Rethinking International Governance

Harlan Cleveland

NOTE: The University of Minnesota’s Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, of which Harlan Cleveland has been Dean since 1980, is undertaking an ambitious project, “Rethinking International Governance,” in which they hope to have the collaboration of the World Academy. This article briefly summarizes the whole concept, then suggests one fresh approach to the subject: starting with what works, rather than what doesn’t.

Dean Cleveland asks us to make clear that “governance,” in his vocabulary, is not intended to imply “government,” but rather the aggregate of institutions of cooperation, coordination and common action among sovereign nations.

I.

Today’s world, yesterday’s institutions. It is all too obvious that the present arrangements for international cooperation, coordination and common action are not, by and large, able to cope. Indeed, since most of the existing international structures were invented in the 1940s, it would be astonishing if they were adequately coping with the vastly different circumstances we face in the 1980s and beyond.

It seems to be only in “postwar planning,” undertaken while World Wars are going on, that efforts are mounted to think comprehensively and globally about a system that spans security, development, economic management, human rights and responsibilities, the migration of peoples and the mix of dangers and opportunities that stem from scientific discovery and technological innovation. But this time, the world cannot again afford a large war as a spur to creative building.

Except in times of deep crisis (such as a great depression or war) governments are, paradoxically, too “responsible” for current governance to plan for broad adaptation to changes in the international system, however badly needed that may be. So the best bet, it seems, is to assemble from around the world, under nongovernmental auspices, an ad hoc core group of wise and experienced people in a three-year process that does not engage whatever professional responsibilities they may otherwise have.

The mission of this international core group will be to think through how to bring the “machinery” for international cooperation into line with the main changes in the total environment — changes in needs, threats, concepts of fairness, economic conditions, the information environment, and political relations — in a world with nobody in charge.

Dean Harlan Cleveland; Hubert H. Humphrey Institute.

The composition of the core group must be designed to include men and women who are sensitive to and knowledgeable about the variety of cultures, economies and politics which constitute the world that needs, as President John F. Kennedy put it, to be made “safe for diversity.”

II.

The most neuralgic sectors of global life, such as nuclear arms control, conflict resolution, trade and monetary policies, have not yet produced cooperative machinery that works. Indeed, some segments of the “collective security” system established four decades ago seem to be moving in slow motion toward irrelevance or oblivion — Masked, to be sure, by inertial-movement, familiar rituals of speech and resolutions with little or no practical effect.

The problem is to find, reenergize or if necessary invent instruments of international governance for the management of change without violence, in order to maintain the kind of “civic peace” that encourages rather than inhibits security, fairness and fulfilling growth for diverse individuals and pluralistic societies.

It is common knowledge (though not “news” since it’s good news) that some kinds of international cooperation work astonishingly well. If we could bottle what works, maybe we could figure out how to apply it to what doesn’t work.

The notion may be so simple as to be simple-minded. But it would at least be a novelty to begin a discussion of international institution-building by talking about the success stories.

That would mean averting our eyes, at first, from some of the most obvious eye-sores (a decades-old arms race, the precarious monetary system, persistent regional conflicts, cacophony in the UN’s central institutions, politicization of international functions that don’t need to be political) and thinking hard about the lessons to be learned from such “workable” institutions as these:

— Weather forecasting, the eradication of infectious diseases, international civil aviation, the allocation of the frequency spectrum, the uses of outer space (so far), Antarctica, the deep seabed (what’s left of it), and other instances of international technological cooperation.

— Multinational corporations, both “private” and “socialized,” which operate across national frontiers (not to everyone’s satisfaction, of course) so much more easily and efficiently than national governments or intergovernmental organizations seem able to do.

— European economic integration (as far as it goes).

— The strong of agricultural research institutes around the world.

— Joint action against pollution of regional areas, notably the Mediterranean.

— Growth-with-fairness in several East Asian developing nations.

— The unpredicted success of population
limitation in many, indeed most, developing countries. The globalization of the information flow (again, not to everyone’s taste or benefit) in such fields as money exchange, commodity markets, airline reservations, and the coverage of news and sports.

Despite the obvious negative elements in the world problematique, there are some positive elements on which to build institutions of international governance that are more sensible, more durable, less fragile and less dangerous than those we have inherited from the founding fathers (only one founding mother: Eleanor Roosevelt) of the postwar world. Here, for example, are four of them:

— People and nations seem to be able to agree to take “next steps” together when they avoid trying to agree on why they are agreeing (that is, whose ideology is being advanced).

— They seem to do this best in practical consensus procedures, not in the formality of voting in pseudo-parliamentary committees of instructed government representatives.

— Many international functions, especially those requiring the most foresight and operational flexibility, can be carried out through nongovernmental arrangements.

— In a good many fields, governments have already come to realize that effective deployment of their cherished sovereignty requires that it be pooled with the sovereignty of other nations, in order to accomplish that which none can do alone. Workable international systems do not seem to require that nations “cede” sovereignty, but rather that they use it in joint action—instead of losing it by not using it.

PAIN AND STRESS MANAGEMENT

The American Division of WAAS hosted a successful conference November 9, 1985 at the COSMOS Club in Washington, D.C. on the “Management of Pain and Stress: Past Present and Future,” organized by WAAS Fellow Doctors Larry Ng and John Proctor. All Fellows residing in the United States were invited and over 60% responded. Forty Fellows and guests participated in the day-long conference. The program began with a welcome by President Macdonald. The participants and their subjects were:

Nancy Knight, Ph.D. — “Methods of Pain Relief Through History.”

Lorenz K.Y. Ng, M.D. — “Past Approaches to Treatment of Chronic Pain.”

Josephine Rhodes, R.N., M.A. — “Rheumatoid Arthritis — A Dialogue with Pain.”

Joel Elkes, M.D. — “Toward a Science of Health: Some Thoughts of Brain, Behavior and Well-Being.”


John Proctor, Ph.D. — Round Table “Concepts of Pain and Stress.”

Tour: Smithsonian Institution, Museum of American History to see their Exhibit on “Pain and It’s Relief.”

Reception at the Cosmos Club with WAAS Executive Committee.

Complete proceedings of the Conference should be ready in January. If you would like a copy, write to John Proctor, 308 East Street, N.E., Vienna, VA 22180, U.S.A.

WAAS—UNESCO—IFIAS Scholars Conference

On 7-9 October, 1985, a workshop of past and present UNESCO-IFIAS Scholars was held in Paris to discuss “New Scientific and Technological Processes/Products and their impact on Development in Third World Countries” and “Priorities in Science for Development.” Present were scholars working on or with a background in the areas of Science Policy, Technology Policy, Microbiology, Environmental Studies, Physics and History.

The major conclusions of this workshop centered on the fact that an increasing number of Third World Countries are not necessarily totally preoccupied in achieving the basic requirement issues such as food, housing and clothing. Emphasis is also being directed towards the building and administration of an infrastructure with the capability of supporting various industries, transportation and distribution and teaching/learning institutions.

Participants listened to presentations on the WAAS by Drs. Augusto Forti and Sam Nilsson and Prof. Carl-Goran Hédén, which illustrated the way in which WAAS works and the types of projects to which it is directing its interests. Prof. Hédén expressed the desirability for younger involvement in the work of WAAS, to which he received a very favorable response.

New WAAS Fellows

Addresses and professional information of Fellows listed below are printed on enclosed folder which is to be inserted in back of the 1985 WAAS Directory.

Donald Christiansen, New York, New York, USA — Dr. Umberto P. Colombo, Rome, Italy — Rita R. Colwell, Ph.D., College Park, Maryland, 20742 — Remy Cornellsen, Antwerp, Belgium — John E. Fobes, Webster, North Carolina 28788, USA — Professor Felipe Herrera, Santiago, Chile — Dr. Abraham Horwitz, Washington, DC 20037, USA — Professor Frederico Mayor, Madrid 34, Spain — William Z. McLear, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103, USA — Dr. Horatio Paulo Ray Colaco Menano, Oeiras, Portugal — Professor Abdus Salam, Trieste, Italy 34100 — Russell L. Schwickart, Sacramento, California 95814, USA — Professor Dr. H. Seeliger, D-8700 Würzburg, Germany — Benjamin Viel, M.D., Santiago, Chile.
International Meeting on “Art, Science and Technology in the 20th Century”

22-23 February 1985
Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation
Portuguese Cultural Centre
51 Avenue d’Iena, 75116, Paris

Introduction and objectives
The meeting was sponsored by the World Academy of Art and Science (WAAS), the European Academy of Art, Science and Humanities (EAASH), the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the International Association of Art Critics (IAAC), the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), and the Paris Art Center. Dr. Augusto Forti, from WAAS, was chairman. The objectives were:
(a) to promote exchange of views between scientists, science historians, artists and art historians;
(b) to plan for the organization of a travelling exhibition on the theme “Art, Science and Technology in the 20th century”;
(c) to prepare the basis of publications summing up the findings of the studies and exchanges carried out in this respect;
(d) to provide a lively intellectual opportunity for WAAS fellows to meet with European artists and scientists working in this area.

Background
Today, artists and scientists alike are concerned by the widening gap between their respective worlds, a gap which makes it difficult for creative people both in and out of science to communicate and understand one another. But if creativity is to be fostered in our post-industrial society, a bridge has to be built again between the two “cultures.” The origin of this meeting goes back to 1979, to a meeting held in Lisbon at the initiative of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation—a place where art and science receive equal generous support. The idea arose of gathering together leading artists and scientists with a view to discussing the relations and mutual influences between art, science and technology in the contemporary world, and to explore the possibility of preparing a travelling exhibition on this theme. Such an endeavour must mobilise conditions that would draw together scientists and artists interested in dialogue and in working together. A committee, chaired by Augusto Forti was set up in 1984.

As a result, five working groups were set up, each of which was entrusted to undertake the study of a specific theme related to the topic “Art, Science and Technology in the 20th Century”:
I: “Art, Science, Technology: history and language”, chaired by Prof. J. A. Frana, Chairman of the IAAC;
II: “Science, source of artistic creation,” chaired by Prof. Raymond Daudel, Chairman of the EAASH;
III: “Light, colour and structure”, chaired by Prof. M. Baker, Executive Secretary of ICSU, and Dr. Horacio Menano, Director of the Gulbenkian Institute of Science (Lisbon);
IV: “Science, Art and Society”, chaired by Prof. C. G. Heden, European President of WAAS;
V: “Art, Science, Technology: an exhibition”, chaired by Mr. Ante Gibota, Director of the Paris Art Center.

At the end of the workshops the participants met once more in plenary and the rapporteurs presented summaries.

Art, Science, Technology: history and language (J.A. Frana)
In its introduction, the report underlines the specific nature of the art. Whereas science tends towards unexpected results, and technology exists for practical purposes alone, in art, language and purpose form a whole, the one inseparable from the other. The report goes on to describe how the “communication explosion has burst in upon the future”, and to investigate how new technology can serve to ensure continuity of aesthetic objectives. The report makes a historical survey of the relationships between art, science and technology over the years 1900-1945, from cubism, futurism and rayonism. Technological developments during the 2nd World War stimulated the breakthrough of cybernetic art, it also prompted a dramatic reinforcement of “immediate art”, lyrical abstraction and even gestualism and informal art being the manifestations of this “inner time”.

Science, source of artistic creation (R. Daudel)
“Thanks to industry, the artist can incorporate new ingredients into his work. He has also been able to enhance the effects of technology and basic physics (e.g. lasers, holograms, etc.). The use of computers has often necessitated teamwork between artists and technicians. Art is undergoing a radical metamorphosis under the influence of science; this will no doubt give rise to new forms of art.”

Light, colour and structure (M. Baker and H. Menano) (Report presented by Achille Perilli)
As a result of the discussions, it was decided to set up an experimental group with which Bonacic, O. Piene, A. Forti and A. Perilli would be associated. The experimental work should deal with specific fields (e.g. lasers and their implications in science and art.)

Science, Art and Society (C.G. Heden)
The session was dominated by members of the World Academy of Art and Science (WAAS). They emphasized the current significance of non-governmental organizations and the need for reinforcement of networks such as the International Confederation of Scientific and Technical organizations for Development (CISTOD), Linkages with various socioeconomic and cultural activities in Europe (European Academy of Art, Science and Humanities,
European Cultural Foundation and the European Environmental Programme) they felt could be of great importance. There was also a need for comparative studies of countries at different points on the scale between centralization and decentralization (for instance, France, Yugoslavia and Switzerland). Such studies could be of considerable value to the understanding of the problems of governance. This understanding could also be increased by a functional analysis of the secretariats of major UN agencies which differ in their capacity to adapt to the opportunities offered by "the Information Society."

The experience of Europe in managing the problems of cross-border data transmission ought to be catalytic. The non-governmental organisations, on the other hand, ought to concentrate on an unbiased identification of governmental and inter-governmental functions that could exploit "electronic simultaneity" as one of the approaches to a World Welfare System that would maintain public order without jeopardizing human dignity and cultural diversity. In order to accelerate the maturation of nation states from being jealous guardians of sovereignty to becoming partners for global progress, it was suggested that artists already contribute by creating global communication symbols (airport- and road-signs, etc.), and that the time might soon be ripe to consider a "World Museum" quite different from the traditional monuments to national identities. Such an endeavor ought to be focused on "unity in diversity" i.e. on communication between cultures not only as a trigger of creativity in art, but also in fields like health, environment and technology. Rather than equating "modern" with "superior" it ought to emphasize biological and cultural diversity as a global asset, using art as a mirror of basic values and artefacts as illustrations of indigenous creativity. Since a teaching, rather than a missionary spirit ought to dominate the endeavour, it might have to be ambulatory and involve young people in participation and experimentation (puppet theatre, etc.). Against this background "A Festival of Diversity" might be a better concept than "Museum" or "Exhibition."

UNESCO has organized travelling exhibitions aimed at popularizing science, and recently the Organization has launched an ambulatory exhibition on ecological interdependence.

One should not be shy about presenting the powers of science, but at the same time the western tendency "to talk down to people" via "gee-wiz science road shows" must be avoided. The national input might thus have to be quite substantial (medicinal herbs, agricultural innovations, etc.) and art (theatre, photography, painting, sculpture) would play an important role as "a means to touch the heart of people".

Art, Science, Technology: an exhibition (A. Glibota)
The discussions of this workshop present what Otto Piene termed a "dream list" for travelling exhibition. It was suggested that the exhibition be both indoors and outdoors event, a dynamic, interactive event, involving the public and creating a snowball communication effect. Its lifespan could be 2-3 years and it could travel to some 4-5 places. It could be based on ready-made package of video discs, skyart, kinetic and electronic objects, lasers, artificial clouds, sound, etc. It was suggested that cable-TV could be used, perhaps through the Franco-German satellite system, operational after 1985. IBM's PC network could also be associated with the project to provide distance viewing — the concept of "dématerialized art." The budget need not be exorbitant but sufficient to explain the essential idea. Problems included equipment and technicians (requiring careful organisation), budget (possibly enlisting support of world corporations), choice of objects and the problem of information (communications with the public).

Conclusion
The meeting was an occasion for the WAAS, and particularly its European section, to develop a major activity in the fields of art and science and to mobilise for this purpose some outstanding artists and scientists with common concerns. The WAAS intends further to pursue this initiative and it is hoped that, in collaboration with those institutions which sponsored the meeting, as well as additional sponsors, it may be possible to bring about the exhibition. It would be useful if members of WAAS could make their comments, and send suggestions to Augusto Forti, 51, rue de Seine, 75006 Paris.

Paris Meeting Follow-Up
As a follow-up to the meeting in Paris, a Round Table on Art and Science sponsored by the World Academy of Art and Science will take place in Venice, with the participation of artists (painters) and scientists, on the evening of December 17, hosted by the Province of Venice.

Executive Committee Needs Your Ideas
On November 10, 1985 WAAS Executive Committee approved its annual budget for the calendar year 1986.

In view of declining resources the help of each WAAS Fellow is needed for the continuing interaction of our international Fellows and their activities which include the relationship between art, science and technology, the handling of pain and stress, and the awards for creative effort and accomplishment toward a peaceful world.

Send to the President's office, Dalhousie Law School, Halifax, B-3H, 4H9, Canada, your suggestions and, if possible, your tax free contribution* toward funding the present and future activities of WAAS. An appointed committee will meet in mid-March in the New York area to study your replies and give serious consideration to future financial plans.

*Contributions are tax deductible when drawn to the American Division of WAAS.

Deceased WAAS Fellows
You may know one or more of the deceased Fellows yet may not have heard of their passing. We have included the last known address of the deceased Fellows, should you wish to write to their families and friends.

Judge Hardy Cross Dillard, University of Virginia School of Law, 1221 Rugby Road, Charlottesville, VA 22903, USA — Dr. Bernard N. Halpern, 91 bd Saint-Germain, 75006 Paris, France — Mr. Frank Harcourt-Munning, C.B.E., 9 Madeley Road, London W5, England — Dr. Takahide Hosokawa, Department of Biology, Kyushu University, Fukuoka, Japan — Prof. Josef Kisser, Botanisches Institute, Hochschule fur Bodenkultur, Gregor Mendel Strausse 35 A-1180, Wien, Austria — Prof. C. H. Munro, Emeritus Professor, 11 Ernest Street, Hunters Hill N.S.W. 2110, Australia. Should you know of the death of a Fellow please advise the WAAS NEWS EDITOR.

For the Record
Dr. Bohdan Haurylyshyn's article in the July, 1985 Newsletter on page 2, column 1 under sub-heading "Political Regimes" now reads: "In a number of Western European Countries more than 5% of GNP is cycled or recycled through various public bodies."
The 5% of GNP, should read 50% of GNP. We regret this error.