



Singapore, October 25th 2004

Guest Lecture at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Government, NUS.

Topic: A New International system.

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PRELUDE

TEACHER: Boys' can you give an example of Globalization?

Answer: Yes sir. It is Princess Diana

Question: "...How???"

Answer: "An *English* princess

with an Egyptian boyfriend

crashes in a *French* tunnel

driving a German car

with a *Dutch* engine

driven by a *Belgian* driver

who was high on *Scottish* whiskey,

followed closely by Italian Paparazzi,

treated by an American doctor

using *Brazilian* medicines

and now

DEAD!"



I. THE PRESENT MODEL

The model for the world as we knew it was established in the late 1940's and based upon the following three main building blocks:

- 1) A national welfare system **everybody** was offered a place and cared for.
- 2) Collective security **every** nation state was included in the defense.
- 3) Economic internationalisation division of labour with a platform for **every** nation state.

KEY OBSERVATION. These three main factors actually **INTERACTED** in a positive way.

How does the system look **NOW**. The three composites do not any longer interact. Basically a model based upon Nationalism, Pursuance of national interests, Sovereignty.



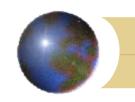
II. CHALLENGE

MAIN CHALLENGE.

For many people may be the majority around the world economic globalisation possess one and only one advantage: Higher growth and higher standard of living.

To achieve that they are ready to sacrifice a part of their own cultural identity, taste, consumer preference etc.

NOW if or when global growth falters so that alternative economic models may offer growth comparable with economic globalisation then what???



SPECIFIC CHALLENGES.

1) Dichotomy inside all nation states between the elite and the majority of population. The elite goes international. The elite communicates with the elite in other nation states but not with the majority of the population in their own nation state. The majority gets more and more introvert and partly nationalistic.

KEY OBSERVATION. A double seclusion.



- 2) **Disparities** inside the nation states and between nation states.
- economically and socially. In 1820 the ratio (GNP per capita) between the richest and poorest nation was 3:1, in 1913 it had deteriorated to 11:1, in 1950 it was 31:1, in 1973 the figure was 44:1 and in 1992 it was 72:1.
- digital divide which we now start to talk about. Who has access to the internet.
- educationally. Who gets the education necessary to perform in the new society.



All factors point to a dangerous split where a small part of the population is

Rich, well educated, uses the internet and communicates internationally.

while the majority of the population is

Not so rich and in many cases outright poor, poorly educated, not using the internet and communicates domestically inside nation-states.

Either rich and well educated or poor and poorly educated.

KEY OBSERVATION. Different mind set for the elite and the majority of the population.

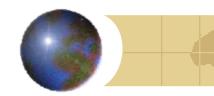


3) **Minorities INSIDE nations** states were kept quiet until the 1980's. Now they insist to voice their opinion and being listened to.

The European Union has broadly speaking not solved this problem but prevented it from erupting into what would have been a very nasty infight between the nation state and its minorities by developing a model based upon

ECONOMIC INTERNATIONALISATION and CULTURAL DECENTRALISATION.

KEY OBSERVATION. The minorities raise their heads thus assuming a role in the forces recasting the system.



- 4) A **sinister triangle** takes advantage of economic globalisation to pursue objectives in flagrant contradiction to internationalism.
- International terrorism
- International crime
- Infectious diseases

They force internationalism to defend itself and by so doing jeopardise the very future of internationalism.

KEY OBSERVATION. Some 'internationalists' play another game while pretending to follow the rules.



III. NEW PLAYERS.

We are used to a world dominated by the nation state but seen in a historical perspec-tive the nation state is only 200 years' old and nothing guarantees that it remains the main player.



III. NEW PLAYERS. (cont.)

- 1) THE CIVIC SOCIETY HAS GONE INTERNATIONAL.
- 2) CROSS BORDER REGIONS
- 3) INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS
- 4) THE POLITICAL ENTERPRISE
- 5) REGIONS INSIDE NATION STATES.
- 6) COALITIONS OF THE WILLING.
- 7) COALITIONS OF THE UNWILLING.
- 8) LORD VADER INCORPORATED.

KEY OBSERVATION: The **new** main players operate **OUTSIDE** and not **INSIDE** the system.

CONSEQUENCE: The system **OR** the players have to adjust.



IV. NEW MODEL.

*KEY OBSERVATION. A question of survival.

Strategic thinking based upon von Clausewitz spells the death warrant of internationalism. It locks itself into an intellectual prison of conflict. The imperative of internationalism is the network of co-operation.

The sophistication of the globalised world is such that it is so sensitive, so bound up with other political and economic units, that there is no place for outsiders, especially when these are bent on the destruction of the international system.

*Transition based upon transnational forces, supranational enterprises, international organisations, cross border pressure groups, multinational civic society.

*Hopefully we will see a new model emerge which in the same way as the model from the late 1940's can provide a framework for the evolution during the next half century. Such a model can be built upon the following building blocks.

- A set of values (ethics), responsibility and tolerance.
- International policy making interventionism
- Institutionalisation



1) A set of values (ethics).

Not 'MONDOCULTURE' but a common set of values which tells us how to react, how to judge, how to assess, what is right and what is wrong?

- More responsibility.
- More Respect.
- More Tolerance
- No Double standards.
- *- Genocide
- Weapons of Mass Destruction
- Certain kinds of violation of human rights
- Ecological disasters.

KEY OBSERVATION. Convergence with regard to a common set of values is indispensable.



2) International interventionism.

If or when the set of values hopefully emerging on international level is not being respected the international community will react. That can be done in many ways

- persuasion
- pressure on top of persuasion eg. saying unpleasant things about what will happen
- economic measures
- isolation
- security and that is military actions.
- *All this is not new. It has been used and tried before.

What is **NEW** is that it will be done on the basis of an internationally agreed set of values.

KEY OBSERVATION. The international community reserves for itself **the right** to defend itself against those threatening its existence/function.



3) INSTITUTIONALISATION.

Sovereignty disappears as a barrier. Sounds nice but non-provider of solutions, present excuse for inactivity, used to be protection of the weak but not any longer.

Sovereignty is defensive in its character but what are required now is active and offensive operations inside an international framework going beyond a national framework.

Shape our societies in conformity with and not in contradiction to international rules, behaviour, patterns.

*Institutionalisation emerges as the indispensable counterpart as a safeguard against the stronger abusing the weaker.

KEY OBSERVATION. Obligations and **rights** for each individual nation state. Contrast to the present system where it is not really known what obligations and rights actually apply. Rule of the law.



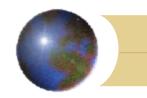
4) THE BUILDING BLOCKS.

Starting point. What Secretary General Kofi Annan called 'the exclusive right of initiative' for UN.

Regional organisations such as APEC and ASEM.

Intercept and secure more advanced regional integration such as EU – other examples NAFTA. NATO a tougher nut to crack.

KEY OBSERVATION. A LEGO model!



V THE ALTERNATIVES.

- Winner takes all the strongest.
- Nation states
- Clash of civilisations
- Hegemony exercised by one nation state
- Three blocks
- Chaos NOIC
- J. Oerstroem Moeller www.denmark.com.sg/jom.htm