SPEAKER'S NOTES

Re-emergence: Future Trends

"...if you're not confused, you're not properly informed..."

Kuala Lumpur

18 July 2003

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I. Introduction

"In each industry the successful companies are those that anticipate and create adaptive mechanisms to contend with discontinuity. The same is true for governments."

Business Resilience in the Age of Discontinuity, strategy+business



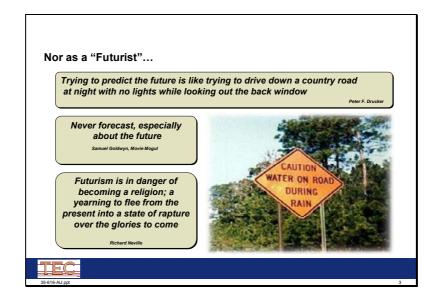
I am not here with a crystal ball...

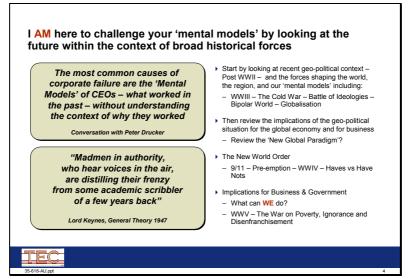
"He who lives by the crystal ball soon learns to eat ground glass"

Edgar R. Fiedler (economist)

Source: http://www.studyworld.com/newsite/Quotes/Quotes/Author.asp?inf

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Mental models are powerful – but incomplete – representations of the external world and our lessons of what has succeeded for us in the past. However when external conditions change – when there is a discontinuity – these same models can become traps, blinding us to unrecognised assumptions and axioms, and clouding our adaptive mechanisms.

In the case of companies, a failure to adapt to changing external realities is rapidly punished by customers and investors. The same may not be true of governments.

In view of the discontinuities I believe we now face in the geo-political context of our lives, it is critical to us all that the adaptive mechanisms of our governments, of our companies and of ourselves as individuals, should be functioning well.

It is therefore my objective today to examine the mental models of our generation, and to question what changes to these models may help us navigate the emerging discontinuities post 9/11 – and the War on Iraq.

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I shall begin with the geo-political context of our world post WWII. I shall first examine the Cold War (WW III) – a forty-year global battle of ideologies in a bipolar world.

I shall then review the implications of the geo-political situation for the global economy and for the context of business decision-making. I shall include the emergence of mental models based on globalisation, where wealth creation depends on greater interdependence.

I shall then look at the shifts that are taking place around us in this new century. I shall explore the emergence of a mono-polar world and the implications of 9/11, the War on Iraq and the wider 'War on Terror' (WWIV), for an increasingly frustrated and isolated US. And I shall examine US attempts to pre-emptively reshape the world around its own values and associated mental models, of 'Democracy' and a consumer-centric 'Market Economy'.

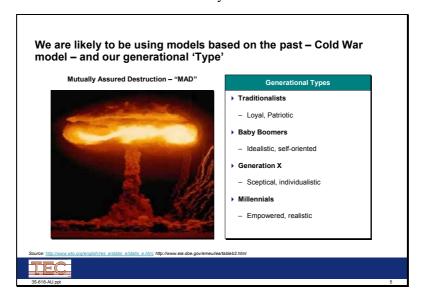
Finally, to the future. I do not plan to "flee from the present into a state of rapture over the glories to come" (Richard Neville). I will however make the case for a Jack Welch view: that we must "control (our) own destiny or someone else will".

Within this context I shall ask the question "What can WE do?" to make this world a better place for our children and grandchildren. How can we create a new, and positive, discontinuity – a discontinuity of conscience and consciousness? How can we initiate WWV – a war not on terrorists, but on the root causes of disenfranchisement and terrorism, a war on poverty, ignorance and injustice? What can we do to create a future of equal opportunity, of freedom from want and fear, for the current and future residents of 'spaceship earth'?

II. Geo-Political Context – WWIII – The Cold War

In this section I shall explore the geo-political context for our mental models, including both the Cold War and its 'by-product' – globalisation; plus the implications for Asia, and for business.

For this section I wish to acknowledge insights drawn from former Australian Minister of Defence and DPM, Kim Beazley.



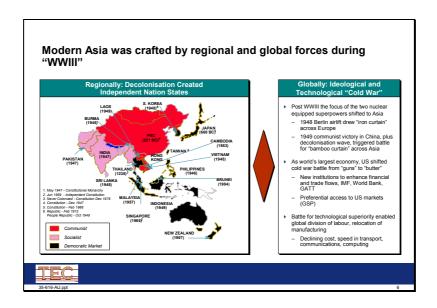
The 'mental models' of my generation were formed during 'WWIII' – the Cold War – around nuclear threats and globalisation

- WWIII the 'Cold War' was a battle for ideological leadership in Political and Economic domains
- WWIII began around 1948 with the Berlin Airlift ... shortly after Churchill declared an 'Iron Curtain' had descended across Europe
- This was the beginning of an era that was in retrospect a simpler, bipolar, world. There were clear good guys and bad guys an easily communicated strategic doctrine 'Containment' and 'Mutually Assured Destruction' (MAD); a force structure designed around an umbrella of strategic nuclear deterrents under which the next war would begin with massive mobile land battles on the plains of Central Europe; and finally, aligned technologies and institutional structures, including:
 - Intelligence: A 'watch and warn' culture based on remote surveillance technologies residing in agencies such as NSA, CIA, NRO and NIMA
 - " Satellites to assess capabilities and deployment of enemy forces
 - Electronic surveillance capable of tapping Soviet and Chinese leaders' conversations

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- " OTH systems 'watching' USSR air and land movements and claiming better scheduling than Sheremetyov ATC for Moscow air traffic
- New economic institutions, such as the World Bank, IMF, UN and GATT

 'Cold War' Institutions which drove tariff reductions, preferential
 market access and funding for development projects in those countries
 which adopted 'western' political and economic systems
- Together ... these new institutions and technologies both by-products of the Cold War were the engines of 'Globalisation', which resulted in greater wealth creation than ever before in the history of mankind. This wealth creation in turn enabled our societies to support a dramatic rise in global population, with potentially destabilising competition for resources. While I shall return to this theme later, let me first explore the implications of these new institutions, technologies and the geopolitical context of the Cold War for the emergence of modern Asia



With the Berlin airlift and the descent of the 'Iron Curtain' in Europe the ideological battleground shifted to Asia

- In 1948 the Berlin Airlift demonstrated western commitment to an ideological and nuclear-backed military 'Iron Curtain' across Europe. This, plus the Communist victory in China (1949), shifted the focus of 'WWIII' to Asia. The new battle was for where the 'Bamboo Curtain' would be drawn across the region
- ➤ The Korean War (1950) reinforced US views of a worldwide Communist conspiracy and fuelled a mostly covert battle for the hearts, minds and wallets of the newly independent Asian nations

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- In August 1964, the Gulf of Tongking incident provided the "Causus Belli" for an accelerated US build up in Vietnam
 - And fuelled talk of a 'domino theory'... reflected in the black humour of the 1970s – "If Vietnam attacked Thailand with the same forces used to take Cambodia the only thing between Communism and SE Asia was the Bangkok traffic"
- The Vietnam War provided some early lessons for today's situation ... an enemy weak in technology but strong in ideology and ready to die for a cause could blunt the US technology advantage
 - And where global media coverage brought pictures of both US body bags and the impact of US technology on 'collaterals' including women and children into the home. The US lost the media war. The good guys and bad guys began to get confused
- The 'War for Asia' for where the Bamboo Curtain would be drawn forced the region to pick 'camps' in a bipolar, ideologically divided world. The ideological underpinnings of these 'camps' then impacted the choice of development model
- The choice of political and therefore by implication economic 'camp' was taking place at a time of a technology-driven discontinuity in the world
- Ideological competition in the emerging bipolar world led to accelerating investment in technologies designed to enhance military capabilities
 - These investments indirectly fuelled a dramatic increase in the availability of 'dual use' technologies, i.e., those with commercial as well as military applications
 - The most dramatic shifts took place in the price:performance ratios of information processing, communications and transportation technologies
- These new technologies led effectively to a 'shrinking' of the world declining travel times and costs, plus enhanced computing and communications capabilities – higher speeds with lower costs
- In parallel to this technological discontinuity, the efforts by the US to leverage its huge economic 'engine' 50% of world output in the 1950s for political advantage led to declining tariffs plus special "GSP" benefits for emerging Asian nations which adopted western style democracies
- GSP, plus the new Cold War institutions (IMF, World Bank and GATT), provided the 'enabling' institutional and policy environment for increased global trade flows leading to growth in trade over the next four decades at twice the rate of growth in global output

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¹ GSP: Generalised System of Preferences

- Taken together the stage was set for a global division of labour and a geographic separation between 'production' and 'consumption', the starting point for the emerging globalisation paradigm – the 'mental model' for business leaders until today
- The combination of geo-politics and globalisation indirectly resulted in the emergence also of discontinuity in development models in Asia which ultimately transformed the thinking of economists worldwide
- Let me now review how the economic orthodoxy of import substitution was overtaken by the "HPAEs"² and the success of their 'labour intensive export oriented industrialisation' strategies which take advantage of this global division of labour

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² High Performance Asian Economies – a World Bank definition of the NIEs (Newly Industrialising Economies) and selected SE Asian economies

III. Implication: New Global Business Paradigm

Mental Model – New 'Global Business Paradigm' characterised by global sourcing/distribution, rapid FDI and trade growth

"The winners in the global game will be those who can put together the world's best in design, manufacturing, research, execution and marketing on the largest scale. Rarely are all of these elements located in one country, or even on one continent. Scale will be dominant factor."

> Jack Welch, Chairman, GE; National Academy of Engineering 1987



For this section I would like to acknowledge insights and material from my former colleague and mentor, SRI International President Emeritus – Professor William F Miller³

The economic success of the HPAEs led to a 'demonstration effect' – driven discontinuity in development strategies worldwide, with an accelerating move towards market economies and a consequential loss of confidence in centrally planned communist and socialist economic models

- 1978 China: Major breakthrough plenary session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party
 - Deng Xiaoping announced the "Four Modernisations of China" a de facto admission that the concept of centrally planned economies had failed
 - This recognition led to a new mental model for economists and political scientists, who had supported central planning
 - It has since become the new model for most formerly socialist economies, state controlled economies and closed inward looking economies
- This new 'model' extended to Latin America in the mid 1980s with the unilateral shift by Mexico from protection and import substitution to a more open export-oriented economy
- After this opening Mexican capital returned to Mexico, FDI increased, exports grew, and GDP rose rapidly

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³ Ref: "Regionalism, Globalism and the New Economic Geography" presentation by Professor Miller at the opening of the Executive Centre for Global Leadership (ECGL), BALI, May 2002

- In both instances the lesson was that with large amounts of state-owned industry, trade could not be an engine for growth, and entrepreneurship faced large barriers to entry because of the special position of the protected industries
- With the most recent UNCTAD data suggesting global FDI has fallen from a peak of US\$1Tn in 2000 to US\$360M in 2002 and is still declining, with the greatest share now going to PRC. There are clearly major policy implications even today for the Governments of SE Asia the 'mental models' of FDI-driven growth now need to be augmented by strategies to unlock the value of domestic mostly Government-linked enterprises in 'protected industries'. This requires a re-commitment to deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation!

In addition to a global division of manufacturing labour, growing technology intensity also fuelled pressure on businesses to seek greater scale by geographic extension

- New technologies provide for the creation of new products and the improvement of old products. As a consequence, acquiring new technologies, acquiring knowledge and educating the workforce to be able to utilise the new technologies became the highest priority for both businesses and governments
- Increasing knowledge intensity means research is more important to competitive differentiation, and increasing pace of change – including technology convergence – caused research to become more expensive
- Overall, industry spends on average about 15% of sales on R&D. Increasing costs of R&D drove a search for lower cost technologies, i.e. a global sourcing of R&D. Also, because R&D costs are sunk costs, i.e. up front costs, they can only be recovered by spreading these costs over large market scale, hence the drive for market scale and global distribution of products
- This then is the new "Global Business Paradigm" global sourcing of systems, R&D and components plus global distribution of products

Macro-forces: Move to Open Economies

- The new paradigm required new government-to-government relationships, and fewer tariff and non-tariff barriers to work efficiently
- Business began to lead governments in developing global interdependence
- Not only has business become more transnational, but governments have recognised that many social issues can be solved only at a transnational level witness environmental issues: SE Asia's forest fires; health and disease: witness the SARS crisis; water supply problems: witness Malaysia and Singapore; plus drugs and terrorism: witness JI in SE Asia
- To avoid continuous conflicts, governments needed to move to greater cooperation and multi-lateral agreements to resolve these problems by the creation of frameworks for negotiation and dispute resolution

Macro-forces: new roles for national sovereignty

- As the economies of the world become more interdependent and as governments moved to more and deeper transnational agreements to solve social problems, there is an inevitable loss of sovereignty
- As transnational companies engage in global sourcing and distribution they move out from under the sovereignty of their 'home' country with a de facto loss of sovereignty over the economy within the home country
- As governments become signatories to more transnational agreements there is de jure a loss of sovereignty. Not only is sovereignty devolving upward and outward away from the nation state but also there is a parallel devolution of authority downward from the nation state to sub-regions within the nation. This is especially evident in geographically large countries and is, for example, a major force in modern Indonesia
- Geographically large nations are made up of collections of sub-regional economies. These economies develop around existing industrial and economic clusters, which relate to and interact with the world economy in different ways

Together these shifts created the foundations for the 'Mental Models' of the late 20th Century

- Globalisation, interdependence, the emergence of open market economies, regionalism and decentralisation have forced governments to rethink and renegotiate relationships not only between nation states, but also between the nation states and sub-regions within them
- As economic authority diffuses away from the nation state upward and outward and downward and inward – policies, particularly economic policies, are less effective at the national level
- For example, Keynesian economics worked at the national level when the economy of a country was largely closed. Stimulus to the demand side created demand that in turn increased supply
- When the economy of a country becomes very open, stimulus to the demand side may result in purchase of foreign goods and affect the supply side of the country little, if at all. For example in the early 1970s tax cuts put more money in the hands of Americans who, in turn, bought Japanese goods
- This trend became further accentuated in the mid-1980s as domestic monetary policy drove up interest rates and the value of the US dollar making imports from Japan and emerging Asia highly competitive in the US market
- This in turn drove the 'hollowing out' of US manufacturing, an explosive outflow of foreign direct investment (FDI), initially to NE Asia, and the export of US jobs into the Asian region

This influx of new investment into NE Asia rapidly pushed up wage costs and, in the second half of the 1980s, resulted in a dramatic increase in investment from both North Asia and the US into SE Asia. For example, between 1985 and 1987, Thailand received more inward investment from Japan than in the preceding 25 years combined. The resulting 'Asian miracle' was therefore the direct consequence of the new 'global business paradigm', and a clear signal to leaders of both business and government of the value of political and policy stability and interdependence

During the Cold War and the immediate post WWIII world, interdependence between Governments – and Businesses – was the key to an unprecedented period of wealth creation

- Interdependence between nation states played a little known, but crucial, role in building the 'invisible hand' of an emerging global market place which enabled an increasingly free and efficient flow of both factor inputs and outputs
- For example it has been the concerted action of interdependent nation states that has enabled the growth of international finance⁴
- The regulatory model was international co-operation based on home country control, meaning that no bank will be allowed to operate unless a single national regulator had supervisory responsibility for all its operations, both foreign and domestic
- This kind of international co-operation cannot occur without the authority of the nation state. Indeed sovereignty may not mean as much as the ability to bring collaboratively the authority of the nation state to bear on global issues
- This growing international G2G interdependence has been accompanied by a rapidly growing B2B interdependence across the full value chain, resulting in global division of labour, dramatic increases in global output and productivity, and widespread wealth creation and diffusion. This G2G and B2B collaboration was evident here in SE Asia with the emergence of intra-regional "Growth Triangles" designed to unlock complementarity between countries in the region, with Malaysia active in several along with Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand

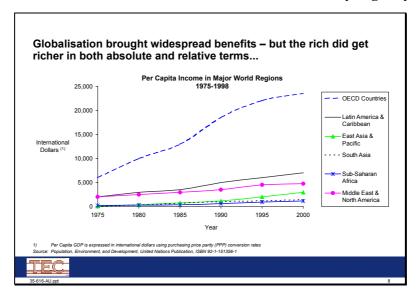
The challenge going forward in this new century, and in the coming discontinuity between WWIII, the Cold War and WWIV (the 'War on Terror), is to ensure that our response to terrorist attacks does not diminish global interdependence and global wealth creation. To do so may – albeit inadvertently – create a new vicious cycle of poverty and disenfranchisement which will feed ever more recruits to terrorism.

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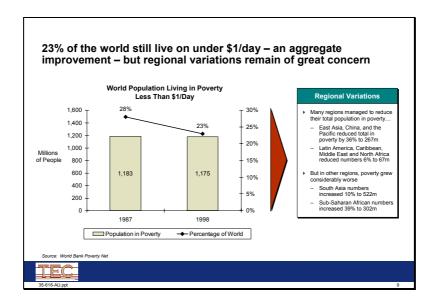
⁴ Ehan B. Kapstein, <u>Shockproof: The End of the Financial Crises.</u> Foreign Affairs, January / February 1996, Vol. 75, No. 1, p. 2.

IV. A World in Transition – WWIV – the 'War on Terror'

For this section I would like to acknowledge insights from Mike McConnell, Booz Allen Partner and former Director of the US National Security Agency (NSA).



Globalisation brought the 'gains from trade' – unprecedented growth and wealth creation – to those nations which opened their borders to trade and investment flows. However, with their commanding technological superiority, the greatest benefits went to the richest – OECD – nations ...



... More than 1 billion people still subsist on less than \$1 per day

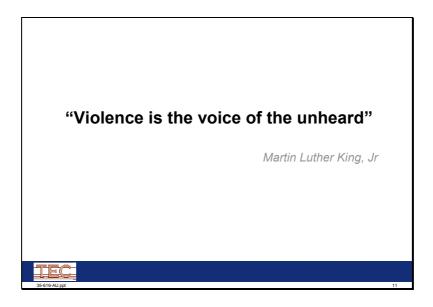
While the fruits of globalisation were shared widely – and the number of people living in absolute poverty has, despite substantial world population growth, declined in both absolute and relative terms (from 28% to 23% of

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- global population) this still leaves over 1 billion people subsisting on under a dollar a day. Over 3B people, more than 55% of the world's population, subsist on less than US\$2/day
- In addition to the issues of absolute poverty, the new digital and electronic technologies of the Cold War era have brought television into even the remotest regions, giving birth to McCluhan's 'Global Village', and contributing to a growing awareness of the gap in *relative* quality of life



- With images of the consumer society available in almost every village, community centre and refugee camp and with the impact of the rapid changes associated with the economics of 'Creative Destruction', we now live in a world where traditional values and societies have been undermined. This has given birth to disenfranchised groups ripe for recruitment to the cause of 'anti' almost anything, including globalisation itself. Those who most publicly personify the 'haves' the TV and Hollywood generated images of America's consumer society have become the personification of injustice, the 'natural' enemy of the disenfranchised
- Western policies and alliances forged during the Cold War have contributed to this growing sense of inequity, injustice, oppression and resentment. For example, while US and Western support for Israel is understandable in both domestic US political, and in the geo-political context of WWIII however there seems little doubt that atrocities such as the 1982 Shatila and Sabra massacre of several thousand Palestinian refugees by Maronite militia supported, albeit indirectly, by US-armed Israeli troops has sowed the seeds of martyrs, suicide bombers who may form the new armies of the globally disenfranchised



These disenfranchised 'have-nots' who no longer believe that staying in the system will guarantee a better future for them, or their children, lose a sense of having a voice in their own future. As Martin Luther King Jr put it:

"Violence is the voice of the unheard"

Disenfranchisement, combined with an extensive network of trained guerrilla warfare specialists – courtesy of both the US (Afghanistan), the Soviet Union (various Mid East states) and other 'established' terrorist groups (e.g., PLO, Hezbollah, IRA) – provided committed, and skilled, recruits for the emerging 'terror war' against the US and its Western democratic allies



While 9/11 was not the first terrorist attack on US and Western interests, and did not alone signal the start of 'WWIV', it has perhaps more than any other recent event begun the process of redefining the world that we live in and has triggered a new discontinuity – a New 'World Security Order' – which will require

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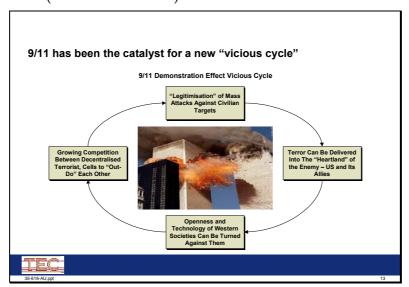
dramatic adaptation by both government – and business – and will demand a new interdependence between them

- 9/11 was to most Americans a 21st Century Pearl Harbour and the first ever direct attack on the US Mainland
- We at Booz Allen felt the impact of "9/11" very personally. For those of you who don't know Booz Allen we're an interesting animal in our own right ... a US\$2B top management and technology-consulting firm founded 90 years ago, with 13,000 full-time professionals around the world but with the US Government as our biggest customer. While we serve the Government, we are private and wholly owned by around 250 Partners. In our Government sector many of these partners formerly held senior positions with NSA, CIA, NRO, NIMA, FBI or the Defence forces
- On September 11, 2001 our annual partner meeting was in New York. When the first aircraft hit WTC we were in the Plaza Hotel. Within minutes we had a communications centre and were reviewing cockpit configurations of aircraft used in the attacks to identify which countries had flight simulators. And we were shortly thereafter counting the cost of a Booz Allen team killed in the Pentagon attack
- The attack contributed to a radically new US 'psyche' characterised by anxiety, fear, xenophobia and an emerging isolationism



September 11 also gave terror a face – Osama Bin Laden – behind which the disenfranchised could rally

- Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda have become the personification of 9/11 and of global terrorism
- 9/11 not only gave the world a new face but a polarising one. I was in Jakarta after the attack to meet our security advisers. To disenfranchised Muslim Youth in countries such as Indonesia where over 100M people currently live below the poverty line Osama is an Islamic Che Guevara to the US and its allies the new face of evil ...
- He has also become a focal point around which the 'disenfranchised' can rally, with "Osama" now the second most popular name for new baby boys in the Islamic nations (after Mohammed)⁵



Beyond personalising terrorism, 9/11 – and the 10/12 Bali bombings – have created a terror 'demonstration effect' which I believe has irreversibly increased the exposure of the Western 'Homelands' in four key ways

- 1: 9/11 has legitimised mass attacks on 'soft', civilian, targets
- 2: ... And demonstrated that 'Terror' can be taken into the heart of 'enemy' territory the Homeland of the US and its allies including Australia
- 3: The 'barriers to entry' for terror have been reduced by the demonstration of how to turn the technology and openness of western societies into weapons against them

⁵ Source: Forecasting International

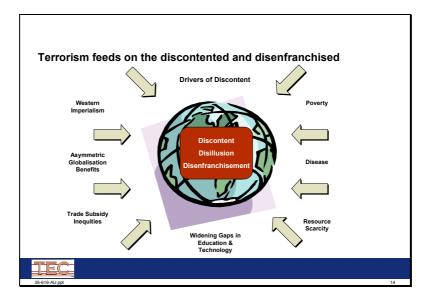
4: The growing 'Competition' between distributed terrorist groups to 'out-do' each other in carnage is likely to trigger ever more creative new attacks in the years, and decades, ahead

To graphically illustrate the new, asymmetric, threat environment – in a recent Booz Allen bio-terror war game involving just two terrorist dispensed aerosol canisters there were 2M US deaths in just 3 weeks

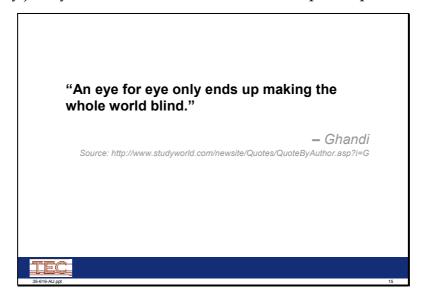
- Bio-terror game conditions involved airborne version of 'black' (pneumonic) plague released simultaneously from a single aerosol can in each of two sports events at different locations
 - Detroit, Michigan at a US vs. Canada football game to explore the international dimensions
 - Norfolk, Virginia at a game attended by servicemen from the nearby US military bases
- → 50 participants from industry pharmaceutical executives, doctors, nurses and 50 from government, including CDC, AG's Office
- Game supported by expert team plus rigorous analytical 'model' to provide rapid feedback of outcomes to 'players'
- In the first, one day, game numerous systemic gaps were identified
 - Quarantine ... US lacks agreed procedures, mechanisms and agencies
 - Mass prophylaxis ... delayed because of tendency to 'horde' the vaccine
 - Delivery logistics ... to get the vaccine to where the at risk candidates were
- As a direct consequence, in the first game the model projected a death toll of 2 million in Detroit alone

So what are the lessons of "WWIII – the Cold War" for "WWIV – the 'War on Terror"? – I see five:

- 1: Like the Cold War, the War on Terror will require patience, persistence and commitment. We must condition ourselves and the citizens of the western democracies to take a multi decade, rather than multi year, view
- 2: Strategic doctrines, such as 'MAD', only work if both sides have something to lose. To win the war on terror we must address not just the symptoms, but also the root cause, of terrorism. Put crudely, we need to ensure that the people have a voice and have 'something to lose', not just in the OECD but globally



- Going forward we therefore need a new 'mental model' that recognises a growing willingness of the disenfranchised to die for a cause. By implication we must all commit to address poverty, ignorance and injustice wherever it occurs. We must give the disenfranchised a voice in the shaping of the emerging world order, a belief that the world can be a better place for their children, if not for themselves
- 3: The war on terror will like Vietnam require a conscious effort to win the media battle. In our open western democracies, we will face an ongoing challenge to balance 'open-ness' and individual freedom vs. collective security. This will require a media 'war' to maintain public awareness and bipartisan political support for a patient and persistent approach
- Emotional scenes after '9/11' and '10/12' inevitably lead to public demands for revenge. In such instances a state target such as Iraq may make an easier target than an individual or his shadowy organisation, but this alone does not necessarily justify an invasion, or a new doctrine of pre-emption



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- No matter how good the technology, Tomahawks and 'smart' munitions don't just fly into command centres. Collateral civilian damage is inevitable. Images of injured children will dilute the focus of the necessary long and patient war against terror, and may appear to be driven by a politically expedient need for a decisive act for 'revenge', which can in turn fuel new recruits to terrorism
- 4: The nature of the security challenge and the 'defence perimeter' itself is shifting and demands new roles for government, defence and intelligence agencies, and business



- In this new security order 'Homeland Security' might begin at a foreign port with its container security; or at a border crossing far removed from national borders terrorist planners on the move. Booz Allen is working in these areas Port security wargame, Global Immigration Network Integration
- More controversially, Homeland Security may require revisions to the judicial system to deal with both domestic threats, as well as being able to prosecute non residents in absentia and to empower, for example, Special Forces Units to take the war to the terrorists meting out sentences wherever those found guilty under new judicial rules may be hiding

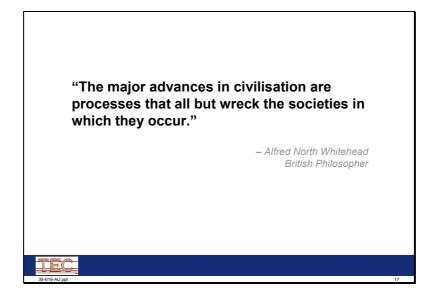
5: Interdependence and Individual Responsibility

- This new environment may also demand a fundamental rethink of the roles of key agencies, for the 'mental models' of their leadership and for the interdependence between them. Terrorism poses an 'asymmetric' threat. Defence must cover every 'border'. The bio-terrorist, the suicide bomber, the cyber-intruder, needs to find just one chink in these defences
- ▶ The havoc that can be wreaked witness the bio-terror war game is out of proportion to the resources deployed in the attack. With this as our new reality we must recognise the need for new 'models', and institutions, which focus on causes, not just symptoms, of terror if we are to regain our sense of security

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- Global interdependence has been at the heart of global wealth creation and poverty reduction. To shift the defence perimeter outwards to encompass the root cause not just symptoms of terrorism – requires greater, not lesser, interdependence and co-operation, globally and locally
- Unfortunately I believe the 'mental models' we have brought from WWIII into WWIV may in fact be counter-productive, and that focusing our attack on symptoms may reinforce the sense of disenfranchisement – and therefore magnify, not solve, the terror problem
- I believe the next discontinuity must involve a shift from national to international 'mental models', from materialism to a deeper sense of core human values, and to a growing sense of collective responsibility for our shared 'spaceship'
- I recognise this next discontinuity which we will have to create will be hard. However I believe this is a shared destiny that we can, and must, control to provide a better world for the children in this 'ship'. Let me now explore possible 'adaptive' 'mental models' which may help us cope with the ongoing discontinuity during a transition from WWIV to WWV a future war on poverty, ignorance and injustice

V. The Future: WWV – The War on Poverty, Ignorance and Injustice



With the pace of change of the post WWII years having dislocated many traditional societies, we must expect an ongoing period of turbulence in the world we live in, of continuing psychological and social dislocation, a true discontinuity.

The Schumpeterian economics of creative destruction are disruptive forces. And if we accept that technology and interdependence have been the twin drivers of accelerating globalisation and change, then with more scientists and engineers still in school today than the total of all those who have ever lived, we must expect a faster – not slower – pace of technological and societal change.

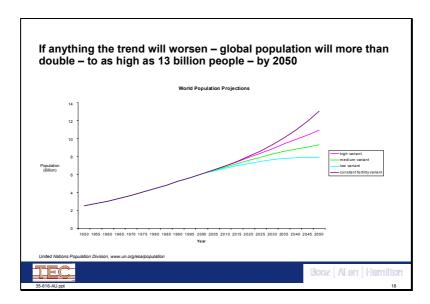
If we are to – collectively – press for disruptive change, and new 'mental models', we need to first convince ourselves that there is indeed an irrefutable case for risking further change, what we consultants call a 'burning platform' ...

In the first three sections of this presentation, I have argued that technological development and diffusion within the relatively stable strategic context of WWIII – the Cold War contributed to growing interdependence, globalisation and unprecedented wealth creation. In the last section I have examined the implications of WWIII for WWIV – the War on Terror – and have argued that the emerging strategic doctrine of pre-emption may in fact undermine interdependence and globalisation, and fuel more, not less, terrorism.

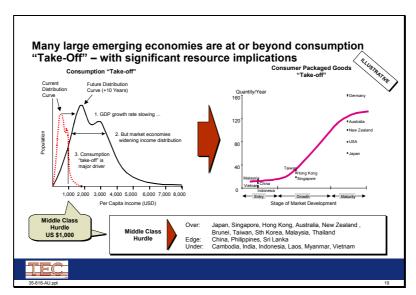
In this final section, I shall begin by making the case for a new war – WWV – as a collective and conscious choice by each of us to fight the root cause of terrorism – disenfranchisement and its fellow travellers: poverty, ignorance and injustice.

In the interests of time, let me selectively present data on demographics and resources which – together – spell out for me a 'burning platform', an emerging discontinuity, and the Case for WWV. My own view is that, for all of us, business-as-usual is no longer an option. I shall start with demographic data.

Population is increasing inexorably and under some scenarios could more than double in the next half century ...



- With the world's population growing rapidly, and a growing number of people approaching an income level where their consumption of non renewable resources reaches a consumer 'take-off point', it is inevitable that demand for these resources by 'future consumers' will accelerate at a time when their availability is beginning to decline
- If current consumers most of whom are in the wealthy western democracies seek to protect their current positions, a fundamental plank of US doctrine since WWII, I see no way to avoid dramatic growth in global conflict – and in the ranks of the disenfranchised



Many large developing economies are approaching 'take-off' in consumption – with inevitable pressure on global resources

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- Since some of you may recall the Malthusian horror stories from the Club of Rome deliberations in the 1970s, you could make a valid case that the Club experts failed to take into account the unprecedented improvements in productivity that accompanied the rapid advances in technology and globalisation and that I may be falling into the same trap ...
- However, today we live in a world where global population has doubled since the Club of Rome deliberations, where interdependence – the foundation of globalisation – is under threat, and where many large developing economies are approaching consumer society 'take-off' points, which will dramatically increase pressure on non-renewable resources (see slide for China example)



As former hippie founder of Oz, and new futurist, Richard Neville puts it: "our future can no longer be taken for granted – it needs to be rescued"...

To selectively illustrate the pressure our global resources are now under:

Fossil Fuels/Oil:

- Oil (about 45% of fossil fuel supply) will reach maximum production around the year 2010
- Oil consumption has increased by more than 50% since the 1970s
- Today only one barrel is discovered for every four consumed

Water

- Consumption of water is doubling every 20 years
- Both the World Bank and the WTO estimate that good water will be the planet's most sought after commodity in the next century
- If current trends continue, by 2025 two-thirds of people will be forced to survive in water-stressed conditions of less than 50 litres per day
- Contrast: the average Canadian currently consumes 326 litres per day

Forests

- About 50% of the world's forests have been destroyed over the past 8,000 years
- 20% of this destruction was in the past 30 years
- Currently 149 acres are cut every minute, if this continues the world's rainforests will vanish within 100 years

Top Soil

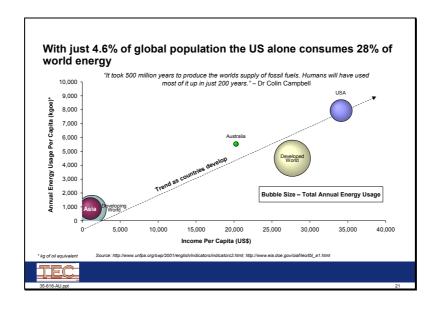
- In the US 1/28 of an inch of topsoil is lost every year. Only 1/500 of an inch of topsoil is created
- Therefore about 18 times more topsoil is eroded than created
- 6 inches of top soil is required for agriculture

Fisheries

- Global fish catch has grown more than six-fold to 122 million metric tons since 1950, and is expected to increase a further 20% by 2010 – 25% of the catch is discarded
- About 50 percent of marine fisheries are fully exploited, 20 percent are over-exploited

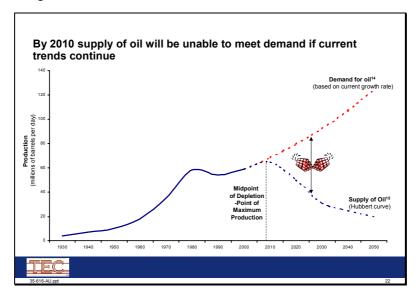
Given the growing dependence of the OECD economies on oil – and the public debate around oil which the War on Iraq has triggered – let me look in more detail at oil as representative of a key, non-renewable, resource which is mostly found at great distances from where it is consumed – i.e. a market which requires either interdependence, or military might, to function.

Oil represents a major non-renewable resource – and just one potential source of conflict



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- With just 4.6% of global population the US alone consumes 28% of world energy
- While it is not clear that current consumers of these resources have any 'a priori' greater or lesser right to these resources than the future consumer, the existing consumption patterns have created dependencies which cannot easily be changed, and which may lead to the use of military might by current consumers to protect their interests



- Thus with supplies of oil unable to meet demand beyond 2010 if current trends continue, we can predict a battle between new consumers in, e.g. China, for these scarce resources, and with emerging new consumers in exporting countries we can predict potential restrictions on exports
- Today most oil is used in transport, with the US being the largest consumer with the lowest gasoline prices. To date there is little evidence that the US political leadership will put a significant gasoline consumption tax in place. Therefore, if we accept that this must lead to inevitable conflict, it is up to each and every one of us to decide by how we live our lives, by how much we consume and by how we vote whether this non-renewable resource should be allocated in a way which fosters greater interdependence, or unilateralism via military might
- Finally, the erosion of interdependence and globalisation, is already becoming apparent in the recent data on global investment flows which we have earlier demonstrated is a leading indicator for global trade and wealth creation
- As we have already reviewed, UNCTAD data suggests global FDI has fallen by almost 70% in just two years, with further declines expected in 2003
- While this is just a small sample of the 'data', I believe that, taken together, there is a strong case for us to question the unconscious mental models from WWIII which we are applying in this current – War on Terror – WWIV

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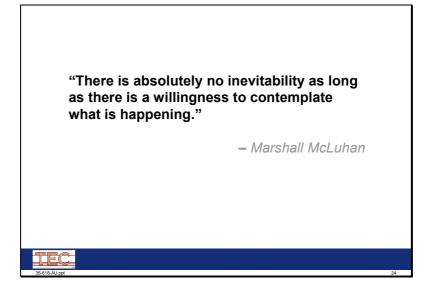
- Therefore I argue that it is time for us as individuals and as business leaders to anticipate and create new adaptive mechanisms, both for ourselves and by the way we use our voice, our political contributions and our votes, for the governments which we elect
- One starting point may be to refocus, re-energise and support the institutions we created in WWIII, the Cold War. For example, a shared commitment by each of us, by business and by government to the 'Millennium Development Goals' of the UN and the World Bank



- These Millennium Development Goals, with their commitment to education and to poverty reduction may provide an initial manifesto for WWV – the new, and long-term, war on poverty, ignorance and injustice
- I believe the investment in WWV would lead to growth in global wealth, further reductions in absolute poverty, ignorance and injustice, and hence to reductions in the numbers of the disenfranchised and 'unheard' seeking outlets in violence and terrorism. I also believe we cannot afford *not* to invest in this new war for a better global future. However, to stick with the data, let me explore whether indeed we can afford to fight this war by contrasting its incremental costs to the current costs of the war on terror
- The World Bank⁶ has estimated the resources required to achieve the "Millennial Development Goals" (MDG) by 2015
 - The additional foreign aid flows required total US\$40-60 Billion pa
 - ... In addition to technical support for the strengthening of policies, and institutions, in the donee countries

⁶ Source: World Bank policy research working paper, "Development Goals: History, Prospects and Costs", by Shantayanan Devarajan, Margaret Miller and Eric V Swanson

- In 2002 the latest year for which data is available total global defence expenditure was US\$784 Billion⁷ (at constant year 2000 prices and exchange rates), of which the US accounted for US\$344 Billion or 44%. US share of global defence expenditure is likely to rise in 2003 to 47% and over the next five years the US is projected to spend in excess of US\$2 Trillion on defence just over US\$1 Billion per day
- In terms of cost, if we take US\$50 Billion as the average incremental cost of WWV, this is approximately equal to the *increase* in the US defence budget between 2002 and 20038, and represents just 6% of global defence spending
- While US\$40-60 Billion is a large sum and would double official development assistance – it would still represent just 0.5% of the GNP of the high income OECD members
- Let me now marry this data with our analysis of the 'asymmetric threat' of terrorism hard to defend against, huge impact and limited investment by the attackers and our five lessons from WWIII. I would make the case that the US, and the world, would be a safer place if just over 10% of the expanded US defence budget i.e. 'just' US\$137 Million per day was allocated to WWV, a war to reduce poverty, ignorance and injustice, the causes of disenfranchisement and the source of new recruits to terrorism



While I am not so naive as to believe that a managed discontinuity in our mental models will be easy, I strongly believe the starting point for change is us ... both in our own choices – what we will and will not do – and in the choices we make in our roles as

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⁷ SIRRI 2003 Yearbook

 $^{^8}$ On a budget authority (BA) basis. Source: National Defence Budget estimates for FY2003 – Office of the Under Secretary of Defence (Comptroller, March 2002)

business leaders, and in the influence we bring to bear through the ballot box on political leaders and their policies

Given the reality of a mono-polar world with a single super-power, I believe the realistic starting point for the shift in mental models must occur within the US. This may begin with a very different leadership role for the US that draws on the lessons of past, visionary, US leaders.

Three times in recent history US Presidents have united the world behind their visions and each man, in his time, was the most popular leader in history.

- Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points speech in 1918 after WWI rallied people across the world behind a common goal of peace, safety and self-determination
- Franklin Roosevelt Four Freedoms speech to congress in 1941 inspired millions with its simplicity and power in the global pursuit of freedom – of speech, of free worship, from want and from fear
- Similarly, John F Kennedy's inaugural address in 1961 united citizens of the world against the common enemies of tyranny, poverty, disease and war

The challenge for a US leader seeking to realise these new 'models' will be how to craft a new strategic doctrine that will address legitimate US security concerns while investing in a war on the root cause of terror and without undermining the many economic benefits of globalisation ...

- Failure to address the underlying causes of discontent will fuel further disenfranchisement and escalating terrorist attacks
- Failure to address US Security concerns may result in an isolated, and increasingly xenophobic and belligerent, US which will undermine the moral leadership of the mostly western, democratic alliance
- Undermining the foundations of globalisation will further exacerbate the root causes of terrorism – poverty, ignorance and injustice

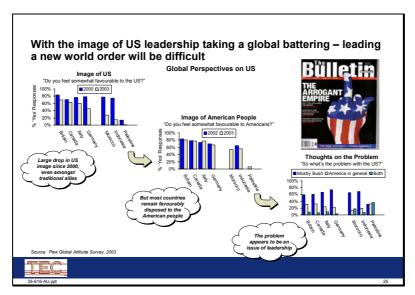
There are no easy solutions. Emotions are running high. Positions are becoming entrenched. And the War on Terror may, at root, be less a 'Clash of Cultures', than a war between haves and have nots – between modernity and medievalism, between globalism and tribalism.

The time has come for bold action by government, business and individuals to recognise that we can – and must – control our own destiny

For government, there is a clear need for a new, and holistic, strategic doctrine which combines near-term National Security

with the longer term eradication of the root causes of disenfranchisement

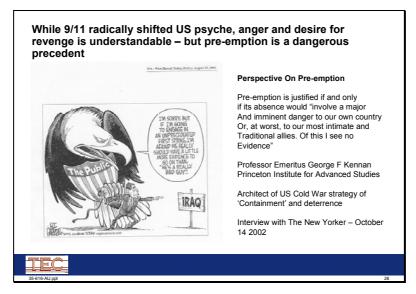
- US had 40+ years of Consensus, Bi-partisan and Allied Support
 - Contain Communism ("George Kennan" in late 1940s)
 - Prevent Nuclear War
- All other policy issues in the US were subordinate to these two
- Large, unitary enemy drove the West's military focus to power projection capabilities as the first priority
 - In the US no significant DoD focus on domestic security
 - Still no assigned responsibility for "Cyber Defence" of the Nation
- Events of 9/11 drove the creation of the new Department of Homeland Security in the US and a doctrine of pre-emption overseas
- However, it is not yet clear that there is a holistic strategy to address the root causes of disenfranchisement – poverty, ignorance and a loss of hope in a better future for the children. This remains the missing plank of US strategy
- Globalisation and interdependence were the foundation of unprecedented global wealth creation in the bipolar world of the Cold War. The weight of the arguments presented in this paper suggest that they remain a necessary, albeit not sufficient, condition for a New World Order which addresses the root causes of disaffection poverty, ignorance and injustice. Therefore reinforcing global interdependence should be an important factor in US counter-terror policies



 Global interdependence in a single super-power world must depend on either fear of, or respect for, the leadership of that superpower. Declining global respect for the US must therefore be of legitimate concern to us all

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- That this declining respect is occurring at the same time as the US seeks to impose its democratic values, by force if necessary, on other nations suggests a Catch 22. Any US attempt to impose its values by force may well undermine the trust in, and respect for, the US which have contributed to the widespread adoption of those values during WWIII, arguably a key factor in the ultimate victory over totalitarian communist states and centrally planned economies
- US frustration at the inability to capture bin Laden, and the sense of impotence at being sole super-power and yet feeling so at-risk, is palpable and understandable. Also understandable is a desire by many in the US for revenge for the losses of 9/11. While the leap from a desire for revenge to a doctrine of pre-emption is also understandable, it is also immensely dangerous



- The major risk of a doctrine of pre-emption is, of course, who makes the decision on what justifies a pre-emptive strike? In a complex world with a range of religious beliefs and value systems there are few clear 'good' guys and 'bad' guys. Thus the stated justification for the pre-emptive strike on Iraq appeared to be based on three key tenets:
 - Iraq possessed Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) which could potentially fall into hostile hands
 - Iraq posed a real and immediate threat to the US and its close allies because of evidence of an intent to use these WMD in the near term
 - Iraq had links with, and provided support for, Al Qaeda
- While I have neither the inclination nor the information to challenge the US decision to invade Iraq, it is clear from the mounting public debate that attempts to justify the invasion on the basis of either the 'War on Terror', or the imminent threat of the use of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), were at best a stretch and at worst a manipulation of the facts to support a decision made for other reasons. Based on still emerging information it appear arguable that the real reasons were that Saddam Hussein was indeed a 'really bad guy' certainly in the eyes of the US electorate, and which few others would dispute,

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- and that overthrowing his totalitarian regime would result in a democratic domino effect throughout the Mid East, for which little credible evidence has been advanced
- As Professor George Kennan the architect of the US strategic doctrine of containment in WWIII, and now a 98 years old Professor Emeritus at Princeton's prestigious Institute of Advanced Studies (IAS), put it in an interview with the New Yorker in October 2002:
 - "... I, too, have questions about the relationship of any attack by our forces on Saddam's power to the obligations we have already incurred in the struggle against Al Qaeda. I wish the President had been prevailed upon to tell us whether it is a situation of two wars, against different opponents and for different purposes, that we are proposing to wage."
- If the credibility of the White House and the US intelligence community is undermined by allegations of distorting facts, then it is not hard to predict the possibility of other less open governments following a similar path. Does China have a right of pre-emption against Taiwan? North Korea against the South? India against Pakistan? Malaysia against Singapore? Where does it end?
- Any diminution in the international trust in, or respect for, the US and its leaders may be more costly to interdependence, globalisation and the prosperity which has accompanied it may be more costly to the world and the US than the direct effects of the terrorist attacks themselves
- NY visitor on 9/11 put it to me to "turn Baghdad into nuclear dust") must be resisted in the self interest of the US itself. This will demand visionary and statesman-like, US leadership which plays not just to the domestic electorate but with thoughtful language also to the US role as a global leader
- If instead the US uses its military might its near 50% of global defence spending and its dominant technological advantage in a manner which smacks of revenge, then we run the risk of a long term WWIV of 'asymmetric threats' with no winners. We face the risk of triggering a vicious cycle of actions that may undermine the outcomes that the US is committed to and has fought so hard for over the last half century

Business must recognise it is already in the front line of both WWIV – the war on terror – and is potentially a key combatant in WWV – the war on poverty, ignorance and injustice

- While WWIII was a period of terrible threats, it provided a framework for stability, peace and prosperity
- Cold War was won not by the governments but by industry
 - Built more of everything, better, faster than the Soviet Union

- Government was a major buyer of industry's output
- Military held Soviet Union at bay until Industry won
- 'Security' was largely a government function
 - 'Delegated' by industry to a federal government
 - Basic national security was thus 'out-sourced' to the military
 - Government and military forces are no longer the sole, or even the primary, targets of hostile military action

Industry is now a primary target for terrorists to force change including

- The things industry owns
- Things on which industry depends
- Because industry largely owns and operates the targets, we need to think differently about security for the future, for example:
 - 95% of all US Government classified information flows through the PSN; the same phone system that you and I use; therefore
 - Public-Private Partnerships will be required to secure our future

Business Continuity requirements will change dramatically ...

- Information Age trends have redefined business continuity requirements
- Business continuity response has become a make-or-break issue
- Instant global communications and networking have driven economic growth
 ... but introduced increased vulnerabilities
- Public and private institutions and markets have been transformed
- National boundaries are increasingly irrelevant
- Traditional power and perquisites of sovereignty are disappearing (in public and private organisations)
- Information has become the primary capital of this century
 - Therefore, the value of networked information has increased. Cyber vulnerabilities, likewise, have increased

Corporate Boards and CEOs will face increasing pressure to both grow and protect their businesses ...

- New operating realities have increased the complexity and altered the risk landscape of the extended enterprise
 - Increased business model complexity and interdependency

- Heightened risk environment
- Rising cost of risk transfer
- Increased accountability of boards and corporate leadership for managing risk
- Increased threats from terrorist organisations
- In our role as business leaders we can seek to lead ethically. To lead not resist
 efforts to introduce transparency and best practice governance models

Specifically we could focus on how better to support governments as they tackle the root cause of terrorism. As a first step business might:

- Study and influence UN efforts to craft a 'Code of Conduct' for transnational companies
- Take the initiative to participate and influence the development of other relevant UN covenants and charters, including for example:
 - Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) already ratified by 145 countries
 - Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (1974) a socialist edict that needs improvement, and is not well accepted by governments
 - Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (1974)
- Lobby governments to speed compliance with WTO recommendations and resist attempts to delay liberalisation of trade in primary products or reductions in agricultural subsidies by the US and the EU

Implication for Individuals

Ultimately whether we create a better world for our children and our grandchildren is indeed within our control.

We in the world's democracies have the luxury of both personal and political choice. Will we use our vote to support leaders who share a Vision of an equitable world? Who are willing to look longer term at the benefits of their people being able to travel freely, to look the people we meet in the eye without shame – wherever we are? Will we make decisions of conscience – not convenience – in our own behaviours?

Certainly for myself it is hard to imagine life in a world of growing inequity, of armed camps and a life filled with fear of imminent attack – anywhere, anytime. Neither can I imagine a world of continued disparity between haves and havenots. I can still vividly remember my first trip – in the early 70s – to a small town in East Java. I was walking down the main street when I heard a rattling behind me. When I turned around there was a youth – perhaps 15 years old – with neither arms nor legs. The rattling was the sound of the coins in the tin can tied around

his neck. He was hurrying after me on his four stumps – after the lone, rich, westerner to beg for more coins into that can. While since that time I have had similar experiences around the villages, and the refugee camps, across South and SE Asia that particular image is the one that stays with me as a symbol of a world of haves and have nots, of a world where the haves invest in WMD and the have nots in fertiliser bombs. The choice is ours. We must decide.



What criteria can we use to guide our decisions? In his book – 'Ethics for the New Millennium' – His Holiness the Dalai Lama argues for a set of 'universal ethical principals' to guide our behaviour. He also argues that to achieve both a personal – and a universal – harmony and happiness, it may be time to transcend, to move beyond, individual religions – including his own. He argues that religions may involve potentially divisive beliefs, dogma and rituals, whereas each of us has inside us a set of core human spiritual qualities which can bring happiness to our self, and a concern for the well being of others.

- His Holiness argues that all humans, given a free choice, prefer happiness to suffering – for us and our families
- Therefore the fundamental starting point for the personal spiritual revolution which must underpin WWV is a belief that we each need a personal spiritual, not religious, 'practice'. Personal reflection and introspection which keeps us in touch with our motivations and a consciousness of consequence the implications of our actions on the happiness or suffering of our fellow residents of this small and fragile planet. To live our lives in conscious awareness that we are transient guests, holding this world in trust for future generations
- How can we achieve this? To conclude with the words of one of the poet/philosophers of my generation Bob Dylan "He who is not busy born is busy dying". Everyone of us in this room is transient. Is dying. We have limited time. But we do have some influence. Let's use that influence in our own behaviours, in how we run our businesses, and in how we vote to make a difference. To create a future we would be proud for the children of this earth to inherit

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• Thank you

The Future...Conclusion

'What lies behind us and what lies before are tiny matters, compared to what lies within us.'

Ralph Waldo Emerson



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