, at every step to the future, we are taking with us so many assumed, unacknowledged, and often unexamined, lessons from our history. In Europe, as we move today toward a shared future, the implications of what we carry with us become increasingly important. A number of people have told me that they have heard about these conferences in previous years, but this time the topic really grabbed their attention. I think that if we shared just that observation with the editors of *The Financial Times*, *The Economist*, and *The Wall Street Journal*, they would be surprised that there is a lesson they should hear. I am glad that there are some people here who are capable of reporting to them on that matter.

We have a fascinating and packed agenda. I have asked the speakers to prepare pithy, short presentations so as to enable us to discuss a number of lessons that might be of interest to us. Of course, there is no such thing as a single, authorized history. Every account of history and leadership is necessarily going to be contested and argued about. Being such a diverse group, one of the key opportunities that we have is the possibility to contest, debate, and think again about some of the lessons that we might be taking for granted.

We will be speaking of great figures of history. It is always easier to remember characters and personalities than the storylines in which they featured; and it is easier to recall the storylines than the complexities of the context in which they took part. Think for a moment of *Macbeth*. It is easy to

---

imagine him with his bloodstained hands, but we have to pause to remember whom he killed to get those hands so bloody. And we have to think even harder to recall what complexities of plot and circumstance led him to his terrible predicament.

There is a danger as well as an attraction in considering the great figures of history and failing to remember the difficulties and opportunities of the environment in which people were working. For example, the G8 leaders are meeting today. Amongst many other things, this should remind us of the unpredictability of events. Two years ago, in 2005, at the Gleneagles summit, Tony Blair, who was chairing the meeting, made an announcement about the relief of debt to African countries. That news did not hit a single headline the next day because it was July 7, and the London bombings dominated the news. What should have been a crowning moment of leadership at that G8 summit became swept aside. Yet two years later those bombings do not have quite the same prominence and we return again to thinking about the problems of Africa and our responsibilities.

Many of the big events that change history and our perception of the world are not instigated by human beings at all. For example, it may have been the tsunami of December 2005 that was responsible for a shift in the attitude toward climate change and the responsibilities of leaders in business and politics.

Lessons can be drawn from individual leaders about how they conducted their affairs and managed themselves, their achievements, or at least the events in which they seem to have played a pivotal role, and - very importantly for us in the European heritage - the symbolic meaning to their followers. It is also important that future generations carry forward those meanings as something defining our identity and sense of shared destiny.

# CONTENTS

---

## **Welcome and Introduction**

Danica Purg and Jonathan Gosling

5

---

## **LEADERSHIP AND HISTORY: A EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE**

### **To Comprehend Europe is an Extremely Complicated Task**

Jonathan Story

15

### **Different Times and Different Levels Require Different Leadership Skills**

Jeremy Black

22

## **CONNECTING HISTORY AND LEADERSHIP**

### **Modern Political Realities and History**

Erhard Busek

27

## **LEARNING FROM OUR PAST EUROPEAN LEADERS**

### **Tito's Decision-Making and the Relevance of this Process for Business People**

Janez Stanovnik

34

### **QUESTIONS, ANSWERS AND COMMENTS**

37

### **Horatio Nelson: His Legacy for us Europeans**

Jonathan Gosling

41

---

---

**Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: Leadership for Change** 48  
Deniz Kirazci

**Historical Models of Governance in Russia** 51  
Sergey Zhavoronkov

**The Context of European Leadership after 1940** 54  
Prof. Michael Gehler

**QUESTIONS, ANSWERS AND COMMENTS** 59

## **HISTORY FROM THE FUTURE**

**The Acts of Leadership in Europe for which  
2007-2008 will be Remembered:** 63  
Discussion led by Pierre Casse

**Major Acts of Leadership in 2007-2008:** 68  
Discussion led by Jonathan Gosling

**Plausible Developments of Important European Issues:** 71  
Discussions led by Jonathan Gosling

**AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE** 75

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS** 77

---

*Jonathan Story*

# Leadership and History: A European Perspective



## **TO COMPREHEND EUROPE IS AN EXTREMELY COMPLICATED TASK**

I would like to start off by explaining the approach that I will take. I look at history as a very complex area of memory where people in power or holding significant authority always have to deal with contexts that are conditioned by legacy. This is a very different approach from that of historians, who ask "What is the subject that I am studying?" and then apply a scientific method such as that used since the times of Thucydides: testing a proposition in order to move toward some reasonable degree of objectivity.

I mention this because in cultural studies nowadays one of the lines of thinking about history is that everybody writes his own novel and that historians feel no obligation to tell the truth at all. What they like to do is tell a story. I think that this is a very dangerous approach to history, but it is not unlike the approach that leaders take.

I will start by looking at a map of Europe. I often show it in order to point out some of the complexities involved in issues connected with our continent. Does it stretch to Russia? Does it include Turkey? Should it include Malta and Israel? And why not Algeria, which was in the Rome Treaty? Is that country part of Europe? How do we define our boundaries?

Europe has many complexities such as languages, religions, cultures, and tax systems. How do leaders nowadays confront the issue of history?

I would like to show you a cartoon: a schoolteacher is giving a very poor term mark to the leaders who have just left us. "You could do very much better," the teacher says, referring to economic performance, employment, investment, and foreign policy. I think there is little doubt that this judgment will be widely shared.

---

Are we moving toward a better future or are we in fact disguising realities by thinking that we can recreate the past by denying what is happening? This is of course a very British view: the constitution has been thrown out; do not try to rewrite it! Can we actually recreate what was lost or should we go ahead without it?

How would I suggest business people, politicians, and academics to think about the world and its complexity? I am going to illustrate this with a triangle. The idea is that business, markets and politics dance together. Any particular set of issues in the modern world has a combination of these. Of course, one can start breaking these down. You can look at the issue of organizational culture and structure - whether it is fragmented or seen as focused at the top - what are the capabilities (that is, the human resources that you have at your disposal), how much innovation is spread around the system, and whether it is real or just innovation for the sake of it. Those are the key issues, I would argue, of any business operating today.

The second key factor is the context in which you are operating - the markets. We know from the huge literature on the diversity of capitalism that market institutions have all sorts of idiosyncratic features in different societies. This makes the situation in a country like China very different from that in India or Portugal. Market institutions are extremely varied around the world. At the same time, we have to think of the corporate competitive environment in which we are operating.

Finally, we have to look at global market factors, such as exchange rates, commodity prices, global equity prices, the recent fall of the Chinese financial markets, and the international impact that it had.

States are even more complex. They have different structures and histories. All the global players that have emerged since the late 1980s such as global crime, NGOs, and international corporations are conditioning the world in which business people and politicians are operating.

All these very complex interdependencies are important features. Tony Blair mentioned them in an article in *The Economist*. He said that what is going on in Pakistan is of direct importance to what happens in Bradford. As the prime minister of the United Kingdom, he had to be permanently involved in the affairs of the world. When he took office, he wanted to concentrate on domestic affairs and never anticipated spending so much

---

time on international issues. Yet, because international affairs spill over into domestic ones, he was propelled into the international arena.

My argument is that all these factors operate together. The traditional approach of focusing purely on business is inadequate. At the centre is something called "the future". If I thought about the future of my business, I would have to consider how it is conditioned by markets and politics. It is a crucial issue for all leaders of the world today to think about the future, no matter if they are politicians, businessmen, or ecclesiastical people.

How do we think about the future? The only thing that we can go by is the past. The question then is how to read the past. How do we use this massive body of information about Europe's relations with the rest of the world? My basic point is that we have to think holistically. That means that we have to consider some linkages.

If I were a political leader in the world today, I would have to consider multiple dimensions because holistic thinking is the key in order to get an understanding of the future to which we may be moving. That would give me a clue about how I could influence the future by channelling events in order to mould the world in a specific way. I would therefore argue that holistic thinking is crucial.

What are the common questions that I would ask of European leaders?

What is the structure we operate in? In other words, what is Europe? What forces are driving the plot forward and how do they interact? What are the inheritances that we face? This is the key if I want to start moving things in a particular direction. What are the visions for the future that we have in Europe? They are very powerfully conditioned by our past. During my teaching at INSEAD, I noticed that national schooling systems produce divergent ways of thinking. What are the opportunities and challenges we face? What are the lessons that we can learn from them?

Let us look at the first of these questions. What is Europe? Are we living in a multipolar world, and what are the implications? I suppose we can start this discussion from 1987 - 1992, which was the end of the Cold War. Franz Josef Strauss published an article at that time in which he argued that, according to the conservatives in Europe, the situation on the continent had changed completely and a new way should be found to deal with it. However, I would not start from that article but a little earlier.

---

Although we perceive China as a very different place, its past is part of our past. That country accounted for almost 20 percent of GDP in 1920 but its share fell to 2 percent in 1949 and was still roughly 2 percent in 1976 when Mao died. It is still a small economy and a very problematic one for itself and - obviously - for the rest of the world. For the moment, it is the United States, the European Union, and Japan that constitute the backbone of the world's economy.

Nevertheless, Asia's ongoing structural shift is toward China and India. The main question is how long it will take for these countries to catch up. Deng Xiao Ping predicted that it would happen around 2050. By that time, China should become a middle-income country. Beyond that point, China might be a global player, with a major impact on world developments. This is the Marxist-Leninist approach to history: you compartmentalize it.

On the other hand, we are thinking of Africa as a place that fell out of sight in around 1980. However, over the past two years the prospects of that continent have been transformed by a huge investment that China is beginning to make in that part of the world. With China's 1.3 trillion USD of exchange reserves, we may anticipate that there is going to be more of this in the future.

Of course, the world, including Europe, is experiencing multiple processes of transition, both cultural and political. In Europe, the inherited attitudes that condition the language in which policies must be spoken remain very significant. If I am a political leader, I must speak a language that is understandable to my electorate.

Since 1945, everybody in Germany has been saying "nie wieder" - "never again". When the United States starts setting up missiles in Poland and the Czech Republic, this is seen as contravening a fundamental principle of German politics toward Russia and the rest of the world. However, that is not the experience of Poland. The experience of that country is that the powers that brought it back to life were its allies in 1918. This is a deeply embedded feature in Polish thinking. All of these factors interact and make the reality of Europe a running history book.

The languages that people talk nationally are one of the permanent factors that makes them deaf to each other. It is very difficult to speak a political language across political frontiers. It is not that it does not exist, but the substance of Europe is its different nations and their past. Operating within those is what makes national leaders.

I would now like to dwell on the near certainties about the future and the critical uncertainties that we can identify. Clearly, one key feature is the impact of the contraceptive pill, which was introduced in Europe in 1964. Instantaneously, it caused a massive falloff in the share of Europe's population as a percentage of the world's population. I would argue that this is more important than anything else that has happened since then. This is not the experience of Libya, Morocco, or India. But it is the experience of China.

I was reminded of the rising Asian technology capability by a statement that I read today. The investment of Microsoft in research and development is 40 percent in the United States, 20 percent in Europe, 20 percent in China, and 20 percent in India. Bill Gates stated that in the next 10 years the shift away from Europe is going to be huge, unless there is a major turnaround in the output of European universities. That output is conditioned by a set of policies that have been consistently pursued for the last 30 or 40 years. Whether this is a reasonable assessment of European technology is another question. We are obviously going to be dependent on the Gulf despite the fact that we prefer wind.

There is a trend to multipolarity around the globe in the sense that many people deny that the United States has ever been anything other than one among many. This insight is now beginning to dawn in the United States itself: "We are not as big as we thought we were".

There is a wide variety of religions that are prospering around the world. For a European who is sceptical of religion this may be a curious phenomenon. Yet, religion is extremely active in India, Africa and it is one of the main factors that is challenging the legitimacy of the Chinese regime. In Europe it is not an important factor. There is a historical reason for that. Religion has been very controversial in Europe, particularly after the Second World War.

What are the critical uncertainties? How would the world deal with contagions of all sorts: nuclear proliferation, AIDS, new technologies, etc.? What about the price of energy? What is the foundation for ethics when religion is challenged all around the world and there are multiple answers to ethical problems?

The point is that when you are thinking about the future you should remember the law of unintended consequences. There are so many

---

interactions between the forces that fashion the future that this law is the one consistent feature that we must take into account.

My main point is that many of us in Europe have different inherited views. I am thinking about the recent French election. There is no doubt in my mind that Sarko is Napoleonic. He has a very clear Napoleonic approach and his style and language draws on that substance. This makes me think of Bertie Ahern's statement that nobody in Europe has a monopoly on the idea of Europe. In other words, I would argue that to comprehend Europe is an extremely complicated task, which involves understanding the national histories, ideas, and concepts from Finland to Portugal and the multiple interactions between them. That is what, I would argue, is Europe.

Again and again, we have leaders in Europe who get to positions of authority and spend a lot of time there; implementing what is often a national agenda. Then, they discover that Europe is much more than whatever they thought it was. We do not yet have institutions that create European leaders in the sense that a French leader could speak simultaneously to a French electorate and a Bulgarian one. We are very far from that.

The future of Europe is mapped out but the process of getting there is not. We all start from a different position and have inherited different histories. The way to achieve an integrated capital market is mapped out, but nobody knows how to get there.

I would recommend that we follow the Finish and Irish example. First get your own house in order and your performance can be world-leading. If every European country were doing that rather than thinking of very complex European solutions, this would be a very different continent. I would argue that Europe is the natural leader of the world but it still does not know how to think about itself.

What are the lessons? The key is that leaders have to learn something about the material that they are seeking to mould. If they do not, they will not be successful. Leaders must also be aware of their own prejudices and perspectives because they have to step way out of them in order to be able to influence the world in the way that they would like.

---

Another thing is that as a leader moves from one level to the next, the skills that may be required often change dramatically. There is a different set of perspectives that you have to take into account. You move away from being a specialist who can be relied on to implement something specific to becoming a specialist in generalization. This is a skill that you learn as you move up. One of the problems that we face in choosing leaders is that we can never tell who will live up to the challenge until the event occurs and you have seen those people in action. This means that we have to be very careful in our perusal of history.

*Jeremy Black*



## **DIFFERENT TIMES AND DIFFERENT LEVELS REQUIRE DIFFERENT LEADERSHIP SKILLS**

From the perspective of a historian, there is obviously no one way to look at the past. History means two separate things: what happened in the past and the way in which we understand it. If you are familiar with the subject, you know that there are different ways of approaching the past.

In recent decades, there has been a tendency to play up the role of leadership. Until roughly the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, the dominant historical tradition in the West was very much influenced by Marxism. There was a notion that great forces shape the past, the present, and the future. Some of those forces could be understood as relationships between means of production or as elements of national culture, ethnicity, geographic position, and so forth. All that left very little role for leadership. The most influential history book of the 1960s, Fernand Braudel's "The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philippe II", is a trilogy in which he compares the world to a desert and argues that the fundamental force there is geography. He compared polices to the little ephemeral forces that move the sand grains at the top of a dune.

It is fair to say that this interpretation has been put under stress in recent decades, in part because Marxist ideas have suffered a crisis across all social sciences. This is not necessarily due to political developments. Many of those shifts in thought occurred well before the collapse of the Eastern bloc and the Soviet Union. Obviously, if one is going to recover a role for politics, one has to consider the role of leaders. If you look at the historical profession today, it is fair to say that most historians are still left-of-centre and fairly uncomfortable with the idea of leadership.

However, I am one of the very few conservative historians in Britain and I am going to give you a different interpretation - one that puts a lot of

---

emphasis on the role of individuals and the way in which they can mould their environment. I think that this is an aspect not simply of the historicized imagination but also of the way in which we can see much more in terms of economics, consumerism, politics, and democratization. The latter is different from democracy. Democracy has a long history in the West and has spread pretty much around the world. Democratization is the idea that governments and other institutions are responsible to the wishes of the population on a regular basis and not just at election time. This is a process of recent decades. When you think about democratization, you think about the individual. There is much greater emphasis on the capacity of institutions to respond to these challenges.

Leaders can be defined along a continuum between two essentially very different types. Number one is the charismatic leader whereas number two is the managerial one. Each of them has a different role.

The most successful institution in the West is the Catholic Church, because it has existed for 2000 years, has had a political role across much of Europe and has expanded far beyond the continent. It presents a classic example of strong managerial leadership. Most popes have not been charismatic at all. Charisma was more typical of lower-level functionaries who might start a movement of friars or monks. The key problems of running the Catholic Church required managerial skills and an ability to show consistency and uniformity of doctrine across an enormously varied constituency. That also required an ability to run a complex institution. They had to ensure that the budget worked, that the right persons were appointed as bishops, and that the pressure from lay authorities was resisted.

Conversely, charismatic leaders in Europe in the first millennium AD and beyond were very much focused on war. We have had a mentioned of Napoleon here; French President Nicolas Sarkozy was said to be "Napoleonic". That is a most ludicrous comparison. Mr Sarkozy has no intention of taking France to war, commanding large armies and deriving prestige from their performance. That form of leadership does not exist anymore. A charismatic leader now is somebody who would try to appear successful in the media, but not as an old-fashioned warmonger.

There is a current trend to overemphasize the role of charisma in leadership. Yet, some of the greatest European leaders of recent times - such as Konrad Adenauer - did not have much charisma; they were

---

managerial types. Yet, their importance, not only for their countries, but also for Europe, cannot be overstated. The same applies to business leaders. Many of them have been fairly quiet and obscure financiers. Still, they played a key role in keeping the financial system operating effectively and dealing with the enormous challenges associated with global capital flows. They are a good example of an underplayed group.

That reminds us that leadership, as a characteristic, changes quite rapidly. As recently as 150 years ago, the norm in the West was for the leader to literally go with the army into battle. That is now history.

Moreover, leadership in war varies greatly, depending on the level where one is operating. Tactical leadership - which is necessary if you need to capture a building - requires a very different set of qualities from operational leadership (how to conquer Slovenia this week) or strategic leadership (how to conquer Central Europe).

I do not like the phrase "lessons of history" because history does not exist to give us lessons in that crude sense. Still, if you want to use that construction and ask about lessons concerning leadership, you have to be clear what level your analysis is at. If you are a general, you need very different skills, depending on whether you are operating in peacetime or wartime. In peacetime, you need predictability of successful operation within institutions. In wartime you may have to get rid of the peacetime generals.

One of the things that military history also indicates is that the real test of leadership is to see how a leader performs when things are going bad. That is when leadership really comes out. Leaders are useful also when things are going well but you have a much greater need for leadership talent when things are going badly.

The other point worth bearing in mind with respect to military leadership is that thinking outside the box is often crucial. I would argue that one of the things missing in the recent episodes in the Middle East was an understanding that you have won a war when you have persuaded the other side that it has lost, not when you have beaten its army and conquered its territory. It is a fairly obvious point but it has evaded many people's thinking about the scenario. There are powerful structural reasons in the particular culture of the advisors that makes it very difficult for them to give that sort of advice because it goes against the culture in which they operate.

If you are trying to develop leadership as a career pattern, it is often the case that leadership skills that work very well at one level are those that you do not wish to see at the next level. The military is a very good example of that. The ability to elicit unit cohesion or bravery is often needed at the tactical level but can be extremely unhelpful at the operational level. Again, some of the qualities of a good staff officer - predictability and planning - are not what you need for strategic decisions.

This analysis can be applied to other fields as well. Look at who were the skilful ambassadors in the 18th century. They were often people who had not been particularly good as charges d'affaires. That is so because different levels require different skills. That causes problems for those who try to teach people and guide careers. It makes it very hard to work out how best to monitor career progression. You often look for skills that are not required at a particular level.

A good example of that is Anthony Williams, British Ambassador to Argentina in 1982. He did not meet the challenge of understanding what the Argentines were going to do. He would have been perfectly appropriate for his position had there not been an Argentine junta planning to invade the Falklands.

The idea of looking to the past is good in the sense that it provides a sense of scepticism. I do not mean that in the sense of cynicism. If you look at the past, you will see that there has always been a gap between aspiration and achievement. This should encourage you to build different planning for different stages without assuming that things will always go well.

The German scholar Annika Mombauer has written one of the best history books in the past 10 years. Its subject is the deficiencies of German war planning in 1914. She points out that the body that was most admired in the world for its planning capabilities - the German General Staff - had no plan B. They were so sure that they had worked out a winning scenario that they did not draw up a contingency plan.

The great thing about studying the past is not that it encourages one to apply exact lessons. History is never repeated in the same manner. Yet, it encourages you to free up your way of thinking about things and understand that unintended consequences are central to the system. This means that a good leader should be able to respond well to such consequences and - having identified the goals of the institutional body - still move forward toward completing those goals. The capacity to do that is the most important skill in leadership. However, it is very difficult to say

---

that an individual is not up to the task of managing risk until you have exposed him to that challenge.

Leaders need an ability to manage risk because you never know what scenario will be pressed upon you. You can never have enough resources. Even the most affluent country at present - the United States - does not have sufficient military resources to deal with all the challenges that it is facing. Therefore, risk management is a key issue. The ability to cope with unexpected circumstances is very important. All too often, in all sorts of universities, people assume tomorrow is going to be exactly the same as today. But it is not. I cannot tell you what exactly the future will look like; the only thing I can tell you is that it is not going to be like today.

*Erhard Busek*

# Connecting History and Leadership

## MODERN POLITICAL REALITIES AND HISTORY

First of all I would like to share my Austrian experience of connecting leadership and history. At the time when I was growing up - after the end of the Second World War - the situation was such that we were trying to forget recent history. We were happy that we had democracy and preferred not to discuss the Nazi period. Instead, the emphasis was on the rebuilding of Austria as a prosperous and peaceful Alpine republic.

However, this was followed by a phase in which history made a comeback. Popular attempts were made to explain to the world that Hitler was a German whereas Beethoven was an Austrian, although it was the other way around.

When I became a politician, it was clear that we had to accept some historical responsibilities. Unfortunately, at that time we had forgotten that we had neighbours. Some of them were behind the Iron Curtain; consequently, it was easy to forget them. I am part of a generation who did not have the slightest idea what was 60 km east of Vienna. We did hear about major political events, such as the upheavals in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, but we did not want to be disturbed because we were a neutral country. This continued until the time that we realized we had no other alternative but to join the European Union. And, just as we were trying to get integrated in Western Europe, the Iron Curtain came down. Now we have to deal with our so-called “eastern” neighbours, even though Prague is west of Vienna.

Some people in my party said that as far as Austria was concerned, joining the European Union meant a reunification with Germany, and therefore we should be against it. You see that history has quite an impact on leadership issues. As Austrian writer Ingeborg Bachmann put it,

---

"History is a schoolmaster but it does not find pupils". This is something we should bear in mind, considering the schizophrenic approach to history that politicians adopt.

People keep referring to a statement made by Churchill at the University of Zurich who said that we need a United States of Europe. What is usually not mentioned is that in that same speech he said that the United Kingdom could not be part of that political formation. I think that he had a point because the behaviour of his country in the European Union proves him right. Britain has always been geographically separated from Europe and its inhabitants have always had the feeling that their island is a separate entity. Even today, as they move through the tunnel to France, they say "I am going to Europe". This is a historical attitude that continental Europeans do not understand.

Another famous statement by Churchill is "The Balkans have more history than they can consume." I would say that all of Europe has more history than it can consume, not just the Balkans. The history of the Balkans and all the turbulence that characterizes it was not the product of those who live in that peninsula. It was the doing of politicians in London, Paris, Berlin, Moscow, and Vienna.

I was a member of the Austrian government at the time of Yugoslavia's collapse. We were in favour of recognizing Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina as sovereign states. For that reason, we had difficulties with some of our European partners. I met with the then British foreign minister Douglas Hurd and tried to explain the rationale behind our position. A few minutes later, he cut me short and said, "I see, my friend, that Austria wants Slovenia as its tenth federal state. The Austrians have always wanted more power in the Balkans." I was taken aback but after I recovered from the initial shock I replied, "Douglas, please put the First World War files back into the archive." His comment had been very much influenced by the thinking of British diplomacy at the time of the First World War. Even today some British politicians might tell you that Germany and Austria destroyed Yugoslavia, whereas the United Kingdom and France built it after the First World War. I do not know how to explain to them that Yugoslavia actually destroyed itself and we all had to live with the consequences. Austria had no role in that matter.

Recently, I asked Serbian Foreign Minister Vuk Drašković to deliver a speech about "Politics, history and mythology" at the European Union Forum Alpbach. I will never forget his first sentence: "Kosovo is the

---

Jerusalem of Serbia". My answer was, "Vuk, do you want to live in Jerusalem now?" I did not get a reply.

I am also going to tell you a personal story. I was involved in the Balkan South-eastern Cooperative Initiative since 1996 and went to Sarajevo for the first time in my life. I called my mother, who was nearly 90, and she told me that Sarajevo was not a nice place to be. "Why is that, mother?" I asked. "Because they shot Archduke Ferdinand, you know". Again, you see the influence of history on people's thinking.

There was a poll recently, showing that the Austrians' most beloved neighbours are the Hungarians. There is still an Austro-Hungarian climate in the country. You know the joke: if somebody told Otto von Habsburg that Austria and Hungary were playing in a football match today, he would ask "Against whom are they playing?" This kind of thinking is still there.

I must confess that our most difficult relations are with the Czechs. This is silly, because if you read the Vienna telephone book, judging by the names you might think you are in Prague. In 1954 Austria had the world's third strongest football team. I was listening to a match between Czechoslovakia and Austria on the radio when my father said, "The crew with German names are Czechs and the one with Slavic names are the Austrians". Indeed, there was a Czech head of government called Klaus, whereas we have had our Kreisky, Vranitzky, and Busek. This is a historical reality, but it has nothing to do with the nonsensical perceptions of it.

The current Czech foreign minister is called Karel Schwarzenberg. He grew up in Austria and is often considered an Austrian in our country. Yet, his attitude toward power plants does not reveal anything Austrian. It does however suggest that history and leadership interact in a very complex way.

After 1989, Francis Fukuyama spoke about the end of history. Now, we know that he was wrong. I would even say that history is reversing itself because we are not accepting its lessons. Let me give you an example.

Samuel Huntington wrote about "the clash of civilizations". This can only be understood in terms of history. Have we not learned anything from that discipline? Think of some positive examples: the Franco-German relationship. This is a success story, as is the relationship between Italy and Austria. There was a time when we were irritated by the fact that we needed visas to go to Italy and vice-versa. Nowadays, if you go to Saint Steven's

---

Cathedral in Vienna at Christmas, you will see more Italians than Austrians. They have become close friends of our nation.

These are some positive examples. We still have to wait and see whether Northern Ireland will prove to be such an example. It is another place that is overburdened by history and the outcome of the developments there is unpredictable.

I have already mentioned Kosovo; the place where Serbian identity was created, as Serbs will tell you. If you go to Hungary, you will hear about the unfair Treaty of Trianon. It is something that nobody has heard of unless he is Hungarian. It was concluded on June 4, 1920 and stipulated that Hungary must part with large sections of its territory. I appreciate that Hungarians may wish to discuss minority rights in the territories they have lost but I fail to see why they insist on mentioning that treaty, which does not have any relevance to anybody.

There is an even better example. There is a lady advisor to President Putin called Mrs. Amatova. She is an impressive member of the Scientific Academy of the Russian President. Recently she said that Russians understand that Finland, Sweden and Austria are members of the European Union, since they are neutral countries. However, she said, it was harder to figure out why some other countries - meaning those of the former Warsaw Treaty - should be members of that organization. And, she added, it was even more difficult to comprehend what the Baltics are doing in the European Union. A modern lady presents a view deeply grounded in Soviet cold-war-time philosophy.

We have not fully digested the new situation in Europe, which is a continuation of the old situation. It is a problem jointly caused by politicians and historians. There are lots of historians who contribute to this state of affairs. If you listen to the Estonian and Russian presentations of the Soviet monument problem, you will understand what I am talking about.

As part of my work, I sometimes come across problems between Orthodox Christians on the one hand, and Catholics and Protestants on the other. I am sometimes reminded of the Schism between the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches in 1054 when Cardinal Humberto Da Silva deposited a Bull of Excommunication against Michael Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople, on the altar of the Hagia Sophia Church.

---

People in Western Europe ask whether that was in 1954. No, it was in 1054. Still, it is a real problem for Orthodox Christians.

This brings up the issue of Turkey's membership of the European Union and Greece's reluctance to see that happen. This exposes a clear lack of understanding of modern political realities.

I once presided over a conference of ministers from south-eastern Europe. We had a tough discussion between the prime minister of Serbia and that of the Republic of Macedonia about the autocephaly of the Skopje Bishopric. For various reasons, the Greek representatives supported the Serbian position. May I ask you how you would explain this to the rest of the world?

In the case of the Republic of Macedonia, you have to look back 2500 years because Alexander the Great and his father Philip are the reason why that country is denied the right to call itself Macedonia. I often tell my Greek friends that if somebody had asked Austria in 1945 not to call itself Austria but the Former Ostmark of the German Reich, we would have had a similar situation. However, they do not seem to grasp my point.

Sometimes we laugh about the Holy Alliance that was concluded at the Vienna Congress in 1815. After September 11, we have been speaking about "holy war". History is repeating itself in a sense.

When German Chancellor Schroeder kissed President Putin that cause a stir in Poland. In the Poles' view, when a German leader kisses a Russian one, Poland has to pay a price. The national anthem of that country starts with the words "Jeszcze Polska nie zginela", which means "Poland has not perished yet". When an anthem starts with such a statement, it tells you something about the way people feel, even though it may be extremely difficult to explain it to others. A Polish writer once put it this way: "We would like to exchange our rich history for better geography."

A major problem in modern history and politics is the presentation of the personal stories of politicians. This is an ongoing problem in Romania and Poland, and I am sure it will occur in many other places as well. I am in charge of the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in South-eastern Europe. It publishes booklets on history to assist teachers. We are trying to tell the Bosnians that there was a civil war caused by the Yugoslav Army. However, the Bosnians are rejecting that interpretation. In their view, the

---

problem was indeed caused by the Yugoslav Army but it was not a civil war. If you go to Republika Srpska, they will tell you that the same interpretation is wrong for a different reason. It was a civil war all right, but it was not started by the Yugoslav Army. Similarly, Turks object to any portrayals of the Ottoman Empire as anything but a peaceful place where all ethnic groups coexisted happily.

How are we to deal with history? You can do one of four things. You can use it, forget it, fight it, or change it. You have to live with history; therefore you have to know it. You have to criticize the way that it is used and you have to acknowledge its importance in education.

**Question by Derek Abell**

*What I gathered from this presentation is that history can strike back but it can also be useful. Can you tell us when we should look back and when it is better to go forward and forget what happened? A lot of your examples were in the direction of "put it in the drawer and forget it". Have I understood you correctly?*

**Erhard Busek**

*I do not think you can throw history out of the window. What I argued is that history comes back at you so you had better be prepared for it.*

**Comment from the audience**

*I would like to dwell a little on "the end of history". This is a Hegelian thesis concerning the battle of Jena in 1806. Hegel wrote that the defeat of the Prussian army by the French marked the end of history because Prussia had the prospect of introducing the best form of governance that was known and the only thing left was implementation. Fukuyama's article "The End of History" actually has a sneaky message underneath it: the problem of politics is to deal with a world without theatre, characterized by boredom. This is a very important thesis because it implies the creation of excitement. Look at the neoconservatives in the United States and the origins of their thinking. It is very much this idea that we are in a world where untruths have to be invented in order to create the theatre for action; we need external enemies. Fukuyama's message is not actually that history has ended. What he meant was that we have to watch out because history may strike back due to boredom.*

**Erhard Busek**

*You are quite right. I think that Fukuyama was misunderstood. People thought*

---

*that he referred to an end of conflicts and a world where market economy and democracy would prevail. This is a real mistake.*

***Comment from the audience***

*Mr Busek, you mentioned Poland, but there are many other East European countries whose leaders are focused on the next elections rather than promoting free markets or the European idea. For countries that are members of the European Union, this is a dangerous trend. The autocrats of those countries are very problematic. What do you think of this problem?*

***Erhard Busek***

*Only time can take care of this, but the thing is that we do not have enough of it. Events should be developing faster. As Austria joined the European Union, we had to change some institutions in order to overcome our provincialism. The countries in this region have to do something similar. They have to deal with the legacy of communism in the educational system. They must also overcome the legacy of the local wars. You cannot bypass these issues; you must grapple with them. And you have to be realistic. Some situations are simply necessary for a while because they provide useful experiences.*

*We must not forget that we have new states in south-eastern Europe that must prove their identities. They have to justify the fact that they are sovereign political entities. I am extremely critical of those Westerners who accuse these countries of not implementing free markets and democracy much quicker. We are not really helping in that way.*

*I think we need more foundations like George Soros's Open Society Fund. He has been criticized for the way in which he made his money but other people in his position spend their money on beautiful women and yachts, whereas he is trying to build a civic society in Eastern Europe. We need a strategy to support similar efforts. Sometimes we think that if there are free elections resulting in a new parliament and a new government the job is done. Nothing is done. You can change the minister of justice but what do you do with the judges? Will all old judges immediately reform? No. You need time to see this change. We are expecting too much from these countries in too short a period. I am campaigning for understanding but my success is limited.*

*Janez Stanovnik*

## Learning from our Past European Leaders

---

### **TITO'S DECISION-MAKING AND THE RELEVANCE OF THIS PROCESS FOR BUSINESS PEOPLE**

First of all, let me tell you how my presentation connects to what Vice-Chancellor Busek said. The main difference between Austria and Slovenia is that the former emerged from the Second World War as a victim of Nazism. Now, however, Austria has re-examined its past. It has sentenced a British subject to prison for denying the Holocaust. In Slovenia it is just the other way around. We emerged as an ally of the winners but now we have political elite who are trying to convince us that Hitler's collaborators were the real democrats during the war and the predecessors of today's European Union. I am the President of the Partisans' Association. This means that I have a biased approach to this issue, which I admit openly.

I would like to make a methodological remark. In my view, politics and statesmanship is a human activity whose goal is to achieve an optimum of outcomes. As a result, this activity always involves some compromise. Another consequence is that politics is about glory. Business is different. It is about how to make more from less. The bottom line in business is not glory but profit. If you mix the two, you get socialism. The problem of that regime was that the investment was made for glory and not for profit. That is the reason for its collapse.

The topic of my presentation is my view of Tito's decision-making and the relevance of that process to business people. I will try to describe some lessons that can be useful for the purpose of business.

I am going to look at two major moments in Tito's life that everybody is aware of. He stood up to Hitler and then he said "no" to Stalin. How and why?

Tito took the country to war when practically all of Europe was on its knees before Hitler. Germany had invaded and occupied thirteen

---

countries, becoming the absolute master of the continent. At that time, Tito decided to launch a guerrilla war against the Nazi machine. With hindsight, the decision may seem ridiculous. What were the real reasons for a decision of that kind?

Tito was the leader of a communist party and the political leader of the working class. The issue of nation and class is essential to the understanding of this matter. There was not only the reality of the proletariat, but also another one, called "nation". The two have a common denominator. Tito saw that he could use that denominator in order to project himself as a national leader. In my view, he did a very good sociological analysis before he took action on his vision. It took great courage to do that, but it was a calculated risk. This matter has been extensively treated by party theoreticians and there is an abundant literature concerning the situation in Yugoslavia just before the war.

The other issue is Tito's rejection of Stalin's dominance. This was not something that happened on 28 June 1948. The differences between Tito's management of Yugoslavia's resistance and the strategy of Moscow and the Comintern had been mounting for a long time.

Moscow recognized the embassy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, whereas we held the kingdom responsible for the country's capitulation. This caused tension between us, the partisans, and Moscow throughout the whole period. Moreover, the Soviets also criticized our guerrilla tactics very severely.

What lesson can we learn from this? Tito was not following orthodox Marxist thinking. He had never studied the Marxist doctrine in depth. He was much more of a practitioner than a theoretician. I am knowledgeable about this because I was the chief party theoretician for seven years. It was typical for Tito to listen to his advisors but act on his own. In 1969 there were student demonstrations. Tito convened the leaders of the Central Committee and everybody was in favour of a crackdown. Tito did not say anything at the meeting. Instead, he went to see the students and told them that they were right and he was on their side. The entire Central Committee was shocked. We realized that he was a man who would listen to advice without necessarily acting on it.

What conclusions can we draw from these two episodes in Tito's biography? A leader should have an interest in history and should listen to

---

his advisors. However, if he wants innovation, he should make his own decisions. A leader must not be a slave of the past.

Now, let me give you two examples of cases in which great leaders were wrong. Eisenhower was the commander of the Allied Forces in Europe. He was a very successful American president who brought McCarthy down. These are the things for which he will be remembered. However, what Eisenhower is less known for is the fact that he let hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war die of hunger. Historians do not like to speak about this.

Historians do not like to speak about some sensitive episodes in Tito's life either. Records of Churchill's addresses in the British parliament show that he thought Tito had not embraced the communist ideology wholeheartedly, and therefore he could trust him. One day however, a Russian plane landed on the island of Vis where Tito was and the general flew off to Moscow. That completely destroyed Churchill's trust. In my view, the event had fatal consequences. Things would have developed very differently if it had never happened.

Finally, in 1972 there was a new generation of young liberals throughout Yugoslavia, but in Croatia things had become really critical. Tito deposed the Croatian party leadership. However, he had this philosophy that if he had delivered one blow in one place, he needed to deliver more blows in other places, too. Therefore, he deposed all liberal leaders throughout the country. In this way he allowed people like Milosevic to get to the top of the party. You know the rest.

---

## COMMENTS, QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

### Question from the audience

In your opinion, how was Tito capable of preventing a Soviet invasion, whereas Imre Nagy was not?

### Janez Stanovnik

This is an interesting story. The Russian divisions were on our borders and there were accidents on a daily basis. At the same time, we assumed that Yugoslavia's strategic position was such that an attack by the Soviet Union would not be ignored by the West.

One day, we were alerted that Soviet planes were flying over the Republic of Macedonia. We thought that the following day we would be attacked. The next day we discovered that one of our own planes had gotten lost and had been circling over Skopje. Technology at that time was not as developed as it is today and incidents like this one made us extremely nervous.

The fact that the Soviet Union maintained numerous troops on our borders was a serious threat that greatly exercised our minds. Still, Tito decided that we should not join NATO because that would have been too great an ideological shock domestically and internationally. Instead, we joined the Balkan Pact and modernized our army.

### Goran Radman

Mr Busek briefly mentioned Hitler's name, whereas Comrade Stanovnik spoke about Tito and Stalin. It is clear that history has positive and negative examples of leadership. We tend to simplify the contributions of those men, sometimes forgetting the fact that they were complex and consisted of positive and negative elements at the same time. The Chinese leaders, who are known for their pragmatism, came up with an assessment of Mao's legacy and ruled that it is 60 percent good and 40 percent bad. My question is, "Do you think that sometimes we tend to overlook the importance of negative examples from history?"

### Erhard Busek

What I am going to say may shock you but I think that our learning capacity is enhanced by catastrophe. We have lived in a peaceful corner of the planet where the capacity for learning is severely reduced. The Second World War was a tremendously important lesson but we choose to ignore it; as a consequence we are not capable of learning as much as we should.

---

Second, if you wish to learn something from history, there is an important condition: you must know history. Unfortunately, our knowledge of history is quite insufficient.

I think that the United States greatly benefited from all the immigrants that went to that country after 1945 because they brought a lot of knowledge to that country. And, the reinstatement of democracy in Austria was facilitated by Austrian Americans.

### **Janez Stanovnik**

I am somewhat reserved about Cicero's statement that history is a teacher. It is interesting to read history books. You have to remember that history is the past observed through the spectacles of the present. Interpretations are very subjective and change very often.

We are the first human generation that has seen a threefold increase in mankind. Never before have population numbers increased so dramatically. Also, there are more scientific researchers today than in all previous periods of mankind's existence. This means that the pace of scientific and technological change is so fast that what happened only 50 years ago is not really relevant to our experience today. Unless we study the past in the light of factors that have a bearing on the present, we are bound to go wrong. Therefore, I maintain that we gain knowledge through learning, but wisdom comes through experience. And without wisdom, knowledge is irrelevant.

### **Pierre Casse**

If we must not be servants of the past, don't you think that we must make a strong investment in the next generation?

I also have another question. What can be done to promote the study of history in Europe in order to prepare the next generation in a better way?

### **Erhard Busek**

The education system is definitely an important player in this, but the media also have an important role. TV stations in Europe report a lot on the Second World War but not in a sufficiently critical way. Recently, a non-German channel aired a piece on Field Marshal Rommel, the "desert fox". We have to be very careful about this man, because he was a public relations figure for Hitler.

There is no real discussion of historical events. In fact, we do not have a European public. The only instance when we have a European public is the Eurovision Song Contest. The Internet may also play a role as a means of communication within the European Union and between the Union and other countries. That would be an extremely important neighbourhood policy.

---

**Pierre Casse**

Is there an ongoing attempt to put together common European history books?

**Erhard Busek**

There is no competent organ at the European level that deals with the school system. Each of our nice member states is convinced that it knows best which way to go. However, you cannot have a common Europe unless you have some common competence concerning education.

Some things have been done, however, albeit belatedly. The first jointly-written French-German history book came out last year. It was long overdue.

**Janez Stanovnik**

I may be wrong on this one, but I think that history books are mainly on national history. There is no book on the true history of Europe. There is nothing on global history, either.

Moreover, history books are written about events, but not values. It is important for the young generation to learn how the ideas of human rights, tolerance, and democracy came into existence.

**Erhard Busek**

I agree with you. I know quite a few good history books, but they all take national perspectives. They do not take a European or global perspective. Especially in the sensitive parts of Europe, there are horrible history books. I have done some research on publications in Eastern and South-eastern Europe. They are full of references to "Greater Serbia", "Greater Greece", "Greater Romania", greater whatever-you-want. If you look at the maps that they print, you will be horrified. This applies even to Slovenia. I have seen maps of that country on which its territory reaches all the way to Vienna.

There are some exceptions. There is a great book on Balkan history by Maria Todorova, but how many teachers have read it?

**Derek Abell**

Mr. Stanovnik told us about the time when the Russian troops were on the Yugoslav border. My question is: do we have such leadership today? Is there any comparison to the wisdom that existed back then? What is your impression of today's political and business leadership, especially with respect to the word "wisdom" that was used here?

---

### **Jonathan Gosling**

Let us take one more question before we ask the speakers to answer this one.

### **Ivan Potemkin**

My question is whether Russia could some day become a member of the European Union and what that would take. Some special leadership skills?

### **Erhard Busek**

It is tempting to say "no" to Derek Abell's question. I think that the G8 is making a positive contribution. The instruments are not well developed but things are happening. What impresses me is that business and technology are faster than politics. We do not have a modern global structure. The way that the United Nations is organized is outdated. It is falling far behind existing needs.

Germany has asked for a permanent seat on the System Council. That is really preposterous. There should be just one seat for the whole European Union. We have to be realistic about the new realities. However, these issues are not getting enough attention.

As for Russia's accession to the European Union, we are talking about a country that sees itself as equal in power to the United States. It is unthinkable that a Russian leader will write a letter to Brussels, asking to start negotiation talks.

### **Janez Stanovnik**

You all remember the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 or 1963. It was a nice sunny day but I was quite convinced that we were hours away from a nuclear exchange.

At that time, I had been with the United Nations for 10 years and I knew that it was full of Russian agents. There was a Russian man sitting by my side who asked me why I looked so worried. I told him that we were obviously headed for a nuclear apocalypse. He said, "Don't worry, we have settled the matter".

I do not know how things are today, but I have the feeling that this underground communication network is missing. In my view, that is not a good thing.

*Jonathan Gosling*



## **HORATIO NELSON: HIS LEGACY FOR US EUROPEANS**

We can learn a lot from leaders. Their achievements and the roles that they play in the great events of the day are often a starting point, exciting our curiosity about their personalities, characters, and conduct, and the way that they manage themselves. They give a symbolic meaning to the people who follow them and look up to them. All three aspects - achievements, personality and symbolic meaning - are exemplified by Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson and the myths about him. It is worth noting that on the 200th anniversary of his death, in October 2005, 400,000 people travelled to the south coast of England to celebrate the bi-centenary.

Horatio Nelson is a British war hero who died 200 years ago. As I will argue below, I believe there are many lessons we can take from a study of his example. But there have been many great leaders, and the worthiness of their example doesn't quite explain the passion that exists between a historian and his subject.

I am the oldest of five children. My father was not home much of the time and my mother struggled with three toddlers. She was understandably tired, and would often visit an aunt of hers in Portsmouth. They would deposit us on the HMS Victory, Nelson's ship kept in Portsmouth's dry dock, and go to the local cafe to discuss the troubles of a young mother. The bottom line of the story is this: Each time I returned from Nelson's ship, Mum felt better. Therefore, I know that Nelson makes the world a better place.

Indeed, the psychological forces that convert an effective leader into a national hero are both deep and complex, entwined with issues of identity and anxiety, of power, hope and longing. So as I describe aspects of Nelson's career and the stories told about them, I hope also to evoke some insight into the character and culture of the people who hold him such high esteem.

---

A painting of 1806, a year after Nelson died, shows the 17-year-old Nelson taking command of a small American brig during the American War of Independence. You can see stormy weather and waves crashing around the boat; Nelson is in the midst of it, calm and illuminated by the moonlight, in control not only of the people but also, apparently, of the elements. This is indeed how Nelson's admirers (like those of many leaders) would like it to have been.

In fact the situation was entirely different. Nelson did volunteer to take a small rowing boat to take command of the prize in very stormy conditions. As they approached, a large wave washed the rowing boat over the larger vessel, and back into the sea on the other side. The boat capsized, but Nelson and a few others managed to climb up the netting back into the brig, and, surprisingly enough, the Americans did not throw them back into the water again.

This story certainly tells us of Nelson's bravery and skill, but the way it is depicted in the painting tells us more about the way in which we like to think of leadership - smoothly riding above the storm, projecting a calm, uncontested authority over nature as well as man. Indeed, this image of leadership is all too often portrayed in case studies of the way that chief executives get things done.

Nelson was determined to become a hero. He was one of the last military leaders to overtly express his desire for glory, and he really hungered for it. As a teenager he had been to India where (like many young Europeans today) he contracted dysentery and malaria, and became religious. On the way back, suffering from feverish hallucinations, he imagined a great golden sphere hovering towards him, which he interpreted as his destiny. He said he was inspired to write in his diary: "I will be a hero". And in many ways he lived his life, until he died at the age of 47, as if he were an idealistic teenager.

There is a portrait of him in his mid-40s, in full uniform, showing all his medals and stars. It was of course contrary to Navy regulations to wear these decorations, mostly from North African and Middle Eastern kingdoms, alongside the various stars of the British Empire, but they tell us much of his fame and popularity right across the Mediterranean region. Most interesting is the Chelengk, the highest award of the Ottoman Empire, worn as a plume of diamonds in his officer's hat. He was the first non-Muslim to be awarded this decoration, given to him by a grateful Sultan after the

---

battle of the Nile. He loved it so much that he had a clockwork mechanism attached and placed behind it so that the central circle of diamonds would whiz around, sending flashes of light in all directions. This was extraordinarily showy, even in Nelson's day - somewhat akin to the 'bling' adorning some media celebrities in modern times, but hardly what we would consider appropriate to the dignity required of leaders. However, the adoration of celebrity and fame begins with Nelson. I will come back to this issue at the end, as it is a significant part of his legacy.

There is another interesting portrait of Nelson that he commissioned when he was 19, having just passed his lieutenant exams and obtained his first officer's uniform. The picture was not quite finished when he was posted to the West Indies, and thence to Nicaragua where, promoted to Captain, he took part in a completely pointless attempt to capture the San Juan castle. His commanding officer had had an idea that they could somehow cut through Nicaragua and attack the Spanish colonies on the Pacific coast, but the terrain was far more difficult than expected, and sickness and disease took a terrible toll. Of 250 people who set out on this expedition, Nelson was one of only 80 to survive. This was a terrible and very public disgrace and yet, when Nelson returned home, he had the portrait repainted, this time in his captain's uniform, with the castle in the background.

This is really interesting: Why would you advertise yourself as being associated with total disaster? The thing is that sailors and Navy personnel in those days were very badly paid: they had not had a pay rise in more than 100 years! The only chance of making some money out of a naval career was to be involved in capturing an enemy ship, and to sell the captured goods. So, what Nelson is advertising here is "I am young but I am going for it. If you join the Navy, you stand as much of a chance of dying with a cowardly captain as with a courageous one. If you are going to do it, you want to work for someone who has courage, energy, and drive to succeed." So this painting is a kind of recruiting poster, designed to attract ambitious and warlike colleagues.

Another painting represents him boarding a Spanish ship. This is an event he loved to tell stories about. The British Navy engaged the Spanish off Cape Saint Vincent on February 14, 1797. Nelson realized that a slight change in the wind might give the Spanish a chance to sail away and escape. He and a couple of his colleagues pre-empted the orders from their commanding officer, took a shortcut, and engaged the enemy more

---

quickly than planned. They crashed into a Spanish ship and, unusually for a commanding officer, Nelson led the boarding party himself. As they swept across the deck, they were fired on by another Spanish ship that had been crippled by a colleague of Nelson's. Nelson charged on to the next ship and captured it as well. This was a feat of supreme personal courage in hand-to-hand fighting, and the only time in naval history that two ships have been boarded in one attack.

However, the picture is actually not an accurate portrayal because the moment that the second ship was captured Nelson returned to his cabin and wrote a report of his brilliant and courageous deeds and sent two copies home in a fast boat - one to the Admiralty (hoping that it would get there before the official report by his admiral) and one, just in case, to a friend in London, advising him, if he so pleased, to pass it on to the editor of the Times Newspaper.

The story of Nelson's courageous deed did appear in The Times ahead of the official announcement from the admiral. We are talking about news management here. But consider the risks. He was part of a naval culture in which loyalty and cooperation among the captains was absolutely crucial. What did they think of this? He had converted this whole battle into a story of Nelson, as if he was the only British captain there, although there had been more than 20 of them. In some of the next stories, we will see how he managed to convert the envy into admiration and loyalty.

Inevitably, the fighting that he was so fond of led to a loss of various parts of his body. He lost his right arm, the sight in his right eye and a good portion of his scalp, and sustained heavy wounds in his back, shoulder, and chest. He had a conviction that the force of his energy and courage, and the ability to bring other people with him would always win. But it did not. He lost at Tenerife, and he lost each time he engaged a well-prepared enemy. Indeed, to say that he 'won' would be only half the story: often his enemies contributed just as much to the outcome by poor preparation and tactics. One exception may have been the battle of Copenhagen of 1801 which, interestingly, was recorded by Nelson, and is remembered in British history, as a great victory, but is seen as - at best - a draw by the Danes.

After the battle of Copenhagen, Nelson wrote a letter in which he said that people were so much in awe of his marvellous actions that they crowded in the street and were silent at his magnificence. In fact they were amazed that, after the man had been hurling lumps of iron at their city for

---

two days, he came ashore in a small rowing boat. What was that mad Englishman up to?

Nelson was a womanizer. He had lady friends all around the world. Each time he fell in love with someone, he was head over heels with her. As a young man, he had to be dragged away from women and the heartfelt commitments that he was about to make. Eventually he married a wealthy widow from the Caribbean, and moved with her back to England. But spending so much time at sea - and returning only when he needed patching up and nursing - was not good for the relationship; and just as he turned 40 (and recovering from a major head wound), he fell in love with Emma Hamilton, the wife of the British Ambassador to Naples. She was the daughter of a blacksmith and had what can best be described as a colourful career in London. The mistress of a young aristocrat, she was cast off when he decided to marry and settle down; to distract her, he sent her to Naples to live with his uncle (to whom he was in debt) - Lord Hamilton, the newly appointed British Ambassador. Within two years Emma married Lord Hamilton, learnt fluent Italian and became a significant force in Neapolitan politics. Her alliance with Nelson originally had to do with intelligence gathering and organization of supplies: there is an unwritten history about her and her influence on Mediterranean policy in the late 18th century.

How did Nelson regain the trust of his colleagues after he stole the limelight at the Battle of St Vincent? He came back from Tenerife, where he lost his arm, and, together with the commander of his flagship, Captain Edward Berry, was introduced to the king. When Nelson stood in front of him, in Windsor Castle, the king exclaimed: "You have lost your right arm!"

To which Nelson replied: "But not my right hand, as I have the honour of presenting Captain Berry".

Nelson had managed to bring a correspondent from The Times with him and this sound-bite was recorded and published the next day. Now, what captain would not feel moved by that? What a fantastic response to the king and it was reported throughout the Navy.

Nelson and his comrades were almost destroyed in the Battle of the Nile. Yet, they had defeated the naval part of the French force that had invaded Egypt. He wrote a report on the battle, praising the team spirit amongst the captains, "We were a band of brothers". This is a phrase taken from Shakespeare's "Henry V", a very patriotic, jingoistic play. Nelson claimed

---

that they developed this camaraderie through frequent dinners where they would discuss tactics and techniques. They would eat, and drink, and talk, and build a sense of comradeship; as a result, they knew each other so well, that they did not need to wait for commands. They could work like a team and had a common belief concerning what they wanted to achieve.

However, after I published my book on Nelson, a colleague at Exeter University went back through the ships' logs and reports to find out how often these captains really met with each other. Rather annoyingly, he found that only two of those captains saw Nelson more often than six times over six months. Most saw him only twice. The notion of a "band of brothers" was a myth created after the event.

Think about this. After mergers, acquisitions, and other major changes in companies, there is a tendency for the winner to claim that there had been fantastic teamwork, but those who feel they have failed come up with a totally different interpretation. The winners, basking in the glow of success, may not be the most accurate analysts of the causes of their victory.

Nelson was not a great speaker. He had a high-pitched voice and spoke in a heavy Norfolk accent. There is no record of him delivering a speech that convinced or moved anybody. However, he would go around the ship and talk to the sailors, and he remembered their names years later.

The ships in those times were relatively small and they were crammed with sailors - some 900 men who lived together in such conditions for two years at a time. Therefore, it was important that they trusted each other and knew where they stood.

Trust was an absolute requirement in the Navy. Suppose you have asked a commanding officer to go somewhere and sort things out there. Once his ship sails beyond the horizon, you are out of touch. Therefore, loyalty was considered crucial in those days.

Nelson was a fantastic manager. He kept the entire fleet in the Mediterranean for two years and all that time it was well supplied, although the financial circumstances were difficult. It was largely down to a brilliant administrative system.

He was also a leader of innovation. A new signalling system had been invented the year before the battle of Trafalgar. It was an alphabetic system that allowed the spelling of messages. Prior to that, there had only been a

---

set menu: "attack to the left", "sail to the north", etc. Nelson adopted the new system and could give precise instructions; however he did not. The first time he used it, he sent an inspirational message: "England expects that every man will do his duty!" This is meaningless in terms of instructional content. Nelson had done something completely new with this new technology: he had communicated directly to his entire force. I think this is a mark of his genius.

Nelson's legacy is extraordinary, but complex. Clearly, Nelson played a great role in ensuring Britain's control of the seas and the building of its mercantile and industrial empire. But the British population were not uncritical of the war. After Trafalgar, J.M.W. Turner painted a picture of the aftermath of battle, which was banned by the government. Instead of depicting the great glory of victory, it showed the horror, pathos, and destruction of war.

Almost immediately, though, Nelson was converted from national hero to celebrity. Around the time that he died, the technology to put pictures on pottery was invented. He is probably the first case of a celebrity whose image appeared on mass-produced goods, and even Napoleon kept a bust of Nelson on his desk.

Nelson knew that he would die at sea, and had long before commissioned a picture that depicts him like a pieta - beneath the cross-shaped spars of a sailing ship. That is how he saw himself and his destiny. That is also how British mythology of Nelson has constructed him as the Saviour of Britain. This explains why 400,000 people turned up in the rain to commemorate the 200th anniversary of his death. Seven-year-old-boys still stand in front of his portraits and, whatever we may say about that, boys admire military heroes. When you think about Britain's attitude to Europe, you have to remember that Nelson's story is still very much alive in British culture.



## **MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK: LEADERSHIP FOR CHANGE**

I like to call myself a scholarly practitioner. I have spent most of my time in business practice, but I like the academic community and spend considerable time in that environment.

I am here to talk about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. This is actually Danica Purg's idea. We met in Istanbul some time ago and she told me about this event and suggested that it would be a good idea to have somebody from a culture that is controversial in terms of geography and history, and that at the same time has produced a great European leader.

In 1998, I went to the United States with my wife, her sister, and a lady friend of theirs. We took a taxi and sat in the back, chatting. The driver asked us where we were from. I said, "We are from Turkey". He told me that he was from Iran. I said "This is good, because we are neighbors, and Muslims, too." Just to make a joke, I said: "Look, I have my three wives with me and we are going to my son's graduation ceremony". All of a sudden, there was a stern look on the man's face and I thought he was not pleased with the idea that somebody had three wives. He turned to me and said, "You are not a true Muslim!" I asked why. He said, "If you were a true Muslim, your wives would not be dressed like this. But do you know why you guys in Turkey allow your women to go out like this? Because of Atatürk. He was the worst enemy of the Muslim religion. He was a Zionist agent. His task was to destroy the Muslim religion."

I am going to talk about a man whom some people call a Zionist agent. Others call him a dictator. However, most Turks call him "Atatürk", "the father of Turks".

Recently, Turkey was on the covers of *The Economist* and *Newsweek* because there had been huge mass protests around the country. In Izmir,

---

nearly 1.5 million people rallied in the streets to protest against the government. They carried the national flag, but also pictures of Atatürk. They were protesting because the government was going to elect a new president and the ruling party has mild Islamist roots; therefore the masses were afraid that it was going to restore Islamic traditions. When the demonstrators were interviewed, they said they had come out to defend Atatürk's revolution.

Atatürk's followers see the headscarf as a symbol of traditional Islam. Consequently, the Kemalists do not want to have a president whose wife wears that symbol. Of course, we have democratic governance; the president is elected by parliament. However, we have a long experience of coups. We have had a coup d'etat almost every 10 years. When that happens, the Kemalist army steps in with the intention of saving the country from supposedly enemies of the Republic. There has been no direct intervention recently; nevertheless the army has come up with new methods. This time, they posted a message on their website. Political analysts called this a cyber-coup: the generals threatened that they would step in if this president were elected.

Meanwhile, the opposition challenged the legality of the presidential election and the Constitutional Court ruled in their favor. As a result, we are going to have early elections.

You are unlikely to see Brits marching in the streets, brandishing portraits of Nelson in order to defend democracy. But in Turkey, even 70 years after Atatürk's death, his portraits are all over the place as a political symbol.

Let me go briefly through the context in which he emerged, first as a military leader and then as a political leader. He was born in 1881. He received a military education and fought on many fronts for the Ottoman Empire. He became the first president of Turkey and his most important project was the modernization of the country.

I am now going to discuss Atatürk's leadership in the framework provided by Howard Gardner. He has used a cognitive approach and published a book called *Leading Minds*. It is helpful in the sense that it allows us to understand Atatürk's leadership style and evaluate his qualities.

According to Gardner, there are six elements of leadership: the story, the audience, the organization, the embodiment of the leader, direct and

---

indirect leadership and the issue of expertise. I will try to discuss each of these with reference to Atatürk.

Atatürk was a very good story-teller. He had many stories to share with the audience. Having the mind of a military strategist, he would tell the stories in sequence, until he reached his final target. His first story was about the need to save the country because it had been invaded by foreign forces. He did not attack the sultanate or the caliphate in the beginning. The first story he told was "We must save our country".

Then he approached his targets one by one. After the nation had been successful in its war for independence, he started to explain why Turkey should abolish the sultanate: because the state's sovereignty belongs to the nation and only to the nation. Then, he started telling another story, focused on the need to do away with the caliphate and introduce secular civil practices. He even wrote his own story and delivered it as a speech in parliament. In his communication with the masses, he was very good at reaching the unschooled mind. He was able to touch both the minds and the hearts of all people.

Coming from a military background, Atatürk was a very good organizer. He established a national army and, once peace was achieved, he set up a party. Although it was a one-party state at that time, as the president of Turkey he tried to steer the country in the direction of democracy.

Atatürk liked to create role models for his people. He had the Arabic alphabet replaced with the Latin one. He traveled all around the country, writing in chalk, in order to show people how much better the new alphabet was. He also told people stories to convince them that they should adopt European appearances, as well as a modern science-oriented mind.

Gardner speaks of direct versus indirect leadership, depending on whether the story is directly related to the audience or not. Atatürk was clearly a direct leader, although he used aids such as the books that he wrote.

When it comes to expertise, Atatürk's was mainly in the military domain: he was a brilliant soldier. He later transferred that expertise to politics. Because of his extensive experience in war, he treated his political opponents as enemies.

*Sergey Zhavoronkov*



## **HISTORICAL MODELS OF GOVERNANCE IN RUSSIA**

Given the limited time for my presentation, I will leave you with some questions with the hope to talk more about them during the question & answer session: What makes the war on symbols of Muslim identity endure over the years? Why is a close look at the modernization process in Turkey more important than ever? The question raised in *The Economist* after the protests in Turkey was: "If Turkey cannot reconcile Islam and democracy, who can?" Considering the large Muslim populations in European countries like France, UK and Germany, what are the problems of integration?

The presentations that we heard yesterday and today demonstrate that discussing history is a very challenging task. I am glad I had evidence that helped me to tell you about history in the present.

The topic of my presentation is models of Russian governance. There is a common belief that Russia is a leader's society. There are multiple reasons for that. First, the legal order is not highly developed; for one thing there are no legitimate contracts. Also, Russia has a lack of democratic experience. Traditions and customs provide insufficient guidance because they do not include some important regulations. Therefore, the lack of legal order is compensated by leadership - from monarchs in the past to contemporary politicians today. This explains why the success of a leader's society depends largely on the personal characteristics of the head of state.

In Russian society, the value of a person is not defined solely by his personal merits but also by his group affiliation: profession, organization, nation, etc. Such supra-individual entities are very important in syncretic societies. However, there are examples from Russian history of leaders who overcame their affiliation to social entities. For example, Yeltsin did not surround himself with either party bureaucrats or friends from his native Sverdlovsk region.

---

Syncretic values are challenged by the values of individualism. Once it was believed in Russia that both the syncretism and the leadership style would be overcome, the result being a civil society. However, recent events have shown that there is no progress in that respect; actually there is some regress.

It is possible to identify both autocratic and collective forms of governance in Russian history. In the former, the sessions of the cabinet of ministers did not feature long and detailed discussions of state matters because the monarch made all decisions on his own. However, in the 19th century, at the beginning of the reign of Alexander II, an informal circle of the emperor's followers assumed control of the state's governance. The monarch discussed matters collectively, striving to achieve some consensus among his advisors.

Later, there emerged specialized committees, consisting of imperial officials. Although the committees were not formal, consensus was needed to reach a decision. Alexander II could hardly be blamed for a lack of leadership qualities or abilities to make decisions; nevertheless, he consulted those committees.

After the establishment of parliament in 1905, the cabinet of ministers began to play a significant role in collective decision-making. However, at the end of the rule of Nikolay II, the constant changes of government ministers prompted the emperor to assume full control of state affairs. Yet his absolute rule could not prevent the destabilization of power. The monarchy was deposed and the communist party, led by its Politbureau, took the reins of the country.

Nevertheless, until 1927 there existed a voting system that was used in order to define different positions. The 1925-1927 events showed that expressing disagreement with the leader resulted in punishment; as a result, autocratic leadership once again became the norm.

Modern historians believe that there were no Politbureau meetings at all between 1939 and the end of the 1940s. All decisions were made by Stalin and presented as Politbureau decrees.

In 1957, there was an aborted attempt on the part of Politbureau to depose Khrushchev. However, the 1964 coup was successful. As Khrushchev did not put up any resistance, it took place without any violence. Under Brezhnev and Gorbachev, the intensity of the Politbureau debates was sometimes quite significant.

In a state characterized by the rule of law, the choice between collective or authoritarian rule depends on the results of the rulers' actions. Yeltsin did not enjoy the support of the two chambers of parliament because the lower chamber was under communist control, whereas the upper chamber was controlled by the ruling party. The 1999-2003 parliament did not make any major decisions; only the parliament of 2003 could pass any significant resolutions.

We must remember that Russia's new president - whoever he is - will inherit a peculiar situation: absolute control of everything in Russia. However, his power could be curbed in various ways - for example Putin might retain some control of the country's economy. He could also become the head of a company that controls the shares of both Gazprom and Rosneft. It is also possible that power will be shared by several of Putin's successors, which would mark a transition toward collective authoritarian rule.

*Michael Gehler*



## **THE CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP AFTER 1940**

Thank you very much for inviting me to this event. I am a historian, born in Innsbruck, Austria, and brought up in Upper Franconia, Germany. I returned to Austria to study contemporary history and discovered there a very strong focus on the Nazi period and a lack of interest and research in post-war developments. Also, I noticed that the memory of the "Fuehrer" made the notion of leaders and the study of leadership unpopular. I think this is a big mistake. We need to examine the role of leaders in European history as well as in European integration.

I believe that leadership in the European Union context has a lot to do with legitimacy. It also requires a strong home base and political support. However, leadership is expected to involve an ability to lead even in the absence of strong support on the part of the public. I believe this is possible only to a certain degree. Beyond a certain point, leadership needs support. If that is not the case, and the political system is a democracy, the leader will fall. Think of Winston S. Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, or Tony Blair, and in the end also of George W. Bush.

I also think that leadership implies a combination of responsibility, ability, and convictions. It also requires a convincing communication style. Efficiency and favourable circumstances are also necessary, as are fortune and timing. By "timing" I mean an ability to use windows of opportunity.

During the Second World War, London provided shelter to many Europeans who escaped from the Nazi regime. Exiled politicians came together and exchanged ideas concerning the future of Europe. Paul-Henri Spaak was one of them. After that, the United States provided a number of leaders who played a significant role in the rebuilding of our continent. Think of George C. Marshall, William B. Clayton, and President

---

Dwight D. Eisenhower. Thus, the United States was a major factor in Europe's early integration process.

Consider also Alcide De Gasperi, Konrad Adenauer, and Robert Schuman. They demonstrated leadership while accepting the division of Europe and Germany. Although Germany was a divided country, Adenauer pursued a policy of Western integration. Think also of the concept of a United States of Europe, pushed by Churchill. But what he meant was "Unite yourselves", not "Let us unite". This is the legacy of the great warrior whose historical contribution has more to do with the destruction and division of Europe than with its reconstruction and unification; therefore many critical Europeans see Churchill also as a failed European leader.

Schuman's concept of a united Europe, which was the concept of Jean Monnet, was based on the idea of merging the steel and coal production companies of France and Germany. That was intended as a first step toward a sector-based integration. Therefore lesson 1 is: The success of supranational integration resulted in the control of Germany, which was one of the main objectives of (Western-) European leaders. It was also important, for psychological reasons, to pave the way for closer Franco-German cooperation and reconciliation.

After Turkey and Greece (in 1952) and the Federal Republic of Germany (1955) joined NATO, the main purpose of that organization was clear: it was a step in the European integration process. It was also about what is called "triple containment" as NATO Secretary General Lord Ismay stated: "To keep the Russians out, to keep us in, and to keep the Germans down." Adenauer agreed.

That is why lesson 2 is: German politicians and political leaders have played a key role in European integration politics. For them, handling the German question has always been crucial. It has always amounted to containing German nationalism. This policy has been pursued by all German chancellors since Konrad Adenauer, although Gerhard Schroeder may not have devoted too much attention to it. Angela Merkel is fully aware of this challenge.

France and the Federal Republic of Germany have always been the leading players in the European Union. It is interesting to note that while Paris was in favour of atomic energy integration, Germany wanted to see a free market in Europe. Lesson 3 is: The success of European leaders is in

---

their ability to compromise and integrate positive and negative concepts of integrations.

However, we must not forget the importance of external pressure. Without the Suez Canal debacle in 1956, France would not have felt compelled to cooperate with the main Second World War loser - Germany.

Although Germany was divided politically, East Germany belonged to the EC market. Adenauer was trying to preserve the economic unity of Germany. Lesson 4 is: Interestingly, European leaders have always resorted to economic tools in order to surmount the political obstacles.

Charles de Gaulle caused a crisis through the so-called "policy of the empty chair". He blocked decisions at the Council of Ministers in 1965 - 1966 because of the controversial policies concerning majority voting and the financing of agriculture. However, that strong leader of France did not stop European integration. Rather, the opposite is true - with the devaluation of the French Francs, the rejection of the large free-trade zone proposed by the United Kingdom, and the exclusion of the United Kingdom, de Gaulle helped to consolidate European economic unity. He was supportive of the common market and much more pro-European than his contemporaries realized. Lesson 5 is: There is no contradiction between national and European leadership. European integration helped some leaders hold on to their popularity at home - consider once again the example of de Gaulle.

The United Kingdom has always been a difficult partner. For example, it has not backed a common social policy or a shared currency. In terms of its security policy, it often has been pro-American and sceptical of Europe. Lesson 6, here, is that when a policy is too strongly oriented toward national interests, it can stop further integration. With respect to the global scene however, and ongoing globalization, a strong, nationally-oriented policy is doomed to fail.

The 1970s were hard times. They were characterized by the collapse of the international monetary system, the escalation of the Vietnam War, virulent international terrorism, and an energy crisis. The circumstances were such that there was no room for common European policies, and nationalism thrived. This teaches us another lesson, lesson 7: if international crises are exceedingly serious, politicians and even political leaders have little room for manoeuvre.

---

The French after 1945 adhered to the concept of "planification" - a planned economy - whereas the Germans preferred a liberal "social market economy". If this is so, why did the French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and his prime minister Raymond Barre accept an economic and monetary system in the European Communities that flew in the face of the French tradition? The background was provided by the Program of Blois in March 1978. Giscard d'Estaing and Barre initiated a fundamental shift in France toward economic liberalism and announced that they would like to see a major shift also in the "mentality" of the French. The idea was to introduce price competition and abolish subsidies and all other state interventions. The final goal of the Program of Blois was for France to catch up with Germany in the only area where it was falling behind: economic performance.

Lesson 8 is: we see from this example that European leadership has always accepted and encouraged change. The economic policy of France is a case in point. If you do not want to lose, you have to change. The need of change produced European leadership too.

It is very clear that the Maastricht Treaty was a new step toward a European Union constitution. It came into being for three main reasons. First, there was the idea of the European monetary union which originated from the Delors report. The second reason was the fall of the Berlin Wall and German unification. Finally, the common market necessitated a common currency. The French were especially interested in breaking the hegemony of the German Bank and the Deutschmark in the European monetary system. The whole endeavour was a great success for the Paris-Bonn-Brussels axis.

It was also important to provide a timetable, and Maastricht provided one. Today, the term that we would use is a "roadmap". It outlined a step-by-step integration policy and proposed guidelines for creating a European Union identity.

In spite of all the setbacks and the lack of leadership in Europe, as some speakers put it, the European Union policy of enlargement has been a demonstration of leadership in its own right. We have now 12 new members and that is a tremendous achievement. Lesson 9 will be: I would argue that we have witnessed European leadership without personal leaders. How is that possible? The thing is that we have a lot of actors on the stage: the European Court of Justice, the General Directorate of the

---

European Union Commission, negotiating teams, and also non-governmental organizations and trans-national party political cooperation. All these are contributing to European integration. The process is based on rational, pragmatic considerations, even though a kind of leadership is hidden behind the scenes. Finally we can observe a revival of the rationalist methods of Jean Monnet from the 1950s: a consensus of the elite, behind-the-scenes negotiations, and decisions from above - take the accession of Bulgaria and Rumania - without asking or involving the people in the member states. That was European leadership too.

---

## COMMENTS, QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

### Question from the audience

My question is to Dr. Gehler. Are you suggesting that what is emerging nowadays is a new leadership model in the public and private sector? Does the concept of leadership change in accordance with the environment and the challenges that we face? There is also another view: that leaders can create an appropriate environment so that things can happen. Which is closer to your view?

### Michael Gehler

If, as a historian, I had to compare different decades - for example the 50s and the 60s to the late 90s and the beginning of the new millennium - I would report a big difference. My main thesis would be that in the 50s and the 60s it was much easier to practice European leadership than it has been recently.

Let me give you an example. We have seen a total change in the media structure. In the 50s and the 60s there was a political party press, which was quite loyal to the party that it supported. Nowadays, we have a much more private press and much more investigative journalism. It is far more difficult to profile European leaders. A good example of that would be the Waldheim debate.

There are also all sorts of new organizations nowadays. The profiles of the political parties have also changed. The sharp distinction between left and right has disappeared.

Corruption and various other scandals receive far more attention than they used to. As a result, politicians are now under hard pressure to consider moral issues.

My point is that we have to have different concepts of European leadership. We have to accept a greater number of actors and greater complexity. The agenda is much larger than in previous decades and it is impossible for one person to address everything, despite all think-tanks and advisors. Therefore, I would like to propose different models of leadership. They would involve teamwork, including the help of political scientists, historians, and philosophers.

### Erhard Busek

I must admit that I was a little shocked by those speakers who glorified heroism. Is heroism really necessary for leadership?

It was also interesting that Jonathan Gosling spoke so much about Nelson but did not mention his adversary - Napoleon. The French general and emperor was also a hero. He, too, had a well-developed public relations mechanism. But is that really necessary to be a good leader? I have my doubts.

---

This refers also to Kemal Pasa and the way that he was described. Indeed, he contributed a lot to Turkey's modernization and the country's survival after the disaster of the First World War, but the ethnic cleansing for example was not mentioned and Kemal Pasa was one of the fathers of that method.

Moreover, I think that Kemalism is somewhat outdated. I would be happy to see a secular Turkey survive but I have some doubts. The AKP is supported by a new middle class which might be getting larger. Despite all rallies and demonstrations, that party can win elections.

Kemalism also has to do with hushing up of the Armenian question as well as the issue of the so-called "mountain Turks" - that is the Kurds.

Michael Gehler brought up an interesting question. Is it possible to have leadership by abstract institutions? Or is leadership always connected with personalities? I would be extremely happy if Michael were right about the future, but there are mixed tendencies. For example, some developments in the media are positive but there are negative ones as well. They sometimes present horrible personalities in a positive way. Think of Paris Hilton who is a key figure in the media these days. Perhaps she has the potential of becoming a new leader. I may have chosen a terrible example but there are not very many good examples around.

### **Danica Purg**

Mr Stanovnik said that one of the lessons that can be learned from Tito's story is that leaders should have the courage and convictions to make tough decisions, even if they are not liked by everybody. In modern leadership however, we talk more and more often about the leader as a servant. We also heard about "silent leadership", although such leaders may not be typical.

I know that Jonathan has another concept of leadership, even though he focused on Nelson's heroism. What he teaches is closer to the "leader as a servant" idea.

### **Jonathan Gosling**

It is interesting to note that Napoleon travelled on all his campaigns with a bust of Nelson. This was the time of the birth of the romantic hero in the sense of a person communing with nature and expressing something powerful about humanity through an individual who would stand out from the crowd. This was a cultural move of the time. Nelson, Napoleon, and others exemplified this trend. It was reinforced by the birth of the mass production industry which enabled the creation of a cult of personality around someone like Nelson.

---

The growth of heroism and the heroic leader were very much connected at that time. Of course, this was partly due to the fact that this was the last age when military leaders were close to the action. It was like an anachronistic preservation of a cultural experience from former times.

I just completed a one-and-a-half year study of leadership at universities in the United Kingdom and Australia. One of the questions I looked at was how authority is distributed within institutions and how decisions are made. I was surprised that in every single interview people quoted heroes - vice-chancellors, registrars, research leaders, writers, and suchlike. They are tremendously admired and idealized in this way. I think the idealization of individuals is a really powerful force.

### **Comment from the audience**

During the presentation on Atatürk, I was reminded about the Egyptian Islamic reformer Muhammad Abduh who wrote that human societies are like swarms of bees that need some sort of connection to hold them together. His view was that what makes people bond is love. That is the force that binds the elements of human society. He also thought that we follow particular leaders because we love them more than other people.

I think that people did love Atatürk and they loved Nelson, too. Churchill was very much loved, too. I have heard old British people say that they did not vote for him, yet they liked him.

To support Jonathan's point, I do not think leadership is possible without the personal element in it. It probably cannot exist without love, romance and adulation. Even if you are not a leader who seeks love, you will probably get it anyway. I think you are doomed to failure if you seek an abstract model of leadership in which we will fall in love with an institution like the European commission.

### **Deniz Kirazci**

Leaders have various constraints due to the backgrounds that they come from. This is a lesson for all leaders, including those in the business world. We all come from different places and our divergent personal histories may be a constraining factor in our leadership.

Another lesson is that one should have different perspectives. As far as Atatürk is concerned, he was too preoccupied with military and political issues; so much so that he neglected some sociological dimensions, some of which were mentioned by Erhard.

I shared some images of Atatürk to demonstrate his vivid presence today, seventy years after his death. It is true that some of his ideas are outdated and the ruling government is very likely to be re-elected. I do not think however that they are anti-secularists who will install religious traditions in the political practice. Nevertheless, there are millions of people who fear that Atatürk's revolution is going to suffer a setback.

### **Comment from the audience**

In my view the United Kingdom is moving into the position of a major European power. I was very astonished to hear Erhard Busek say that Churchill was not a major leader. I would say that the United Kingdom, Germany and France are still shuffling for leadership in Europe. The United Kingdom is the financial centre of the continent. I have done a big study on that and can demonstrate that it has not been on the sideline at all.

Are we not talking about an attempt to revive the constitutional treaty and tempt the United Kingdom into the game that Jacque Delors played by coming to speak to the trade unions and asked them to join the "social contract"?

I would also argue that Europe has followed the United Kingdom in many ways. For one thing, it is more diverse nowadays and this is precisely the kind of Europe that Churchill spoke about. We are moving toward a United States of Europe. However, the big battle is about law and whose law will prevail. I think that Roman Law is really what Erhard is about. I would argue that you are in favour of European institutions that create European law top-down. On the other hand, we know - because we have said this again and again - that leadership needs a home base. How do you reconcile this?

*Pierre Casse*

## History From the Future

### THE ACTS OF LEADERSHIP IN EUROPE FOR WHICH 2007-2008 WILL BE REMEMBERED

We spent the morning talking about leadership in the past. Let us now discuss the present. What is going on in our days? What are the critical issues?

The idea of this session was to split in groups and discuss some written documents. In this way we aimed to generate some ideas and have a short discussion. Let us see how the different teams that we formed prior to the session have tackled the issues that we gave them. (The papers discussed were: “An Unhappy Anniversary” by Denis MacShane, and “Looking Back, Looking Forward: Jacques Delors reflects on half a century of European integration”)

#### GROUP REPORTS

##### **GROUP ONE**

*The document we discussed argued that 2007/8 marks an unhappy anniversary of the European Union. Although we disagreed with this conclusion, we must admit that there is very low support for the European Union in countries like Britain, France, and Germany. Initial high levels of support in the new member states has dropped, too. One of the reasons for this is that country leaders blame others for their failures, usually Brussels. That is simply the easiest way for them. This, of course, is a common dynamic in federations of all kinds, and even in large divisionalised organisations: most business units feel oppressed by the controls and restrictions of the corporation. This is why leadership is so strongly associated with those who are able to assert and communicate a shared vision and sense of common identity.*

*We also agreed that European leaders need to share a strong European vision. The reason for that is that Europe should not have a problem with the*

---

*competition between Germany and Poland. The real problem is with competition from China and India. Therefore, there is a need for European leaders to ensure that Europe is not just a global payer but also a global player.*

**GROUP TWO**

*We think that Sarkozy, Brown, and Merkel do not see united Europe as a problem but as an opportunity. We also think that there are many happy Europeans in the countries that acceded to the Union recently.*

*We also concluded that the Constitution is not dead. Moreover we think that a European identity is necessary, although it should not be confined to the European Union as it is now. On the other hand, national identities are still strong and will remain that way for a long time. We agree that there is a shortage of good leadership in Europe and efforts should be made to deal with that problem.*

*The vision that we have is a composite one, of multiple national languages and discourses that help the citizens express what they see as a European policy. This fragmented vision is very different from having one single vision. This is what we would call democracy. A fragmented vision implies multiple identities for people in a single country. That is a healthy aspect of democracy because it is about respect for individual rights.*

*If you are in business, you know that the consumers choose what to buy. They will not let you tell them what to buy. That is the major consumption pattern in the modern world. You choose whether to go by railway or air. You will not be told by a dictator that you have to travel one way or another. The same applies to political affiliation, and to identity.*

**GROUP THREE**

*I fear that we are going to stir the pot on the same subject. Our topic was an interview with Jacques Delors on the 50 years of European integration. Agreement was easy to achieve; we had a number of similar thoughts. The European Union must rediscover its purpose. Also, in the rapidly globalizing world, our continent should start looking outwards. We also agreed that Europe has not yet reached a satisfactory speed of development.*

*We also discussed the fact that politics has been an overemphasized issue in Europe, at the expense of economics. There is too much of a tilt in the balance between the two.*

---

*Jacques Delors was asked whether national identity is important. He said that it is but he added this: "What shocks me is the notion that by withdrawing into our own corners we will resolve the great challenges of globalization and technological progress." We strongly felt that we need not only to get out of our national corners, but also to look out of Europe.*

*We wondered whether the European Union is going through its most serious crisis. We did not reach agreement on that.*

*We discussed Delors' comment on Turkey. Asked why some members oppose that country's European Union accession he replied, "It is due to their anxiety about globalization and their underestimation of the spiritual and geopolitical stakes at hand." We doubt that. We thought it had more to do with Turkish immigrants who take local jobs. We think that the reasons why most people in Western Europe are opposed to Turkey's entry are pragmatic. They have to do with concerns about work and population flows. We are not necessarily endorsing those views, but they are certainly becoming an issue in Western Europe.*

*There were a couple of other issues concerning Turkey that some people brought up which, I think, are worth mentioning. There is a feeling that Europe needs to rediscover and strengthen itself, and integrate, and at the same time some people are inviting more members. Is it practical to do both at the same time?*

#### **GROUP FOUR**

*What we liked about the article that we read was an unemotional phrase in Jacques Delors' statement: "leadership leading to clarification of the European goals, a clarification embracing diversity".*

*But we disliked the tone of the entire article. The tone implied that the answer will be provided by the European Commission. We were worried that leadership by that commission is not a good idea, because it is not up to the existing challenge. One of the major failings of the European Commissions is the fact that it has not noted the priority to help deliver economic prosperity. People need adequate explanations of the nature of the competitive world that we live in but that has not been done adequately. The Commission has failed also because it has been looking for vision rather than fresh air. Another thing it has got wrong is its position on European identity. It is possible to have integration even if people identify with their own nations. It does not make sense to force them to buy into a myth that they do not share.*

---

**Pierre Casse**

*Yet, this morning we heard that myths, such as those of Atatürk, Nelson, or Napoleon, can have a very powerful impact*

**GROUP FOUR (Jeremy Black)**

*The truth about Atatürk is that his achievements were backed by a powerful army. And he used that army to do some pretty horrible things, such as ethnic cleansing. If he were alive today, we would not consider him a hero but a war criminal. As for Nelson, he was not in charge; he did not even run the Admiralty. He was simply a brave and skilful commander.*

*We do not think you want to hold up Napoleon as an example either. He was completely unable to live without waging war. He beat the Austrians; they ceded territories to him and two years later he started another military campaign. It would be truly depressing if he were held up as a great European leader.*

**GROUP THREE**

*We discussed similar issues, too. We concluded that Delors and the European Commission are not to blame because European policies are dictated by Europe's heads of states. Delors and the Commission are simply a battlefield commander plus some officers.*

**Jonathan Story**

*Actually, seen in retrospect, Jacques Delors was a powerful European leader. He achieved many things and failed to do many other things, which is the norm in politics. He came in with the backing of manufacturing because he was seen as an excellent finance minister who had presided over the introduction of capital markets a la New York in double quick time in France. Secondly, he had a lot of support from the coal industries. Finally, he had Mitterrand's backing because he wanted to get him out of Paris. He also enjoyed support for the policies that he was expected to put through.*

**Pierre Casse**

*I would like to ask a question about this issue of "fresh air". Just how do you get people to rally behind it and feel motivated to do something about it? If you go around Europe's streets and ask the man in the street, you will not find much excitement about Europe or common European pride. Are you going to change that with fresh air?*

---

**GROUP FOUR**

*Your example is an illustration of political maturity.*

**Pierre Casse**

*But how do you expect people to mobilize so as to face extreme threats such as the rising Chinese power?*

**GROUP FOUR**

*You are using the word "fight" but nowadays we do not expect the bulk of the population to get engaged in a modern war. What we want is to have them feel reasonably confident in the system that they are part of, and to produce so that they can consume. The easiest way to achieve that with most people is to tell them that what they need to do is to look after themselves and their families. That is what drives most people - consumption. It is not fighting some sort of war. The last thing that generals want these days is ignorant yobos, messing up their tanks.*

**Erhard Busek**

*We have talked a lot about political leaders but nobody has mentioned anything about business leaders these days.*

**Derek Abell**

*I agree. In the political community, the idea of leadership is to create the right soil for business people to do a good job competitively. We do not need highly visible political leaders because their job is simply to set the scene. It is better for them to stay in the background, because the real action is in the business community. That is what drives consumption and progress. However, we need a government to provide the right setting and we are all screwed up in Europe on that because we work 35 hours a week and have all kinds of curious ideas about innovation. We also compete in the wrong way.*

*I am not against political leadership; I just think that it should be low key. On the other hand, I believe we need heroes in the business community who have visions of what needs to be done and move people forward.*

**Pierre Casse**

*I beg to disagree. I think that when you are in a crisis - and we are in a big one right now, both domestically and internationally - you need some kind of strong, intelligent, wise public leadership. And I do not think leaders should be behind the scene. They should be up front doing their job. If you leave this to the business community, nothing good will happen.*

## MAJOR ACTS OF LEADERSHIP IN 2007-2008

What are the acts of European leadership for which 2007-2008 will be remembered a few years from now?

- ◆ *There was a very important event in 2007: for the first time in history there is a government - that of Finland - which consists of more women than men. For half of the world's population, that is very significant. The Economist recently published an article in which it called women "the most underutilized resource in the world". It is very important that we have more women in leadership positions.*
- ◆ *The balance between France and Germany in the European Union. We think that this axis could greatly benefit if Sarkozy emerges as a powerful leader in France and in Europe.*
- ◆ *Africa: in three years' time we might be looking back at the government of China and congratulating them for the development of a new leadership model.*
- ◆ *Business leaders will have taken significant steps to enlarge their contributions to public life. One colleague mentioned Danone and their work in alleviating poverty in southeast Asia. Unilever, Lafarge, and Walmart were also mentioned as companies that are not just sitting back and waiting for something to happen. They are getting involved in issues like environment protection and climate change, and are doing something about them; thus they are showing leadership.*
- ◆ *Climate Change; In three years we might think highly of Al Gore, who is trying to show leadership on climate change. While business innovation is absolutely crucial, we also need scientific innovation and regulatory change by politicians. This could be significantly enhanced when we realise that there is no shortage of risk capital in the world at the present moment to chase the many business opportunities.*

- 
- ◆ *We will also see new developments in business thinking. For example, according to the London Business School, the most important development in business is not technological progress but changes in managerial philosophies and practices. There is a bunch of people out there right now trying to figure out what the next Toyota model should look like. A few years from now we may be looking back and congratulating the person who made that happen. We thought a lot about the innovation that is going to come out of the business world and its leadership.*
  - ◆ *Social entrepreneurs and the people who have slightly off-the-wall business models, will be seen to have asserted themselves in 2007-8, and will end up having a lot of imitators in a couple of years.*
  - ◆ *Ordinary people - the voters in the European Union; The demonstrations and the other forms of participation in political life, as well as the fact that voting rates seem to be rising, are signs of an enhanced political consciousness. And these may well be people who show leadership as time goes by.*

However, a number of issues that desperately require leadership may prove just too difficult. Most of these are where public sector and political leadership is required. Business cannot solve social problems. It certainly cannot sort out the environment on its own or guarantee a better future for mankind. By 2010 we will be particularly concerned about:

- ◆ *The Lisbon strategy may not achieve its objectives. The European Union might not increase its competitiveness as much as it should.*
- ◆ *The turmoil in the Middle East. We need a European strategy for that part of the world because, in all likelihood, we will be facing a US meltdown in that region in 2008 with extremely serious consequences for Islamic countries and Europe.*
- ◆ *Health problems will be considered increasingly important and by 2010 we will realise that we are not doing enough right now.*
- ◆ *We will regret the lack of leadership in cross-border cooperation between regions and insufficient work between smaller states in the European Union. Leadership is clearly needed to create greater cohesion. Europe's relationship with its close neighbours - Turkey, Russia, North Africa, and the Middle East - are far more important than whether Germany and France can work together. A key issue for Europe is whether we can pool our forces for some effective global response. We are weakened by poor relationships and lack of decisiveness.*

- 
- ◆ *We fear that, if we look back to the present a few years from now, we would once again say that we have been too complacent and too focused on our petty domestic affairs.*
  - ◆ *Energy; The main issues are the dynamics of energy prices, the environment, and the need for joint action by science, business, and politics. Leadership is needed in order to make society more responsible in terms of consuming less energy, using more efficient forms, and finding new sources. This is a global and local problem at the same time: how to stay wealthy while consuming less.*

*Jonathan Gosling*

## PLAUSIBLE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPORTANT EUROPEAN ISSUES

The previous discussion was both wide-ranging and stimulating. Now, let us identify three or four key issues for Europe and discuss their potential developments. What is really likely to happen?

### **GROUP ONE**

*We discussed new leadership and tried to define the necessary and sufficient conditions to create it. We agreed that the first one is legitimacy. The second one is the principle "think before you act". The third one is another principle: "get out of the reactive mode and be proactive".*

***Jonathan Gosling***

*How do you make this happen? By giving more women an opportunity to be leaders? Anything else?*

### **GROUP ONE**

*Inclusiveness is very important, but there is another key issue that goes with it: tolerance. The Netherlands used to be a very tolerant country until it experienced some political and religious murders. Therefore, tolerance needs to be redefined. You cannot just say 'I tolerate'. What do you tolerate? Where is the limit?*

*When you have a million Muslims in your country, you have to deal with that situation. You have to move toward a new common identity and that takes new leadership. You cannot achieve much on the basis of the old model.*

### **GROUP TWO**

*We, too, agreed that we need new leadership, especially in politics. There are plenty of business leaders who are doing well. Politicians determine the way that our lives develop but in many European countries they are not well regarded. Therefore, we need to do something in order to have the best individuals in*

*politics. If we achieve that, their profession will enjoy more respect. Nowadays, some people in Slovenia and in other countries are ashamed to admit that they have a professional interest in politics but it need not be that way. Politics should be a normal and respectable profession like any other.*

*We also supported the idea of more women in politics. The question is how to achieve that. Women need to work together and support each other if they are to increase their percentages in the political elites. In Slovenia, when you put women on a ticket, the other women do not vote for them. Why is that so? Women are not less capable or motivated; we are simply talking about a prejudice.*

### **GROUP THREE**

*Leadership was also on our agenda. For us, the issue of inclusion of women is not central because good leadership always implies inclusiveness; it goes without saying that women should be represented.*

*We are not sure that there is agreement in this room as to what leadership itself is. Unless we can define the concept, how can we single out the best leaders? Therefore, we decided to offer you a definition of leadership. Its task is twofold. First of all it is to ensure survival. The second task is to ensure sustainability. It does not matter if you are in politics, business, religion or social work; the tasks are the same.*

*How do you achieve this? We need an entirely new model of leadership. First of all, we must get rid of all the old leaders. They must all go. The new ones should possess a number of characteristics. They should be peace-loving and human-centred. They must be leaders for today and tomorrow. They should take a holistic view. They should put the prosperity of their followers at the heart of what they do.*

*The new leaders should not be heroes, at least not in the conventional sense. We would take Nelson out, but Mother Theresa and Nelson Mandela would be in as role models.*

*The new leaders should educate their followers about their values. It was proposed that we need a new lexicon of leadership that would include a list of concepts.*

*If you want to solve the problem of the Middle East, this is how you do it. Islam and Christianity share 90 percent of their core values. Once we have created the new non-heroic leaders in Christianity, we should be able to find similar people*

---

*within Islam and other religious groups. These leaders can create shared purpose.*

**GROUP FOUR**

*We focused on differences between people and decided that we need a new collaborative spirit. That requires an environment in which it is possible not only to lead, but also to let others lead. In other words, leadership presupposes a willingness to support other leaders.*

**GROUP FIVE**

*As a first measure, the leaders should raise people's awareness of global problems, such as the looming energy crisis and climate change, and support science, so that it provides a solution to those challenges. Leadership should also support civil society and business.*

**GROUP SIX**

*We voted for innovation as the most important thing, because that is what will differentiate us from China and the other Eastern countries. That is what will create more jobs and more added value. We have to change the current education system because it is inadequate. There used to be a strong focus on technical subjects in the past, but nowadays there is a shortage of specialists in that area, especially in information technology. As Mr Busek put it, it is not sexy to be a technician. It is sexy to be a lawyer or a politician because those people have power. People do not realize that scientists have a greater power and capability to steer the future of the world in a particular direction. Who else will save the environment if not them? Unfortunately, we do not know enough about what is going on in the world of science because the public relations are missing. We definitely believe that scientists can be heroes; heroism is not reserved for politicians.*

---

# **”HISTORICAL EUROPEAN LEADERS: WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THEM?”**

**IEDC - BLED SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT, SLOVENIA**

**BLED, JUNE 7 - 8, 2007**

---

## **DAY 1: THURSDAY, JUNE 7**

Conference Chairman: Prof. Jonathan Gosling, Director, Centre for Leadership Studies,  
University of Exeter, UK

**16:00-16:30**            **Welcome and opening session**

Prof. Danica Purg, *Director of the European Leadership Centre, Slovenia*

Prof. Jonathan Gosling, *Director, Centre for Leadership Studies  
University of Exeter, UK*

**16:30 - 17:30**            **Leadership and History: A European Perspective**

Prof. Jonathan Story, *Emeritus Professor of International Political  
Economy INSEAD Fontainebleau*

Prof. Jeremy Black, *Department of History, University of Exeter*

**18:00-19:30**            **Connecting History and Leadership**

Dr Erhard Busek, *Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact and former  
Vice-Chancellor of Austria*

Mr. Janez Stanovnik, *former President of the Republic of Slovenia*

**19:30-20:00**            **Discussion**

## **DAY 2: FRIDAY, JUNE 8**

**08:30 - 10:30**            **Learning from our Past European Leaders**

**PART 1: GREAT LEADERS**

Prof. Jonathan Gosling, *Director, Centre for Leadership Studies, Exeter  
University, the UK*

Deniz Kirazci, *Executive Board Member, Sancak Inc, Turkey*

Sergei Zhavoronkov, *Senior Researcher, Institute for the Economy in  
Transition, Russia*

---

PART 2: THE CONTEXT OF LEADERSHIP

Prof. Michael Gehler, *Director, History Institute, University of  
Hildesheim, Germany*

11:00-12:30

**Historical European Leadership: A Controversial Issue**

Interactive session by Prof. Pierre Casse, *Academic Dean, Berlin School  
of Creative Leadership*

12:30-14:00

**History from the Future: the Acts of Leadership for which 2007/8  
will be Remembered**

Interactive session by Prof. Jonathan Gosling, *Centre for Leadership  
Studies, University of Exeter, UK*

---

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

<b>Prof. Derek Abell,</b>	<i>Professor (Emeritus), esmt-European School of Management and Technology, Germany</i>
<b>Marjan Babič,</b>	<i>Member of the Board, Luka Koper d.d., Slovenia</i>
<b>Prof. Jeremy Black,</b>	<i>Department of History, University of Exeter, United Kingdom</i>
<b>Ludwig Bölkow,</b>	<i>Head of International External Relations, Deutsche Bahn AG Germany</i>
<b>Dr. Erhard Busek,</b>	<i>Special Coordinator, Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Austria</i>
<b>Vita Cajnko Javornik,</b>	<i>Editor-in-Chief, Manager, Slovenia</i>
<b>Prof. Pierre Casse,</b>	<i>Academic Dean, Berlin School of Creative Leadership, Belgium</i>
<b>H.E. Dana Manuela Constantinescu,</b>	<i>Ambassador of Romania</i>
<b>Nevenka Črešnar Pergar,</b>	<i>Member of the Board, Aktiva Invest d.d., Slovenia</i>
<b>Milan M. Cvikl,</b>	<i>Deputy, National Assembly, Republic of Slovenia</i>
<b>Richard Day,</b>	<i>Manager, European HR Development, Honda Motor Europe, United Kingdom</i>
<b>Metod Dragonja,</b>	<i>Managing Director, IEDC-Bled School of Management, Slovenia</i>
<b>Elena Evgrafova,</b>	<i>Editor-in-Chief, Harvard Business Review Russia, Russia</i>
<b>Tatjana Fink,</b>	<i>General Manager, Trimo Trebnje d.d., Slovenia</i>
<b>Renate Flotau,</b>	<i>Correspondent, Der Spiegel, Balkan Office, Germany</i>
<b>Artur Gedike,</b>	<i>Strategic Marketing &amp; HR Manager, Fima Validus d.d., Croatia</i>
<b>Prof. Michael Gehler,</b>	<i>Director, Institute for History, University of Hildesheim Germany</i>
<b>H.E. Dr. Hans-Joachim Goetz,</b>	<i>Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany</i>

---

<b>Sonja Gole,</b>	<i>President, Adria Mobil, Slovenia</i>
<b>Prof. Jonathan Gosling,</b>	<i>Director, Centre for Leadership Studies, University of Exeter, United Kingdom</i>
<b>H.E. John C.M. Groffen,</b>	<i>Ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands</i>
<b>Zlatko Herljević,</b>	<i>Editor, Vjesnik d.d., Croatia</i>
<b>H.E. Ivana Hlavsová,</b>	<i>Ambassador of the Czech Republic</i>
<b>Milan Horvat,</b>	<i>General Manager, Fima Validus d.d., Croatia</i>
<b>Svetozar Janevski,</b>	<i>President of the Board, Tikveš Winery, Macedonia</i>
<b>Duncan Johnston,</b>	<i>Manager - HR Development, Honda Motor Europe, United Kingdom</i>
<b>Aleša Kandus,</b>	<i>President of the Board, Medex International d.d., Slovenia</i>
<b>Deniz Kirazci,</b>	<i>Executive Board Member, Sancak Inc. Turkey</i>
<b>Sonja Klopčič,</b>	<i>HR Manager, Trimo Trebnje d.d., Slovenia</i>
<b>Nataša Koradžija,</b>	<i>Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Manager, Slovenia</i>
<b>Marko Kryžanowski,</b>	<i>President of the Board, Petrol d.d. Ljubljana, Slovenia</i>
<b>Nebojša Mandić,</b>	<i>Country Manager, DHL International d.o.o., Serbia</i>
<b>Francois Mattelaer,</b>	<i>Territorial Senior Partner, Pricewaterhouse Coopers d.o.o., Belgium</i>
<b>Emil Micajkov,</b>	<i>Director, Alkaloid d.o.o. Ljubljana, Macedonia</i>
<b>Živko Mukaetov,</b>	<i>CEO, Alkaloid AD Skopje, Macedonia</i>
<b>Dr. Petr Nemeč,</b>	<i>Head of Foreign Politics and World Economy Department, Magazine Econom, Czech Republic</i>
<b>H.E. Dr. Mario Nobilo,</b>	<i>Ambassador the Republic of Croatia</i>
<b>Dr. Stojan Pelko,</b>	<i>Founder and CEO, Korpus, communication consulting company, Slovenia</i>
<b>Boris Petković,</b>	<i>Director Serbia, DHL International d.o.o., Serbia</i>

---

---

<b>Gorgi Petrušev,</b>	<i>Executive Director, Tikveš Winery, Macedonia</i>
<b>Boris Popović,</b>	<i>General Manager, Alarm Automatika d.o.o., Croatia</i>
<b>Ivan Potemkin,</b>	<i>Head of Center for Professional Development, Russian Managers Association, Russia</i>
<b>Prof. Danica Purg,</b>	<i>President, IEDC-Bled School of Management, Slovenia</i>
<b>Goran Radman,</b>	<i>Chairman South East Europe, Microsoft</i>
<b>Anna Ryzhova,</b>	<i>Deputy Head, Corp. Development Projects, RENOVA, Russia</i>
<b>Vojka Ravbar,</b>	<i>Executive Director, SKB Banka, Slovenia</i>
<b>Hermann Schützinger,</b>	<i>General Manager, Coca-Cola HBC Slovenija d.o.o., Austria</i>
<b>Cvetka Selšek,</b>	<i>President of the Board, SKB banka d.d., Slovenia</i>
<b>H.E. Tim Simmons,</b>	<i>Ambassador of the UK of Great Britain and Northern Ireland</i>
<b>Stéphane Sisco,</b>	<i>Managing Director, Intelligere, France</i>
<b>Janez Škrabec,</b>	<i>President, Riko Group, Slovenia</i>
<b>Niko Slavnič,</b>	<i>GMP Director, IEDC-Bled School of Management, Slovenia</i>
<b>Janez Stanovnik,</b>	<i>Former President of Slovenia</i>
<b>Prof. Jonathan Story,</b>	<i>Emeritus Professor of International Political Economy, INSEAD, France</i>
<b>Prof. Danilo Türk,</b>	<i>Vice Dean, Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia</i>
<b>Twan van de Kerkhof,</b>	<i>Managing Director, European Leadership Platform, the Netherlands</i>
<b>Mirella Visser,</b>	<i>Managing Director, MV - IMC/Centre for Inclusive Leadership, the Netherlands</i>

---

---

**Morgen Witzel,**

*Contributing Editor, European Business Forum,  
United Kingdom*

**Sergey Zhavoronkov,**

*Senior Researcher, Institute for the Economy in  
Transition, Russia*

**Nadya Zhexembayeva,**

*Director, World Inquiry, Case Western Reserve University,  
USA and Kazakhstan*

---

**ELC CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS**

- 2003      Creating an Agenda for European Leadership**
- 2004      Future of Europe: Leadership at the Public/Private Sector Interface**
- 2005      Leadership and the Media: the European Challenge**
- 2006      European Leadership Trends and Success Stories**
- 2007      Historical European Leaders: What Can We Learn from Them**
-

**Published by:**

European Leadership Centre,  
IEDC-Bled School of Management,  
*Prešernova cesta 33, 4260 Bled, Slovenia*

**Year:**

2007

**Editor:**

Prof. Arnold Walravens  
*IEDC-Bled School of Management*

**Design:**

Eduard Čehovin

**Circulation:**

1,000 Copies

*Printed on Biomat 135 by Papimica Vevče*