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the CID Report

Volume 3, Number 1 CENTER FOR INNOVATIVE DIPLOMACY

Winter 1986-87

CID'S FIFTH YEAR

This issue celebrates the beginning of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy's (CID) fifth year, a year that promises to be our most important ever. What began as a bold, even audacious dream by three Stanford students in 1982 has become an increasingly influential national institution with more than four thousand members, nearly a thousand of whom are local elected officials.

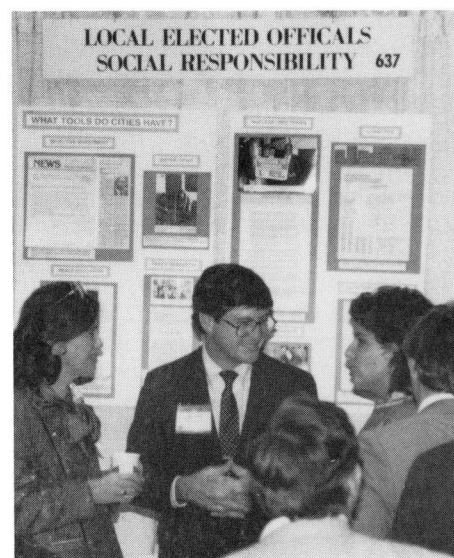
The following pages contain brief descriptions of CID's efforts to reverse the arms race through a progressive coalition of local elected officials (LEO), municipal foreign policies, citizen diplomacy, international computer networking, and alternative security structures. These diverse projects reflect CID's commitment to developing creative approaches for citizens to become diplomats themselves. We believe that nuclear war can only be prevented through democratic participation in foreign policy-making, here and abroad.

Commonly Asked Questions About CID

How did CID get started?

CID began at Stanford University in 1981, when three students—Hal Harvey, in engineering; Eric Horvitz, in medicine; and Michael Shuman, in law—began meeting to figure out ways of shaking students out of their complacency about nuclear war. They decided to create a student organization called the Stanford Arms Control and Disarmament Forum (SACDF). Its first event, "Weapons Crisis Week," treated several thousand community members to seven consecutive days and nights of debate on the arms race.

When Harvey and Shuman graduated in 1982, they and Horvitz decided to continue their work in a new organization—a non-profit, public charity broad enough to enable each to pursue his own special interests. Harvey and Horvitz, both of whom had used Stanford's computers to participate in arms control discussions on the Pentagon's global computer system, decided to create a global computer network among peace activists. Harvey also was interested in how defense-oriented conventional weapons could render nuclear weapons obsolete in Europe. Shuman, having just completed a first draft of a book on disarmament strategy, was interested in exploring how global networks of citizen diplomats, local government officials, and non-aligned nations could constructively reshape international norms, laws, and



Local Elected Officials Project Executive Director Larry Agran leads membership drive at the National League of Cities Conference in San Antonio, Texas.

institutions. CID became an amalgam of all of these ideas.

How does CID differ from other groups searching for peace and security?

Most "peace groups" believe that the tinder for war is being laid by America's "military-industrial complex" or "imperialist ideology." Most "national security groups" blame the prospects of war on "Soviet expansionism" and "Marxist-Leninist ideology." Whatever strands of truth exist in these views, CID was founded on the belief that there is a deeper, more fundamental cause of war—widespread powerlessness.

CID believes that peace requires not just arms control but "leader control"—the oversight of an enlightened, vigilant

continued on pg. 2.

people. Nuclear weapons will not push their own buttons; leaders will. And unless we can find an enduring, political way to ensure that leaders—all leaders—will not threaten or actually use nuclear weapons, the specter of global nuclear war will continue to haunt humanity.

How is "leader control" possible?

CID believes that the antidote to runaway politicians and military establishments is an alert, participating citizenry. As Thomas Jefferson once wrote, "The good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army."

Participation means broad public debate in every available forum—in the press, in schools, at city hall, and in courtrooms. If people remain inquisitive and skeptical, leaders will be less able to lie to them and whip up popular hysteria in support of unjust military actions.

Participation also means that many citizens, each holding a modicum of political power, can restrain leaders. If millions of Americans and Soviets become actively involved with one another through personal, cultural, scientific, and economic relationships, both the National Security Council and the Politburo will find the arms race and the Cold War itself increasingly difficult to sustain.

Finally, participation can mean new possibilities for breaking political impasses. Amnesty International and dozens of other human rights organizations have helped free hundreds of political prisoners. The Natural Resources Defense Council convinced the Soviet Union to allow the emplacement of seismic detection devices around its nuclear test site—a first step towards a comprehensive ban on all nuclear testing.

If CID believes in political participation, shouldn't it focus on democratizing the Soviet Union?

Leader control is certainly a more serious problem in authoritarian nations, whether left-leaning ones like the Soviet Union or right-leaning ones like Chile. Yet when it comes to foreign policy, as Princeton political scientist Richard A. Falk has observed, we all live in authoritarian states—it's just a matter of degree.

Despite its superficially democratic character, U.S. foreign policy has essentially been dictated by a relatively tiny elite. The recent "Iranamuk" scandals reveal that even our Senators and

Representatives have only the most remote knowledge of the full scope of the foreign policies conducted by the White House, the Pentagon, and the CIA. The American people are kept even further in the dark. The Navy, for example, for fear of generating closer public scrutiny of its activities, refuses to "confirm or deny" whether its ships are carrying nuclear weapons, even though the Soviets, relying on various forms of intelligence, almost surely know.

CID is dedicated to finding ways citizens can democratize foreign policymaking throughout the world. And the most promising approach, we believe, is for individuals to take charge of international affairs *directly*—through networks of citizens, cities, and computers that are beyond the control of any government.

So what is CID's view of the Soviet Union?

Whatever the difficulties of making foreign policy politically accountable in the United States, those difficulties are compounded in nations such as the Soviet Union, where coopted political processes, controlled media, and muffled dissent make public participation nearly impossible. CID, therefore, strongly believes in empowering the Soviet people.

But the record of the past forty years shows that threatening the Soviet Union with arms build-ups, trade embargos, and cultural isolation has done nothing to help the Soviet people—indeed, it has probably served as a convenient pretext for continued repression. CID believes that the best way to democratize the Soviet Union is through non-military means such as people-to-people contact, expanded trade, and more cooperative ventures in science, medicine, and space.

Who belongs to CID?

CID currently has about 4,000 members. Roughly half of these members joined CID directly. The other half were members of Local Elected Officials of America (LEO-USA) and Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility (LEO/SR), both of which merged with CID several months ago to become part of our "Local Elected Officials Project." With this merger, nearly 1,000 mayors, city council members, and county supervisors are now under CID's umbrella.

How is CID supported?

Most of CID's support has come from foundations, including the Circle Fund, Columbia Foundation, Compton Foundation, CS Fund, Kendall Foundation, Libre Fund, Mattie Wattis Harris Foundation, Needmor Foundation, New Land Foundation, Norman Foundation, Ploughshares Fund, Prospect Hill Foundation, Rockefeller Family Associates, Washington Research Institute, Winston Foundation, and Youth Project. A number of individuals have been extremely generous, particularly Ray Chaikin, Henry Dakin, David Ellis, John Harris IV, Leone Hayes, Ruth Heller, John Levy, Bill Loran, and Ping and Carol Bernstein-Ferry. A final and increasingly important part of our funding is membership dues. ■



CID

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D	I	P	L	O	M	A	C	Y

17931-F Sky Park Circle
Irvine, CA 92714 (714) 250-1296

PRESIDENT

Michael H. Shuman

PROJECT DIRECTORS

Larry Agran

Hal Harvey

MANAGING DIRECTOR

Carol Simon

DESIGN AND GRAPHICS

Marianne Ackerman

Appetype

PROJECT ASSISTANTS

Janet Ader

Iden Bromfield

Jeb Brugmann

Tim Carpenter

Mark Graham

John Simon

DIRECTORS

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The Center for Innovative Diplomacy is a non-profit, non-partisan research organization dedicated to preventing nuclear and conventional war by increasing citizen participation in foreign affairs.

I. The LEO Project

When President Reagan launched a \$1.5 trillion military buildup in 1981, a number of America's most visionary local officials rose up in opposition. One of the leaders of this movement was Mayor Larry Agran of Irvine, a city of 100,000 located in the heart of ultra-conservative Orange County, California.

"In growing numbers," wrote Agran in a 1984 opinion in *The Los Angeles Times*, "America's local officials have come to understand that the nuclear arms race is, indeed, a local issue. For those of us who hold local office, it is painfully evident that even if the massive arsenals of nuclear weapons are never used, the relentless production of armaments is inflicting tragic economic and social damage upon our communities and our people."

A year earlier, Agran had written to local officials in California and Iowa, asking them to endorse three goals:

- reversing the arms race;
- cutting U.S. military spending; and,
- redirecting these funds to more productive civilian purposes in America's cities and towns.

Within a few short months, more than 250 local officials had signed on and become charter members of Local Elected Officials of America (LEO-USA).

Agran then organized several major public hearings—in Irvine and Sacramento, California; and in Des Moines, Iowa. At these hearings, "Main Street" leaders testified to the corrosive local

impacts of military spending. The 1984 Des Moines hearing involved several of the Democratic presidential candidates and received widespread national press attention.

In 1985, LEO-USA and CID began collaborating on a series of workshops to educate local officials on the outflow of dollars and jobs from America's cities and towns because of military spending. The workshops were designed to analyze how local elected officials could respond to this massive drain of resources. With CID's analysis of "municipal foreign policies," the roughly twenty or so local

The relentless production of armaments is inflicting tragic economic and social damage.

officials participating in each workshop learned how they could help reverse this drain using their powers of education, research, lobbying, zoning, investing, contracting, cultural exchange, and trade.

CID also presented different strategies for actually increasing national security with *reduced* levels of military spending—indeed, tens of billions of dollars less than is spent today. Four of the strategies suggested were:

- eliminating waste, fraud, and inefficiency, which according to *New York Times* military analyst Richard Halloran, could save \$100 billion per year;
- entering a verifiable nuclear weapons freeze with the Soviet Union, which the Council on Economic Priorities predicts could save at least \$13 to \$22 billion per year;
- eliminating all offensive weapons and strategies (i.e., creating a truly *defensive* defense), which the World Policy Institute's Security Study suggests might save

THE LEO PROJECT ADVISORY BOARD

Jim Balanoff	Councilmember, Hammond, IN
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over \$100 billion per year; and

- reducing U.S. financial commitment to NATO by "Europeanizing" the Alliance, which conservative economist Melvyn Krauss estimates is today costing U.S. taxpayers over \$150 billion per year.

In the first year, the CID-LEO workshops reached more than a hundred local officials in California, Connecticut, Iowa, and Massachusetts. These workshops not only helped participating officials become more articulate advocates of reduced military spending, but also produced widespread press coverage (see the related box about press reaction to the Iowa workshops).

Some of these workshops involved Jeb Brugmann, one of the founders of Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility (LEO/SR), and currently the director of the Peace Commission of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Brugmann explained how he helped get both conservative and progressive officials to back his Commission's projects, which now include a peace studies curriculum, a sister city relationship with Yerevan in the Soviet Union, an economic conversion study, and a conflict resolution program with inner-city youth.

In the past six months, LEO/SR and LEO-USA have formally consolidated their resources and come under CID's umbrella as the LEO Project, though the name LEO/SR has been retained for our activities within the National League of Cities (NLC). After Thanksgiving, LEO Project personnel—including Agran,



Tim Carpenter, Larry Agran and Denny Freidenrich outside the Iowa State House on a LEO Project organizing effort. (LA Times photo)

Brugmann, and several other CID staff—traveled to San Antonio, Texas, to the annual NLC Congress, where they conducted workshops on socially responsible investment, nuclear-free zones, and other initiatives in municipal foreign policy-making. In addition, a booth brimming with posters and other written materials attracted two hundred new local officials to sign up.

Two weeks later, in mid-December, the LEO Project staff conducted four more workshops in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, where CID's information was again well received. In Flint, Michigan, for example, where the closing down of General Motors operations has put more than 7,000 people out of work, and where the military-caused federal deficit has meant cheaper Japanese cars destroying their U.S. markets, local officials were eager to learn how they could revitalize their economy by cutting the U.S. military budget and reinvesting

CID's "3-2-1 Proposal" urges a \$60 billion cut in military spending.

those resources at home. In other workshops, Mayor Ed Pierce of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Council Member Jim Schiebel of St. Paul, Minnesota, described the extensive relationships their communities are developing with Nicaragua.

This year, the LEO Project plans to continue these workshops, at first in several southeastern states, and then at various state League of Cities conventions, where many hundreds of local officials gather annually. The workshops not only will continue educating local officials, but also will try recruiting their support for CID's "3-2-1 Proposal." Written by Mayor Agran, the statement (see box) urges a \$60 billion cut in military spending and redirection of those funds to deficit reduction and other programs benefitting America's cities. ■

MEDIA REACTION TO THE IOWA WORKSHOPS

DES MOINES REGISTER

A Des Moines family of four that feels burdened by a \$1,650 city-county-schools-property-tax bill may have given little thought to what the Pentagon gets from their payroll deducted income taxes.

They might think again if they realized that their share of military spending is \$3,388. That's real money; it could buy five or six toilet seats for the Air Force.

WATERLOO/CEDAR FALLS COURIER

Imagine each member of your family members being robbed of \$711. That's the amount of money lost per person in the Waterloo-Cedar Falls area because of the relentless production of armaments by the federal government. . .

"National defense is very important," said Cedar Falls Mayor Doug Sharp. . . "The question is, what is the cost?"

SIOUX CITY JOURNAL

Taxes levied to support the nation's defense establishment are costing Sioux City area residents \$859 apiece, local officials were told during a day-long seminar. . .

In Iowa, Sioux City is the biggest per capita net loser to the defense drain among the state's major cities. . .

THE CEDAR RAPIDS GAZETTE

Agran [pointed to] the planned end to general revenue sharing to local governments next year. . .

Des Moines, for example, currently receives \$2.7 million in revenue sharing funds. Most other cities in Iowa are also dependent on revenue sharing, and local officials at the Des Moines workshop agreed that [the loss of revenue sharing] will be passed on to local taxpayers in the form of increased property taxes.



Mayor Bill Collins, Jeb Brugmann, Michael Shuman and Councilmember Bonnie Hong at LEO workshop in Connecticut.



LEO Project staff are always available for radio, television and print media interviews.

THE 3-2-1 PROPOSAL

WHEREAS, uncontrolled growth in military spending, now at \$300 billion per year, has caused record federal deficits and unparalleled cuts in essential programs for cities, including the termination of General Revenue Sharing—a mainstay for local police, fire, and other public services; and,

WHEREAS, true national security begins with strong families and strong neighborhoods that thrive in economically secure cities and towns; and,

WHEREAS, a strong national defense can be maintained while military spending can be cut by at least \$60 billion:

- by eliminating waste, fraud, and abuse;
- by substituting defensive weapons and strategies for more costly

and ineffective offensive weapons, such as the B-1 Bomber, the MX Missile, the Trident D-5 Missile, and “Star Wars”; and,

- by making our NATO allies and Japan pay a greater share for their own defense;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the President and Members of Congress be urged to cut military spending by at least \$60 billion and re-direct these funds on a “3-2-1” basis to achieve deficit reduction (\$30 billion), the re-enactment and enlargement of General Revenue Sharing (\$20 billion), and the re-allocation of remaining funds to other public purposes as determined by the Congress and the President (\$10 billion).

LEO PROJECT WORKSHOPS

March 1985
San Francisco, CA

September 1985
Irvine, CA

November 1985
Des Moines, IA
Cedar Falls, IZ
Sioux City, IA

April 1986
Northampton, MA
New Haven, CT

December 1986
Detroit, MI
Flint, MI
Madison, WI
St. Paul, MN

Spring 1987
(Tentative)
Louisville, KY
Durham, NC
Atlanta, GA
Birmingham, AL

1987 State League of Cities Workshops
(Tentative)
California
Iowa
Massachusetts
Connecticut
Michigan
Wisconsin
Minnesota
Kentucky
North Carolina
Georgia

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Get your county supervisors, mayor, city council members, and school board members to join the LEO Project network and sign on to the “3-2-1 Proposal.” If they refuse, recruit their opponents to join and make a campaign issue out of the adverse local impacts of military spending. If you’re interested in having us give a workshop in your city, please let us know.

II. Municipal Foreign Policies

For more than two years, CID President Michael Shuman has studied the role local governments might play in reshaping foreign affairs. Shuman's research has challenged the conventional wisdom that municipal foreign policies are purely symbolic acts emanating from a few "radical" cities.

In an article entitled "Dateline Main Street: Local Foreign Policies," in the Winter 1986-87 issue of the prestigious journal *Foreign Policy*, Shuman argues that "more than 1,000 U.S. state and local governments of all political stripes are participating in foreign affairs, and their numbers are expanding daily. Most of these policies involve concrete acts of education, research, lobbying, policing, zoning, contracting, and investing. Collectively, their influence on U.S. foreign policy is growing. More than 900 local governments, for example, passed a nuclear freeze resolution and helped pressure President Ronald Reagan to launch the Strategic Arms Reduction

More than 1,000 U.S. state and local governments of all political stripes are participating in foreign affairs.

Talks in Geneva. By refusing to cooperate with the Federal Emergency Management Agency's "crisis relocation planning," more than 120 cities helped derail its nuclear war civil defense program. And by divesting billions of dollars from firms doing business in South Africa, more than 70 cities, 13 counties, and 19 states helped persuade the administration to replace "constructive engagement" with limited economic sanctions.

How far America's municipal foreign policies will go is unclear, but they can no longer be dismissed as simply aberrant, trivial or unconstitutional. Further, their analogues are springing up

throughout the world, even in some authoritarian countries. This trend of "thinking globally and acting locally" may both weaken national governments' traditional autonomy over foreign affairs and open new conduits for citizens to shape global politics directly, through the governments to which they are closest.

The article demonstrates just how far municipal foreign policies have spread:

- 759 U.S. communities have 1,120 "sister city" relationships with cities abroad, 15 with Soviet cities and 25 with Chinese cities;
- northern U.S. states and cities have more than 600 transborder agreements with Canadian jurisdictions on such issues as bridge and road maintenance, drug enforcement, television reception, and electricity distribution;
- 131 U.S. cities and nearly 3,000 cities abroad have declared themselves nuclear-free zones;
- 176 U.S. cities have proclaimed their support for a comprehensive test ban;
- more than 180 U.S. cities, port authorities, and local development agencies have been promoting international trade and investment; and
- 22 cities have declared themselves sanctuaries for Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees.

Shuman then describes why these initiatives are, contrary to the conventional wisdom, entirely legal, and why the federal government should actually encourage them. "[I]nternational affairs, like domestic affairs," he writes, "have become too complicated to run effectively as a monopoly. In trade, for example, the Department of State has actually briefed activist governors, assisted state and local trade representatives through its embassies and consulates, and lent Foreign Service officers to states. . . The last thing an overworked, underfunded executive branch needs is direct micromanagement of thousands of local investment, cultural exchange, and border coordination activities.

"Perhaps the most important reason for federal tolerance may be the unwillingness of most presidents, members of Congress and judges to subordinate

America's core political values to the exigencies of foreign policy. Cutting off [cities'] consciousness-raising measures means suppressing basic freedoms of speech, assembly, and travel. Restricting unilateral measures means trampling on traditional local autonomy in zoning, policing, contracting, and investing—an outcome that states-rights conservatives would oppose as vigorously as internationalist liberals. And restricting cities' ability to enter into foreign economic agreements means dismantling the principles of free trade. America's politicians may be starting to view municipal foreign

America's politicians may be starting to view municipal foreign policies as inevitable.

policies as an inevitable, indeed laudable, step in the maturation of democracy."

Shuman is now following up the *Foreign Policy* article with editorials, radio interviews, and related articles for *Nuclear Times*, *Social Policy*, and *The Nation*. In addition, he has just received a major grant from the MacArthur Foundation for an eighteen-month study on *The Legality of Municipal Foreign Policy*, which should culminate in a law review article and a book.

This research is merely the latest product of CID's longstanding thinking on municipal foreign policy. During the summer of 1985, two interns, Betsy Randolph and Beth Jacklin, mapped out a comprehensive proposal for creating a directly-elected "Global Affairs Council" for the city of Palo Alto, California. Funded with one percent of the city budget—three-quarters of a million dollars—the Council would have the power to undertake a wide variety of activities, including:

- hearings on all types of foreign affairs questions;
- studies on the local economic impacts of military spending;
- lobbying of Congress to restore vital social programs like revenue sharing that have been cut to support the military budget;
- international trade and cultural exchange programs, particularly with the



CID President Michael Shuman explains the importance of municipal foreign policies at LEO workshop.

Soviet Union and China; and,
 • peace studies curricula, libraries, and video collections.

The prospectus provoked quite a stir in Palo Alto. The city's mayor, Leland Levy, called the idea "intriguing" and dozens of leading citizens in the community began meeting to discuss the proposal. Under the coordination of Angela Miele, CID launched a door-to-door canvass of nearly 1,000 homes in Palo Alto and found one-out-of-three supporting the idea; most other respondents were undecided. While a formal political effort to establish the Palo Alto Global Affairs Council has not yet been launched, CID remains interested in promoting these kinds of councils in Palo Alto and elsewhere.

In March 1987, CID will be publishing *Building Municipal Foreign Policies: A Handbook for Local Officials*. It presents a comprehensive, visually attractive catalogue of the emerging movement of U.S. local government participation in foreign affairs. The handbook describes the motivations, variations, and legal rationales of this burgeoning movement. It also includes dozens of profiles of visionary local elected officials, here and abroad, and model ordinances for establishing nuclear-free zones, selective investment and contracting, peace commissions, cultural exchange agreements, and international trade pacts.

Finally, CID is pleased to announce that it has begun quarterly publication of *The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*. This journal represents an unprecedented effort to track, analyze, and promote international affairs activities at the local level. With nearly 100 local officials serving as "city correspondents" and an editorial board that includes the leading thinkers and activists in the field, *The Bulletin* promises to be an invaluable resource for any local peace activist.

As a CID member, you will be entitled, if you wish, to receive *The Bulletin* free of charge. ■

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Send for copies of our materials—the *Foreign Policy* article ("Dateline Main Street: Local Foreign Policies"), the *Building Municipal Foreign Policies* handbook, "The Palo Alto Global Affairs Council Prospectus," and *The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*. Use these materials to begin nudging your own city into international affairs. With extra copies, you can share these ideas with visionary local officials and other community movers and shakers. And if you have any exciting local progress to report, let us know; we're eager to include it in future issues of *The Bulletin*.

Cities Speaking Out

Statement of Mayor Larry Agran
 of Irvine, California
 First World Conference of Mayors
 for Peace Through Inter-City Solidarity
 Nagasaki, Japan
 August 1985

The atomic bombing of Hiroshima marked the beginning of our nuclear nightmare. This place—Nagasaki—reveals an even more terrible truth: Once we confer upon our national leaders the power to wage total war, they will inevitably elect to brandish that power and use it, even when its use is unnecessary and unjustified. Just as Hiroshima did not prevent the sacrifice of innocent lives in Nagasaki, Nagasaki did not forestall the race to invent the hydrogen bomb. It did not deter development and deployment of intercontinental missiles. It did not stop the stockpiling of 50,000 nuclear bombs, by both the Soviet Union and the United States. Worse yet, it did not prevent veiled threats—and occasionally explicit threats—to actually use nuclear weapons again and again, in Korea, in Cuba, in Vietnam, in Europe.

It is sadly apparent that national and international leadership does not now exist to bring about a reversal of the arms race. We who govern the world's cities must provide the new leadership that generates new hope. As a beginning, cities should agree to suspend any further investment of public funds in firms that directly or indirectly benefit from the production of weapons of mass destruction. Beyond this, cities should proclaim August 6-9 of each year as "Nuclear Armistice Days." Mayors and other city leaders should implore the world's political and industrial leaders to observe the Nuclear Armistice and—at least during these days—cease any and all research, testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons. Let the madness of the nuclear arms race stop, even if only for a few hours each year. Let the Nuclear Armistice grant us the opportunity to reflect upon this madness in our midst. Let the Nuclear Armistice free our most talented citizens to help invent the ways and the means for actually achieving the conversion of our economies from preparation for war to preparation for peace.

III. The Citizen Diplomacy Project

Nothing comes closer to CID's *raison d'être* than what has become known as "citizen diplomacy." In its broadest sense, citizen diplomacy refers to ordinary people influencing international affairs, whether at home or abroad. As the costs of traveling and communicating worldwide plummet, literally hundreds of thousands of Americans have become citizen diplomats—and their numbers and influence are expanding daily.

In *Having International Affairs Your Way*, CID authors Michael Shuman and

Jayne Williams lay out the five essentials for citizen diplomacy: preparing yourself with the appropriate intellectual, communication, and psychological skills; defining your agenda; picking the right action network; choosing the right tools of persuasion, pressure, and agreement; and mapping out a strategy of fund-raising and publicity. They then apply these essentials to four "case studies": the Soviet Union, Central America, South Africa, and the Mideast.

Having International Affairs Your Way

has become CID's most popular publication. Mark Satin, editor of *New Options*, declared that it "will undoubtedly become known as the definitive introductory guidebook on citizen diplomacy. . . crisply, even entertainingly written." Oxfam America called it "an excellent and witty guide to being a citizen diplomat." With such positive word-of-mouth publicity we have so far shipped out 5,000 copies, and we're now undertaking a second printing.

Most of CID's citizen diplomacy work has focused on how Americans can build ties with the Soviet Union, melt the Cold War, and thereby help end the arms race. CID's main effort here has been its book entitled *Citizen Diplomats: Pathfinders in Soviet-American Relations*. Representing more than two years of work by authors Gale Warner and Michael Shuman, the book tells the dramatic stories of nine Americans who have pioneered citizen relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union. The book begins with a foreword by Dr. Carl Sagan, followed by an extensive introduction to the field, including an overview of citizen diplomacy strategies, a history of American and Soviet governmental responses to people-to-people exchanges, and responses to common criticisms. The book concludes with a 100-page section on "What You Can Do," detailing the main players and organizations in the field, from "A to Y," starting with "Animals" and ending with "Youth," with such categories as "Business and Trade," "High Technology," "Medicine," "Parapsychology," and "Television" in between.

Citizen Diplomats is now available. Preliminary reviews have been extremely positive (see box). In addition, excerpts from the book have already been published in the magazine *Nuclear Times* and the anthology *Citizen Summitry*. *Parade* magazine will also publish an excerpt in mid-March. ■

WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING ABOUT CITIZEN DIPLOMATS

"... inspiring. . . I think this book should be read by everyone who shares the dream of world community."

—Coretta Scott King

"A fascinating and richly informative book. I recommend it to everyone interested in the U.S.-Soviet relationship."

—Joseph V. Montville
Center for the Study of
Foreign Affairs
U.S. Department of State

"Citizen Diplomats is an important book for our time."

—Senator Paul Simon (D-Ill.)

"An excellent contribution to the field. The profiles are extremely well done, very interesting and very readable. They provide a wonderful range of examples of the kinds of things—large and small—that individuals can do to make a difference in U.S.-Soviet relations."

—Ambassador Stephen
H. Rhinesmith
Coordinator of the President's
U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative

"An extremely readable book for a popular audience. I couldn't put it down. . .

—Judson Jerome
The Kettering Review

"Citizen Diplomats tells it like it is—the dark and bright sides of Soviet-American relations. . ."

—Nancy Graham
Executive Director, Institute
for Soviet-American Relations

"A splendid piece of work. . . The appendix is a golden store of information for all participants in people-to-people exchange. . ."

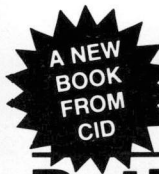
—Dr. John Mack
Harvard Psychiatrist and
Pulitzer Prize-Winner

"With professional diplomats in all societies goofing up as they have been, this is a truly salutary work. Perhaps it's time for the ordinary person to take a hand in matters of war and peace."

—Studs Terkel
Author, Working

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Although *Citizen Diplomats* will be available in many bookstores, we need your help in promoting it. Check to see if your local bookstore has it stocked. Give a few copies to your friends. And by all means, get a copy for yourself. If you have trouble finding copies, order them from CID directly.



Citizen Diplomats: Pathfinders in Soviet-American Relations



BERNARD LOWN—Co-founder, along with Soviet physician Evgueni Chazov, of the Nobel-Peace-Prize-winning organization, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

(Photograph courtesy of Ted Polumbaum)



CYNTHIA LAZAROFF—Founder of the US-USSR Youth Exchange Program, a designer of innovative secondary school curriculum guides about the Soviet Union, and initiator of Soviet-American wilderness treks for teenagers.

(Roy H. Bonney, © 1986 Tides Foundation/US-USSR Youth Exchange)



JOHN CHRYSTAL—An Iowa farmer and banker, who, along with his uncle, Roswell Garst, pioneered Soviet-American agricultural cooperation.

(Charles Nixon/The Coon Rapids Enterprise)



SHARON TENNISON—An “ordinary housewife and mother,” who, after her first trip to the Soviet Union, decided to lead dozens of groups of mainstream Americans on tours there herself.

(Chris Stewart/The San Francisco Chronicle)



CHRISTOPHER SENIE—A young lawyer who helped organize “Bike for Peace,” a Soviet-American ride from Moscow to Washington, D.C.

(Photograph courtesy of Teamworks)

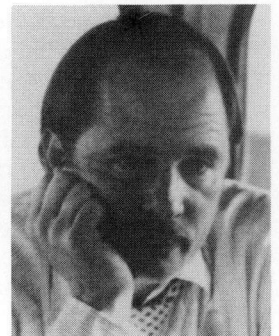
NORMAN COUSINS—A noted author, who served as a private diplomat for three American presidents and founded the off-the-record Dartmouth Conferences for high-level Americans and Soviets.

(Photograph courtesy of Norman Cousins)



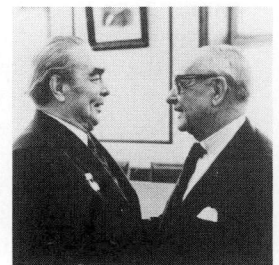
JIM HICKMAN—A psychologist who directed the Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program and helped pioneer both television “space bridges” and novel exchanges of “new age” books, research, and practitioners.

(J. Michael Kanouff, courtesy the Association of Space Explorers USA.)



ARMAND HAMMER—An industrialist whose personal relationship with Lenin made him America’s primary instigator and promoter of Soviet-American trade for six decades.

(Photograph courtesy of Occidental Petroleum)



SAMANTHA SMITH—The late Maine school girl whose letters to Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, and subsequent tour of the Soviet Union—complete with widespread media exposure — transformed her into one of America’s foremost peacemakers.

(Photograph courtesy of SYGMA)



Order your copy today! See page 15.

IV. PeaceNet

While CID co-founders Hal Harvey and Eric Horvitz were attending Stanford University, they participated in an international computer network run by the Pentagon called the ARPANET. The ARPANET enabled Harvey and Horvitz not only to communicate instantly with other university students around the world, but also to participate in an ongoing discussion called "Arms-D," in which peace-minded computer users discussed new strategies for arms control and disarmament. What if, Harvey and Horvitz wondered, the peace movement built its own global computer network, which could be open, affordable, and dedicated to peace activities?

When CID was established, Harvey and Horvitz began assembling a team of Silicon Valley's top computer scientists to begin making their dream possible. In the process, they discovered three other organizations that had already begun undertaking work in this direction: the Ark Communications Institute, Community Data Processing, and the Foundation for the Arts of Peace. It wasn't long before the four groups decided to pool their resources and work on one collaborative project—PeaceNet.

This past Labor Day, after several years of careful planning, PeaceNet finally became available to the general public. It is now serving more than 750 individuals

and 50 organizations in the peace movement, and 30 new users are coming "on line" every week.

Here are some examples of how PeaceNet is helping the peace movement:

- With PeaceNet's electronic mail services, national peace groups such as Beyond War and the Nuclear Freeze are sending action alerts to their regional offices and grassroots membership. By being able to send a hundred copies of a letter with a single electronic command, they are reducing the need for costly and burdensome printing, folding, stuffing, and stamping. They are also helping users get messages more quickly, organize them more easily, and respond in a more timely fashion.

- The researchers involved in CID's alternative security project—in California, Colorado, and New York—sent drafts of their joint paper back and forth on PeaceNet (even while one was traveling in Europe), which enabled them to eliminate expenses for long-distance telephone calls, Federal Express, and plane fares.

- By using PeaceNet's electronic conferences, CID has put *The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policies* on line, disseminating its articles to a broader audience.

- Central American activists are using PeaceNet's electronic conferences for interactive, topic-specific "conversations" on such issues as *contra* funding, Nicar-

aguan border skirmishes, and human rights violations in El Salvador.

- A growing number of PeaceNet subscribers are also opening up conferences to advertise events, post alerts, or share news.

- And with PeaceNet's databases, users will soon be finding information on pending arms control legislation, weapons characteristics, nuclear free zones, Pentagon contracts in each Congressional district, peace-related articles, and America's 6,000 peace groups.

Peace activists in 70 countries are no farther than a local telephone call.

PeaceNet is bringing America's fragmented peace movement together and giving it a new coherence, vision, and power. What's more, by providing affordable overseas communication, it is helping Americans collaborate and coordinate with activists in Canada, Costa Rica, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Australia, and Japan. Through PeaceNet, peace activists in more than 70 countries are no farther than a local telephone call away from one another.

How much does PeaceNet cost? The average PeaceNet user is now spending \$10 to \$20 each month for 1 to 2 hours of computer time—ample time to send and receive hundreds of pages of information.

PeaceNet may soon be involving thousands of peace activists. The total progressive political community in the United States includes at least 1.8 million people, and one-out-of-ten owns personal computers. With the purchase of a \$150 modem and a \$5 piece of communications software, every one of these computer owners can use PeaceNet.

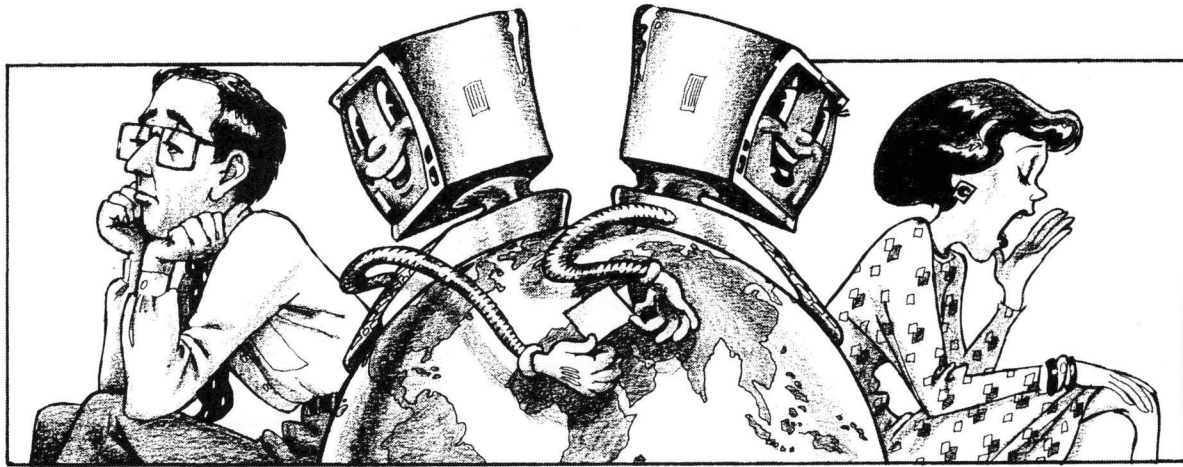
Whatever the ultimate number of users, PeaceNet will provide citizens, grassroots organizations, and cities powerful new tools for reshaping international affairs. ■

WHAT YOU CAN DO

If you would like to join this unprecedented international dialogue for peace, contact PeaceNet at 3228 Sacramento St., San Francisco, CA 94115 (415-486-0264).



PeaceNet co-ordinator Mark Graham takes a call on the hotline at main office in Berkeley, California.



Ten Reasons Not to Use PeaceNet

1. I don't like working with others

PeaceNet is a computer network and communication system for people who believe that global planning and cooperation are necessary to reverse a trillion-dollar-per-year arms race; it is linking users throughout the United States and in over 70 other countries.

2. I've got all the information I'll ever need

PeaceNet is for those who appreciate that information is always growing and changing; its bulletin boards, conferences, and databases provide information about everything from Central America to Star Wars.

3. I love playing phone tag

PeaceNet's electronic mail system renders those endless conversations with secretaries and answering machines obsolete.

4. I don't know how to use my computer

PeaceNet helps novices with simple, entertaining manuals and round-the-clock staff for answering their questions.

5. I enjoy copying, labeling, and stamping letters

PeaceNet enables you to send messages to hundreds of other users with one simple command.

6. I've got plenty of money to waste on postage and phone bills

PeaceNet is for people who want to save money; it lets you send documents across the world faster than Federal Express™ for pennies per page.

7. I don't mind getting action alerts a week late

PeaceNet does mind and can help your organization send out time-urgent alerts instantly.

8. I don't have the right kind of computer equipment

PeaceNet is available to anyone with a computer terminal and a modem.

9. An effective peace movement isn't worth 50 cents a day

PeaceNet users disagree.

10. It's all hopeless, anyway

Then why read this magazine when Modern Wrestling would suffice?



PeaceNet:

The First Global Computer Network for Peace

V. Alternative Security Project

For the last four decades, American national security policies have been defined by an unceasing debate between arms-racers and arms-controllers. The result has been a controlled arms race that has brought the world perilously close to a nuclear war. Despite thousands of negotiation sessions and more than a dozen arms control treaties, no major nuclear weapons system has yet been dismantled. The collapse of arms negotiations between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev at Reykjavik, Iceland is just the latest indication that a new approach to preventing nuclear war is necessary—one that goes beyond both arms building and arms control.

Since its inception, CID has been exploring alternative approaches to increasing national and international security. In

The cornerstone of their approach is that the United States should try to increase the security of all nations.

his 1983 critique of the Harvard Nuclear Study Group's *Living with Nuclear Weapons* ("Living without Harvard," CID Working Paper #1), Michael Shuman argued that disarmament could be made possible by prompting the *political* prerequisites of peace through stronger international norms, laws, and institutions. A year later, Hal Harvey suggested in another paper ("Precision-Guided Munitions and the Defense of Europe," CID Working Paper #3) that defense-oriented, non-nuclear weapons could make nuclear weapons in Europe—and the accompanying risks of nuclear war—unnecessary.

To make these arguments more palatable to professional policy-makers, Shuman and Harvey teamed up this August with Daniel Arbess, the former Director of the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy and an Affiliate Fellow at

the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. After locking themselves up in an Aspen condominium with three word processors and a laser printer for two weeks (surfacing only occasionally for food and exercise), they produced a preliminary 120-page document presenting a dramatically new "alternative security" strategy.

The cornerstone of their approach is that the United States should try to increase the security of all nations, especially its adversaries. Historic efforts to decrease the security of adversaries such as the Soviet Union, the study argues, are entirely counterproductive. If the Soviet Union cannot obtain the food, minerals, energy, or technology it needs to feel secure through cooperation and trade, it may try to obtain them through force. If the Soviet leadership cannot obtain international respect peacefully, it may try to prove its worth by conquering or controlling other peoples. And if Soviet national security planners feel that the West is striving for a military edge through Star Wars and offensive missiles, they may feel compelled to launch a pre-emptive first strike on the United States.

With an alternative security mindset, the United States would design its foreign policy to make all nations feel secure. Moreover, it would try to prevent all armed conflicts, because even a "remote" conventional war could escalate into nuclear war. Thus, rather than deliberately prolong the war between Iran and Iraq, U.S. foreign policy would try to end it because of its potential for escalating into a superpower confrontation. The Soviet Union, for example, might intervene if the Iran-Iraq War spilled into Afghanistan or its southern periphery, and the United States might intervene if its oil-carrying ships in the Persian Gulf came under attack. Intervention by either superpower could prompt an intervention by the other, setting the stage for a nuclear war.

An alternative security agenda would direct U.S. foreign policy to deal with conflicts at three different levels: eliminating their roots; resolving them without force; and, where necessary, employing

the minimal levels of *nonprovocative* defense to halt the conflicts.

Eliminating The Roots Of Conflict

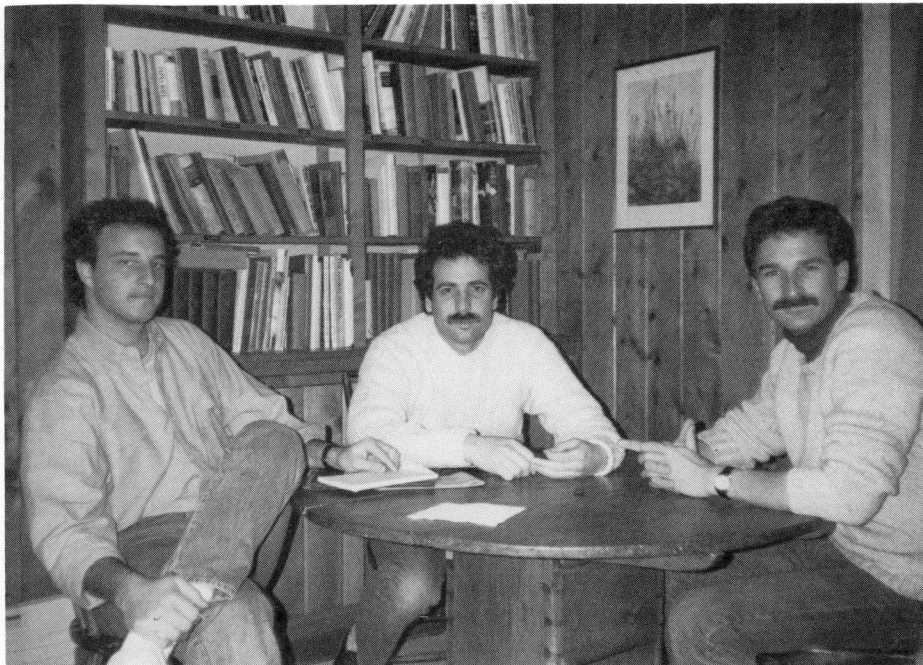
An alternative security agenda attempts to get rid of both economic and political causes of conflict. The economic insecurities that might prompt one nation to attack or exploit other nations include insufficient land, water, minerals, food, or energy, or inadequate provision for jobs, income, education, health, or other goods. The United States could increase its security by trying to increase its own and other nations' resource self-sufficiency. For example, were the cost of one year's budget for the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) spent instead on well-

An antidote for conflict is increased "leader control."

designed weatherization programs for buildings, U.S. oil imports could be eliminated, rendering the Persian Gulf tensions that inspired the RDF in the first place irrelevant. In addition, U.S. promotion of conservation here and abroad could hasten the closing of centralized nuclear power and fossil fuel generating stations, thereby reducing the national security dangers posed by nuclear proliferation, nuclear terrorism, future Chernobyls, and acid rain.

For those conflicts driven by ideological and religious fervor, the antidote is increased "leader control"—the ability of a people to exert political control over its leaders. As a people in an aggressor nation come to terms with the casualties returning from the front lines, the atrocities reported in the media, and the moral opprobrium from international opinion-leaders, dissent begins to foment, ultimately reducing and eliminating the nation's aggression. With leader control, belligerent foreign policies are more easily criticized and held accountable.

An alternative security agenda would have the United States seek to democratize foreign policy-making both at home and abroad. At home, a more democratic foreign policy would mean broadening the Freedom of Information Act, increasing Congressional scrutiny of military and covert intelligence operations, and



Daniel Arbess, Michael Shuman and Hal Harvey meet to hammer out the Alternative Security Project.

increasing the powers of citizens and cities to participate in foreign affairs. Abroad, our foreign policy could try to promote more Philippines-style transformations, or restore President Carter's human rights policies, which helped nine Latin American dictatorships become democracies. Even in highly authoritarian nations such as the Soviet Union, U.S. foreign policy could foster constructive change. For example, by promoting greater trade and citizen exchange with the Soviet Union, the United States could expose Soviet citizens to more foreign ideas, people, and goods, inevitably opening up more and more of Soviet society.

Resolving Conflicts Without Force

An alternative security agenda would also give high priority to resolving international conflicts before they become violent. It would steer U.S. foreign policy towards developing more rules of global behavior—rules legitimated by international norms, and formulated, interpreted, and enforced by international institutions. To strengthen international norms, we might demand that U.S. foreign policy do unto others only as it would have done unto itself—a principle that would require, for example, greater openness to dialogue with adversaries such as Nicaragua and greater restraint on military intervention. To strengthen international institutions, U.S. foreign policy might try giving such bodies as the International Court of Justice, the International Mone-

tary Fund, and the World Court more money, power, and independence.

While nations obviously have been the principal actors in the development of international norms and institutions, an alternative security agenda also foresees an increasing role for citizens, organizations, and cities. For example, INFACT's global boycott of Nestle baby formula helped shape international norms guiding the behavior of multinational corporations. Similarly, citizen-sponsored organi-

An alternative security agenda foresees an increasing role for citizens, organizations, and cities.

zations such as Witness for Peace have played an increasing role in international peacekeeping. In the years ahead, it is conceivable that an institution created by cities—perhaps an extension of the Hiroshima-based World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity—could assemble a trained international force to observe and reduce conflicts.

Establishing Defensive Defenses

Finally, should various means of preventing conflict fail, an alternative security agenda envisions nations retaining purely defensive forces to repel any attacker. Forces that are unambiguously defensive—coastal patrol boats instead of aircraft carriers, anti-tank weapons instead of tanks, and anti-aircraft guns instead of aircraft—help reduce an adversary's fears of attack, thereby eliminating incentives or pretexts for continuing to pile up arms. Unlike an offensive arms build-up, which

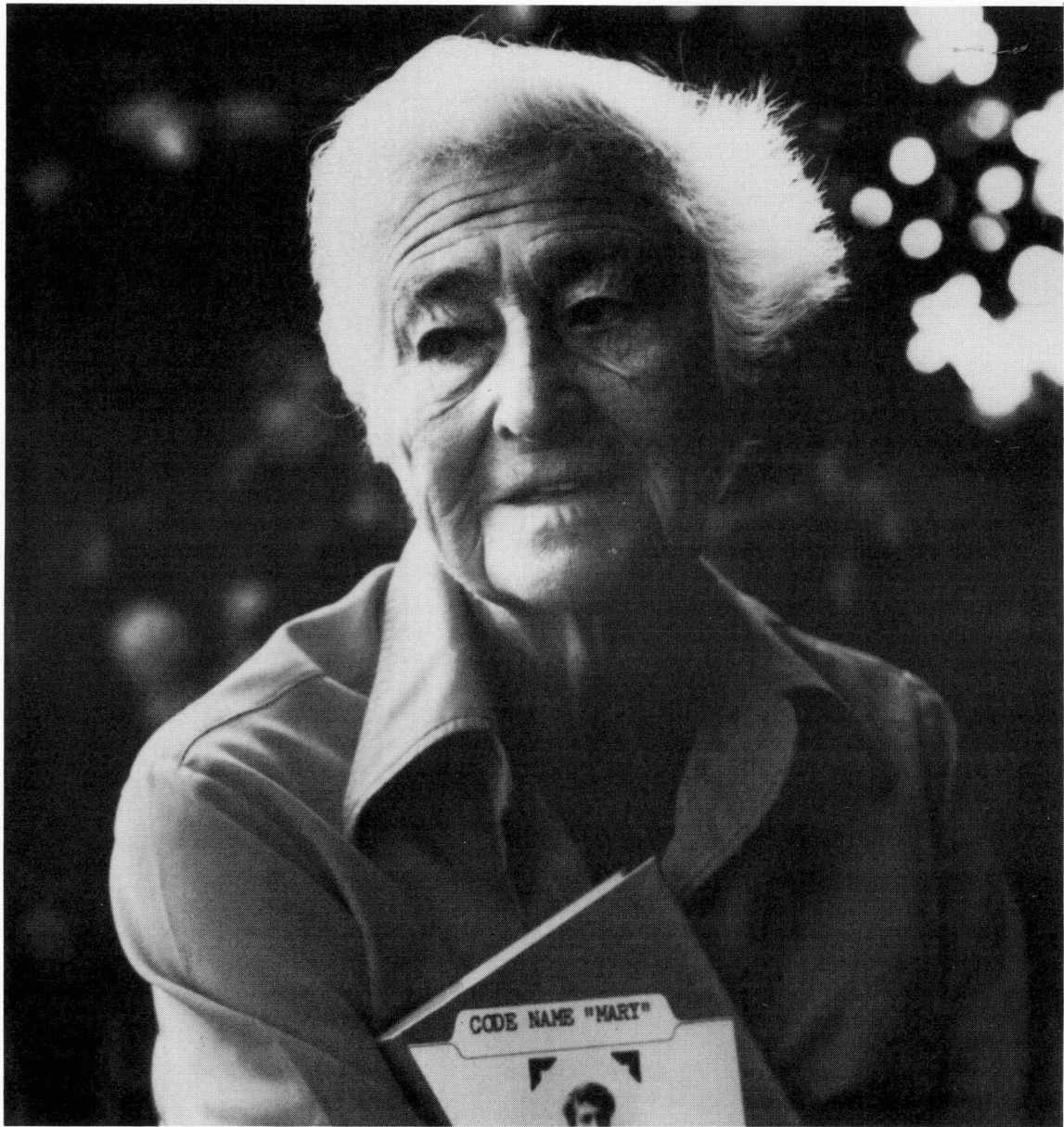
An alternative security agenda would have the United States phase out first-strike weapons from its arsenal.

makes both sides feel more insecure, defensive weapons make both sides feel more secure and create positive pressures for political conflict resolution.

While no nuclear weapon is unambiguously defensive, some nuclear weapons are more capable of an offensive first strike than others. Consequently, an alternative security would have the United States phase out first-strike weapons from its arsenal and try to convince other nuclear nations to do likewise.

In November, Arbess, Harvey, and Shuman presented their proposals at a small New York luncheon, featuring such luminaries as Richard Barnet (founder of the Institute for Policy Studies), Hamilton Fish III (publisher of *The Nation*), and Greg Mitchell (editor of *Nuclear Times*). Preliminary reaction was extremely positive—so positive that, thanks to support from the Rocky Mountain Institute, the three are meeting again to complete a unifying paper and to begin a book.

"Throughout the country, people are desperate for new ideas," said Harvey. "If we can redirect Americans, especially the peace movement, away from an obsession with weapons and toward positive alternatives, we might be able to begin resolving the real political and economic disputes that are plunging us toward nuclear war." ■



MURIEL GARDINER
1901-1985

CID wishes to express its deepest gratitude to Dr. Muriel Gardiner, a psychoanalyst and humanitarian who played an instrumental role in the founding of CID. The daughter of a wealthy Chicago family, she chose to forego a life of leisure, dedicating herself instead to fighting injustice and apathy. In the 1930's, she studied medicine and psychoanalysis in Vienna, and became involved in the underground anti-fascist movement. When Nazi Germany invaded Austria, she stayed on for several months at great personal risk, saving the lives of hundreds of Jews and anti-Nazis by hiding them in her apartment and smuggling false passports and money to help them escape. Her memoir of this period, *Code Name Mary*, was published in 1983.

On returning to the United States in 1939, Dr. Gardiner began a distinguished career in psychoanalysis. She was in private practice, wrote several books, and was a psychiatric consultant to the State Department of Education in New Jersey. Throughout those years, she was an unwavering supporter of civil rights, environmental protection, nuclear disarmament, and international cooperation. We at CID—and the thousands whose lives she touched—will continue to be inspired by her memory.

Available CID Materials

The LEO and Municipal Foreign Policy Projects

		Quantity
• "Dateline Main Street: Local Foreign Policies," <i>Foreign Policy</i> , Winter 1986-87.	(\$4)	_____
• <i>Building Municipal Foreign Policies: An Action Handbook</i> , March 1987.	(\$6)	_____
• <i>A Prospectus for a Palo Alto Global Affairs Council</i> , November 1985.	(\$6)	_____
• The Pentagon Tax Burden in 50 States (Prepared by the Center for Economic Conversion, Mountain View, CA)	(\$4)	_____
• The Pentagon Tax Burden (Detailed) (Prepared by the Center for Economic Conversion) Iowa _____ Mass _____ Conn _____ Mich _____ Wisc _____ Minn _____	(\$6)ea.	_____
• <i>The Empty Pork Barrel: The Employment Cost of the Military Build-up</i> , (Prepared by Employment Research Associates, Lansing Michigan) 1986.	(\$4)	_____
• <i>The Cambridge Case For Economic Diversification Planning</i> , 1987. (Prepared by The Cambridge Peace Commission, Cambridge, Mass.)	(\$3)	_____

The Citizen Diplomacy Project

• <i>Having International Affairs Your Way: A Five-Step Briefing Manual for Citizen Diplomats</i> , January 1986.	(\$6)	_____
• <i>Citizen Diplomats: Pathfinders in Soviet-American Relations</i> , February 1987. (Discounts available on orders of 18 or more.)	(\$17)	_____

Other CID Materials

• Working Paper #1: "Living Without Harvard: A Critique of the Harvard Nuclear Study Group," November 1983.	(\$6)	_____
• Working Paper #2: "International Institution Building: The Missing Link for Peace," August 1984.	(\$6)	_____
• Working Paper #3: "Precision-Guided Munitions and the Defense of Western Europe," October 1984.	(\$6)	_____
• CID Report #4: "Special Issue: The World's Mayors Meet in Hiroshima," Autumn 1985.	(\$4)	_____
• CID Report #5: "Ten Myths About the Soviet Union," Winter 1985-86, plus the subsequent debate with the neoconservative journal <i>Contentions</i> .	(\$4)	_____
• Collected press clippings about CID.	(\$4)	_____

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