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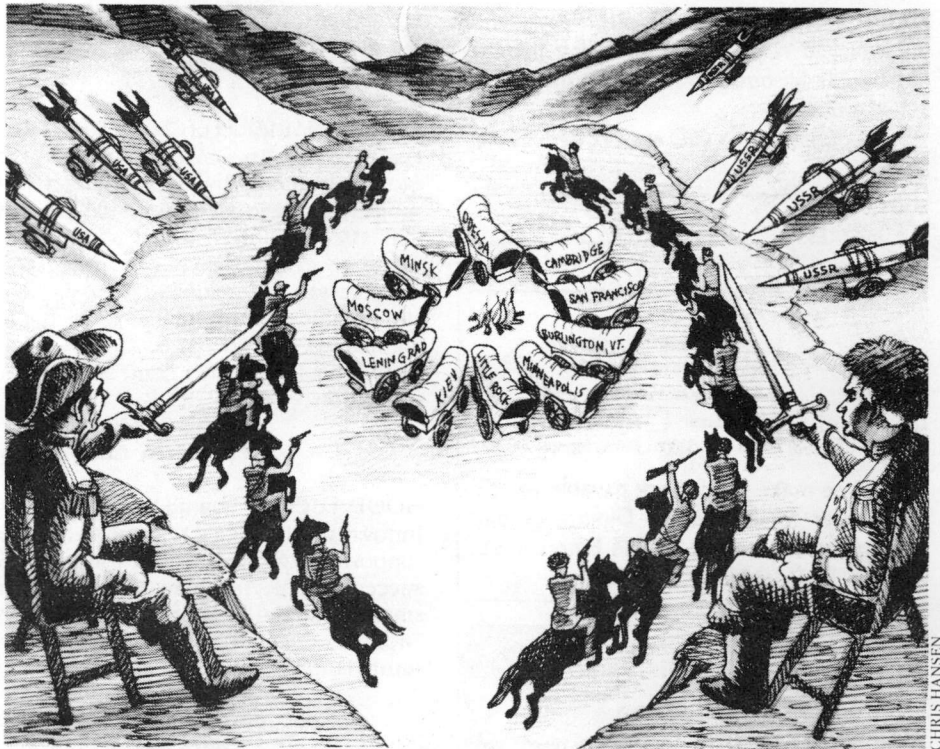
Municipal State Departments: The Wave of the Future?

MICHAEL H. SHUMAN

Ever since serving as the site for the founding of the United Nations, the Bay Area has held a high profile in foreign policy. In recent years, San Francisco has approved referenda that urged both a freeze of the arms race and United States military disengagement from Central America. Last November, the city voted not to invest its workers' pension funds in corporations operating in South Africa. Several weeks later, Mayor Dianne Feinstein signed a trade pact with Shanghai. And in January, the city's Board of Supervisors urged Feinstein not to allow the Navy to station the battleship Missouri in the city's harbor.

To some people, this activism seems like just more sourdough and beatniks—another sign of “the San Francisco difference.” But San Francisco is hardly a

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CID Meets Key Reagan Advisor

Last November, with a landslide reelection behind, members of the Reagan Administration entered a quiescent, reflective period. If most of them were proud of having successfully redefined America's national agenda, one in particular, Dr. George Keyworth, II, was positively ebullient. As head of the Office of Science and Technology Policy and President Reagan's official Science Advisor, Keyworth has wielded enormous—if inconspicuous—influence over the nation's policies concerning basic research, technology transfer, and military strategy.

To gain some first-hand insight into the

Administration's inner workings during this period, CID project directors Hal Harvey and Eric Horvitz met Keyworth in Washington, D.C. The issues they discussed ranged from imminent advances in neuroscience to the role of artificial intelligence in the military. But perhaps most noteworthy were Keyworth's spontaneous remarks that revealed the real personality of the man shaping national policy.

In past administrations, Presidential science advisors have been high profile academics like the late George Kistiakowsky from Harvard and Jerome Wiesner from MIT. Keyworth cannot be said to have any such prominence. Before becoming Reagan's advisor, Keyworth was a group projects leader at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, an institution specializing not in basic research and teaching but in weapons production. "I

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INSIDE

Profiles in Diplomacy *page 13*

A new feature of the CID Report.

In this issue we profile:

DR. BERNARD LOWN

Co-founder of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

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C-net Uber Alles?

Neo-Nazi Group Establishes Computer Network

Readers of *CID Report* No. 2 will recall that CID is now building a prototype computer network for use by individuals and organizations concerned about nuclear war. Apparently the advantages of computers have not been lost on some of our less peace-minded brethren.

According to *The New York Times*, an Idaho-based neo-Nazi group has just established the "Aryan Liberty Net" to link kindred Nazi groups and disseminate a list of those who "have betrayed their race." One list available entitled "Know Your Enemy" includes the addresses and telephone numbers of offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Communist Party U.S.A.



LETTERS

AS A SEMINAR leader of Clark & Sohn's *World Peace through World Law* some twenty years ago, I am heartened by renewed interest in the subject these days. It seems very logical to me that effective international institutions—world government, in shorter words—are the necessary foundations of arms reduction and durable peace. It is also very encouraging that as rigorous a pragmatist as George Kennan has in substance come around to this realization...

Philip S. Walden
Palo Alto, California

GOOD LUCK to you all at the Center for Innovative Diplomacy. I can wholeheartedly support your goals and I hope you have much success in achieving them. The newsletter is smart looking and I especially like the Citizen Diplomacy section. I will look forward to future issues.

Peg Bailey
Managing Editor
World Press Review
New York City

I'VE JUST FINISHED reading the [first] CID newsletter and especially liked [Eric Horvitz's] interview. He maintains a refreshingly optimistic view of the human race—one that I'm afraid I don't completely agree with. Working in psychiatry and seeing a relatively infinitesimal fraction of the world's psychopathology, and then extrapolating this to a more general view can be quite disheartening at times. When you see enough severely disturbed people who hold or did hold fairly prominent positions in society it makes you wonder who is leading us where...

Marc Levine, M.D.
Washington, D.C.

I THINK THE newsletter is one of the most interesting newsletters I've read in some time...

Susan C. Silk
Executive Director
Columbia Foundation

CID

CENTER FOR
INNOVATIVE
DIPLOMACY

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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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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.



CID MEETS WITH GEORGE KEYWORTH

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didn't even know what the word policy meant," he told Harvey and Horvitz. "Still, I've learned quite a bit over the last few years."

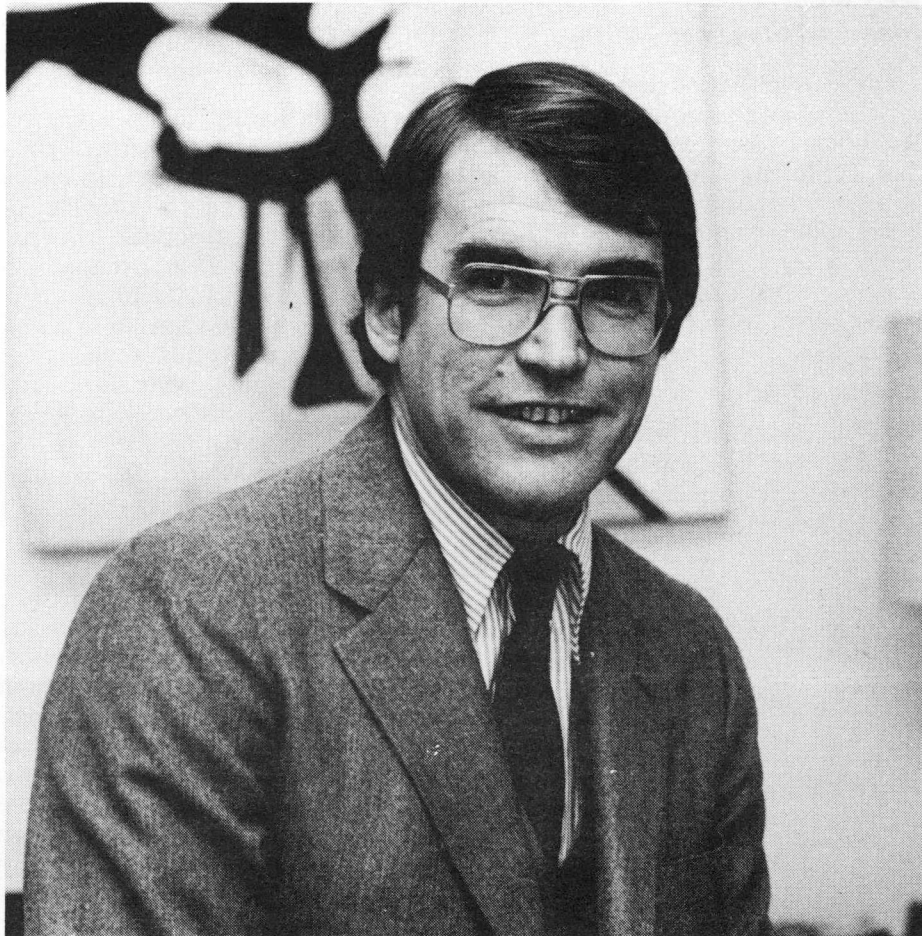
If anything, Keyworth seems to be proud of his roots outside the upper echelons of the academic establishment. Coming from the West, Keyworth sees himself as a populist. Despite early beliefs in the importance of experts in decision-making, he has since "learned with experience that, in the end, people know what's best."

It is somewhat ironic, therefore, that Keyworth's biggest impact has been in helping Reagan to pursue his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), better known as "Star Wars." As a \$26 billion, five year commitment to research and develop space-based anti-satellite and anti-ballistic directed-energy weapon systems, SDI represents the antithesis of popular involvement in foreign affairs. It is, rather, a program involving a cadre of security-cleared technologists in secret research that will cost, in its initial phases alone, nearly as much as the entire space program. Yet Keyworth sees SDI as embracing democracy by offering what one writer has called "a missile-proof astrodome over the United States."

Wishful Thinking

Keyworth's animated account of SDI's genesis to Harvey and Horvitz revealed that the program was more firmly rooted in the President's *hopes* than in a soberly conceived plan for a shift in defense strategy. The President apparently called him one morning to discuss "important matters." When he arrived, the President complained how bothered he was that the United States has no other response to a nuclear attack than mutual assured destruction (MAD): "He asked me if there was some way we could increase his and his successors' options. Was there a way to protect ourselves from ballistic missiles?"

Keyworth's response was to call together a team of scientists and industrialists to work under the auspices of the OSTP "right in this room." The team's ultimate report contained a broad analysis of the merits of shifting nuclear weapons strategy from mutually assured destruction to anti-missile defense. While discussion of futuristic, space-based



Presidential Science Advisor George Keyworth, II

technologies actually assumed a relatively small part of the report, the President and his advisors seized upon this theme. By the time of his March 1983 televised "Star Wars" speech, President Reagan wound up emphasizing, not conventional anti-ballistic missile technologies that might strengthen deterrence, but exotic technologies which might offer a way to make nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete."

The speech created an overnight stir within the defense establishment. Many at the Pentagon believed that these exotic anti-missile technologies could protect some of our land-based retaliatory force, they had no faith that these technologies could provide a "leakproof" umbrella to protect American cities. They worried that the President was selling technologies that did not—and probably would never—exist. Since the President's speech, several leading defense officials have reassured audiences that what the President really means, at least for now, is to strengthen deterrence, not abandon it. For example, Dr. Gerold

Yonas, the Pentagon's chief scientist for SDI, recently told a technical seminar at Stanford's Center for Arms Control and International Security that the SDI program is aimed at strengthening deterrence by convincing the Soviet Union that it could not hope to launch a successful first strike.

One might have expected the principal spokesperson for the "scientific community" within the White House to steer the President back to the more technically realistic course proffered by the Pentagon. Keyworth, however, came down squarely behind the President and has since mobilized his office to justify pursuing technologies most scientists think will never work. When Horvitz asked Keyworth to comment on Yonas' talk, Keyworth retorted, "That's what Gerry Yonas and the DoD think. We have some different ideas about SDI."

It is certainly anomalous to have a Science Advisor's loyalty to his President transcend his obligation to give scientifically realistic advice. Critics ranging

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KEYWORTH

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from the Union of Concerned Scientists to the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment have asserted that deployment of SDI would be outrageously costly (on the order of a trillion dollars) and would provide, at best, a "leaky shield." Even such SDI supporters as Drs. Colin Gray and Keith Payne term comprehensive city-protection schemes as "exotic."

Advice or Advocacy?

Keyworth, a man who boasts of being a "team player" and admits to having no prior experience in policymaking, seems to perceive his role as science advisor as one of partisan advocacy, not giving objective advice about science. Thus, when Harvey asked how SDI systems might defend the United States against so-called "air-breathing" nuclear delivery systems like the Soviet version of our low-flying cruise missiles, Keyworth's response was defensive and flip: "Ah ha! That is a real problem...but we're working on it." When the criticisms of prominent scientists were brought up, such as those of IBM's Richard Garwin, Keyworth's responses were often *ad hominem* rather than analytic.

Keyworth may be so caught up in the technological "big fix" of SDI that he has overlooked the positive role nonmilitary technologies might play in preventing nuclear war. Horvitz asked what Keyworth thought of the usefulness of science in democratizing developing nations. Perhaps, Horvitz suggested, American technical assistance could provide these nations with decentralized communications, water supplies, and agricultural techniques. Villagers might then be less vulnerable to the appeals of radical politics. Keyworth agreed that science could play such a role but conceded little interest in pursuing these policies.

While they enjoyed the chance to meet personally with an important Administration official, both Horvitz and Harvey came away from the meeting with the troubling feeling that the 44 year-old Keyworth seems unaware of the larger dimensions of providing scientific counsel to the President. Perhaps in his eagerness to be a good "team player" Keyworth may have lost touch with what is technologically possible, or, for that matter, best for the country. ■

MUNICIPAL STATE DEPARTMENTS

continued from cover

loner in its foreign affairs initiatives. Throughout the world, particularly in decentralized democracies, local and state governments have become increasingly aggressive and sophisticated participants in foreign affairs. If this trend of "thinking globally and acting locally" continues, we may soon be in an era where literally thousands of cities, counties, and provinces create robust networks of political dialogue that will help erode the very nationalist divisions underlying today's threat of nuclear war.

The Need for International Pluralism

Sooner or later, global peace will require stronger international norms, laws, and institutions. Just as it is inconceivable that any nation could long survive without some moral, legal, and political institutions, it is inconceivable the world can avoid nuclear wars unless analogous international structures evolve, capable of mediating global disputes through politics instead of missiles. True, we may be decades away from having an empowered international legislature or court system, but the political precursors of these institutions—especially informal international coalitions and formal international political parties—are happening right now.

Informal international coalitions are helping to build international law by facilitating new, important global dialogues. Through ever cheaper means of communication and transportation, literally millions of people are now actively involved in international businesses, church movements, human rights groups, and sports organizations. These activities are enabling more people to understand and work with their international neighbors, and are awakening human beings to certain shared values—the need, for example, to outlaw terrorism, genocide, and torture.

Even where a global consensus on values is impossible, transnational activities are lifting antagonisms from violent nation-to-nation wars to nonviolent issue-to-issue debates. So long as the world's controversies are framed territorially as Israelis versus Palestinians or Americans versus Soviets, the world will remain rife with arms races and wars. But as international coalitions increasingly pit nationalists against internationalists, developers against environmentalists, and laborers against managers, nation-state battles will be transformed into interest group controversies. People are less prone to kill "foreigners" if, despite their profound disagreements on some issues, they find themselves in profound agreement on others.

Political scientist Ralph Goldman argues that, within nations, one of the most important tools for peacefully



San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein and Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang talk last November 10th in the Zhongnanhai government compound.

resolving conflicts among competing leaders has been political parties. The process of creating a unified leadership with a coherent platform, he argues, helps mediate disputes through deals and compromises. Certainly political parties at an international level hold similar promise. For example, in recent years, the Socialist International has served as the principal conduit for dialogue between Israeli leaders in the Labor Party and Palestinians. Other examples come from the Liberal International, which has fostered some important North-South discussions, and the Christian Democrat International, which has strengthened ties between the American Republicans and Margaret Thatcher's and Helmut Kohl's conservatives.

One of the principal challenges ahead for preventing global war, therefore, is to augment the processes of coalition-building and party-building that can make the international institutions for disarmament possible. But how can we best proceed?

The Role of Local Governments

A simple strategy for strengthening global politics is to work through all available political channels: the federal government, local government, and nongovernmental organizations. Both the federal and nongovernmental channels, however, are burdened by several profound weaknesses.

National leaders are likely to resist the development of new global coalitions and parties because they threaten their very power as sovereign national leaders. A few innovative national leaders may occasionally take bold internationalist steps, as Woodrow Wilson did when he lobbied for the creation of the League of Nations or as Jimmy Carter did with his early human rights campaign, but such moves are often dismissed as weak acts of misguided idealism, and lacking popular support, usually meet with dramatic failure.

To get around national leader intransigence, some analysts, like Johan Galtung have suggested that leadership must come from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), because only they are sufficiently detached from nationalist allegiances to try to create international power blocs. But NGOs have always been relatively weak. Unlike nation-states, which have the vast resources of

revenues from taxation and the might of armed forces to fortify the national interest, most political NGOs operate on financial shoestrings and, of course, have no armed forces. Lacking the "color of authority" governments carry, NGOs are doomed for the foreseeable future to remain on the periphery of global politics.

Local governments can act with a modicum of popular legitimacy because "official" local undertakings carry more political clout, draw more press attention, and involve more community members.

The imposing political problem is how to merge the independence of NGOs with the legitimacy and resources of a nation-state. This is where local governments may provide an elegant, exciting answer. Imagine the possibility of local governments, here and abroad, launching foreign policy initiatives explicitly to promote stronger international coalitions, parties, and institutions. It would allow the expression of literally thousands of home-grown foreign policy views and activities that are routinely ignored or silenced by national leaders.

Unlike national governments, local governments often pursue interests that are at odds with national policies. For example, while high level American-Soviet politics reveals little interest in preparing plans for "conversion" of military production into nonmilitary production, Mary Ann Gaido, a city councilwoman from Irvine, California, has found that Soviet local officials share her own community's interest in conversion. By making communities a basic building block of international diplomacy, we can unmask thousands of new potential alliances current national cleavages hide.

Unlike NGOs, local governments can

act with a modicum of popular legitimacy because "official" local undertakings carry more political clout, draw more press attention, and involve more—and more diverse—community members. Moreover, once they achieve some momentum, local foreign policy initiatives would be harder to thwart than intermittently-funded efforts by NGOs.

But perhaps the most important advantage of local foreign policy initiatives is that they could marshal a much larger financial reservoir with only a modest burden on the community. An allocation of \$100,000 could probably support a three to five person staff. For a city with a million people, the effort would only cost ten cents per person. An initiative campaign to inaugurate this program might ask: "Is giving San Francisco more influence over world affairs worth a dime?"

Besides these political assets, local governments have special skills to offer world politics in nonviolent conflict resolution. Most efforts at preventing and redressing crime, for example, occur through local police, courts, and prisons. Moreover, most efforts at preventing social problems—the real sources of much domestic conflict—occur through locally administered programs for welfare, social security, drug rehabilitation, and child day care. To be sure, national governments play prominent roles in these programs, but actual hands-on administration, the daily grind where real people deal with other real people, goes on primarily at the local level. This local experience will be invaluable for designing pragmatic international laws and institutions for nonviolent conflict resolution.

Clearly, local governments could be extremely potent agents of change. But will they ever do it?

Current Municipal Activism

Kenneth Boulding's first law—that "anything that exists is possible"—suggests that local foreign policy initiatives have real promise. True, not all, nor even most, local governments will soon enter the foreign policy arena. But some communities are acting right now, and many more are bound to join in. Indeed, one of the real advantages of municipal action is that it enables some international institution building to go forward without a national consensus.

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MUNICIPAL STATE DEPARTMENTS

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Local government participation in foreign affairs has really been going on for centuries. American towns and states have entered agreements with Canada and Mexico (and sometimes with their local governments as well) on such issues as road and bridge oversight, power wheeling, water management, motor vehicle registration, civil defense, fire prevention, and border patrolling. In 1970, for example, six states joined Mexico to form a Mexican-Gulf South Association to promote education, commerce, and tourism. At the same time, Louisiana and Quebec concluded a similar agreement on cultural exchange. Some local governments have even entered into treaties with international organizations; both the state and city of New York have agreements with the United Nations regarding legal treatment of UN personnel and property.

In the United States, the 1980s may well become the decade of local foreign policy activism. It began with a freeze campaign.

Today, a growing number of communities are also launching foreign policy initiatives on behalf of the community's economic self interest. California's Secretary of State March Fong Eu is making frequent forays abroad to promote the state's agricultural products. Several "Silicon Valley" towns have entertained Francois Mitterand to encourage more French involvement and investment in local "high tech" industries. And Ohio has made a trade pact with China's Wu Wei Province. Beyond economic benefits, these agreements may provide important "political goods" as well. Many hope, for example, that San Francisco's 1984 trade pact with Shanghai, setting up mutual offices for commerce and cultural exchange, will lead to an improved American-Chinese dialogue on human rights.

Even in foreign policy areas where the economic stakes are small, local governments have become increasingly involved. Through the American Friends Service Committee and Sister Cities International, U.S. communities have exchanged cultural exhibits and students with other communities abroad. Through local referenda, citizens have had an opportunity to debate such issues as U.S. weapons policy, Israel's West Bank settlements, and Soviet human rights practices. Perhaps the most dramatic initiatives have been where local governments have essentially stepped into the shoes of the State Department, as New York City did when it denied permission for Soviet diplomats to land at its airports and as Ohio did when it banned sales of Soviet vodka, both in reaction to the September 1983 Soviet shooting of a Korean Air Lines 747 jetliner.

Local governments have also shown particular interest in reversing the nuclear arms race. Two underlying reasons seem to be operating.

First, localities appreciate the consequences of nuclear war more than national policy-makers. While to national security personnel, a limited nuclear war means many megadeaths on paper, to civic officials, it means the destruction of *their* buildings and people. It is hardly coincidental that the most visible signs of the disarmament movement have been in the cities in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. In London, this kind of consciousness led its Greater City Council to reinvest its civil defense funds to prepare a scientific study of the various kinds of nuclear catastrophes London might face.

Second, more than national governments, localities understand the economic consequences of military spending, because it is they who must deal with the unpleasant impacts of military spending, including both first order economic effects (like unemployment, poor economic growth, inflation, and regressive wealth redistribution) and second order sociological effects (like crime, alienation, and suicide). For communities such as St. Louis, Seattle, and Groton that benefit heavily from military spending, this understanding may lead to local programs that try to minimize the boom-and-bust pendulum swings of military spending. For other communities that do not benefit, this understanding may lead to aggressive

Local Elected Officials of America

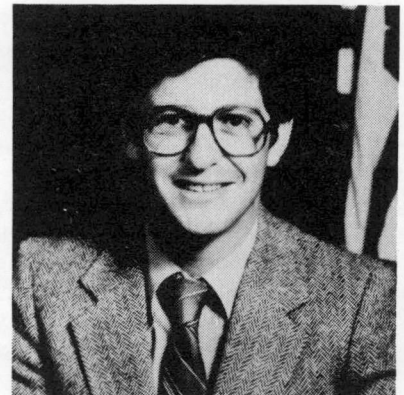
Local Elected Officials of America, (LEO), is a national organization of mayors, council members, county supervisors, and other local officials committed to reversing the arms race. It was founded in 1983 by Larry Agran, who was then Mayor of Irvine, California and now remains a city council member.

Agran, a lawyer, says LEO has over 250 members, 150 of them elected officials in Iowa and the rest in California. He plans to expand the organization nationwide. He chose to expand in Iowa to capture national attention focused there prior to Iowa's Democratic caucuses in January 1984.

In an article in last November's *Los Angeles Times*, Agran said that "increasing numbers of local American officials have come to understand that the nuclear arms race is indeed a local issue," and "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."

CID is currently working with LEO to create a handbook that will enable localities to thrust themselves more effectively into foreign affairs.

(In our next issue, we will present a more in-depth article on Larry Agran and LEO's activities.)



Larry Agran of Local Elected Officials

local opposition to arms races and military spending.

In the United States, the 1980s may well become the decade of local foreign policy activism. It began with a nuclear freeze campaign that gained the support of literally hundreds of state legislatures, city councils, and town meetings. More recently, more than eighty communities have declared themselves "nuclear free," essentially zoning out activities connected with the development and production of nuclear weapons. And now an organization has just coalesced to push all of these initiatives further: Local Elected Officials (LEO—See Box)

LEO is now in the process of arranging several national meetings among leaders of local government, business, and labor to discuss several model ordinances on possible local government initiatives. One such ordinance seeks to funnel a small fraction of federal revenue sharing money to a local commission that would prepare community conversion plans.

These initiatives only begin to suggest the possibilities for local involvement in foreign affairs. In the future, local governments might begin to:

- produce and disseminate "world order" educational materials, as Oregon is now doing;
- produce and disseminate original foreign policy research, as the University of California is doing through its Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation;
- establish semi-official diplomatic ties with other nations and their communities, as the mayors of Berkeley, Burlington, and Minneapolis have begun doing;
- launch trade boycotts against disfavored nations, as the Port of Oakland is now doing with regard to South African goods;
- ship food, tools, or credit to friends of the community abroad, as Boulder has done in Central America; and,
- finance a small corps of individuals to lobby decision-makers in Congress and the United Nations on foreign affairs issues important to the community.

This last agenda item might be a particularly powerful technique for localities to gain influence over foreign policy. If the several hundred American pro-freeze towns had also funded lobbyists, putting their money where their mouths were, thousands of lobbyists could have

descended upon Washington, D.C. for critical military policy votes—with profound political impact. Localities could apply this tactic to any initiative aimed at building stronger international coalitions, parties and institutions.

Future Directions

While local foreign policy activities might begin in a rather *ad hoc* way, in time, a community might find it expedient to put them all under one roof, in what might be called a "municipal state department." Establishing these institutions requires only that a community decide that foreign affairs—and preventing nuclear war—is at least as important as street repairs, recreation, libraries, parks, or the arts.

A community might also directly elect the head of its municipal state department. Elections, after all, would attract media attention and encourage grassroots involvement. They also would encourage the public to choose among competing world order agendas through debates, op-eds, speeches, and pamphlets, all of which contribute to voter education.



Threatened nation-state leaders may then lash out at municipal activism by trying to pass new restrictive laws, but in open, democratic societies, these efforts would probably not get very far. New laws outlawing certain transnational exchanges of money, ideas, messages, and people would be either loose enough to be evaded, or so stringent that they would strangle treasured democratic principles. Neither course seems appealing or likely.

By themselves, municipal state departments can only have a minor impact on building a disarmed world order. But once they start forming networks among

themselves, through both informal coalitions and formal political parties, their power might grow exponentially. In the same manner in which leagues of municipal representatives such as the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors have pooled resources to exert stronger lobbying pressures on the national politicians (e.g., for more federal revenue sharing), a powerful international league of municipal diplomats might also coalesce to lobby both national and international politicians.

Imagine a well publicized meeting of a thousand international mayors bringing back home an annual world order action agenda. As the numbers of representatives attending this conference grew, annual conferences could beget an ongoing, formal institution. In time, a network of subnational representatives might look more and more like the United Nations, only the members would be elected local leaders (aligned in several different international political parties) instead of national leaders' appointees, and their votes would carry equal weight instead of giving the five most powerful members a special veto.

Predicting the precise structure of such an institution is premature, but whatever its ultimate complexion, the early steps of municipalities thrusting themselves into foreign affairs and coordinating their activities across national borders would launch what political scientist Chadwick Alger has called "a revolution, in thinking and practice, about relations among the diverse polities of the world..."

What is most significant about the ideas proposed here is that they give those concerned about the nuclear threat a concrete, realistic task for tomorrow. We no longer need to despair that disarmament is hopeless and that we as individuals can do nothing to make it possible. We can now join hands with our neighbors to harness our local governments, and once empowered with local legitimacy and funding, we can join with other local governments throughout the world to create unprecedented international coalitions, parties, and institutions for disarmament. The power to transform nuclear anarchy into disarmament is within our grasp. It will come neither quickly nor easily, but if we dedicate ourselves never to veer from it, our time will come. We need only open our minds, commit our lives, and dare to begin. ■

Profiles in Diplomacy

GALE WARNER

Physician to the World, Dr. Bernard Lown

Half a world away, hundreds of people are staring at each other as if they were children on their first visit to the zoo. Here are creatures they had never seen before, except in books, magazines, and newspapers. Through the technical wizardry of satellite telecommunication and large video screens, two audiences, one American and one Soviet, are now finally together, face to face. For many of the people jammed into the two auditoriums, it is their first opportunity to look the "enemy" straight in the eye. Many seemed surprised to discover how much the members of the "other side" looked like themselves—that they, too, breathe, smile, chat, and wave. So this is what our threats of global nuclear incineration are all about?

Though it is 7:30 in the morning in Moscow, the Russians are dressed up in their best evening clothes. The Americans, too, are impeccably clad after having paid fifteen dollars each to attend this event at Moscone Center at 8:30 in the evening. The occasion for these gatherings is a dramatic simultaneous ceremony in both San Francisco and Moscow. The Creative Initiative Foundation, an organization of several thousand successful professionals dedicated to reversing the arms race, is presenting its 1984 "Beyond War Award" to Drs. Ber-

"Profiles in Diplomacy" is a new, regular feature of The CID Report describing the personal stories of individuals who have undertaken noteworthy diplomatic initiatives. The following piece is an abridged version of a chapter in a forthcoming CID book entitled The New Diplomats written by Gale Warner, a freelance writer now living in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

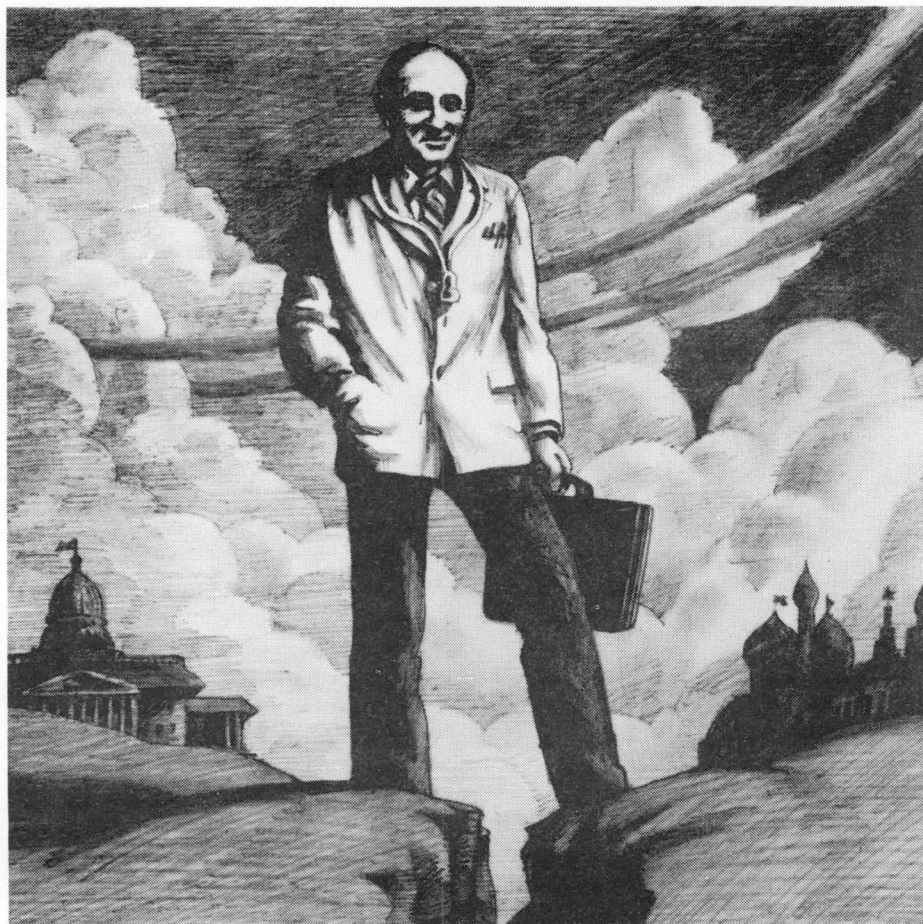
nard Lown and Evgueni Chazov, co-founders and co-presidents of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). They are honoring Lown and Chazov for their role in having put together a coalition of 130,000 doctors in 53 countries that has literally revolutionized public perceptions about the unsurvivability of a nuclear war.

In the midst of thunderous applause resounding from both audiences, Dr. Bernard Lown walks onto the stage. For Lown, this moment is the culmination of nearly twenty years of reaching out to the Soviet Union and carefully building friendship and trust. Few in either auditorium could realize that what distinguishes the bond between Dr. Lown and Dr. Chazov is not a placid, trouble-free history but rather an ability to weather difficulties, to handle deftly issues which have stymied national leaders, and to work out compromises for the sake of a shared vision. Perhaps Lown himself, as he paused before the microphone and cleared his throat, reflected on the long, arduous road that made this all possible.

Prescription for an Unhealthy Patient

Bernard Lown is a cardiologist at Harvard's School of Public Health who thinks of the world as his patient. With its worsening nuclear arms race, he believes, the world has a serious illness and must face up to the necessary prescription: thaw out the Cold War and get rid of nuclear weapons.

"Scratch any American," says Dr. Lown, "and his response whether he's a professor at Harvard or a truck driver is always the same on the Russian question, and that is *shocking* to me. . . They will tell you that the Russians are dangerous, they're out to take over the world, you cannot trust a Russian, they have a terrible government, they're living like pigs, they have nothing, they've achieved nothing. Everybody responds the same. And that tells me another thing: we have become conditioned by a massive process of propaganda. . . What have we done for thousands of years when confronted by an enemy? Reason? Tried to work out the conflict amiably? No, we



CHRIS HANSEN

picked up a rock. Nowadays we pick up a missile."

"We must have reciprocating initiatives compelled by people power and people's understanding," he says. "The moment one side takes a measure then enormous public opinion concentrates on the other side to compel them to do the same. And if the world is kept in suspense wondering what the next step will be, you create suddenly public involvement in a process. Negotiations then occur of agreements in place. You bring in the experts at the end, not the beginning, to obfuscate the matter like medieval scholars with their trivial esoterica."

Lown is fully aware that for the treatment to work, the patient must be fully convinced that this course is the only viable one. The role of the physicians' movement, therefore, is to create this climate of world opinion by making clear just how dreadful a nuclear war would be and thereby goad citizens into taking action. "We have to develop people's diplomacy and a people's dialogue to negotiate a deeper understanding of one

Citizen diplomacy expresses a massive popular frustration with government. Its aim was once to defend us. Now it's turned in another direction.

another. . . As doctors we actuate our patients to comply with prescriptions, and change a lifestyle in order to make it congruent with good health. And we must do it here. We must develop a dialogue with the Soviets, and thereby diminish the fear and paranoia. . . that fuels this engine of death."

"Citizen diplomacy," according to Lown, "expresses a massive popular frustration with government. Government is now holding us hostage for our lives. Its aim was once to defend us, but now it's turning in another direction. This attempt at popular diplomacy is. . . a desperate shriek of humanity aiming for survival."



Dr. Bernard Lown and Dr. Evgueni Chazov

Early Activism: The Founding of PSR

Lown is well qualified for his role as the world's physician. "World-famous" is a term that tends to be used rather loosely in medical circles, particularly in Boston, which considers itself to medicine what 19th century Paris considered itself to art. But in Lown's case the appellation appears deserved. He has lectured on cardiovascular disease throughout the world. His papers are translated into a dozen languages. His development of the "direct-current defibrillator" made his tiny laboratory a worldwide center for heart patients. The only continent without a former Lown Fellow is Antarctica.

Dr. Lown's journey to such prominence is a classic story of triumph over adversity. As a Jewish applicant to Harvard Medical School in the late 1930s, he was rejected and told by the admissions dean the school had "already met our quota of, er, people like you." Lown enrolled instead at Johns Hopkins. There he was kicked out for giving "colored" blood to white patients. His student group, however, created a ruckus and took his case to the White House; after the government intervened with Johns Hopkins authorities, he was reinstated.

After a long job search, complicated by his refusal to admit his and others' membership in various student organiza-

tions deemed "subversive," he finally landed a position at Harvard's Brigham Hospital and this led to a faculty position at the School of Public Health, where he has distinguished himself ever since.

Lown traces the beginnings of his activism on nuclear issues to a speech given by Nobel-prize-winner Philip Noel-Baker in Cambridge in 1960. Lown and two physician friends, Sidney Alexander and Roy Menninger, were deeply affected by Noel-Baker's suggestion that doctors ought to play a special role in publicizing the health costs of atmospheric testing. The three physicians called a meeting of other prominent Cambridge doctors in Lown's living room and formed a new organization—Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR). Through Lown's leadership, PSR became a leading proponent of what ultimately became the Limited Test Ban Treaty in August 1963. After this Treaty was signed, however, PSR's members drifted to other issues and the organization went dormant.

Leaping the Iron Curtain

Lown met Evgueni Chazov at a cardiology conference in New Delhi, India in 1965. The two young cardiologists had many similar interests and liked each other from the start. But they did not meet again until June 1968, when Lown traveled to the Soviet Union as a special

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BERNARD LOWN

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guest lecturer at the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences. Frustrated by his inability to drum up much enthusiasm for his special interest—sudden cardiac death—in American medical circles, he decided that if he could get the Russians keenly interested in the issue, Americans would suddenly decide they were as well.

In 1968, the Soviets barely nibbled, but by 1972, they decided that cardiac sudden death was a major problem and summoned Lown for help. It was the heyday of detente, and a cooperative American-Soviet study was undertaken with Lown and Chazov chosen as co-directors. The study lasted for eight years and helped cement between both men a close personal and professional relationship. But one subject was never discussed—the threat of nuclear war.

In 1978, as detente began to unravel, Lown and several other Harvard doctors began discussing the possibility of setting up some sort of Soviet-American physicians' group to discuss the arms race. In February of 1979, Lown wrote a letter to Chazov on the subject, but he received no reply. "I was very perturbed," he admits, "but what went through my mind was that I was not going to give up easily, that if I was rebuffed I'll come back for more punishment..."

Then a chance meeting with a visiting Soviet physician in Boston broke the ice. "I asked her, 'Where do you come from?' and she said, 'I'm the head of rehabilitation medicine in the Soviet Union.' I said, 'You are? Where do you work?' and she said, 'With Dr. Chazov.'" Lown seized the moment, invited the woman for Sunday brunch at his house, and placed a letter in her hand for personal delivery. By December 1979, Lown received the positive response from Chazov he had been looking for, endorsing the goal of putting together a conference and organization of American and Soviet physicians.

Meanwhile, PSR was enjoying a veritable renaissance. A symposium at Cambridge on the medical consequences of nuclear war, which was expected to draw only 100 physicians and other health workers, wound up attracting 700. Money was collected there to pay for a full page open letter in *The New York Times*—to Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev.

In response to the ad, the Soviet ambassador to the United States, Anatoly Dobrynin, called a meeting with the PSR leaders to deliver Brezhnev's personal response: The idea of a joint Soviet-American conference of physicians to discuss nuclear war had received high-level approval. Dobrynin expressed caution, however, about the Soviets issuing a direct invitation, fearing that the ensuing conference would be labeled "Soviet-inspired." The PSR leaders mentioned to Dobrynin that Dr. Lown happened to be in London and could possibly travel to Moscow.

Bucking all the rules of official protocol, Lown and his wife received Soviet visas in two days. After Chazov picked them up at the airport, Lown unleashed his considerable powers of persuasion. Although Chazov had given the idea of a Soviet-American physicians' effort his blessing, he was still reluctant to become personally involved. So Lown began talking about "the nitty-gritty of what a nuclear bomb does. . . . He was really shaken up by that. . . . Then I talked about the moralistic tradition in medicine, how the morality of physicians compels them to get involved. . . . And then I talked of a third area, of Soviet suffering, of how deeply the anti-war tradition is immersed in their souls..."

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the sun is shining
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[are accused of]
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position.*

Chazov was moved: "I told my whole family about the idea and about Dr. Lown, and they all told me, 'You should be involved in this. You have already a grandchild.' The next day, I met with Dr. Lown and I told him I was ready to work."

They met for five hours straight the next day and set down the group's guiding principles: political neutrality and limitation to the single issue of the medical consequences of nuclear war. The enemy would not be East or West,

but a third party—the weapons themselves.

IPPNW Inaugurated

The first Congress of the IPPNW was held at the Airlie House Convention Center in Washington, D.C. in March 1981. To attract the American media, Lown suggested to Chazov that they invite Georgy Arbatov, a key Soviet official, to speak at one of the plenary sessions with Harvard's George Kistiakowsky and Stanford's Wolfgang Panofsky. This was a double-edged blessing, however, as Arbatov's presence also might give skeptics within the press a handle on which to cast doubts on the "apolitical" nature of IPPNW. Lown himself was a little nervous, and when he met the Soviets at the airport, he took Chazov aside, asking him to please emphasize to Arbatov the importance of not using this opportunity to criticize the United States. Apparently Chazov did so; at lunch, before speaking, Arbatov leaned over to Lown and said, "Bernard, you're a nice fellow. Don't you worry, I'm your guest, I won't do anything to embarrass you." And he kept his word. The only fodder he provided to those anxious to report on any hints of pro-Sovietism was a quip he doubtless could not resist: "Doctors of the world, unite!"

The Airlie House congress, which attracted 73 physicians from 13 countries, was given wide and generally favorable media coverage. But some editorial commentators accused the doctors of something just short of treason. As Dr. Jim Muller put it, "We have always faced the problem that if the Russians say the sun is shining, and we say the sun is shining, then we are fitting the Soviet position." Lown considers this kind of primitive logic a symptom of the disease IPPNW is fighting: "We should be happy that the Russian government is taking the position of supporting the nuclear weapons freeze, the no first use policy, the test ban. Can the Russian doctors only gain credibility by disagreeing with their government? If the American government favored these things, wouldn't we want to support its position?"

A second congress was held in Cambridge, England in March 1982, attended by more than 170 delegates from 31 countries. The delegates approved a call for a nuclear freeze and a declaration that there could be no civil defense during a nuclear attack. The movement was growing and

broadening and becoming more specific. In December 1982 more than 1,500 Soviet health workers assembled for the first conference of the Soviet national physicians' group.

Uncensored Soviet Prime Time

Press coverage of the second congress, however, had not been as extensive as that of the first, and IPPNW leaders began to wonder what they could do to capture world attention again. The U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union had made light of the Soviets' extensive newspaper coverage of the first two congresses, saying that "you haven't gone on television, and until you do that you haven't made an impact." This set off Lown's thinking, and during a meeting in the spring of 1982 with Dobrynin, Lown brought up the idea of a roundtable discussion by Soviet and American physicians to discuss medical aspects of nuclear war on Soviet television. "Why not?" said Dobrynin.

The Americans insisted that the show not be edited, cut, or censored in any way, that it be allowed to air on prime time without comment, and that the American press be allowed to witness the taping. Once again, Lown showed a

We and the Soviet people have a linked human destiny. Nuclear weapons are our shared mortal enemy. We either live together or die together, and there is no other alternative.

brilliance for taking risks at just the right moment. A delicate point of contention at the second congress had been the issue of civil defense, since IPPNW's declaration was at odds with both Soviet and American shelter and evacuation programs. The subject was clearly a touchy one, and Lown puzzled over whether to bring it up during the television show. Midway through taping, he made his

decision. Lown dismissed the effectiveness of shelter and evacuation programs, saying "we physicians have concluded that the only remedy is prevention, not civil defense measures, and it's time we said so openly." Two days later, more than 100 million Soviets viewed the program; demand was so great that it was aired again.

From that moment, IPPNW experienced astronomical growth. It held its third congress in the Netherlands in June 1983 and received warm messages of support from Ronald Reagan, Yuri Andropov, U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, and Pope John Paul II.

Following that congress, the IPPNW began collecting signatures to an "International Physicians Call for an End to the Nuclear Arms Race" and, in less than a year, it had gathered more than one million signatures of physicians from 83 countries—more than 25% of the physicians in the world. At the fourth congress, held in Helsinki in June 1984, more than 400 physicians from 53 nations approved adding the following words to the Hippocratic oath: "As a physician of the twentieth century, it is my duty to warn my patients of the dangers of nuclear war and work for its prevention." The movement Drs. Lown and Chazov had begun that evening in Moscow was reaching proportions neither had ever dreamed possible.

Dialogue Between Colleagues

With thousands of Americans and Soviets looking on, Dr. Lown finally begins speaking. "On behalf of more than one hundred thousand physicians worldwide, who are actively engaged in struggling against the nuclear peril, I accept with gratitude and humility this extraordinary award. Through the nearly magical advances of science we are able to traverse a great distance in seconds. But," he says, eyeing both audiences purposefully, "we must honestly confront the bitter fact that the misapplication of science and technology has brought us microseconds away from unparalleled disaster."

"The most important contribution of the physicians' movement," Dr. Lown says, "is the free-flowing dialogue that has



Lown and Chazov preparing for TV broadcast.

been promoted between colleagues of the two contending power blocs." He now waves his hand for emphasis. "We and the Soviet people have a linked human destiny. Nuclear weapons are our shared mortal enemy. We either live together or die together, and there is no other alternative." Both audiences interrupt him with roaring applause—applause through which each audience is signalling its solidarity with the other.

Dr. Evgueni Chazov steps to the microphone in Moscow. "I, like Dr. Lown, am a cardiologist, and every day we listen to the beating of the hearts of our countrymen." He maneuvers the microphone to his chest and exhorts, "This is the sound of the heart of a healthy Russian." The familiar lub-dub is broadcast to both audiences. "And this is the sound of a healthy American heart." The lub-dubbing continues unchanged. "You can hear they sound exactly alike. You can hear their desire for love, for well-being. All of this is can only occur, however, when on our planet we have peace, and this is why we physicians, by virtue of our Hippocratic oath, are called upon to protect the life and health of our patients and our peoples. Either we will live together on our beautiful planet, or we will die together in the flames of nuclear war."

The crowd's fervor approaches undiluted hero-worship for these two men. In the giddy atmosphere of the simulcast, it all seems so easy and effortless. Tears flow on both sides as the audiences join in singing before waving good-bye. More than a few gulp as the screens go black and the vision disappears. ■

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.

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 non-nuclear 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 warning of the environmental and nuclear dangers facing the earth and prescribing new strategies for reversing these threats. Includes complete list of 20 Nobel Laureate signatories as well as those of over 200 leaders of environmental, arms control, and disarmament groups.

The logo for the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID) features the letters "CID" in a bold, serif font, centered within a rectangular border.

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