DESIGNING A REPLACEMENT FOR THE UN

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<u>FOREWORD</u>

Our intention in writing this article is to provoke widespread discussion of all of its features. We invite suggested ways of improving the design.

INTRODUCTION

The world is in a mess. This statement hardly needs documentation. The terrible state of world affairs is disheartening, particularly to those of us who hoped the UN would be able to bring some order and sense into these affairs. Unfortunately, the UN has turned out to provide little more than the defunct League of Nations had. It is clear that it is only through effective, decisive and strong international action that any improvement in the state of the world can be brought about. A unilateral approach by any super power not only places a great and unfair burden on its own people but it does not produce desirable results. In fact, up to now, such interventions have only exacerbated the mess. The only workable solution requires the world community to accept its collective responsibility and act with authority to create a world order that is capable of managing national interactions. Therefore, it seemed to the two of us that a design of a potentially effective multinational organization might minimally encourage some productive changes in the UN. We have chosen to go about producing such a design by employing idealized design. That is, we start with a clean sheet; and then go ahead with no constraints except technological feasibility — no science fiction. The system we design does not even need to be

implementable but, clearly, it should be able to improve the world if it were implemented. We do not expect our design to be implemented, but we wish it could be. However, we believe an approximation to it may be possible either as a replacement for the UN or as a new multi-national venture.

First we develop the idealized design and then consider what aspects of, or approximations to, it are feasible. It will become apparent that all the obstructions to implementation of even the idealized design lie in the minds of people, not "out there." But these are the hardest kinds of obstructions to remove. Fortunately, in the past, mobilizing ideas and visions have produced massive mental changes and brought about social revolutions of huge proportions.

... man has been able to grow enthusiastic over his vision of ... unconvincing enterprises. He has pit himself to work for the sake of an idea, seeking by magnificent exertions to arrive at the incredible. And in the end, he has arrived there. Beyond all doubt it is one of the vital sources of man's power, to be thus able to kindle enthusiasm from the mere glimmer of something improbable, difficult, remote. (José Ortéga y Gassett, 1966, p. 1.)

Yogi Berra is reported to have said something like, "If you don't know where you are going, you won't know where you are when you get there." Idealized design produces a vision of where you will be when you get there. It provides continuous direction to ones activities. It reveals opportunities to make changes that take one closer to the state envisioned. In effect, it converts problems that arise along the way into opportunities. It puts meaning into both long and the short pursuits.

We hope this ideal design will stimulate discussion that yields improvements in the way world affairs are handled while generating consensus as to what is most desirable. In other words, we hope it will raise the level of discussion of global issues to a higher level than that at which such discussion currently takes place.

Current discussion tends to accept the global system that exists and ask how parts of it or their behaviors can be changed so as to reduce the mess. Such discussion although pervasive is based on an assumption that one can dissolve a mess by patching or tackling its parts separately. Improving the performance of parts of a system may not improve the performance of the system of which they are part. In fact, improvement of the parts can destroy a system. For example, replacing the motor in, say, a ford Taurus with a more powerful motor, say from a Rolls Royce, will not improve it — even if it could be fitted in — because the other parts of the car are not designed to work with such a motor. The performance of a system depends on how its parts *interact*, not on how they perform when considered separately. In some cases it is possible to make a system perform better by making one or more of its parts perform worse. For example, when a store offers loss leaders (items sold at a loss) it does so with the intention of increasing total sales.

SPECIFICATION OF DESIRABLE PROPERTIES

There are certain important properties that we want to design into the organization that we envision. These must provide nations with a good reason for joining; that is, there must be a significant advantage to membership in the organization.

1. It should be a voluntary association of autonomous nations committed to democracy, pluralism, the protection of human rights, and the promotion of development of its member nations and those that are external to it. Because of this we call this organization the *Union of Democratic Nations*.

- 2. It should have the ability to dissolve or manage conflicts (a) between its member nations, (b) between its members and nonmembers, and (c) between nonmember nations when invited to do so or when such conflicts endanger one or more of its members.
- 3. It should provide security for all member nations by protecting them against aggression from any internal or external source.
- 4. It should facilitate unrestricted economic, cultural, educational and technological exchanges between its members.
- 5. It should make possible completely free communication and movement of individuals, goods and capital among member nations.
- 6. It should prevent exploitation within member nations of any group that is based on discrimination and/or segregation by race, nationality, religion, language, sex or age.
- 7. It should help eradicate poverty, illiteracy, genocide, tyranny, health hazards and environmental deterioration all over the world.
- 8. It should assist nations that are not eligible for membership but want to join the Union in becoming eligible for it.

GETTING INTO THE UNION

 Membership in the Union would be open to all nations irrespective of their location, race, religion and size as long as they met the following conditions:

 Members must have been an autonomous pluralistic democracy for at least 20 years with at least two peaceful transitions of administrations; that is, transfers of power.

By a "democracy" we mean a nation within which (1) everyone who is affected by a decision has an opportunity to participate either directly or indirectly (through elected representatives) in making it, (2) anyone in a position of authority over others individually is subject to their collective authority, and (3) anyone can do anything they want to providing that it has no effect on anyone else's ability to do the same, otherwise they require the agreement of those affected.

By "pluralism" we mean a society that permits any and every point of view on any issue to be expressed and acted on unless it restricts the ability of anyone else to do the same thing.

By "autonomous" we mean not subject to any external source of control.

By "peaceful transition of an administration" we mean the transfer of authority at the top of the nation's government

from one elected person or set of persons to another person or set of persons.

- Application for membership must be approved by a majority of its eligible voters.
- Members must accept and fully meet requirements of the universal declaration of human rights without any exceptions, including allowance of no discrimination or segregation based on race, sex, religion, national origin, language or age.
- Members must accept the role of the Union and commit to making the changes necessary to conform to the transfer of responsibilities from the nation to the Union.
- Members must not be at war with any other nation, nor be experiencing a civil war, and not be engaged in any territorial disputes.
- Members must not belong to any other association of nations,
 obligations to which take precedence over those to this Union.
- Members must not harbor or support terrorism in any form.
- Members must abolish all forms of capital and physical punishment.
- Members must provide all nationals (except prisoners and those awaiting trial) with the freedom to emigrate.

 Members must provide free public education to all residents for a minimum of eight years, also universal healthcare and unemployment insurance along with incentives to work.

SEPARATION FROM THE UNION

- Membership would be suspended if any of the criteria for membership were violated. Members would lose their membership with three violation and or refusal to honor the Union resolution.
- Any member nation of the union could be expelled from the union by a two-thirds vote of both governing houses.
- Any member nation could secede from the Union with support of a majority of its eligible voters.
- Any part of a member nation may secede from that nation by a majority voted of its population. Once separated it would have to go through normal procedures to enter the Union.

CONDITIONS OF CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP

- Members would maintain no national military force. The Union would provide a military force to protect all members against aggression from within or without.
- Each member would pay dues annually consisting of a per capita assessment that would be proportional to average per capita income in that nation.
- Members would provide complete freedom of movement within the Union.

- Members would facilitate free trade within the Union.
- Members would limit nonrenewable terms of all elected officials to six years.
- The relevant government would finance all campaigns for public office and limit them to three months.
- The Union would adopt an official language that would be taught in all schools in member nations.
- No member of the Union could ship into any other member of the union goods or services outlawed in the receiving member — for example, guns or drugs.

SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE UNION

- In addition to military forces provided and maintained by the union, it would
 - Operate a Food and Drug Administration and an Environmental Control Service.
 - Establish and maintain a Center for Disease Control directed at prevention or control of epidemics originating both within and outside the Union.
 - License products ad services and establish and administer safety standards and grading systems applicable to these in all member nations.

 Operate a conflict resolution service available both internally and externally to the Union.

- Establish and maintain a Commission to monitor all nations in and out of the Union for presence and development of weapons of mass destruction.
- Provide a patent office, registration of trademarks, and copyright facilities.
- Provide a stock market and a Security and Exchange Commission.
- Provide custom and immigration services.
- Establish, maintain and operate a fund and consultation service to encourage and facilitate development of nations both within and outside the Union.
- The Union would establish and support (but exercise no control over) a news agency that would publish a daily newspaper and would broadcast the news over radio and television. The output of this agency would be available in all member nations and, on request, by nations outside the Union.

GOVERNANCE OF UNION

 There would be two policy-making bodies One, the Council of Heads of State, would consist of the elected Presidents or Prime Ministers of all member states with their deputies (e.g., Vice Presidents or Deputy Prime

Ministers) serving as alternates. The other, the *Chamber of Representatives*, would consist of representatives of each member nation, the number proportional to their population and their GNP per capita.

- The Union would have an Executive Director elected for a nonrenewable term of six years. At least three persons would be nominated by the Chamber of Representatives, and be elected by a 2/3-majority of the Council of Heads of State.
 - Any elected executive of the Union could be dismissed from office by 2/3 vote of both the Council of Heads of State and the Chamber of Representatives.
- The Union would have a court whose function is to handle issues between member nations and between member and nonmember nations.
 Members of the court would be nominated by the Council of Heads of State and selected by majority vote of the Chamber of Representatives.
 - The court would consist of nine members each of whom serves one nine-year term. One member of the court would leave each year and be replaced. Nominations would be made by the Executive Director of the Union but selected by a 2/3 vote of the Council of Heads of State. Nominees would be drawn from former heads of State or national Supreme Courts.
- The Executive Director would have a cabinet consisting of the head of each division of the Union, these appointed by the Executive Director, but requiring approval of 2/3-majority of the Council of Heads of State.

THE RIGHTS OF MEMBER STATES

 We make no effort to make all the member states behave in the same way. We have tried to minimize the amount of autonomy that members in the Union are required to relinquish.

REFERENCE

Ortéga y Gasset, José, 1956. Mission of the university. New York: W.W. Norton.