Catalytic Strategies for Conscious Social Transformation

Catalytic Strategies for Conscious Social Transformation:

Leadership in Thought

Edited by

Garry Jacobs, Ivo Slaus, Jüri Engelbrecht and Alberto Zucconi

Cambridge Scholars Publishing



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PREFACE

This book examines a decade of work by the World Academy of Art and Science (WAAS) on global challenges of unprecedented magnitude, intensity, and complexity. At the time of writing three of these challenges pose extreme threats to the security of people and nations around the world: The COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, and the Russia–Ukraine Crisis. The differences between them illustrate the serious limitations of a narrow conception of security and the urgent need for both a wider and more integrated perspective that not only defines the full scope of security threats, as the Sustainable Development Goals do to a great extent but also emphasize the complex interlinkages and interdependencies between them and the need for both a comprehensive and integrated approach to addressing them.

The history of the COVID-19 Pandemic is still in the making at this moment in time. Some epidemiologists predict a third or fourth resurgence is around the corner. But whether or not that happens, there is widespread consensus that this is only the first in what will very likely be a serious recurring threat to humanity. The pandemic has already irreversibly altered our notions of global human security. The official count of fatalities due to the pandemic has crossed 6 million worldwide, but a recent study by Lancet concludes that the actual number is probably three times that many. And the medical death toll hardly tells the whole story. The pandemic has impacted virtually every aspect of human life in the world – political, economic, financial, educational, environmental, cultural, and technological. It has severely reduced global economic activity, raised unemployment, brought air travel to a halt, caused supply chain shortages due to reduced production and transportation, spurred the creation of trillions of dollars of stimulus funds to prevent economic collapse, closed hundreds of thousands of educational institutions, canceled nutritional food programs for hundreds of millions of school children, compelled unprecedented cooperation among governments, pharmaceutical companies, and medical research institutions, and the list goes on.

Even as the pandemic was unfolding, it became clear that it was not a unique event but rather symptomatic of a type that would radically alter our conception of security in the years to come. And it requires no stretch of the imagination to understand the implications. COVID-19 was merely a warm-

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up for the greatest security threat humanity has ever faced – the rapidly approaching consequences of global climate change. The anticipated impact of climate change has been known for decades, but the sudden onset and visceral impact of the pandemic touched the lives of billions of people with an urgency and intimacy far more direct and personal than the climate challenge has yet to deliver.

And just as the impact of the pandemic appeared to be subsiding, the Russian invasion of Ukraine surfaced as a third global challenge of unexpected speed, intensity, and complexity. Initially perceived as a local conflict between two neighboring nations, it soon acquired global dimensions with an intensity unrivaled since the end of World War II. The implementation of a severe economic and financial blockade by Western nations has signaled the first waves of what could quickly become a global economic recession. Fuel and food prices have skyrocketed, threatening the food supplies of the poor and the energy needs of countless homes and factories, spurring levels of fuel inflation that had not been seen for decades. Germany abandoned a seven-decade-long policy by dramatically boosting military spending, illustrating a marked shift in investment priorities that is sure to undermine commitments to the Sustainable Development Goals. Within the first week of its onset, Russia placed its nuclear arsenal on high alert and threatened to use it if NATO interferes with its systematic efforts to forcefully subjugate Ukraine and possibly even annihilate it right before the eyes of the whole world. This illustrates the interdependence between environmental and political-military threats. For, the impact of the Ukraine war on energy investments and the possibility of massive nuclear fallout threaten to drastically increase the immediacy and magnitude of the existential climate crisis as well.

At the same time, the war also foreshadows the emergence of greater solidarity and collaboration among nations of the world so essential for addressing all of these challenges. On March 2, 2022, 141 nations of the UN General Assembly overwhelmingly adopted a resolution demanding that Russia immediately end its military operations in Ukraine. On March 15, 2022, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ordered Russia to immediately halt its military invasion of Ukraine. European nations have exhibited a level of unity unseen in this century. The global public is witnessing an ongoing humanitarian catastrophe close-up through nonstop coverage on mainstream and social media, contributing to a growing agreement on the illegitimacy and urgent need to totally outlaw war as a crime of aggression. In this way, the aggravation of global crises is generating momentum for a reinvention of the multilateral system as it did after World War II.

These three crises are very different in their origin. Yet their characteristics are remarkably similar. First, all three are global in scope and reach, which means that they cannot be successfully addressed by nations individually. Each demands unprecedented levels of coordination and cooperation with other members of the global community, which are beyond the effective capacity of the present multilateral system. Second, all of them are inextricably interlinked. Meeting them effectively will require fundamental changes in public policies and the institutions of national and global governance, in our theoretical understanding of global society and of the forces driving its evolution, and in the kind of thinking required to address them. It will compel us to transcend the disciplinary boundaries that currently divide the social sciences from one another. It will require deep thinking to comprehend the means of converting the long, slow trial and error process of social evolution into a more rapid process of conscious social transformation.

A decade ago, WAAS began a quest to reinvent economic theory by shifting the focus from a mechanistic Newtonian search for the precision and certainty achieved by the natural sciences to a human-centered, value-based perspective that judges the validity of knowledge in terms of its demonstrable effect on the economic welfare and sustainable human security for all.

This initiative led to a project in collaboration with the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG) in 2013 to conceive a comprehensive approach to addressing the full gamut of global challenges: political, economic, financial, technological, scientific, medical, educational, social, cultural, and environmental. Over a six-year period, WAAS explored the implications of these challenges, their interdependencies, and the limitations of existing concepts, policies, and institutions for addressing them.

In 2019, the focus shifted from analysis of root causes to strategies to fill the global leadership vacuum in thought, policy, and action. This second project with UNOG focused on identifying catalytic initiatives for effective global leadership in the twenty-first century. It sought to replace the multilateral system founded in 1945 as an institution of nation-states driven by national agendas and priorities with one which can more accurately reflect the needs and aspirations of citizens, the voice of global civil society and humanity.

This book illustrates the critical need for redefining, reframing, and reinventing concepts that have for so long been taken for granted. Among

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them, one of the most compelling is the need to reexamine the concept of security which is a common denominator for all three of the disparate global challenges referred to in this preface – the pandemic, climate change, and the war in Ukraine. In spite of their magnitude and dire ramifications, none of the three can be effectively addressed by the traditional approach of national security based on the existing multilateral system, the UN Security Council, and the \$2 trillion-plus in global military spending which is supposed to keep the world safe from war. A system intended to safeguard nation-states has proven grossly inadequate to meet the needs of billions of people for food, employment, education, health care, a sustainable environment, human rights, social equality, and any of the other essential elements of human security enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and unanimously transformed into 17 Sustainable Development Goals and 169 actionable targets by 193 nations in Agenda 2030 (2015).

Concern with the issue of human security runs throughout the history of the Academy from its roots in the letter Einstein wrote to President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939 to the present war in Ukraine, from the signing of the Russell–Einstein Manifesto in 1955 warning of the imminent danger of catastrophic nuclear war to the dire threats posed by the population explosion of the 1950s, followed by massive food shortages in the 1960s, and leading progressively to overexploitation of natural resources, environmental pollution and eventually to the existential threat of climate change.

The Academy was founded six decades ago by scientists, thinkers, and statesmen deeply concerned with the future security of humankind during a period when the powers of science were being unlocked and placed at the disposal of both war and peace. Thirty years after the end of the Cold War heralded an end to the nuclear arms race, we confront unparalleled threats to human security that necessitate a radical reframing of our concepts, theories, policies, institutions, and leadership. The work of the Academy today continues to focus on the promotion of peace, sustainable development, and security for all human beings. As we write, discussions are underway with the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security to collaborate on a global campaign to project a comprehensive, integrated approach to security – Human Security – to replace the narrow conception of competitive national security.

One of the aims of WAAS' founding fathers was to have the Academy function as a policymaking collaborator with the United Nations. WAAS-

UN collaboration has gained prominence during the last decade. In 2013 WAAS collaborated with the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG) on an international conference on New Paradigm in Human Development focusing on the root causes of global social challenges. Following the conference WAAS launched a multidisciplinary research project on this subject. This was followed by further collaboration with UNOG in 2019-20 on Global Leadership in the 21st century, which examined strategies by which the global community and multilateral system can effectively address global challenges and opportunities. The program involved fifteen working groups, two major international conferences, and more than a dozen webinars, with contributions from more than 300 experts representing more than 70 organizations, including ten UN agencies.

On October 1, 2022, WAAS commenced formal collaboration with the United Nations Trust Fund (UNTFHS) for a global campaign on Human Security for All (HS4A), which is funded by UNTFHS. This one-year campaign will reach out to decision-makers, institutions and the general public around the world to promote a comprehensive, integrated, personcentered approach to enhance all dimensions of human security, human rights and sustainable development of people everywhere. The campaign is being conducted with the collaboration of an expanding network of organizations around the world, including UN agencies, national parliaments, universities, academies, research institutes, businesses, financial institutions, civil society organizations, and extensive social media networks.

The chapters included in this volume have been the subject of vigorous debate among more than 500 experts drawn from many different disciplines and professions during more than 100 conferences and seminar sessions over the past decade. They have been selected out of a body of more than 200 papers to represent different dimensions of the work undertaken from different perspectives with emphasis on those which most effectively bring out the complex interdependencies between them and the type of thinking required to effectively integrate them into a coherent body of knowledge.

The book closes with two papers that shed light on the unique characteristics of WAAS as a transnational, transdisciplinary organization seeking to surmount the intellectual divisions between disciplines and bridge the gaps that so often separate abstract theoretical thinking from effective practical action. One chapter traces the circumstances and conditions which gave rise to the founding of WAAS by distinguished intellectuals in 1960. Another traces the evolution of thinking within the Academy in search of a

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comprehensive conception of reliable knowledge less susceptible to the fragmented perspectives, glaring omissions, and mechanistic Newtonian assertions so characteristic of human sciences in search of the precision and certainty achieved by the natural sciences.

SECTION A:

NEW PARADIGM

UNCORKING THE FUTURE: TRANSITIONS TO A NEW PARADIGM

GARRY JACOBS

Abstract

This chapter explores issues discussed at three WAAS events regarding the process of transition to a new paradigm. The prominent institutions and policies governing the present paradigm are founded upon a bedrock of ideas and values and an abstract, reductionistic mode of analytic thinking detached from people and social reality. Escaping from the present blind alley and transition to a new paradigm require adoption of a different way of thinking that is human-centered, value-based, inclusive, and synthetic. The multidimensional challenges confronting humanity today are the consequence of precious opportunities missed at the end of the Cold War. At the same time, the awareness and energy released by these challenges have the potential for converting current challenges into unprecedented opportunities for progress at the global level. The outcome depends on our capacity to discover the complementarity underlying apparently contradictory, opposite viewpoints. Multiculturalism is at once the source of intense friction and conflict and the rich genetic potential from which a new paradigm can emerge. A new paradigm requires a deeper understanding of the cultural underpinnings of democracy, a rational examination of the sacred cow of national sovereignty, and explicit recognition of the social responsibility of science for the consequences of scientific discovery and technological innovation. Leadership will play a crucial role in determining the outcome – intellectual leadership at the level of ideas, scientific leadership that exhibits consciousness responsibility, and transformational leadership at the level of international institutions and nation-states.

To our normal perception, the future is like a one-way mirror. Looking forward from the present, it is impenetrable and blocks our vision of what is coming. Like a rear-view mirror, it presents a reflection of where we have come from through the lens of our prevailing ideas, beliefs, and past experience. Looking backward from the future, we perceive the unfolding sequence of events as a logical consequence of causal determinates emerging out of the past that appears natural and almost inevitable. We are all blind in prospect and visionary seers in retrospect. In March 2015, WAAS and the World University Consortium conducted a brainstorming workshop at Dubrovnik to frame the outlines for a transdisciplinary course on transformational leadership. In April 2015, the World Academy coorganized important conferences in Kiev and Baku - the fourteenth and fifteenth in the last three years – exploring prospects for transition to a new paradigm. These events sought to break some of the perceptual barriers posed by one-way mirror vision and to peer into the future through the cracks in its surface.

Challenges are Opportunities

Today humanity confronts multidimensional challenges of unparalleled magnitude, complexity, and consequences for current and future generations. The intensity and urgency of these challenges are magnified by rapid globalization, the accelerating pace of social change, exponential rates of technological innovation, and the increasingly extensive and intricate web of interlinkages and interdependencies between people, institutions, and aspects of life everywhere.

This is also a period of unprecedented opportunities for humanity. The momentous potential of these opportunities has been multiplied and magnified by the global spread of democracy and human rights, rising levels of education, increasing interconnectivity, soaring aspirations, and other catalytic deep drivers. The consequences of these challenges and opportunities will depend entirely on the way we respond to them.

ⁱ The international conference on "The State of the World: Need for the New World Paradigm and Role of Ukraine in it," organized by the World Academy of Art and Science, Bohdan Hawrylyshyn Charitable Foundation, and World University Consortium, was held in Kiev, Ukraine, on April 25, 2015. The other conference held on April 29–30, 2015, in Baku, Azerbaijan, titled "Framework for a New Paradigm of Human Development" was organized by the World Academy of Art and Science and the Nizami Ganjavi International Center.

Looking backward, we sometimes observe dire challenges morphing into unanticipated opportunities. The US Civil War was ostensibly fought over the issue of whether slavery should be prohibited or permitted in new states being formed out of the westward expansion across the North American continent. But the deeper issue at stake was whether the young American union would remain a weak confederation of states or splinter into two or more independent nations. For several years, permanent secession by the Southern states appeared the most likely outcome. Either way, slavery would have eventually been abolished, as it was abolished elsewhere around the world. But had the early Confederate victories garnered the full support of European buyers eager for Southern cotton, the United States (US) today might more closely resemble the semi-independent states of Europe that are now struggling to overcome their differences to build a strong federal European Union. Eventually, the tide of military and economic might turned in favor of the North, national unity was preserved, slavery was abolished and a strong federal system replaced the weaker association of states that preceded the war. By the end of the nineteenth century, the US had become the largest and most prosperous economy in the world. Following the two world wars, it became the most powerful nation militarily and politically as well. A challenge to its very survival was converted into an opportunity for the US to emerge as the world leader.

In modern times, the devastation of two world wars was converted into the foundations for two of the most important events in human history. First was the founding of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 to transform a world governed by a precarious balance of power and military might among a few imperial European empires into a world governed by a global organization of sovereign nations, rule of law, and universal human rights. While it has failed to live up to its highest aspirations and proclaimed ideals, the establishment of the UN has successfully avoided the onset of a Third World War, created a global network of international institutions, and forged a global community of nations based on shared values and goals.

The second remarkable event was the founding of the European Community and the European Union, which have successfully forged nations which had fought with one another incessantly for centuries into an entirely new type of transnational organization dedicated to promoting peace, harmony, and prosperity for their culturally diverse populations. The critical task before us today is to transform the ominous challenges confronting humanity into positive catalytic forces for rapid evolution to a new paradigm.

Problems can be converted into opportunities. It is equally true that opportunities missed can become problems. The world missed an unprecedented opportunity at the end of the Cold War. It missed the opportunity to develop an inclusive, global economic system that promotes the security, welfare, and well-being of all human beings. It missed the opportunity to completely abolish nuclear weapons that still pose an existential threat to humanity. It missed the opportunity to transform a competitive security paradigm consisting of exclusive and competitive military alliances into an inclusive, global cooperative security system ensuring peace and security for all nations. It missed the opportunity to fully extend the principles of rule of law and democracy to the institutions of global governance. It also missed the opportunity to convert the impending environmental challenge into a bonding agent to unite humanity against a common enemy that can only be defeated by global cooperation on an unprecedented scale.

Instead, 25 years later we find a global economy that is much larger but more unstable and uncertain in which poverty persists for billions of people, unemployment is rising to near-record levels and economic inequality everywhere is returning to heights not reached since the 1920s. The number of nuclear weapons states has proliferated and the role of nuclear weapons in military doctrine is on the rise. The euphoria that followed the end of the Cold War is morphing into what has been aptly termed as "Cold Peace" in which the US and its European allies are once again in confrontation with Russia, while the Middle East and North Africa are shaken by increasing levels of instability, and the growing assertiveness of China is raising notes of alarm in the Far East. Cultural and religious tensions and open conflict are on the rise even in the heartland of liberal Western society. Lip service is given to ecological concerns while water resources dwindle, temperatures warm, and urban pollution endangers huge populations.

Why did we fail to seize the opportunity? Why couldn't we make it happen? Many explanations can be given. The persistence of old rivalries, prejudices, and suspicions vitiated the expansive atmosphere following the fall of the Berlin Wall. Forgetting that the end of the Cold War was largely prompted by voluntary internal changes behind the Iron Curtain, some Western intellectuals prematurely proclaimed the final victory for capitalism and democracy and the end of history itself. The fall of the first twin tower was interpreted as ultimate triumph of the tower that remained standing but soon began to totter as it leaned toward neoliberal extremism that dismantled the regulatory environment which had stabilized and democratized capitalism during the twentieth century. Political theorists

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mistaking the mechanical apparatus of free elections for the liberal democratic culture which constitutes its heart and soul pressed to impose that mechanism on societies that were politically, administratively, socially, and culturally unprepared and ill-equipped for sudden transition. Former Communist oligarchs presided over the largest theft of public property in history. Following a radical 33% fall in global defense spending after the Fall of the Berlin Wall, reactionary politicians wedded to a Cold War mentality and vested interests in the military-industrial complex found ways to hike up defense spending to record levels. In spite of the movement toward unification in Europe, national governments clung to outdated concepts of sovereignty that predated the Enlightenment and the democratic revolutions of the past two centuries. Financial institutions and speculators plunged headfirst into the vacuum created by the new Wild West of unregulated global financial markets causing a rampage of instability that undermined economies and destroyed millions of jobs around the globe. A plutocracy of money power progressively replaced the dogma of political ideology in both East and West. The five permanent members of the UN Security Council clung possessively to the special privileges they had accorded to themselves as the victors in World War II.

For the past quarter century, the increasingly globalized human community has drifted in a rudderless boat without compass or captain, giving literal meaning to the idea of a world in which nobody is in charge. Everywhere, people sought visionary leaders with the capacity to transform challenges into opportunities and potentialities into reality. With few exceptions, they have been sorely disappointed. Politicians have found no difficulty in pointing fingers at domestic opponents or foreign conspirators. Multicultural liberal societies have descended back toward the intolerance of bygone eras. Yet these outcomes were neither necessary nor inevitable.

Many agree with the assessment of former Slovenian President, Danilo Türk, that international institutions have become victims of a powerful conservative tendency to maintain stability rather than evolve to keep pace with the needs of our times. That is why social evolution commonly occurs at the periphery where society is less organized and rigidly fixed in its ways. The emergence of the World Wide Web represented a momentous advance, sprouting up out of nowhere and rapidly developing into the first truly global social organization without any apparent plan or purpose. The development of new global business models, the proliferation of international civil society organizations, and the very recent expansion of online educational institutions are other examples of this principle. The world is more organized today than ever before, yet the central institutions

that humanity looks to for global governance and rule of law appear increasingly incompetent and impotent.

The Intellectual Foundations of a New Paradigm

All these factors have contributed to the gross failures and missed opportunities of the post-Cold War period. But none in itself or in combination with others is sufficient to expose the root cause of these failures. For that, we need to look beyond specific events, policies, institutions, vested interests, and competitive nationalism to the underlying set of ruling ideas on which the current paradigm in human affairs is founded. The world we live in is an expression of the ideas we believe in. Limitations in our thinking manifest as problems in our lives. The failures of our policies and institutions are founded on failures of thought and conception. As Einstein said, "We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them." Ideas have the Power to change the world, as Jean Monnet's dream became the living seed for the united Europe that acquired concrete reality after his death.

A new paradigm must be based on a new set of concepts and values attuned to the future we seek to uncork. It requires not only different ideas but also a new type of thinking that differs in essential ways from that which now prevails. First, the new thinking must be human-centered. That means all its premises and conclusions must be judged from the perspective of how far they serve human needs and how far they develop and unleash human potential. A blind faith in the magic of the marketplace, technology for the sake of technology, growth for growth's sake, the sanctity of national sovereignty, and expediency of balance of power on which the present paradigm is founded are instances of mechanistic Newtonian thinking based on the supposed action of universal laws of social nature similar to the natural laws which have long been the pursuit of the physical sciences. But the principles governing human society are not creations of Nature or bound by immutable laws. They are creations of human beings which can be altered by conscious choice and made to function differently and better. Our task is not to discover immutable laws of social nature and adapt to them, but to formulate social principles that maximize the welfare and well-being of human beings. If faith is to play a role in the new paradigm, then it must be faith in the unlimited potential of human beings for innovation, creativity, development, and evolution.

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When Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed office as US President in 1933, he inherited the US' worst-ever banking crisis, which had already resulted in the failure of more than 6,000 banks. Millions of Americans had to line up at the banks to withdraw their hard-earned savings, plunging even sound financial institutions toward bankruptcy. Conventional Economics offered no good solution to a financial panic of this intensity. FDR rejected as useless the economic theory he had learned at Harvard. Instead, he went on nationwide radio and appealed directly to the American people. He understood it was the people who had created the panic by their loss of confidence in the system and it was only the people who could reverse it. He reminded Americans of the rich productive potentials of their country, the courage of their immigrant forefathers who risked all to come to the New World, and the can-do spirit of self-confidence that had made America rich. He correctly diagnosed the real problem. "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." And then he asked Americans to return to the banks and redeposit their savings. A change in perspective halted the panic. It was stopped by a man who understood that economics is a human science. It is this type of thinking that prompted US President John F. Kennedy to assert three decades later, "Our problems are man-made, therefore they may be solved by man. And man can be as big as he wants. No problem of human destiny is beyond human beings."

Second, the new thinking must be overtly and explicitly value-based. For long the social sciences have sought to mimic the code of value-neutrality and detachment achieved by the natural sciences in their observation of physical phenomenon in the quest for objective knowledge for the material universe. The natural scientist is not expected to judge nature, but only to observe and understand it as it is. Karl Popper warns us against applying a similar approach to the social sciences, terming it "misguided naturalism." The primary aim of the social sciences is and must not be truth per se but knowledge that promotes the welfare and well-being of human beings. The objective is not value neutrality that judges all phenomena as equally acceptable, but knowledge that strives to advance realization of values universally affirmed by world civilization and culture – freedom, peace, harmony, tolerance, justice, equality, integrity, and truthfulness. In fact, social science has always been and must necessarily be value-based, but very often those values have been cloaked as universal laws to give them the guise of respectability of scientific truth. Democracy is not merely an amoral, mechanistic system of governance that can be installed by technical experts and function like a computer straight out of the box. True democracy is founded on a social culture based on liberal values of freedom, tolerance, and harmony that evolved in the West centuries before the right to vote and

social equality became prevalent. Contemporary Economics is founded on a narrowly defined concept of efficiency that ignores the devastating costs to society of rising levels of unemployment and inequality and the ravaging environmental destruction resulting from pollution, resource depletion, and climate change. Human labor is considered a dispensable, disposable resource. Rising levels of crime, drug use, social alienation, and violence are dismissed as externalities. Education is accounted for as a cost rather than an investment in the development of human capital. An economic system that deprives people of freedom of choice, security, opportunities for gainful employment, and self-respect is unacceptable, even if it were to achieve remarkable heights of economic efficiency. As former Greek Prime Minister, George Papandreou, expressed at the Baku conference, "We need to humanize global capitalism. We need to humanize our technologies to make sure they are used, not abused." And to humanize the economic system in practice we must first humanize the values which it seeks to realize.

Third, the new thinking must be inclusive, holistic, and ecological. Our problems are too complex and deeply rooted in history to be resolved by any such simplistic, reductionistic analysis. The new thinking must dispense with the expediency of dividing reality into tiny fragments and contrary viewpoints. It must be capable of embracing a more complex, sophisticated view of reality that can discover the truth and reconcile the differences between myriad points of view. The conflicts between neoliberalism and neo-Keynesianism, Russia and the West, Islam and the West, readily lend themselves to diametrically opposite worldviews, each denying validity, relevance, and even a fair listening to one another. The Russian annexation of Ukraine is not justified by also conceding the folly of Ukrainian nationalists who sought to diminish the cultural rights of its huge Russianspeaking minority. The failure of world powers to respect the security guarantees given to Ukraine when it agreed to abandon its arsenal of nuclear weapons does not legitimize the fact that for two decades after independence corrupt Ukrainian oligarchs enriched themselves while refusing to institute the essential reforms needed to democratize and modernize their young nation. As former Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski reminded three former Ukrainian presidents in Baku, "Ukrainian reforms are essential for national cohesion, peace, and security." It was heartening and exhilarating to hear leading businessmen, public figures, and educated youth at the Kiev conference acknowledging their nation's errors and omissions and willing to accept responsibility for building a transparent, multicultural, democratic society. Initiatives such as that of the Bohdan Hawrylyshyn Charitable Foundation are in the process of equipping a new generation of leaders with 10

the intellectual capacity, values, and determination to transform the nascent nation into a model for others to follow.

Fourth, the new thinking needed must be synthetic. As Roberto Poli pointed out, we seem to have lost the capacity to educate generalists capable of dealing with the complex problems confronting humanity today. We have to nurture the mental capacity to see beyond the dualities and reconcile apparent contradictions as complementarities at a higher level. Great discoveries in the natural sciences have been the result of insights that unified phenomena that had previously appeared unconnected or opposite in character. Thus, James Maxwell discovered that electricity and magnetism were two expressions of the electromagnetic force. Einstein's equivalence principle unified acceleration and gravity. The new paradigm needs to conceive of an economic system that reconciles the creative energies unleashed by individual freedom provided by markets with the regulatory framework needed to provide security for all citizens, preserve social harmony and equitably distribute the collective fruits of modern society to all members. Similarly, the notion of national sovereignty must be reconciled with the equally legitimate claims of citizens for democratic rights, of minorities within states to preserve their distinct cultures, and of humanity as a whole for an equitable sharing of the global commons. The new thinking must not merely recognize the legitimacy of opposing points of view. It must rise above the divisive perspective of competitive, nationalistic consciousness to acquire a global perspective and vision of emerging global opportunities.

Clash of Civilizations or Cultural Diversity

The discussion in Kiev and Baku highlighted both the immense challenges and momentous opportunities resulting from cultural diversity. Contact and conflict between diverse cultures are as old as human history itself. In retrospect we might characterize the entire process of human social evolution as a movement of innumerable isolated, distinct cultural groupings coming into contact and conflict with one another, defining themselves by their differences, expanding and transforming themselves to incorporate new ideas and values, simultaneously attracted, educated, threatened, and enraged by their contrasts — a process that culturally enriched both conquerors and the conquered, those self-proclaimed as more advanced and those deemed only as passive beneficiaries.