



I. UNESCO is an integral part of the United Nations System; There is need of policy and strategy for the future development of that system.

The Department of State says that it has "lost patience" with UNESCO. Such impatience reflects an uneasiness with all the international organizations in which we participate, but particularly those of the UN system. We are not alone. Complaints voiced from North and South, East and West, about international agencies reflect disenchantment with many public institutions. The international agencies have been placed under great strains in the last 25 years: burgeoning agendas for discussion discussion which mirror all the world's problems; requests for policy resolutions and program actions on almost every subject, but especially economic and social development, including education, culture and communications.

In many respects, the United Nations, including its special programs, and the Specialized Agencies have responded well to the pressures. But it must be admitted that the United States and other Member States have not been prepared nor been planning for the future. They have been acting with short-term perspectives and introducing only minor adjustments to cope with change.

The increase in the number of actors on the world scene, the development of technologies and the growing complexity of humanity's problems have been dramatic in the 39 years since founding of the United Nations. In partial response, we have seen the number of inter-governmental organizations increase from about 80 at the time of World War II to perhaps 350 today. During the same period, the number of international non-governmental organizations has increased from 800 to more than 3,000. In most cases,



these developments can be said to have been a natural human response to the need for such institutions.

The remaining 6000 days of this century, are likely to present at least as many challenges. We can and should prepare for adaptation of the multilateral institutions which furnish services to governments, corporations and the public generally, and which are essential to world order. The need for stability and resilience in the world system will demand more, rather than less, international cooperation, calling for innovative means and methods.

A time for Re-Assessment. The present crisis with UNESCO-- and the latent crisis with other international bodies--should be accepted as a challenge and an opportunity. A full-scale assessment of the state of the world's international institutions should be launched. Growth, so rapid in the last four decades, has not yet been assimilated and lessons learned. We need to review what has happened and how developments took place in order to think about where we want to aim for the future. "Cosmetic" adjustments will not be sufficient to deal with a future of greater complexity and uncertainty.

Many feel that the United States has a responsibility to initiate such an assessment and to play a major role in it. Such a review, however, should be based on close collaboration among allies and like-minded countries and could usefully involve many of the non-governmental actors who now participate in transnational exchange and cooperation.





Developing Foresight and Options. It is well to recognize that we are ill-prepared to criticize UNESCO and other parts of the United Nations system, criticism which should be constructive and offer ideas for the future. The recent efforts by the Department of State to rationalize its decision to withdraw from UNESCO and to correct its failure to envisage alternatives in advance is evidence of this lack of readiness.

The Department of State has not created a "memory-bank" of experience, nor provided/ <sup>for</sup> continuity and for trained staff to assure effective participation in international organizations. It would appear, moreover, that the amount of staff time devoted to planning and broad issues of operations of the international agencies has declined at the same time that the programs and budgets of those agencies have been increasing.

America has a record of capacity for creative initiative and enterprise at home. In the past, it also showed this capacity in proposals to UNESCO which have proved to be successful programs. This country is admired for such invention and initiative. Since so many newly independent nations emerged on the scene and began to play an active role, however, we have often been reactive and defensive. We have not been doing a good job of listening and learning in multilateral institutions.

Will we continue only with "shock learning" and defensive tactics? Or will we begin to take seriously the matter of U.S. participation in UNESCO and engage in anticipatory learning? Our aim should be to develop an arsenal of options and to take initiatives which will contain or orient (favorably from our point of view) at least some of the inevitable pressures in a world of



change. It would be well to adopt the techniques used by corporations for strategic planning, including gaming and alternative scenarios.

We need now to make up for the lack of careful studies of structural, procedural and management problems of the international organizations. A survey of the professional literature in international relations shows a concentration of studies on regional political and security issues, on analyses of voting patterns and on criticisms of United Nations peacekeeping capacities. Apart from reports on budgets, there are few analyses on how the international organizations formulate policy and handle operations in economic, social and technical matters, deal with questions of coordination, evaluate performance and practice management of multinational staffs. This lack of analysis and foresight capacity must be corrected. Institutes of international affairs should be asked to take up this work.

II. What are the main problem areas in UNESCO and the range of feasible corrective actions?

The entire range of constitutional, structural, planning, operational and relationship questions in UNESCO (and other agencies) should be open to questioning and study. The institutions of the United Nations system have their roots in the 19th century and follow closely the model of the League of Nations. Changes in the world since then have been many and profound: the doubling of the population; increases in the number and variety of actors playing on the world scene; bewildering technological development of computers, television, satellites; microbiology; scientific discoveries especially in physics and biology.





At the same time that these developments have impacted the international organizations, there has been a greater public questioning of all the institutions of societies. For government, inter-governmental organizations and corporations, this has been called "the crisis of administrative legitimacy."

Using UNESCO as an example, the areas of the inter-governmental organizations needing examination fall under three main headings:

- A. The Principal Organs and Their Functions
- B. Operational Problems
- C. Relationships

Notes follow on selected principal problems under each heading which need attention and on the possibilities for remedial action.

#### A. The Principal Organs and their Functions

##### 1. Policy-making: The General Conference of UNESCO

Problem a) The conference is pressed to take up too many issues; its agenda becomes chaotic. There is consequent tendency to assume that every item calls for some kind of pronouncement on the nature of "international public policy."

Action Needed: While recognizing the desirability of a forum for discussion of the widest possible range of issues, limited only by the general competence of the specialized agency involved, provisions are needed to introduce greater discipline into the proceedings. For example:

- Those placing items on the agenda should be required to support the initiative with full explanations and justifications, including information on origins, motives, possible actions, etc.

- An orderly pre-review process should precede the formal Conference session so that all parties are informed and the submissions for the agenda item are as fully developed as possible. The Executive Board is charged with "preparation of the sessions of the General Conference." It should be required to give this matter much more attention.





The Conference itself must commission the pre-conference, preparatory work.

It may be noted that, where program "packages" have been prepared in advance by special inter-governmental councils, acting on behalf of the world community and representing the interested professional or other circles involved, the General Conference has been able to act quickly and responsibly. Given such preparatory work, complex issues of international cooperation are given adequate and relevant consideration.

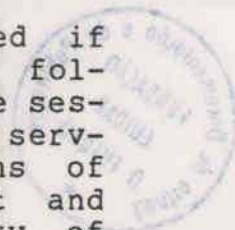
Consideration may need to be given to less frequent Conferences. This has been rejected in the past, but may be more acceptable now in view of pressures on governments to participate in so many international conferences. Moreover, the addition of preparatory machinery will meet at least some of the demand for participation. The example of schedules and procedures in the World Meteorological Organization could be suggestive.

Problem (b) Conference procedures which should provide for full and fair discussion ("due process") are not always observed. This is due in part to the pressures of time.

Action needed: The situation would be improved if the preparatory measures suggested above were followed, making debate at the formal Conference session less frantic. In addition, however, those serving as Chairs of meetings need to be persons of experience and stature. They also need support and advice on procedures from more than a secretary of meeting (on substantive matters) and a legal adviser in the traditional sense. Innovative assistance for chairpersons and additional rules which help them manage discussion merit study.

## 2. Supervisory: The Executive Board

The Executive Board of UNESCO represents the General Conference (and therefore all Member States) in periods between sessions of the Conference. It is charged, among other things, with supervision of the execution of the program. Its mandate has been construed broadly to allow it to make judgements about changed circumstances facing the Organization, take appropriate measures in the light thereof and to authorize changes in the program. It is, like comparable bodies in other international organizations, a key organ for managing the agency.





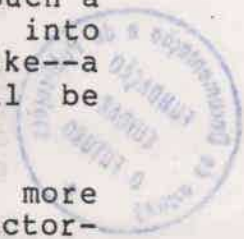
Problems: The Board probably has too many members to operate effectively, at least if it insists upon working in plenary sessions and with all members participating at the level of its two commissions. The total number of days of meetings for it and its subsidiary bodies is inadequate to carry out its mandate. This limitation on working time is largely at the insistence of governments (costs and inability to arrange the necessary time of Board members and staffs), but the limitation is encouraged by the Secretariat.

Action needed: It may be possible, taking account of revised meeting arrangements for the General Conference (preparatory commissions), to reduce the number of members of the Executive Board. More likely, however, would be acceptance of a greater sharing of functions among Board members, in which each would act on behalf of the entire membership, either alone or in small groups, in order to carry out the tasks of the Board. There have been examples of assumption of this kind of responsibility in this fashion. The tendency should be encouraged. Such a method of operation naturally will evolve into multiple committees, working groups and the like--a desirable development, the costs of which will be balanced by a healthier organization.

This method of operation should also lead to a more responsible and collegial behavior by the Director-General and the Secretariat. He will be forced to provide general guidance to his staff and then expect them to exercise good judgement according to the requirements of the international oath of office as they service the several bodies carrying out Executive Board tasks.

Fortunately, Secretaries of the Board have collected detailed records of Board activities and have made some analyses of workload, etc. These provide a good basis for external studies which could suggest alternatives for improved methods of functioning. Such studies, if carried out jointly by two or more universities in different regions of the world, would be persuasive in gaining political acceptance of reforms.

Caution: It is sometimes proposed that Permanent Delegations in Paris of Member States could play a more active role in operations of the Organization. They now serve, of course, as channels of information from and to their countries, some of them more effectively than others. The motivation of those asking for more active roles for the Delegations seems to be that they could aid the Executive Board





in exercising supervision over execution of the program, becoming critics of the Administration. One suggestion, for example, was that Permanent Delegations could gather information and prepare reports for the Board in between its sessions.

This is a dangerous idea. It tends to dilute responsibilities entrusted to a Director-General and to the elected members of the board who serve in their individual capacity, as well as representing their governments for the explicit purpose of service on the Board.

### 3. The Administrative Organs: The Secretariat and its Director-General

The Constitution of UNESCO identifies the Secretariat as the third principal "organ" of the agency. Provision is made for election of a Director-General who shall be "the chief administrative officer of the Organization."

Problems: It is generally recognized that, as Member States find it more and more difficult to participate fully and effectively in the growing number of international organizations and as larger and larger General Conferences and Executive Boards find it difficult to operate as policy-making and supervisory organs, the Secretariat has gained power. A somewhat similar situation has developed for national parliamentary bodies.

The power of the Secretariat and its executive head has also grown as they became the agent and manager of increasingly sizeable and important flows of global information.

This growth in power has come about even though Secretariats basically are still performing the same servicing functions as those assigned to the League of Nations staff and adopted by the framers of the basic documents for the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. Secretariats, even without seeking it, have acquired an enlarged importance in the scheme of things.

The role and status of the Director-General has also evolved significantly. Only a few scholarly studies have begun to help us understand this phenomenon. For UNESCO, the book by Richard Hoggart, An Idea and its Servants: UNESCO from Within (London:Chatto and Windus, 1978) is valuable on this point.

Action Needed: A better balance of power between Secretariat, on the one hand, and the other two





organs will be achieved in part by more effective performances by members of the latter organs. The Secretariat, under leadership of its head, has simply moved naturally into a vacuum.

Beyond that, however, a number of measures appear possible to adjust the role of the Director-General so that the incumbent can perform more acceptably the role which is that of "servant of the Organization." His oath of office requires him to "act with the interests of the Organization solely in mind." This is more than being a servant of the Member States.

Measures to this end can best be set forth in impartial and scholarly studies which should be commissioned from universities. This is preferred to having proposals come from groups of Member States.

## B. Operational Problems

### 1. Planning and Programming: Deciding on Level, Aims and Content of Program Activities

Program and Budget Levels Criticism is made of the increasing budgets of UNESCO and other agencies. The issue is more than the amount of money. The U.S. and some other large contributors find the volume of program activity and the number of projects not to their liking. Budgets merely reflect the level of the program and the choice of methods of execution.

It is not enough simply to ask for greater "concentration," for emphasis on "priority projects" and for the elimination of those of "less importance." That is an inadequate policy statement. The needs of our world are increasing. Areas requiring international cooperation are neglected. The number of actors and their demands for participation and service mount. Some projects in the UNESCO program may have little impact or are otherwise inappropriate. Their elimination would open the way for substitution of others offering greater returns and of obvious urgency.

Making Choices: It is not sufficient to expect the Director-General or the Secretariat alone to achieve a "scaling down" or "tightening up" of the program. He and his staff are not comparable to an elected national administration. Nor can one expect an unwieldy and undisciplined Executive Board to recommend specific eliminations or substitutions in the program except in rare instances.



What is needed is external, objective assessment of experience and development of options for making the difficult choices involved in providing greater concentration on what will be generally accepted as priority activities. The Director-General, the Executive Board and the General Conference need help in identifying what is most likely to be efficient and effective. They need help in making these choices widely acceptable.

External assessment needs to come from outside the Organization, yet be recognized as informed judgement. Those engaging in assessment studies preferably should not be appointed by "the system" itself. Rather, the system in various ways can encourage and facilitate careful studies and honest and fair criticism by external bodies. Costs are involved, but represent a good investment.

For example, should not the United Nations University be asked to promote and sponsor studies of the past and the future of international institutions and to publish the best of these? Marshall McLuhan has observed that "no new idea ever starts from within a big operation. It must assail the organization from outside, through some small but competing organization." Should selected international non-governmental organizations be challenged to offer proposals for reform of UNESCO operations?

Preparing the Plans and Programs. Criticism is voiced of the processes of consultations and preparation of the UNESCO Medium Term Plan and the Biennial programs. At the same time, it is recognized that these processes emerged from the initiatives of the major contributors and have been praised for several of their features. Governments, however, have discovered that the very procedures which they demanded in an effort to increase control over programs and budgets are straining national capacities to keep informed and to exercise and express meaningful judgements.

One problem is that of realistic schedules for planning and consultation if all Member States are to have reasonable periods in which to review and comment on basic planning guidance. Expert, impartial study and advice should be able to develop imaginative ideas for an improved planning and programming process. Those ideas will probably require acceptance of selected critical points for government comment rather than the complete and detailed listing of questions and projects for every program area.





## 2. Review of Programs and Budgets and their Approval

At least three problems have been cited in respect of the review of draft programs and budgets and the procedure for their adoption/approval.

Some governments complain about the difficulty of studying what is admittedly a weighty and detailed set of program and project descriptions. The same complaint might be voiced about similar documentation for other major specialized agencies. The UNESCO program document, moreover, has been praised by several observers. This complaint does not appear as significant enough to merit special action at this time.

Of greater concern is the criticism that the first draft of program proposals from the Director-General is difficult to amend. A change in procedure should be worked out by a joint committee appointed for that purpose. Compromises from all parties will be needed. Governments will need to recognize that they must frame discussion at each General Conference so as to influence the program of the period to begin two years hence. Thereafter, the Director-General must be allowed to "fill out" the details and to present them in his draft program and budget. On the other hand, the Director-General will need to raise questions about that draft in sufficient detail with the Executive Board in advance of his complete draft so that Member States feel they have participated in the process.

The third criticism concerns what has been called the clarity of the translation of the draft program into budget figures. Although some of the fault lies with the unwillingness and inability of the Executive Board to fulfill its role of budget review, it must be possible to agree on improvements in presentation and calculation. It is understood that specific proposals on this point will be made at the next session of the Board with a view to their adoption for submission of the 1986-87 budget.

## 3. Finance

UNESCO activities are financed mainly from two sources: the regular budget (supplied by payments assessed on all members according to the UN contributions scale) and special-purpose extra-budgetary programs of the UN and UNESCO (funds contributed on a voluntary basis by governments and others).





Within the regular program and budget, all activities are treated equally as to funding, even though it is clear that there is a wide range of interest and participation on the part of the Member States.

It is very likely that, for a variety of factors, there will be pressures in the future for a more complex set of methods for financing international organization operations. Would it not be well now to initiate studies which would survey and describe the widest possible range of financing methods? Even though such an examination would have a long-term perspective, it is conceivable that it would provide the grounding for short-term adjustments which would meet the interests of a large group of Member States. For example, would the United States wish to see its share of regular budgets reduced in some cases? Issues of planning, control and level of participation, etc., obviously are involved and need airing.

#### 4. Structures and Management Issues

The program and the administrative (Secretariat) structures of UNESCO have come under scrutiny in the past 10 years on several occasions. Uncertainty prevails among Member States, National Commissions and within the Secretariat, especially in the light of execution of the first program under the revised Second Medium Term Plan.

The Director-General, appropriately in my view, has insisted on a large degree of freedom to organize the Secretariat if he is to be responsible for execution of the program. There will always be tension between the incumbent of that post and the Executive Board as it attempts to exercise "supervision." The tension increases when Permanent Delegations get into the act of "second-guessing" the structures and management procedures of the Secretariat. Discussions by the Board on administrative structures at plenary level are not satisfactory to anyone, Board members or Director-General. Closed meetings on the subject in a mixed small body--specialists, retired senior international officials from other agencies, 3 or 4 selected Board members--might offer a constructive possibility.



The usual technique when organization and methods are questioned is to ask for appointment of a team of management consultants. This approach has been utilized twice in the history of UNESCO: 1956 and 1963-64. The results were limited, but generally constructive. The costs of such an operation are significant and must be considered. So must the terms of reference, appointment and selection of the panel. Excessive expectations of management surveys and audits should be avoided.

The hopes that the investigations and reports of the United Nations Joint Inspection Unit would bring about significant improvements in management of agencies does not appear to have been realized. Independent scholars could be asked to assess the experience of the last 10 years in this regard.

### Personnel Management

The issue of quality and effective utilization of staff is related, of course, to the problem of administrative structures and management just cited. The concept of the international civil service, as first elucidated by the first Secretary-General of the League of Nations and the Noblemaire Report to the League, and generally observed today, appears sound and relevant to most international organizations operations. During the first 25 years of the United Nations system it may be said that adherence to principles, standards, spirit and motivation of the international civil service was strong.

It was hoped that establishment of the current United Nations International Civil Service Commission, would install a new era, with a renewal of commitment to the high standards and practices which had prevailed in the early years of the U.N. system. The hopes for that Commission have been only partly realized. We should ask scholars and experienced diplomats and international servants to examine the problems and to give us guidance for the future.

It is likely that we will have to envisage a more complex system of civil service for the varied instruments of world order. That will require different sets of rules for recruitment, staff remuneration, evaluation, management, etc. for separate "sets" of institutions and functions.

Meanwhile, a way must be found to reduce the tensions on the part of the Director-General, his staff and the Member States in respect to personnel



questions. Progress on a few points should be accepted as sufficient for the present.

For example, the status of "ombudsman" for the staff may need change in the direction of greater autonomy. Also, a "buffer" mechanism might be introduced which allows the Executive Board to seek and to receive information about general personnel questions and staff development without interfering with the necessary authority and independence of the executive head for managing his staff.

## 6. Evaluation

Too many generalizations, too much exhortation and excessive expectations have characterized the discussions about evaluation. It is as if Secretariats, government representatives and members of the Executive Board are afraid to "get down to business" and to face the consequences of evaluation. A review of the evaluations and assessments of various kinds made during the last 15 years at all levels in UNESCO might be revealing and offer guidance for the future. We could be provided with a typology of the several different types and utilizations of evaluation. The process has been most successful when specific samples have been carefully selected for review and when motivations and the serious intentions to act on the evaluation have been identified in advance.

## C. Relationships

### 1. Coordination

In an increasingly complex system of international organizations, coordination among the institutions can be a significant factor in efficient and effective operations. Under present arrangements, it was assumed that adequate surveillance of this subject would be assured by the Economic and Social Council and by occasional reviews by each agency's executive board or council. Reliance was also placed on the Administrative Committee on Coordination consisting of the heads of agencies, under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. When Member States began to lose confidence on this score and felt the need for more information, the General Assembly expressed misgivings and a special new committee on coordination was established.

The United Nations Joint Inspection Unit (mentioned earlier in connection with management issues) was also expected to help in improvement of coordination among UN agencies. Some of its reports are useful in



this regard, but do not receive adequate attention for various reasons.

Complaints that UNESCO might be exceeding its sphere of competence suggest that a review of coordination provisions is warranted. Although action to strengthen such provisions would involve action at the center of the UN system, there may be steps appropriate at the level of the UNESCO Executive Board. That body now discusses a detailed report on external relationships of its Program Commission. The organization of the discussion could be improved and some members of the board and their governments could be asked to assume greater responsibility on behalf of all Member States to go more deeply into the questions of coordination. Alternatively, a mixed advisory body, including representatives of non-governmental organizations, could perform a useful review, synthesis and high-lighting of important issues.

The questions go beyond short-term matters of good relationships; some anticipation of coordination issues would be helpful. Moreover, the relationship questions involve not only agencies of the UN system; they extend to a variety of regional and global bodies and to extra-governmental institutions and associations.

## 2. Collaboration

When UNESCO has been most successful and most appreciated, it has often been because it was able to enlist the cooperation of several other interested parties in a joint undertaking. First among these, of course, are the National Commissions. Valuable partners have also been the international non-governmental organizations. Regional institutes and universities have also been called upon to collaborate.

The capacity of the central secretariats of the major UN agencies to stimulate and to call up additional resources from outside bodies and to organize collaboration for projects of international cooperation and service needs to be seen as the vital factor in world order which it is. The UNESCO Secretariat has proved its importance as a catalytic agent in promoting useful work. It has been able to give sanction and credibility to valuable initiatives for exchange and international understanding.

There is general acceptance of the desirability of decentralization/deconcentration of structures and authorities of the headquarters Secretariat. This







means, among other things, the promotion of collaboration with a wide variety of outside bodies and, in some cases, reliance on them for the performance of functions. For this, new concepts of sharing and accountability need to be developed. Understanding of all the implications of this orientation, including costs, will be necessary on the part of Member States and the Executive Board.

"Brain-storming" of the future networks and collaborative mechanisms of the institutions of world order, reaching down into national constituencies, would be revealing and encouraging.

### III. Strategy, Tactics and a Timetable for Action

Needed is a set of tactics for short-term dealings with UNESCO and a long-term policy and strategy for international cooperation in education, science, culture and communications (with or without UNESCO in its present form).

The short-term tactics should include:

- (a) An extension of one year of the period of notice of withdrawal to December 31, 1985. This would be realistic in respect to ourselves in order to allow study of alternative arrangements to UNESCO. It would be both realistic and fair to the other Member States, especially our allies. They need time to adjust, to make changes either for an organization without the United States or an institution amended so as to retain American participation.
- (b) Identification of the 2 or 3 priority reforms on which action seems possible in the next 18 months and which we consider are in the interests of a more effective organization. Could these be: Reform in the methods of operation of the Executive Board



which enhance its authority; agreement on the budget base for costing the next biennial program; a management study of a few aspects of Secretariat structure and procedures?

(c) Commissioning of studies of experience: what has been happening to international institutions; the significance of that experience for anticipating problems and designing options for the future. These studies would naturally lead into suggestions for longer term reforms. The studies could be carried out by post-graduate institutions and independent scholars. Hopefully, some work could be joint or at least parallel with that undertaken in other countries.

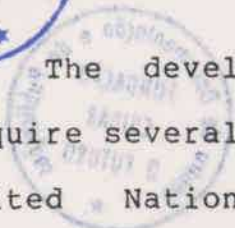

(d) Convening of a conference of interested American groups, public and private (NGO's, universities, foundations, corporations, etc.) to consider the desirable nature, constitution and relationships of international institutions working in the fields of UNESCO around the year 2000 and hereafter.

(e) Making known to governments and to interested NGO's well in advance of the next UNESCO General Conference (October 1985) the preliminary views and intentions of the United States concerning the future development of education, science, culture and communications on this planet. We would thus show the world that we believe in the future of organized international cooperation, however many





improvements we seek in it.



The development of a long-term policy and strategy will require several years if it is to embrace not only UNESCO but the United Nations system in all of its parts. Studies and consultations will take time. For this country to take up the challenge and to give evidence of such a commitment would call forth energies, ideas and cooperation. The world would breathe easier.

Most of the principal areas to be covered in developing the policy and strategy have been identified in Part II above. As the work proceeds:

- (a) Assuming that we remain in UNESCO, even provisionally, we should be prepared to participate actively in the search for the next Director-General of UNESCO (nomination in 1986 or 1987; election in November 1987).
- (b) Draft amendments to the UNESCO Constitution will need to be prepared for dissemination in 1985 and 1986 for initial discussion in 1987 at the 23rd General Conference.
- (c) Consideration might be given to establishment of a set of national and international mechanisms for continuing consultation on the future of the institutions of world order so as to promote responsible action, develop fresh perspectives and enhance human



hopes. Could leadership for such mechanisms be entrusted to the United Nations University?



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