

# UC Irvine

## CID Report

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# the CID Report

VOL. 1 NO. 2 CENTER FOR INNOVATIVE DIPLOMACY

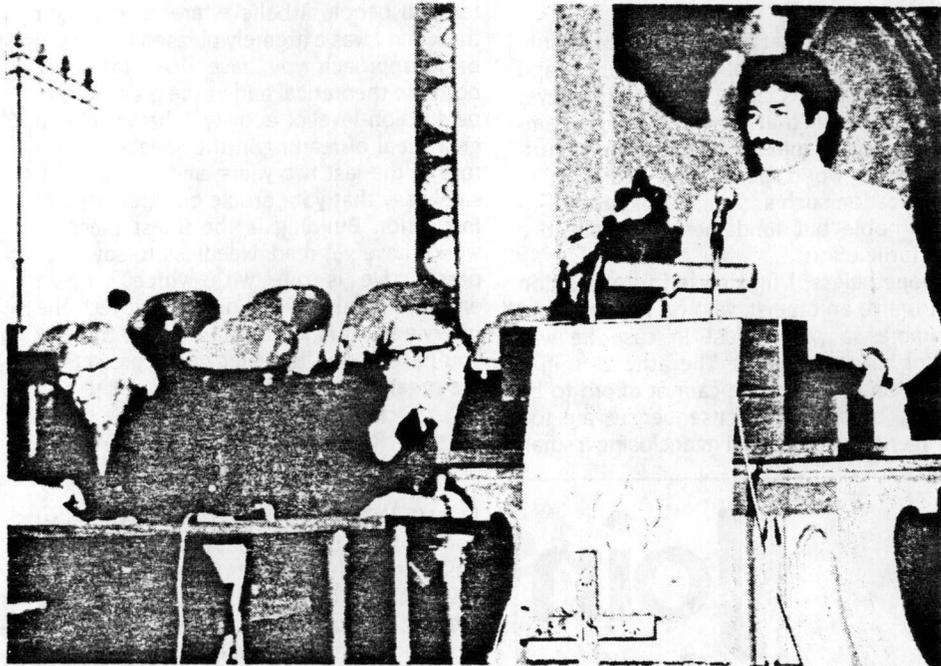
OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 1984

## CID Policy Statement Captures National Attention

**d**uring the last week of September, tens of millions of Americans read the following Associated Press lead story: "Nineteen Nobel Prize winners and the leaders of about 100 of the country's environmental and arms control organizations joined yesterday in saying that mankind faces extinction either through a nuclear or environmental catastrophe 'unless humanity changes its ways.'"

The statement served as the consensus document and publicity spearhead for the Second Biennial Conference on the Fate of the Earth, which was held in Washington, D.C. between September 19 and 23. Working with dozens of prominent leaders in the peace and environmental movements, CID President Michael Shuman drafted an eleven-page Policy and Action Statement and Legislative Action Agenda that prescribed new strategies for preventing nuclear war, preserving the environment, and reversing global population growth. Among the leaders with whom CID worked closely were David Brower (Chairman and Founder of Friends of the Earth), Russell Peterson (President of the National Audubon Society and former Governor of Maryland), and Tom Stoel, Jr. (President of the Global Tomorrow Coalition).

*continued on page 3*



Michael Shuman moderating a panel on Innovative International Relations at the Fate of the Earth Conference in Washington, D.C. in September. To his right sit Congressman George Brown and Nobel Laureate George Wald.

RAY PINKSON

## C-NET: Computer Tools for International Security

**I**n late August, CID laid the cornerstone for a powerful new computer network designed to help those concerned about the threat of nuclear war. Once fully established, the network will allow anyone with a computer terminal and a telephone modem to gather and disseminate information

about nuclear weapons, arms control, and alternative security strategies. C-NET is the world's first computer network dedicated exclusively to nuclear weapons issues. It is a joint project of CID and Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility (CPSR), a nationwide organization concerned with the military's increasing dependence on potentially unreliable computer technology, particularly for controlling nuclear weapons.

C-NET was inspired by such operating computer networks as the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET). For many years, the military, corporations, and university researchers have used ARPANET and other networks to collaborate on projects and communicate informally. In years ahead, C-NET's

*continued on page 4*

## Letters

I HAVE RECEIVED your letter of September 3 and the enclosed CID Report, which I read with great interest. It is always encouraging to hear of organizations committed, as is yours, to increasing productive communication between the United States and the Soviet Union.

John Kenneth Galbraith  
Harvard University

PERHAPS IT IS just cynicism left over from my time as a physicist at Los Alamos and Sandia [Weapons Labs], but I have never really believed that scholarship and commentary could make any meaningful contribution to world peace. The work of an organization such as yours would appear to be a noble but fundamentally ineffective and futile effort.

Nonetheless, I find myself in a position not unlike an atheist, who on his deathbed mumbles a prayer, just in case he was wrong all those years. The atheist is in a situation in which one cannot afford to be wrong, because the consequences are too staggering to imagine. I'm enclosing a small

contribution to CID, just in case I've been wrong, because the consequences for humanity are equally staggering if peace is not forthcoming. I would be truly delighted to have you prove me wrong, although I can't honestly say that I expect it. In any event, I applaud your well-intentioned attempts.

Jon R. Stark  
Attorney at Law  
Colorado Springs, Colorado

I WAS VERY impressed by the CID newsletter. You people, I believe, are on the right track and I was extremely pleased to see the basic approach you have been taking at both the theoretical and at the grass-roots/persuasion-level of activity. I have done a great deal of reading in the "peace" literature in the last two years, and I think I can safely say that your article on International Institution Building is the finest piece of work I have yet read. Needless to say, your perspective is one with which I agree entirely. (I also very much enjoyed the interviews...it is wonderful that the three of you have gotten together in the projects of the organization.)

James T. Ranney  
Research Professor of Law  
University of Montana School of Law

I CAME INTO the office today to try to clear some of the printed material piled on my desk. First bulletin/report was the one from CID because it was the last one in. To my dismay, the progress I envisioned for my weekend was considerably slowed, because your Vol. 1, No. 1 report is so well written, so original in concept, and so devoid of gobbledygook language that I read every word. Please send me a couple of more copies.

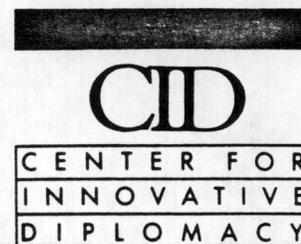
Sally Lilienthal  
President  
Ploughshares Fund

THANKS FOR YOUR query about an exchange with the SENTINEL. You should begin receiving your first issue in about 6 weeks. I look forward to reading your CID report.

You might address yourself to the following questions:

- 1) Will disarmament work any better now than it did in 1938?
- 2) Can there ever be peace as long as the Soviet Union is run by mafia-like gangsters?
- 3) Will your proposed arms control computer network be as frustrating to use as my word-processor? Will the accompanying increased tensions worldwide lead to war?
- 4) Will world government politicians be as bad as ours?
- 5) Will they be as fun to hoot at?

John Seiler  
Editor,  
The American Sentinel



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

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## Join Us

If you are not a member of CID and find our projects and ideas worthwhile, we invite you to join us. If you have already joined us you may wish to make friends, relatives, or other acquaintances members of CID. All CID members receive this bi-monthly newsletter and reduced rates on our working papers. Simply fill out this form and drop it in the mail.

All donations to CID are tax deductible.

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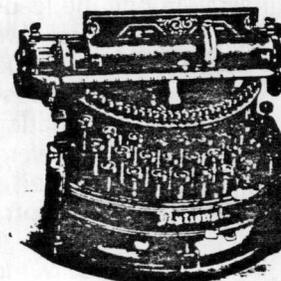
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## Write Us

To make The CID Report a stimulating marketplace of ideas, we welcome your criticisms as well as your praise. We seek both letters and longer submissions relating to ways citizens can meet the nuclear threat through better means of participation in foreign policy. Send letters or other materials to Alex Kline, Newsletter Editor, The Center for Innovative Diplomacy, 644 Emerson St., Ste. 30, Palo Alto, CA 94301.



## A Successful International Confluence

The Conference on the Fate of the Earth is an ongoing project of a coalition of nearly 100 organizations dedicated to environmental protection, arms control, and international peace. The First Biennial Conference, held in 1982 at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City, drew more than a thousand people. Regional conferences have since been held in Boulder, Colorado and in Rome, and more are planned for Ottawa and Berlin.

The Second Biennial Conference was held in Washington, D.C. Approximately 500 people attended the conference and the quality of the speakers—including Ted Kennedy, George McGovern, Paul Ehrlich, Margot Kidder, and Seymour Melman—was, by all accounts, outstanding.

Throughout 1983 and 1984, CID President Michael Shuman served on the Board of Trustees for the Conference. Besides drafting the Policy and Action Statement, Shuman took principal responsibility for designing the program and putting together two of the conference's twenty panels. One of those panels, entitled, "Toward Innovative International Relations," featured Congressman George Brown (a ranking Democrat on the House Committee on Science and Technology), Kenneth Boulding (distinguished professor of resource economics at the University of Colorado at Boulder), and George Wald (Nobel Prize Winner in medicine).

Along with Richard Falk, professor of international law and practice at Princeton University, Shuman delivered a plenary address to the Conference on its final evening, emphasizing the need for peace and environmental groups to seek disarmament through international institution building. A transcript of his speech, entitled "Why Disarmament Must Replace Deterrence and How It Can Be Done," is available from CID upon request. ■

### Policy Statement *continued from cover*

The statement begins with the 1955 exhortation of Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell to the people of the world to recognize that nuclear weapons threaten the continued existence of humankind and to renounce these weapons forever: "We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: Remember your humanity and forget the rest."

"Today, nearly thirty years and 50,000 warheads later," the statement continues, "the world continues speeding toward nuclear apocalypse, which we now suspect would be worse than anything Einstein and Russell ever imagined. Recent studies by leading American, European, and Soviet scientists have concluded that even a limited nuclear war involving only a small fraction of existing arsenals could produce enough smoke and soot to block out nearly all of the Northern

Hemisphere's sunlight, plunging the planet for many months into a dark, lethal Nuclear Winter. These findings have made it clear that nuclear wars, perhaps even all wars, now imperil the continued existence of both human life and a living planet.

"What nuclear war could do in 50 to 150 days, an exploding population assaulting the Earth's life support systems could do in 50 to 150 years...If our expanding multitudes continue pursuing economic growth without a concomitant regard for environmental sustainability, we may all soon have to cope with large-scale food shortages, pollution disasters, severe climate perturbations, and social instability."

The Policy statement's first section calls for a "return to rationality in national security" through a nuclear freeze, deep bilateral reductions, and the eventual abolition of all nuclear weapons. Specifically, it recommends: (1) adoption of a "no first use" posture;

### Nobel Laureate Signatories of the Policy and Action Statement

PHILIP ANDERSON, *Physics* 1977  
 KENNETH ARROW, *Economics* 1972  
 KONRAD BLOCH, *Medicine* 1964  
 ANDRE F. COURNAND, *Medicine* 1956  
 JAMES CRONIN, *Physics* 1980  
 VAL FITCH, *Physics* 1980  
 WILLIAM FOWLER, *Physics* 1983  
 SHELDON GLASHOW, *Physics* 1979  
 ROBERT HOFSTADTER, *Physics* 1961  
 DAVID HUBEL, *Medicine* 1981  
 HAR GOBIND KHORANA, *Medicine* 1968  
 POLYKARP KUSCH, *Physics* 1955  
 WILLIAM NUNN LIPSCOMB, Jr. *Chemistry* 1976  
 EDWIN McMILLAN, *Chemistry* 1951  
 DANIEL NATHANS, *Medicine* 1978  
 LINUS PAULING, *Chemistry* 1983, *Peace* 1962  
 ROGER SPERRY, *Medicine* 1981  
 HENRY TAUBE, *Chemistry* 1983  
 HOWARD TEMIN, *Medicine* 1975  
 GEORGE WALD, *Medicine* 1967

*The complete signatory list of 185 leaders of arms control, disarmament, and environmental organizations is available from CID along with the full text of the statement. See CID Working Paper #5 on back cover for details.*

(2) renunciation of destabilizing weapons with high accuracy (like the MX); (3) a ban on space-based weaponry; (4) a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing; (5) programs to ease conversion of military industries to peacetime production; (6) tightened controls on the export of nuclear materials and technology; (7) encouragement for nations "to increase their contacts with one another, not through military intervention, but through nonmilitary avenues of cultural exchange, technology transfer, trade, and persuasion;" and (8) new initiatives to strengthen international institutions like the United Nations and International Court of Justice.

The Policy statement finally calls for "new, enlightened leadership within all nations, especially within the United States, which controls one-fourth of the world's wealth, an even greater amount of its scientific and technical knowledge, and half of the planet's nuclear weapons.

Excerpts of the statement appeared in *The Washington Post*, *The International Herald Tribune*, and *The San Francisco Chronicle*, as well as in the major dailies of Anchorage, Des Moines, Louisville, New Orleans, Oakland, and Salt Lake City. After the conference, copies were also distributed by the Global Tomorrow Coalition to key members of Congress. ■

## Computer Tools

*continued from cover*

developers hope to enable a much wider array of people, both inside and outside government, to harness these same computer capabilities at an affordable cost.

The centerpiece of hardware, or "host computer," for the project is now operating in Palo Alto. (See box at right for a technical description of the hardware and software.) CID is sharing the computer with Community Data Processing, an organization that helps non-profit organizations to take advantage of computers for data processing and office automation. CID will increase the computing resources supporting C-NET as the project proceeds.

C-NET's host machine is now connected into several existing large networks. Because of these connections, mail has already been exchanged between C-NET and users in Europe within several hours. Once the prototype's other main functions are operating satisfactorily, C-NET will be expanded with new equipment to handle ten users simultaneously and thus serve a direct dial-up community of several hundred users daily. Eventually the network will be able to reach thousands of people, each of whom will be charged a small connect fee (less than one dollar for every ten minutes) to help offset costs and finance further expansion.

Since direct users of C-NET will be connected entirely by telephone, most of the initial users will be San Francisco Bay Area residents. Thousands of users on other networks, however, will be able to use the system indirectly and avoid long-distance telephone charges. The difference between direct and indirect use is principally one of speed and convenience. Direct users telephone C-NET and can use it in a "real-time" interactive manner—as is required to engage another person in a live computer conversation or get instant responses to database requests. Indirect users communicate with C-NET solely through electronic mail via networks connected to C-NET. These users can still use most of C-NET's functions, but responses to their requests might take a few hours rather than being transmitted instantly.

In time, C-NET's developers hope to install host computers in other geogra-

phic areas, probably beginning with the population centers of the East coast. Each new host computer would give a new community of C-NET users direct access to the system through local telephone calls. Ultimately, C-NET might become a part of one of several international communication networks. Officials of TYMNET, a large commercial telecommunications network with dial-up lines in virtually every major city in North America, Europe, Australia, and Asia, have already expressed interest in this later phase of C-NET's development. The TYMNET network would give users throughout the world direct access to C-NET with a local phone call.

### A Revolutionary Communications Tool

Carrying messages much faster than mail and at a cost much lower than telephone conversation, computer networks have revolutionized all communications. In only minutes, Americans using computer networks can carry out as much communication with foreign users as diplomats formerly did with each other in hours or even weeks. Electronic mail can send messages cross-country or overseas for only pennies; electronic bulletin boards can distribute announcements to hundreds of people without the inconvenience or expense of photocopying and bulk mailing; and electronic "discussions" allow large numbers of people to exchange views in an open and uninhibited forum, often with experts of international stature. Such discussions, particularly if they are edited by a moderator, are like an interactive magazine in which interested people can reply to the assertions of others and get quick responses.

The new possibilities for dialogue are illustrated by a recent exchange between C-NET co-director Eric Horvitz and Richard Garwin, a top scientist and inventor at IBM who has acted as an advisor to Congress, the Pentagon, and three Presidents. Horvitz's attention was drawn by an article in the October issue of *Esquire* detailing Garwin's impassioned opposition to President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, popularly known as "Star Wars" weaponry. In part because Horvitz's current research involves the impact of subjective probability estimates on decision-making, he

was especially intrigued by Garwin's statement that "there is a fifty percent chance of nuclear war by the end of the century."

In early 1982, at a conference on space-based ABM systems, Horvitz had asked Garwin to estimate the likelihood of a full-scale nuclear war within twenty years. After some reflection, Garwin replied: "About 30 percent." Why, Horvitz wondered, had Garwin's figure increased to 50 percent? In an electronic letter, Horvitz posed this question directly to Garwin and within hours received a response. Garwin referred Horvitz to his 1976 paper entitled 'Nuclear War by the Year 1999?' "in which I published a similar estimate. There is no significant difference between 30% and 50%, unfortunately." By using a computer network, Horvitz was able within a

## C-NET's Hardware & Software

### Host Computer:

PLEXUS P/60

### Central Processing Unit:

Motorola 68000 32 bit micro-processor

### Working Memory (RAM):

1 Megabyte (1 million bytes)

### Disk Memory:

400 Megabytes

### Communications Hardware:

2 RS-232 communications ports equipped with auto-answer auto-dial modems which handle data at either 300 or 1200 baud (both standard rates)

### Software:

UNIX

### Networks to which C-NET is currently connected or "gatewayed":

ARPANET, USENET, CSNET

(For a review of these networks and other computer projects of organizations concerned about nuclear war you may order copies of CID Working Paper #3, "Computers, Information and the Peace Movement: An Overview." See back cover for further details.)

single day to engage in a discourse with a major government defense advisor for just pennies. A far less convenient exchange through the mail could have taken weeks.

C-NET will also give users access to a number of databases. Databases are like computerized libraries that users can search for very specific bits or whole categories of information. One database already available is a comprehensive listing of several thousand American organizations working to reduce the probability of nuclear war. C-NET's developers are also negotiating with the Arms Control and Computer Network (ACCN), a Washington, D.C. coalition of eight major arms control and peace groups, to begin using their legislative database. This database, which is updated regularly, includes Congressional voting records on bills related to the military or international affairs and a list of key Congressional staff members working on these bills.

C-NET's developers have also had preliminary discussions with the Stanford Center for International Security on the possibility of jointly building a new database containing recent books, articles, and monographs concerning arms control and international diplomacy. Because only a select group of people at the Pentagon, the Senate Intelligence Agency, and various think tanks now have access to these kinds of databases, the opening of these resources to the public would be a significant step in democratizing nuclear policymaking.

C-NET's databases will involve users in other ways as well. For example, they will provide a powerful means of self-education and a potent resource for writers and journalists. A user could search thousands of up-to-date sources to find information on highly specific subjects such as "Biological Warfare" or "Satellite Verification Systems." And users will be able to draw from—or add to—C-NET databases containing a comprehensive calendar of local and national events, which they can search according to date, geographic area, or subject.

### Toward the Future

While anyone with a terminal and a modem can open a C-NET account, many of C-NET's initial users will be socially concerned technical profession-

als. By using C-NET's facilities, this highly influential group could directly affect many areas of strategic and military policy, especially since free accounts will be given to prominent political leaders and to experts in arms control, international relations, and public policy.

The other major group of initial users will be non-profit groups working on arms control and international security issues. For them, C-NET will be tremendously helpful for basic research, intergroup coordination, and membership mobilization. For example, groups like Physicians for Social Responsibility could notify their large membership of an important upcoming Congressional vote on, say, a proposed arms control treaty or appropriations for a questionably effective weapons system. They could also provide members with key arguments in favor of the treaty or against the system, enabling members to write intelligent, informed letters to their Congressional representatives.

Ultimately, C-NET will help many people and organizations dedicated to international peace take an important step into the future. With computer technology, it is now possible to envision nearly instantaneous global communication and an electronic feed-back process that could significantly democratize national strategic and military policy.

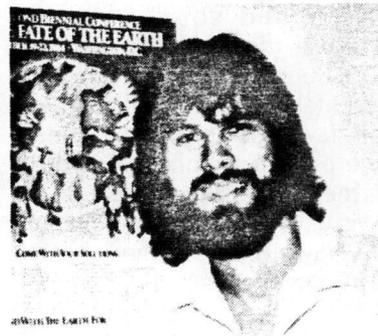
In his 1980 book *The Third Wave*, Alvin Toffler wrote that democracy has become "not a matter of choice but of evolutionary necessity....[T]he very implosion of decision-making now overwhelming our...governments unlocks...exciting prospects for a radical expansion of political participation." As the web of electronic communication spreads, the ultimate significance of networks like C-NET is that they can offer every human being a role to play in building new political ties to improve international relations and replace violent conflict as a means of settling disputes. ■

## The Innovators

C-NET represents a diverse cross-section of computer skills from both CID and CPSR. CID's principal coordinators are Eric Horvitz and Hal Harvey. Horvitz is now in an M.D./ Ph.D. program at Stanford combining computer science and medicine, and is one of the leaders of the Stanford University Heuristic Programming Project (HPP), which is exploring applications of computer science in pathology diagnoses. Harvey, after setting up several computer systems in Aspen, Colorado, is now a consultant to and board



Dave Caulkins



John Larson

member of the Arms Control and Computer Network.

On CPSR's side, the principal movers have been John Larson and David Caulkins. Larson is currently a computer scientist at the Xerox Palo Alto Research Center. He has worked at IBM on supercomputer memory systems and at Boeing on various classified military computer projects. Caulkins is presently a computer scientist at Packet Technologies Inc. He has been the head of a networking project of the People's Computer Company and was also the hardware group leader on a major computer project at NASA-Ames. ■

## Citizen Diplomacy

BY MICHAEL H. SHUMAN

*Citizen Diplomacy is a regular column describing recent, innovative efforts by individuals, communities, and states to influence foreign affairs.*

### Eurobashing: The American Press vs. The European Parliament

In the early 1950s, the American press eagerly reported the emergence of a "United Europe" because it recognized how Europe's new political institutions could play a major role in preventing a third world war. Today, however, American press reaction to the entire European Economic Community (EEC) has turned sour. Despite innovations like the European Parliament, where European citizens directly elect representatives to present, debate, and shape laws governing the nine (soon to be eleven) member EEC, the American media by and large, have reported virtually nothing, and what little they have reported has been downright venomous.

#### New Institutions to Prevent War

If you are like most of the American public, you probably have never heard of the European Parliament and may be wondering how it got started and what its powers are. The story of the Parliament is really the story of the entire EEC, which began in the late 1940s, when millions of Europeans sought new political institutions to prevent a repetition of the bloody carnage of two world wars. By 1950, public pressure moved the foreign ministers of six European nations—France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands—to begin establishing these institutions by bringing their coal and steel communities under a common regional high authority.

Initially, advocates of "United Europe" had hoped that this limited cooperation would spur formal cooperation on other political and military issues, but efforts in the mid-1950s to create a "European Defence Community" and similar political cooperative ventures met with failure. What did emerge was a more ambitious plan for economic cooperation. The 1957 Treaty of Rome created an entire EEC that erected a community agricultural price-support system, eliminated trade barriers between nations, and regulated certain product standards.

Since its formation, the EEC has expanded its membership steadily. The original six members were joined by Britain, Ireland, and Denmark in 1973, and by Greece in 1981. Spain and Portugal are scheduled to become full participants by 1986.

Today, as in 1957, the power center of the EEC is the Council of Ministers, where the foreign ministers of each member nation dictate the principal

**The "disappointing" turnout of 60 percent of European voters is impressive when compared to the roughly 50 percent of eligible American voters who participated in the 1980 election.**

policies of the Community. At first, the Council was intended to approve or veto proposals by the more regionally-minded Commission, whose 14 members oversee a 10,000 person civil service that takes an oath to act only in the community interest. But under pressure from France, European leaders required that all Council decisions be unanimous. This essentially meant that the Commission could no longer submit any proposals without prior approval by the Council, moving the EEC's power away from the pro-unification politicians to the more nationalistic politicians in the Council.

Subservient to both the Council and the Commission has been the European Parliament. At first, the Parliament was comprised of members of national legislatures and only had the power to request reports from the Commission. In 1974, however, the EEC gave Europeans the opportunity to elect members of the Parliament—the first effort in human history to give citizens a direct voice in an international organization. The EEC also gave the Parliament additional powers, including the power to veto parts of the EEC's budget and the power to dismiss the Commission.

While these powers have always been very limited, the Parliament has still used them to have measurable influence on EEC policy. The Commission, for example, has adopted about 80% of all the recommendations made by the Parliament. As Michael Palmer, a British representative, suggests, "The European Parliament is increasing its authority and its influence, the way parliaments have always done in history — by building on precedent."

#### Reports of the Parliament's Death are Greatly Exaggerated

To the few members of the American press who have even reported EEC events, the Parliament is a stillborn organization. The basis for their death report was the lower than expected voter turnout in the June Parliamentary elections.

The reports of *The New York Times* (June 15 - 20) were typical. John Vinocur's cover story called voter participation "poor" and reported: "The disaffection...was interpreted as a lack of confidence in the Common Market's institutions, and disillusionment with the goal of achieving European Unity." Two days later, the *Times'* lead editorial carried the gloomy title: "A Throwaway Vote in Europe." The piece went on to suggest that "Europe as a political idea is moribund" and that the Parliament "is a vestige of the dream of political union." This cynicism was echoed in another column by Flora Lewis: "The argument was that a special election campaign would give citizens of the European Community a sense of direct responsibility...and spark a new momentum for European unity. It didn't work."

These harsh pronouncements seem, to say the least, gratuitous. To begin with, the "disappointing" turnout of 60 percent of European voters is impressive when compared to the roughly 50 percent of eligible American voters who participated in the 1980 election. Imagine Europeans writing about our democracy: "The argument was that a special election campaign for the President would give American citizens a sense of direct responsibility...it didn't work."

If the European Parliament—and the EEC as well—ever fails, it will not be because direct participation of citizens in foreign affairs is an unsound idea, but because the Parliament was never able to put these ideals to a real test. As Pieter Denker, the former President of the Parliament, argues, the Parliament's limited influence has made it "very difficult to convert the legitimization gained through direct elections into actions perceptible to our electors." In other words, if people are losing interest in the European Parliament, it is because the institution has too little power, not because its electors lack faith.

The real power in the EEC continues to reside in the Council, and all of the real threats to the EEC's survival have come not from too little public interest or participation, but from interneine squabbles among the EEC's foreign ministers. The situation is comparable to what the U.S. government would be like were Congress overseen by a committee of state ministers, each of whom had veto power over any piece of legislation Congress tried to pass. Every year, the Council must assemble a budget acceptable to all members, and invariably there is one renegade holding the entire EEC hostage to its demands. In 1984, the holdout was Great Britain, who threatened to leave the EEC unless the community rebated \$1.5 billion and thoroughly overhauled its farm subsidy program. A compromise was struck, the EEC was saved, but public confidence in the institution was badly shaken.

Growing dissatisfaction with the EEC in general does not mean that "Europe as a political idea is moribund." Indeed, Europeans remain positive in their views about uniting Europe. In an early 1984 poll, 82 percent favored creating a common European passport, 66 percent favored a European currency, and 63

percent favored uniform social welfare benefits. Nearly 40 percent thought the EEC would improve life for their children, while only 10 percent thought it would hurt it.

As William Pfaff, another American journalist, has written in *The Los Angeles Times*: "It is not at all certain that Europeans will be able to make more of the community than they already have done...it is impossible now to say what the outcome eventually will be. The attempt to anticipate what will come risks obscuring what already exists. A united Europe there is not, but there is a community. There also is power, and a capacity to act."

While the future of the Parliament remains unclear, it is still interesting to speculate why journalists at *The New York Times* have sought to discredit it. The answer, perhaps, is that the European is obsolete. ■

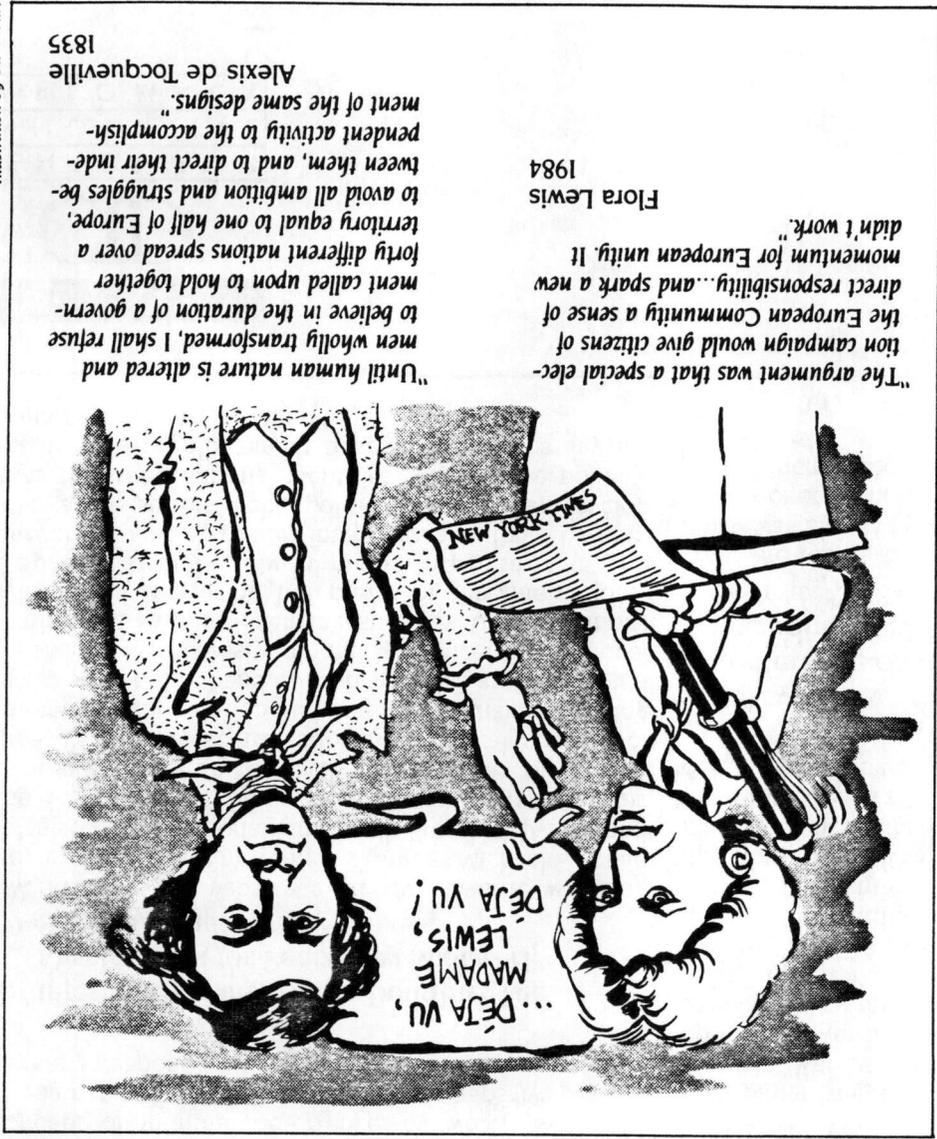


Illustration by Steve Curt

# Working Papers Available from CID

Each of the following CID Working Papers is available for \$4.00 (\$2.00 for members).

**1. "Living Without Harvard: A Critique of the Harvard Nuclear Study Group," by Michael H. Shuman, November 1983.**

In their highly publicized study *Living with Nuclear Weapons*, five professors and a graduate student from Harvard University argue that disarmament is a "fictional utopia" and that our only recourse is to continue modernizing our nuclear arsenals and negotiating modest arms control treaties. This paper criticizes Harvard's analysis on four points. First, Harvard refuses to face up to the ultimate need for disarmament for human survival. Second, it caricatures disarmament as requiring a tyrannical "world government," when, in fact, it really requires a concerted policy of international institution building. Third, Harvard places too much reliance on balance-of-forces arms control agreements, which have failed to sustain the kind of long-term public movement necessary for real arms control. Finally, Harvard pays inadequate attention to the concept of minimal deterrence, by which we could strengthen our national security with perhaps five percent as many weapons.

**2. "International Institution Building: The Missing Link for Peace," by Michael H. Shuman, August 1984.**

"World order has become everybody's favorite whipping boy, even the peace movement's" argues Michael Shuman in this critique of Jonathan Schell, Freeman Dyson, and the Harvard Nuclear Study Group. These analysts all focus their arguments on technical modifications of existing arsenals and refuse to endorse a political strategy of international institution building. Rather than dismissing world order out of hand as utopian, these authors should reconsider the necessity of forging stronger international institutions through such measures as United Nations reform and increasing the power of the International Court of Justice. Even more important is the encouragement of greater international activity by non-state actors so that global political alliances can develop that transcend national identities. Without the political institutions for enforcement, the paper concludes, any disarmament scheme is bound to fail.

**3. "Computers, Information and the Peace Movement: An Overview," by Hal Harvey and Eric Horvitz, October 1984.**

Not all computers are necessarily calculating missile trajectories and laminar flows around ICBMs. This paper explains how computer communication can help the peace movement through electronic bulletin boards, mail systems, discussion trees, research databases, and office automation. It also gives an overview of existing resources such as USENET, ARPANET, and the ACCN (Arms Control and Computer Network). Finally, the paper describes C-NET, a prototype arms control communications network now being assembled in Northern California. (Described in this issue.)

**4. "Precision Guided Munitions and the Defense of Western Europe," by Hal Harvey, October 1984.**

This paper suggests how the "Defense Department," formerly "War Department," might finally be able to live up to its newer title. Precision-guided munitions (PGMs) are nonnuclear munitions which home in on their targets either through remote control or advanced internal sensors. Small, inexpensive PGMs can reliably destroy tanks, ships, and airplanes costing hundreds or even thousands of times more than the PGM. The paper describes recent developments in PGM technology, which may soon enable the U.S. and its NATO allies to abandon nuclear weapons altogether and adopt a truly defensive defense with conventional weapons.

**5. Policy and Action Statement of the Conference on the Fate of the Earth, (including Legislative Action Agenda), September 1984.**

Complete text of the statement, described in this issue, which was signed by 20 Nobel Laureates and nearly 200 leaders of environmental, arms control, and disarmament groups. Includes complete list of signatories.

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