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## Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy

### Title

Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy - Winter 1986-1987

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4m83g304>

### Journal

Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy, 1(1)

### Author

Center for Innovative Diplomacy

### Publication Date

1986

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BULLETIN OF

# Municipal Foreign Policy

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CITY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND GLOBAL POLITICS · WINTER 1986-1987 · VOL. 1, NO. 1

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## A MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to the premiere issue of The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy, the first quarterly dedicated exclusively to tracking, analyzing, and stimulating the growing movement of cities in international affairs. The Bulletin is designed to be a tool for citizens and local officials alike who are trying to "think globally and act locally." It has grown out of the work of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID), which has been seeking to prevent nuclear and conventional war by increasing citizen participation in foreign policy.

In 1982, CID began looking at how citizens might work through their local governments to influence international affairs. Over the next few years, we were surprised to discover the enormous number of ways cities are already doing so. To give just three examples:

- \* More than 800 local governments passed a nuclear freeze resolution and helped pressure Ronald Reagan -- the only modern U.S. president to enter office on a platform condemning arms control -- to launch the START negotiations in Geneva.
- \* By refusing to cooperate with the Federal Emergency Management Agency's "crisis relocation planning," more than 120 cities helped put its civil defense program to pasture.
- \* And by divesting over 20 billion dollars in assets out of firms doing business in South Africa, more than 70 cities (and 19 states) pressured Congress to end "constructive engagement," pass serious economic sanctions, and override a presidential veto.

The prevailing attitude among most international relations scholars, reporters, and practitioners -- as well as among most citizens and locally elected officials -- is that municipal foreign policies are mostly "symbolic" and "unconstitutional" acts undertaken by a very few "radical" cities. Our four years of research have shown, however, that literally thousands of American cities of all political stripes are participating in international affairs through such concrete methods as education, research, lobbying, selective investment and purchasing, tourism, and trade.

This research is now culminating in an article entitled "Local Foreign Policies" that has just been published in Foreign Policy (Winter 1986-87 issue) and a forthcoming handbook entitled "Building Municipal Foreign Policies."

Our work thus far has revealed what an exciting, fast-growing field municipal foreign policy-making is. But we also realize we have been able to do no better than provide a snapshot of a field that deserves an ongoing monitor. That's why we have started The Bulletin.

We hope that The Bulletin will not only provide valuable

information but also will stimulate more ambitious and creative foreign policies in local governments throughout the world. Most cities are launching foreign policy initiatives with only a vague familiarity of what's going on down the road, let alone 1,000 or 10,000 miles away. The Bulletin aims to bridge this gap.

The Bulletin deliberately defines "foreign policy" broadly. It intends to show the increasingly inseparable nature of local and global affairs. It will document how thousands of cities, acting out of both local and global concerns, are participating in such policy areas as South Africa relations, the arms race, human rights, immigration, and trade.

We mean "foreign policy" to refer not only to events taking place between the United States and other nations but also to locally-oriented developments intimately related to international affairs. Thus, for example, while many nuclear free zone ordinances are written exclusively to protect local health and safety, most -- if not all -- further aim to stigmatize nuclear weapons and promote global disarmament.

The Bulletin also defines "municipal" broadly. We are interested in the activities of any locally-based political bodies, including towns and school districts. We also intend to describe innovative policies taking place at the county and state level.

The Bulletin will report on major articles, speeches, and events in three areas:

- \* General News will cover those items seeking to define, promote, or criticize municipal foreign policies -- their rationale, scope, effectiveness, and legality.
- \* Local Actions will describe the wide variety of particular policies being undertaken.
- \* And Resources will detail the organizations, journals, books, and media related to municipal foreign policies.

Since this issue is introductory, we have prepared short overviews to both the "general news" and "local actions" sections.

To present the most diversified, interesting, and accurate information, we ask for your help. Please send us any interesting items on what your city is doing. No need for elaborate cover letters or notes. Just put them in an envelope and send them to:

The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policies  
The Center for Innovative Diplomacy  
17931 Sky Park Circle, Suite F  
Irvine, CA 92714

The more local articles, ordinances, booklets, or photographs you can send, the more information we can share with others. And if you feel inspired to write an article about the field, we would be delighted to review it for publication.

## I. GENERAL

### WHY CITIES ARE ENTERING INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: AN OVERVIEW

Despite regular accusations that municipal involvement in international affairs is merely "meddling," a growing number of citizens and local officials believe that local governments should involve themselves in foreign policy-making to serve at least five kinds of local needs:

(1) Border Coordination -- The clearest examples of municipalities protecting their interests through foreign relations can be found in American cities managing borders with Canada and Mexico on such issues of water rights, power wheeling, drug enforcement, and bridge and road maintenance. Without local management of these complex border issues, the movement of people and goods across borders would be slower and more expensive, and problems such as illegal immigration and drug traffic would be even worse than they are today. While few American communities are border towns per se, many are still strongly affected by Mexican and Canadian policies. Cities throughout California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas are very interested in U.S.-Mexican immigration policies, and cities throughout the Northeast are concerned with U.S.-Canadian acid rain policies.

(2) Reduce Local Costs of Global Problems -- A second, related reason why municipalities have launched foreign policies is to protect their citizens from costly global problems, especially warfare. Cities have come to realize that, in as much as it is their people and property being held hostage for national security, it is also their civic responsibility to ensure that war, especially nuclear war, never happens.

For American cities, a compelling reminder of their stake in global conflict resolution is the economic impact of the more than three hundred billion dollars now being drained each year from domestic programs into military spending. Many cities see that, dollar for dollar, money axed from programs like General Revenue Sharing and Community Development Block Grants is being put into MX missiles and "Star Wars" research. What's more, cities are beginning to believe that high levels of military spending are associated with high unemployment, poor levels of economic growth, high inflation, and regressive wealth redistribution -- impacts that are felt first and foremost in America's cities.

(3) Maximize Local Benefits from Global Opportunities -- A third reason municipalities have involved themselves in foreign affairs, typified by San Francisco's trade agreement with Shanghai in China, is to bring money and jobs into the community. The rationale was perhaps best expressed by an invitation to a 1983 National League of Cities (NLC) meeting: "Can your city afford to continue ignoring the rest of the world? Not if your economy is going to grow...Maybe it's time to expand your city's horizons." That same year, the NLC published a booklet that

argued:

[T]hat 20 percent of all U.S. jobs today are related to export production, a figure that is growing daily, is a reflection of [increasing] international interdependence. Equally significant is the fact that in 1982, a bad year for tourism, nearly 22 million foreign visitors came to the U.S. and spent nearly \$14 billion, and foreign investment in the U.S. during the same period approached \$60 billion....[W]orld trade offers great local economic potential and will become an increasingly important element in the economic health of cities.

Some of the benefits local governments are seeking in foreign affairs are cultural, not economic (though cultural ties often beget economic ties).

(4) Invigorate Civic Affairs -- A fourth reason why local governments have entered foreign affairs is to invigorate civic affairs. As local officials face empty city chambers, they are painfully aware of Americans' declining interest in municipal government. One recent study of nine western democracies revealed, however, that participation rates were higher where "local politics [was] intertwined with national politics." Following this pattern, many U.S. municipalities have discovered that discussion of international issues can breathe new life into council meetings and civic affairs.

(5) Uphold International Norms and Laws -- While most local governments have entered international affairs for the same realpolitik reasons nations have, there's a fifth, more idealistic reason municipalities have gotten involved. Many have embraced the Nuremberg principle that "the fact that a person acted pursuant to order of his Government or of a superior does not relieve him from responsibility under international law" and believe that they have a duty to adhere to international norms and laws. Cities and states have divested their pension funds and surplus revenues from firms doing business in South Africa despite concerns about getting lower rates of return.

Moral dimensions frequently have been raised by local interest groups with close ties to oppressed groups abroad. Leadership roles have been played by blacks in the fight against apartheid, by Hispanics in challenges to INS policies, and by Jews in protests against Soviet human rights policies.

In sum, even though many have regarded municipal foreign policies as improperly usurping national power, a growing number of cities regard them as properly bolstering community interests and satisfying community pressure groups. To these local governments, their actions are a reasonable response to a world in which international affairs are increasingly inseparable from daily municipal life. Not to act, they believe, would be irresponsible.

## MAYOR TOM BRADLEY URGES CITIES TO ENTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS

On 10 December 1985, during the 1985 Congress of the National League of Cities in Seattle, Mayor Tom Bradley delivered the keynote address detailing the rationales underlying the foreign policies launched by his city:

"I submit to you that cities have the right -- indeed, even the obligation -- to be a part of the great national debate in these weighty issues. From foreign trade policies to opposing South African apartheid, from immigration policies to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

### The Principles

"The right of cities to be heard on these crucial issues derives from two fundamental principles.

"First, local government is closest to the people. In fact, one of the few ways citizens can register their dissent is through locally elected representatives....

"Sometimes, as with the nuclear arms race, our actions may be limited to largely symbolic steps. Other times, as with anti-apartheid initiatives and trade policy, cities have the opportunity to take meaningful, substantive steps. In all cases, though, the involvement of cities serves one essential function: our leaders are put on notice that they may have overstepped the limits of public tolerance.

"[Second,] many of our national policies are felt first -- and in the end most profoundly -- in America's cities. This is not surprising. Modern American cities are the engines that drive this nation's economy. Moreover, our cities are lightning rods for the frustration and despair that are borne of ill-conceived national policies. As key social and economic centers, then, cities have no choice but to assume a larger role in the debate over great national issues.

### Divestment from South Africa

"As America's second largest city, Los Angeles has come face-to-face with many of these weighty national questions. Throughout the past year, for example, Los Angeles and many other American cities have played a crucial role in the debate over our nation's policy toward South Africa's vicious apartheid regime. One year ago today, no one would have dared predict that the administration's policy toward South Africa would undergo dramatic and progressive changes. Yet this is exactly what has happened. And I firmly believe that the grassroots protests -- begun outside South Africa's embassy and culminating in the wide-ranging sanctions adopted by cities and states, and finally, by the House of Representatives and the United States Senate -- are in no small part responsible for this long-overdue shift in America's policy toward South Africa....

"America's disenfranchised minorities cannot trust their leaders' promises of racial and economic justice if these same leaders are allied with the racial supremacists in South Africa.



This distrust will be concentrated in our cities, and it might translate into the despair that breeds crime, or into the anger that heightens racial violence. By taking an unyielding stand against apartheid, America's cities have made an important gesture toward peace and justice at home.

### Sanctuary for Illegal Immigrants

"Immigration policy is another issue that some think of as an exclusively federal concern. Yet, in Los Angeles -- and in many other cities -- our ability to ensure peace and justice at home is being sorely tested by our national immigration policies.

"Thousands of people from the war-torn countries of Central America have taken refuge in Los Angeles. Many of these refugees are living in Los Angeles in violation of federal law. In too many cases, they are also living lives of poverty, fear and desperation. And the city has an obligation to provide all of its inhabitants with fire, police and other essential services.

"The city of Los Angeles is now on that course -- along with a growing number of other cities. To encourage refugees to report crimes and health hazards to the city, Los Angeles city employees do not provide federal authorities with information regarding the immigration status of undocumented aliens who are otherwise law-abiding citizens. At the same time, we are beginning to participate in the vital national discussion over America's immigration policies.

"Los Angeles is also home to immigrants from nearly every country in the world, making our city a living library of contemporary civilization. By advocating ratification of the United Nations Genocide Convention, the city of Los Angeles has spoken out on behalf of our citizens who have been brutalized by genocide in the twentieth century...

### Trade Policy

"Although social issues get most of the attention, the involvement of cities in setting this nation's economic course is no less important. For far too long, local officials have been edged out of economic policy-making. Yet our great urban centers are the cornerstones of America's economy. And economic policies that destroy jobs and hope are felt most acutely in our inner cities.

"Nowhere is local participation more important than in the area of trade policy. I recently returned from a trade mission to Japan....My meetings with Japanese officials -- including the prime minister and leading trade ministers -- convinced me beyond any doubt that cities must play an essential role in fostering free and fair international trade.

"There can be no doubt that the economies of cities across the country depend on a growing and vibrant international marketplace. In the Los Angeles area, for example, over 600,000 jobs depend directly on international trade. And as trade grows with the emerging nations of the Pacific rim, hundreds of thousands of additional jobs could be created. In a real sense, international trade is the lifeblood of Los Angeles -- and of

many other cities.

"Cities have great reason to be alarmed by the wave of protectionist legislation now hitting Congress. During my meetings with top Japanese officials, I stressed the need for Japan to open its markets and remove trade barriers. And we are beginning to see progress....

"Cities also have much to bring to the process of setting trade policy. The Japanese, for example, depend on long-standing personal relationships when they do business. Too few Americans understand this key fact. Fortunately, many city leaders have established these personal relationships over the years through trade missions and through President Eisenhower's Sister Cities program. Such first-hand knowledge and person-to-person relationships should be shared with national officials responsible for trade policy. Perhaps there should be an institutional body on the federal level to encourage such local participation.

"Just as importantly, cities can help forge coalitions of business, labor and government to fight for free and fair trade. These coalitions can urge our national leaders to be just as tough at the bargaining table with our trading partners as we were in Geneva with the Soviets....

#### "All of the Vigor and Imagination We Can Muster"

"Democracy works best when the widest possible spectrum of interests participate. That is why the involvement of cities in the debate over key national issues can only strengthen our democracy. But most of all, by giving a voice to millions of citizens to make their views known through local politics, cities can enfranchise many who might otherwise never be heard. There can be no better reason for cities to participate with all of the vigor and imagination we can muster."

SOURCE: Ali Webb, Los Angeles City Hall, Room 305  
Los Angeles, CA 90012 (213-485-5182).

#### WALL STREET JOURNAL BLASTS MUNICIPAL ACTIVISM

In a recent op-ed article in The Wall Street Journal (24 September 1986, p. 28), Peter Spiro, an editor at the Virginia Law Review and an intern at the State Department's Office of the Legal Advisor, advised readers to "Get States and Cities off Foreign-Policy Stage." This was an abridged version of his Virginia Law Review article entitled "State and Local Anti-South Africa Action as an Intrusion upon the Federal Power in Foreign Affairs" (Vol. 72, 1986, pp. 813-50).

#### The Disturbing Growth of Municipal Divestment Measures

"A wave of state and local boycotts and divestiture actions directed against the white regime in Pretoria," writes Spiro, "has meant that much of U.S. policy on South Africa has evolved

outside Washington. On this issue mayors, county executives and governors have been elevated to virtual equality with U.S. national legislators and administration officials; never before has the action of these nonfederal authorities loomed so large in shaping a foreign-policy issue.

"The phenomenon is a disturbing one, with serious implications not only for the development of a national strategy to help dismantle apartheid but also for the making of U.S. foreign policy in general. Congress and the courts should move against it while it remains largely restricted to the South Africa question. Allowed to act untrammled for the time being, cities and states may grow accustomed to their new-found role and resort to it more frequently on a broader range of issues.

"Congress has not been blind to the problem. Sen. Richard Lugar (R., Ind.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and author of the latest sanctions bill, has made clear in floor debate that his proposal, if passed into law, would 'preempt' state and local measures by 'occupying the field' of South Africa policy. In other words, his legislation would render such measures inoperative. Uncontested, Sen. Lugar's statement would probably suffice to support a judicial scrapping of local anti-South Africa laws were they to face court challenge.

"While agreeing to the substance of the Lugar sanctions, the House of Representatives passed a non-binding rule in order to establish legislative intent that would allow state and local laws to stand up in court. Anti-apartheid representatives have also managed to pass riders to various appropriations measures excusing local governments with anti-apartheid laws from federal competitive-bidding requirements."

### The Unconstitutionality of Municipal Foreign Policies

"Sen. Lugar has the right idea on the question of pre-emption, but he states the case too softly. The scrapping of state and local anti-South Africa laws is not simply a matter of congressional intention. It is mandated by constitutional law, and the sooner someone takes Sen. Lugar's hint to the courts, the better."

Spiro then reviews various constitutional cases that suggest that foreign affairs must reside exclusively in the national government: "In invalidating state probate laws that, in practice, tended to disallow inheritance by citizens of East-bloc nations, the [Supreme Court] extended these clear dictates with its 1968 opinion in Zschernig v. Miller so as to condemn any inquiry by local authorities into political conditions prevailing in foreign countries. Significantly, the local action considered in Zschernig was not in conflict with federal policy. The implication of the decision is that states may not under any circumstances jump into the foreign-policy arena. Although the court has indicated a willingness to protect state action in the marketplace from federal interference, such precedent has never been applied in a situation involving foreign relations. (Some states and cities have 'buy-American' laws on the books, but the courts have never conclusively ruled on their constitutionality.)

## The Need for Local Restraint

"In fact, it is in the long-term interest of local authorities to defer to Washington in the making of foreign policy -- even where it may impinge on decision traditionally left to their discretion. This is why -- to take an extreme and unlikely example -- the U.S. would not tolerate one state declaring war on another country, for all the states would suffer the consequences of such a brazen act. More plausibly -- and closer to the South Africa example -- if car-producing Michigan decided that it would no longer invest in or make purchases from Japanese corporations or their subsidiaries, Japan might strike back by limiting textile imports from the U.S. North Carolina would be hurt as a result of Michigan's parochialism, and yet it would have little recourse in Washington...

"If a majority of Americans want disinvestment from South Africa, or action on any other matter of foreign policy, then presumably that action can be taken through their elected representatives in Washington. Upholding this institutional necessity may take patience and restraint where the political process is slow to register electoral opinion, but it is infinitely preferable to allowing mayors and governors to transcend their competence and assume the status of would-be secretaries of state. The U.S. has enough trouble developing one foreign policy; let us not thereby devolve to hundreds."

### MAYOR KOCH'S RESPONSE: WE NEED MORE ANTI-APARTHEID MEASURES

Reponding to Peter Spiro's article, New York Mayor Edward Koch argued in a letter in the October 13th issue of The Wall Street Journal that "state and local governments that have adopted anti-apartheid laws support a strong national policy that will send a clear message to Pretoria of America's opposition to apartheid. However, at the same time we assert our right to conduct our local affairs in a manner consistent with the prevailing moral views in our communities. Nothing in the Constitution requires Americans, acting individually or collectively through the actions of their elected local government officials, to take actions that they regard as supportive of apartheid.

"[W]hen state and local governments act a consumers or investors rather than as regulators, they, like private consumers and investors, may consider the nature of companies' dealings in South Africa when selecting those with which they they wish to do business.

"The decision of the trustees of the New York City Employees' Retirement System to divest itself of assets of companies that do business with the South African police, military and prison system, and companies that do not follow the Sullivan Principles...is a decision not to continue to derive profits from corporate activity that benefits a morally abhorrent, racist system of government. The Constitution does not mandate that the city's pension systems invest in such

companies....

"In effect, Mr. Spiro is asking states and cities to do more than leave foreign-policy matters to the federal government; he is saying that we must ignore conditions in South Africa and do business as usual with those whose activities facilitate the perpetuation of apartheid. That is not what our constituents want to be done with their money, nor is it what the Constitution requires. It is to be hoped that more state and local governments will adopt anti-apartheid measures."

#### BUSINESS PROFESSOR'S RESPONSE: LOCAL/FEDERAL OVERLAPS INEVITABLE

"Mr. Spiro's narrow and legalistic discussion," writes Georgetown Professor of International Business Diplomacy John M. Kline, in another letter in the October 13th The Wall Street Journal, "misses the fact that, since the mid-1970s, international forces have penetrated the domestic U.S. economy so deeply that they overlap traditional and legitimate state economic powers.

"States promote exports and foreign investment in the U.S.; they aid adjustment to import dislocation and immigration resettlement. Numerous cross-border negotiations and programs with Canada and Mexico involve states, by definition, in foreign affairs. Often encouraged by the national government, these activities give states a direct stake in foreign-policy matters and a potential influence on them.

"Mr. Spiro's call for new moves by the courts or Congress to prevent states from causing the national government any foreign-policy headaches risks impairing many beneficial state activities. Instead, we should improve federal coordination and responsiveness on issues where domestic and foreign-policy concerns are intertwined.

"One could try to prohibit state actions in foreign affairs only if they conflict with national foreign policy, if one can determine what that policy is."

#### CID'S RESPONSE: CITY POLICIES UNSTOPPABLE

In an unpublished letter-to-the-editor to The Wall Street Journal, we at the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID) offered further criticism of Peter Spiro's article:

"Even if Peter Spiro succeeds in getting courts to invalidate municipal and state divestment initiatives, the practical effect will be simultaneously ominous, messy, and meaningless.

- \* Ominous, because the federal government will suddenly have the power to dictate to local and state governments how to invest their money, a fundamental areas of local control.
- \* Messy, because investment houses and corporations will suddenly inherit a new cause of action against states and cities that choose not to invest in them -- a kind of

corporate affirmative action that will license courts to scrutinize every investment decision for any taint of foreign policy-making.

- \* And meaningless, because local and state governments will easily be able to achieve the same goals through other, still legal means. They might put their pension funds directly in the hands of municipal employees unions that could then selectively invest. They might enumerate positive investment criteria ("we shall invest only in companies that promote racial equality" or "we shall invest only in companies that promote local economic welfare") that still result in South African divestment. Or they might set up anti-apartheid lobbying committees that pressure national politicians to reverse their policies on both South Africa and divestment.

Fortunately, "the scrapping of state and local anti-South Africa laws" Spiro advocates is not "mandated by constitutional law." In fact, in the 1983 case of White v. Massachusetts Council of Construction Employers, the Supreme Court upheld the right of states and localities to enter contracts with and invest in any entity they choose. While Spiro is correct that this precedent has "never been applied in a situation involving foreign relations," there is every reason to expect that it should be. The last thing that belongs in a market-oriented democracy is the government commanding its citizen and local governments on how to invest their money and with whom to enter contracts.

Spiro's argument that the 1968 case of Zschernig vs. Miller "condemn[s] any inquiry by local authorities into political conditions prevailing in foreign countries" is far too sweeping. Two Supreme Court cases immediately following Zschernig cut back on its broad language by upholding New York's and Montana's restrictive inheritance statutes, both of which were more intrusive than the Oregon statute struck in Zschernig. Moreover, in the nearly two decades since the Zschernig doctrine was first articulated, the Supreme Court has not once sought to clarify or expand it. What exactly Zschernig means, let alone whether it's still good law, is an open question.

Zschernig represented judicial activism at its worst. Columbia legal scholar Louis Henkin has written that the Constitution "provides little basis for the Court's doctrine." The new Rehnquist court should examine whether it really make sense for courts to invalidate municipal and state initiatives that the Congress and the President tolerate.

As international affairs get increasingly complex, the challenge is not how to quash municipal and state initiatives, as Spiro would have us do, but rather how to integrate them into national policy. The last thing an overworked State Department needs is direct supervision of 50 state governments' and 36,000 local governments' minutiae in international trade, investment, and cultural relations.

## EUROPEAN LEADERS URGE CITY ASSISTANCE TO THE THIRD WORLD

In the recently published booklet called Towns and Development (see page 37), various European leaders urged greater municipal involvement in Third World development.

Paul Van Tongeren, a policy planner for the Dutch National Committee for Information on Development Cooperation, wrote, "Development cooperation is no longer seen as an exclusive matter of national policy but also as a municipal task. Groups that are active in the field of development have much better access to the municipal apparatus and they can take advantage of that. The town Government and civil servants, on their part, can make a contribution as well, in two ways: giving assistance to a project overseas in the area of water supply, sanitation, town planning or what have you, and through activities within the municipality itself.

"In Amsterdam, you notice that interest groups that are concerned with museums, schools or juvenile welfare are looking for ways to incorporate the Third World angle in their service...."

What kind of approach does Van Tongeren recommend? "First of all, attention must be given to effectively informing the public within the municipality. Secondly the focus must be on supporting the project or partner in the Third World. And finally a municipality policy should be development vis-a-vis the Third World in general. If a town supports a project in a developing country, while, at the same time, it sends trade delegation to countries where human rights are being flagrantly violated, such as Iran or Pakistan -- I am referring to Rotterdam here -- then you've lost your credibility as a municipality."

The booklet also reprinted a World Food Day speech by Hans Koschnick, President of the International Union of Local Authorities and Mayor of the city of Bremen in West Germany, in which he underscored that "there is no Global 2000 without Local 2000."

"The gap between the rich and the poor countries is widening....An improvement of the living conditions of the most disadvantaged groups is impossible unless they participate in the planning and realization of relief actions that affect their living conditions. The local administrations have a special responsibility in this respect....They are more able than others to meet the individual needs and wishes of the citizens in their decision-making. Local administrations should be put into the best position to mobilize local resources...

## II. LOCAL ACTIONS

### WHAT CITIES ARE DOING: AN OVERVIEW

Economist Kenneth Boulding's first law -- "anything that exists is possible" -- suggests that the diversity and number of today's municipal foreign policies are an important harbinger of what may come tomorrow. True, not all, or even most, of America's 36,000 local governments have initiated foreign policies. But literally thousands are acting right now and thousands more have at least one council member pushing for greater municipal involvement.

In this section of The Bulletin, we shall report a wide variety of initiatives in all of the following categories:

- \* Education Measures -- Virtually every municipality has curricula concerning international affairs in its primary and secondary schools, its adult-education courses, and its museums and cultural centers. A smaller number of cities have sponsored public education of a more partisan variety. New York and Milwaukee high schools teach "peace studies" courses. San Francisco, Cambridge (Massachusetts), and Boulder (Colorado) have produced and disseminated pamphlets describing the effects of nuclear war and arguing for a nuclear freeze.
- \* Research Programs -- Some states like California and New Jersey, undaunted by the glacial progress of the National Peace Academy, have established their own peace research programs. Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, and Baltimore have passed ordinances requiring their staffs to prepare and publish annual reports on the economic impacts of military spending.
- \* Lobbying -- Virtually every local government supports either the lobbyists of the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors or its own lobbyists, all of whom invariably take stands on international affairs questions (New York City has lobbyists in Washington, D.C., and at the United Nations).
- \* Nonbinding Resolutions -- Many municipalities have sought to educate constituents, other citizens, and national politicians through nonbinding resolutions. Using these measures, San Francisco and Seattle have protested U.S. policy in Central America, Los Angeles has registered its concern on Soviet human rights policies, and Berkeley has condemned the U.S. invasion of Grenada, supported the fatal hunger strike of Irish Republican Army leader Bobby Sands, and urged a halt to U.S. support for aerial bombing in El Salvador.



- \* Policing Measures -- Using their police powers, New York State and New Jersey, in cooperation with the cities of New York and Newark, protested the Soviet shooting down of a Korean Air Lines (KAL) 747 jet by denying Soviet representatives at the United Nations access to local airports. More than a dozen state liquor commissions responded to the KAL incident by banning sales of Soviet vodka. The 22 cities (and two states) declaring themselves sanctuaries have instructed their police forces not to cooperate with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's efforts to round up and deport Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees.
  
- \* Selective Zoning -- More than 120 local jurisdictions used their zoning powers when they refused to cooperate with the Federal Emergency Management Agency's civil defense plans. More dramatically, 131 communities and counties have passed zoning ordinances banning nuclear weapons production within their city limits. Worldwide, more than 3,000 local governments in 24 countries have declared themselves nuclear free. More limited zoning measures have sought to effect the "economic conversion" of local military-related factories into nonmilitary enterprises; Cambridge, for example, has launched a project to encourage and assist military contractors to begin alternate use planning.
  
- \* Selective Investment and Contracting -- With more than \$300 billion in investments and \$500 billion in annual expenditures, state and local governments are beginning to awaken to their enormous economic power. More than 70 cities have begun divesting and reinvesting these assets to penalize corporations doing business in South Africa. Some cities such as Oakland, California, are also assessing penalties against contract bids coming from these firms. Hoboken (New Jersey), Amherst (Massachusetts), Takoma Park (Maryland), and Jersey City (New Jersey) have prohibited any municipal contracts with firms producing nuclear weapons.
  
- \* Transboundary Relationships -- For more than a century, American states and communities adjacent to Canada or Mexico have entered into agreements with these nations (and, sometimes, their local subdivisions) on such issues as road and bridge oversight, water management, motor vehicle registration, civil defense, fire prevention, and border patrolling. One estimate is that American states and Canadian provinces have signed over 600 protocols.
  
- \* Cultural Relationships -- More than 700 U.S. communities have 1,200 "sister" relationships with cities abroad, a growing number of which are with cities in adversary nations such as the Soviet Union and China.

- \* Economic Relationships -- By 1980, the states were spending \$18.8 million on promoting exports, roughly the same level as the U.S. Commerce Department of Commerce, and \$8.5 million on attracting foreign investment. Nearly two-thirds had sixty offices in seventeen countries (up from three states in 1970). In 1981, more than 180 local entities competed for foreign investment and trade at a Zurich show organized by the U.S. Conference of Mayors. In another kind of economic relationship, more than 500 European cities are now promoting economic development in the Third World.
- \* Political Relationships -- Many cultural and economic exchange agreements are tantamount to political treaties. The city of Boulder, for example, has actively supported a local group's agreement with the city of Jalapa, Nicaragua to help build a pre-school -- a policy clearly designed to challenge U.S. policies in Central America. The city of Burlington (Vermont) delivered 560 tons of humanitarian goods to its sister city in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, including 30 tons of medical supplies the city collected from local hospitals.
- \* Municipal State Departments -- In an effort to carry out their foreign policies with the greatest possible coherence, effectiveness, and efficiency, a few cities have established permanent governmental bodies -- bodies that could be viewed as miniature state departments. Between 1981 and 1982, Washington, D.C., Cambridge, and Boulder established peace commissions with modest budgets and staffs. The city of Sydney, Australia promotes nuclear free zones through a secretariat in its Town Hall. And the city of Hiroshima spends annually 1.3 percent of its municipal budget on peace programs.
- \* Global Organizations of Cities -- Many cities are cooperating in multilateral organizations to influence foreign affairs. At the August 1985 "First World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-city Solidarity," for example, more than 200 local officials from 100 cities in 30 countries gathered in Hiroshima to discuss how their cities could help prevent nuclear war. Despite radical differences in ideology, the officials openly despaired about the limited accomplishments of their national leaders and passed three resolutions unanimously condemning the arms race and advocating several concrete arms control measures. Similar dialogues have emerged in the International Union of Local Authorities and the United Towns Organisation.

\*\* EDUCATIONAL MEASURES \*\*

CAMBRIDGE PEACE COMMISSION GETS FUNDING FOR CURRICULUM MATERIALS

The Cambridge Peace Commission has just received \$7,000 from the Cambridge School Department to reproduce and distribute its peace curriculum materials to local children in grades 2 to 4 and 5 to 7.

SOURCE: Jeb Brugmann, Cambridge Peace Commission, City Hall Annex, 57 Inman St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617-498-9000, ext. 9535).

NEW HAVEN TEMPORARILY RENAMES STREET FOR BISHOP TUTU

To bolster its various resolutions supporting the efforts by both Yale students and New Haven city officials to divest from firms doing business in South Africa, the New Haven Board of Alderman ordered part of its Wall Street to be temporarily renamed "Bishop Tutu's Way." The order accompanied a resolution congratulating Bishop Tutu on his being elevated to the position of Archbishop of Cape Town, South Africa.

SOURCE: Alderman Martin J. Dunleavy, 97 West Prospect St., New Haven, CT 06515 (203-387-2608).

SAINT PAUL TO EDUCATE CITIZENS ON HOW TO PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR

On March 12th, 1986, the City Council of Saint Paul resolved to "organize and hold public hearings to discuss nuclear war and its effects," to "publish a booklet on the effects of nuclear war and suggestions as to how citizens can make a positive response to prevent nuclear war," and to "distribute this booklet to all citizens of Saint Paul."

SOURCE: Council Member James Scheibel, City Hall, 7th Floor, St. Paul, MN 55102 (612-298-5679).

\*\* NONBINDING RESOLUTIONS \*\*

176 JURISDICTIONS NOW SUPPORT A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN

Reports by both the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and Physicians for Social Responsibility indicate that, as October 13, 1986, 155 cities and 21 counties have passed nonbinding resolutions favoring a comprehensive test ban:

- CALIFORNIA           \* Cities -- Azusa, Costa Mesa, Fremont, Los Angeles, Morgan Hill, Oakland, Redondo Beach, Richmond, Sacramento, San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Cruz, South El Monte, Stockton Union City, West Covina, and West Hollywood
- \* Counties -- Alameda, Contra Costa, Sacramento, Santa Cruz, and Sonoma
- COLORADO             \* Cities -- Denver and Boulder
- CONNECTICUT         \* Cities -- Danbury, Hamden, Hamlin, New Haven, Simsbury and West Hartford
- GEORGIA              \* Cities -- Atlanta
- HAWAII               \* Cities -- Honolulu, Maunaloa, and Monalulu
- \* Counties -- Honolulu, Kalui, and Kauai
- IDAHO                 \* Cities -- Hailey and Ketchum
- ILLINOIS             \* Cities -- Urbana
- KANSAS               \* Counties -- Johnson
- MAINE                 \* Cities -- Auburn and Lewiston
- MASSACHUSETTS      \* Cities -- Ashfield, Boston, Brookline, Cambridge, Colrain, Conway, Cummington, Deerfield, Egremont, Great Barrington, Greenfield, Heath, Lanesboro, Lenox, Leverett, Middlefield, Monterey, Northfield, Pelham, Pittsfield, Richmond, Sheffield, Shelbourne, Shelbourne Falls, Shutesbury, Somerville, South Hadley, Stockbridge, Wendell, West Stockbridge, Williamsburg, and Williamstown
- \* Counties -- Berkshire
- MARYLAND             \* Counties -- Montgomery
- MICHIGAN             \* Cities -- Detroit, East Lansing, and Marquette
- \* Counties -- Ingham
- MINNESOTA            \* Cities -- Duluth

MISSOURI \* Cities -- Kansas City, St. Joseph, and St. Louis  
 \* Counties -- Jackson

NEW HAMPSHIRE \* Cities -- Portsmouth

NEW JERSEY \* Cities -- Audubon, Belleville, Camden, Cape May, Carney, Demarest, East Brunswick, East Orange, Englewood, Ewing Township, Fair Haven, Fair Lawn, Fort Lee, Hamilton Township, Highland Park, Hoboken, Jersey City, Kearny, Lawrenceville, Leonia, Long Branch, Maplewood, Metuchen, Mountclair, Newark, New Brunswick, North Arlington, Nutley, Orange, Paramus, Parsippany-Troy Hills, Princeton Borough, Princeton Township, Ringwood, Roosevelt, Rutherford, South Brunswick, South Orange, Teaneck, Trenton, Wayne, West Orange, Willingboro, and Woodbridge  
 \* Counties -- Essex, Mercer, Monmouth, and Ocean

NEW MEXICO \* Cities -- Santa Fe

NEW YORK \* Cities -- Chappaqua, Chenango Town Board, Johnson City, Mount Vernon, New York City, Scarsdale and Vestal  
 \* Counties -- Chenango and Rockland

NORTH CAROLINA \* Cities -- Edenton

OHIO \* Cities -- Cleveland, Columbus, Shaker Heights, Yellow Springs, and Youngstown  
 \* Counties -- Cuyahoga

OREGON \* Cities -- Portland  
 \* Counties -- Multnomah

RHODE ISLAND \* Cities -- Bristol, Cranston, Cumberland Hill, Jamestown, Kingston, Narragansett, North Providence, Providence, South Kingston, Warwick, West Kingston, and Woonsocket

SOUTH DAKOTA \* Cities -- Brookings

TEXAS \* Cities -- Austin

UTAH \* Cities -- Provo, Riverton, Salt Lake City, Shione Tribal Council, and Yumba Indian Reservation

VIRGINIA \* Cities -- Alexandria

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WISCONSIN

\* Cities -- Madison

SOURCE: Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St., NE  
Washington, D.C. 20002 (202-544-0880);  
Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1601  
Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 800, Washington, D.C.,  
20009 (202-939-5750)

#### NEW HAVEN RESOLUTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA, ARMS RACE, AND IRELAND

Determined to speak out on international affairs issues, the New Haven Board of Alderman passed a series of nonbinding resolutions in 1986.

To enunciate its opposition to apartheid, the Board urged restraint by the Mayor and the Police Department in their dealings with Yale anti-apartheid protestors; endorsed the sanctions legislation in Congress; and sent letters to all elected officials serving New Haven supporting Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, which was established by the African National Congress in Mazimbu, Tanzania to train future leadership for South Africa.

To oppose the nuclear arms race, the Board congratulated Howard and Alice Frazier for their efforts to build Soviet-American friendship through the Volga Peace Cruise and Mississippi Peace Cruise, and declared its support for nuclear free zones.

And to show its concern for the civil war in Ireland, it resolved to support the McBride principles and urged "a speedy end to the grief and bloodshed which so plagues [Ireland's] beautiful homeland..."

SOURCE: Alderman Martin J. Dunleavy, 97 West Prospect St.,  
New Haven, CT 06515 (203-387-2608).

#### SAINT PAUL'S RESOLUTION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

On March 13th, 1986, the City Council of Saint Paul passed a resolution supporting declaring the week "Central America Week" and urging citizen involvement in a march and rally at the end of the week for an end to hostilities and United States military aid there.

The resolution took note of Saint Paul's August 1985 resolution opposing both military aid to the Nicaraguan contras and resumption of military aid to Guatamala.

SOURCE: Council Member James Scheibel, City Hall,  
7th Floor, St. Paul, MN 55102 (612-298-5679).

\*\* LOBBYING \*\*

ANTI-GWEN EFFORTS CONVINCING CONGRESS TO SLASH PROGRAM

For more than a year, citizen groups across the United States have risen in opposition to the Pentagon's Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN), an web of 240 Air Force towers to facilitate communications once a nuclear war begins.

"The construction of the GWEN system," argues U.S. Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon), "contributes to the mentality that a nuclear war is survivable and therefore winnable."

At the urging of a Massachusetts-based group called the GWEN Project, eleven city councils held hearings on the construction of towers within their jurisdictions: Amherst, MA; Barre, MA; Biggs, CA; Cape Cod, MA; Castine, ME; Elmira, NY; Gettysburg, PA; Greenville, NC; Mequon, WI; Northampton, MA; and Sherman, ME. Out of these hearings came resolutions against the program from Amherst, Barre, and Castine, and strong rebukes of the program from county commissioners in Lane County and Klamath Falls County, both of which are in Oregon.

These succeeded in convincing Congress to slash the Air Force's request for \$97 million for 71 additional towers down to \$33 million and the GWEN research budget down to zero. They have also pressured the Air Force into preparing an environmental impact statement on the next stage of GWEN.

SOURCE: Lois Barber, The GWEN Project, P.O. Box 135,  
Amherst, MA 01004 (413-253-2939).

OREGON HEALTH DIVISION SENDS GORBACHEV CHERNOBYL BILL

In early August, the Health Division of the Oregon Department of Human Resources sent Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a bill for \$73,060 to cover its costs from the Chernobyl nuclear accident.

The bill reflects the additional costs for personnel and equipment to monitor the air, rain, drinking water, vegetation and milk after the accident and the staff overtime necessary to run a hotline for citizens with special concerns to talk with health professionals.

The Health Division sought reimbursement from the Emergency Board of the state legislature. The Emergency Board approved \$39,400 of state funds but instructed Kristine Gebbie, Administrator of the Health Division, to send a bill to Gorbachev.

Thus far, the only results were several angry articles in Pravda and a consciousness-raising bonanza in Oregon.

SOURCE: Art Keil, Health Division, Oregon Department of  
Human Resources, 1400 SW 5th Ave., Portland, OR  
97201 (503-229-5806).

\*\* POLICING MEASURES \*\*

SEATTLE VOTERS RESCIND "CITY OF REFUGE" STATUS

On November 4, 1986, Seattle voters, by a margin of 55% to 45%, the voters approved Proposition 30, which rescinded the city's "city of refuge" declaration and dissolved the Mayor's Commission on Central America.

Under the leadership of Mitch Hughes, a group of citizens drafted Proposition 30 shortly after Seattle became a sanctuary for Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees -- a resolution regarded as one of the toughest in the nation. Hughes argued that the both "city of refuge" resolution and Mayor's Commission singularly criticized the United States in Central America -- a view, he said, that represented only "a small spectrum" of the political views of other residents of Seattle.

The initiative also instructed the mayor and council to focus on exclusively local problems and to keep out of national and foreign affairs issues. It also demanded that the city ensure that its sister city programs were oriented around trade and cultural exchange, not politics. But these provisions, argued initiative opponent Dan Phalen, are aspirational and unenforceable.

Phalen speculated that Proposition 30 won primarily because of a conservative backlash against illegal immigration. Other factors included voter confusion, an endorsement by the Seattle Times, and large out-of-state contributions to the "Yes on 30" campaign by right-wing political action committees.

Opponents of the initiative included the mayor, most of the city council, and the League of Women Voters.

"Perhaps we were better off losing," reflected Phalen. "Now we know we have to be better with our outreach."

SOURCES: Mitch Hughes (206-344-7420)  
Dan Phalen (206-526-8108)



\*\* SELECTIVE ZONING \*\*

7 NUCLEAR FREE ZONES WIN IN NOVEMBER ELECTIONS

Nuclear Free America reports that seven nuclear free zones won in the November 4, 1986 elections:

\* Berkeley, California -- Adopted 67% to 33%

Prohibits nuclear weapons, restricts the transport of nuclear materials, bans public investments or contracts with nuclear weapons contractors, and establishes a public nuclear free zone committee and economic conversion planning task force.

Contact: Len Conly (415-526-2746)

\* Marin County, California -- Adopted 60% to 40%

Prohibits nuclear weapons, restricts the transport of nuclear materials, bans public investments or contracts with nuclear weapons contractors, erects nuclear free zone highway signs, and establishes a Peace Conversion Commission.

Contact: Lauren Beal (415-459-1530)

\* Wooster, Ohio -- Repeal Effort Defeated 53% to 47%

Defeats an effort by the city council to repeal a nuclear free zone ordinance.

Contact: Ed Gordon (216-345-7765)

\* Eugene, Oregon -- Adopted 59% to 41%

Prohibits nuclear weapons, weapons-related development, nuclear waste, nuclear power, the transport of nuclear materials, civil defense, food irradiation, and public investments or contracts with nuclear weapons contractors. It also erects nuclear free zone highway signs, creates a special Hiroshima Day commemoration, and provides for an elected 7-person board to oversee adherence to the nuclear free zone act and assist in conversion efforts.

Contact: Eva Edelman (503-343-8548)

- \* Hood River County, Oregon -- Adopted 63% to 37%

Prohibits nuclear weapons, radioactive waste, and civil defense planning. It also bans the transport of nuclear materials and public investments and contracts with nuclear weapons industries.

Contact: Dr. Tim Burton (503-354-2002)

- \* Lane County, Oregon -- Adopted 56% to 44%

Prohibits nuclear weapons and GWEN towers (see related story on page 20).

Contact: David Zupan (503-343-8548)

- \* Okanogan County, Washington -- Adopted 75% to 25%

Nonbinding ordinance directs the county commissioners to adopt a legally binding nuclear free zone ordinance.

Contact: Michael Mazzetti (509-486-4188)

In addition to these electoral victories, there was one city council victory right after election day:

- \* Arcata, California -- Adopted Unanimously

Prohibits nuclear weapons manufacture and transport and establishes a public nuclear free zone committee and an economic conversion planning task force.

Contact: Andrew Archibald (707-822-7005)

Also on November 4th, three nuclear free zone ordinances went down to defeat:

- \* Sonoma County, California -- Defeated 68% to 32%

Would have prohibited nuclear weapons, radioactive waste, and nuclear weapons transport. Also would have established a conversion task force with a \$10,000 budget.

Contact: Toni Novak (707-538-3810)

- \* Hawaii County, Hawaii -- Exemptions Sustained 65% to 35%

Would have restored Hawaii County's original nuclear free zone ordinance (the nation's first) by repealing a 1984 amendment that exempted the military.

Contact: Jim Albertini (808-966-7622)

- \* Oregon -- Defeated 59% to 41%

Statewide "Economic Conversion Act" would have phased all nuclear-weapons-related contracts out of the state by 1990 and provided tax incentives for corporations that invest in the conversion of labor or industry.

Contact: Don Skinner (503-371-8002)  
Laura Powell (503-287-7584)

SOURCE: Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th St.  
Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575)

NOW 131 NUCLEAR FREE ZONES

With the recent local developments regarding nuclear free zone ordinances described above, Nuclear Free America reports that a total of 131 cities and counties have declared themselves nuclear free.

- CALIFORNIA \* Cities -- Azusa, Chico, Claremont, Davis, Fairfax, Isla Vista, Martinez, Mill Valley, Napa, Placerville, Sabastopol, St. Helena, and Sausalito.
- COLORADO \* Cities -- Boulder, Jamestown, and Telluride.
- HAWAII \* Counties -- Hawaii and Maui
- IDAHO \* Counties -- Canyon
- ILLINOIS \* Cities -- Chicago, Evanston, Lansing, and Park Forest
- INDIANA \* Cities -- Miller
- IOWA \* Cities -- Iowa City
- KANSAS \* Cities -- North Newton
- KENTUCKY \* Cities -- Louisville  
\* Counties -- Jefferson
- MARYLAND \* Cities -- Garrett Park, Sykesville, Takoma Park, and Wilde Lake
- MASSACHUSETTS \* Cities -- Amherst, Ashfield, Barnstable, Belchertown, Brookline, Chatham, Dennis, Gay Head, Greenfield, Heath, Leverett, Monterey, Nantucket, New Salem, Newtown, Northampton, Provincetown, Sandwich, Shutesbury, Somerville, Stockbridge, Tisbury, Wendell, West Stockbridge, West Tisbury, Williamsburg, and Worthington
- MICHIGAN \* Cities -- Grandmont and Magnolia
- NEW JERSEY \* Cities -- Frankford, Franklin Borough, Hadack, Highland Park, Hoboken, Jersey City, Lafayette Township, Roosevelt, Union City, and Vernon Township  
\* Counties -- Sussex
- NEW MEXICO \* Cities -- Las Vegas  
\* Counties -- San Miguel
- NEW YORK \* Cities -- Ellenville, New York, and Skyview Acres.

NORTH CAROLINA      \* Cities -- Franklinville  
                          \* Counties -- Forsyth

OHIO                    \* Cities -- Oberlin, Warren, and Wooster

OREGON                \* Cities -- Ashland, Bandon, Florence, and Takilma  
                          \* Counties -- Baker, Catsop, Coos, Grant, Harney, Lincoln, Tillamook, Union, and Waloowa

PENNSYLVANIA        \* Cities -- Union Township  
                          \* Counties -- Pike

VERMONT              \* Cities -- Moretown

WASHINGTON        \* Cities -- Bothell, Leachi, Waldron, and Wallingford  
                          \* Counties -- San Juan, Skagit, and Whatcom.

WISCONSIN            \* Cities -- Barkadale, Bayfield, Bayview, Bell, Delta, Keystone, Ladysmith, Lincoln, Madison, Marengo, Marshall Township, Mason, Meadowbrook Township, Morse, Russell, Sun Prarie, and Washburn.  
                          \* Counties -- Rusk

SOURCE: Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th St.  
 Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575).

NEW ZEALAND AMBASSADOR LAUDS LOCAL INITIATIVES

Addressing Amherst College in Massachusetts this autumn, Sir Wallace Rowling, the New Zealand Ambassador to the United States, pointed out that New Zealand became nuclear free only after 80% of local authorities had already declared their town or region nuclear free. "They set the stage and the climate," he declared, "for the whole country to become a nuclear free zone."

SOURCE: Lois Barber (413-253-2939)

## HIGHLIGHT OF 1986: CHICAGO'S NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE ZONE

Perhaps the most important 1986 event in the U.S. nuclear free zone movement occurred on March 12th, when Chicago declared itself nuclear free. In what The New York Times called "a rare display of political unanimity," Chicago not only became the largest city to pass a binding ordinance (New York's resolution is nonbinding), but it also generated some of the most compelling political and legal arguments for nuclear free zones.

### The Rationale

The principal mover behind the ordinance was Alderman David Orr, who offered the following testimony to his colleagues:

"If enacted, this Ordinance would make Chicago the largest city in the nation to prohibit the design, production, storage and deployment of nuclear weapons and their components within its boundaries. Specifically, the ordinance requires that all such work be phased out within two years; and it immediately prohibits any new start-ups of such work. The ordinance also creates a Peace Conversion Commission to plan for the conversion of existing nuclear weapons facilities to peaceful and productive uses, and to find alternative employment for person now engaged in nuclear weapons production.

"It is appropriate and necessary to enact this ordinance...."

"The nuclear weapons industry, propelled by a runaway global arms race, is an economic disaster, especially for hard-pressed cities like Chicago. Each year, Chicago residents and businesses send literally billions of dollars to Washington to support military spending, a sizeable portion of which goes to nuclear weapons development. And each year, additional resources are drained away from desperately-needed services like education and job training, affordable housing, public transportation and services for the elderly and disabled.

"In return for these sacrifices, we get virtually no direct economic benefits. Few, if any, Chicago residents are employed in the nuclear weapons industry. And even if we were getting a larger share of nuclear weapons contracts, the risks would outweigh the economic rewards. Each billion dollars spent on nuclear weapons creates an estimated 22,000 jobs -- compared with 36,000 jobs per billion dollars spent on housing, and 52,000 jobs per billion dollars in education. Moreover, weapons manufacturing is a notoriously unstable, boom-or-bust industry, highly concentrated in a few Sunbelt manufacturing centers. In short, the nuclear weapons industry holds little prospect of becoming a reliable, long-term source of job growth in Chicago, and it should have no place in our economic development strategy.

"Perhaps even more important...are [the issue's] moral implications. Nuclear weapons and the nuclear arms race may well be the gravest moral issue of our age. Time after time, the citizens of Chicago and their spiritual leaders have voiced their opposition to the nuclear arms race....I believe it is reasonable to conclude that activities contributing to the development of these weapons are offensive to the generally-accepted moral standard of our community, and should be prohibited."

## The Legality

One-hundred-thousand-dollars worth of pro bono legal analysis of the Chicago ordinance was performed by the Chicago law firm of Sachnoff, Weaver & Rubenstein, Ltd. Its opinion letter stated, in part:

"We conclude that the Ordinance is legal. The Ordinance is a proper exercise of the extensive home rule police powers....It regulates local parties to address local problems associated with nuclear weapon-related activities within Chicago's boundaries....

"The ordinance does not regulate an area over which the federal government has exclusive control. As the Supreme Court made clear in Pacific Gas and Electric C. v. State Energy Resources Conservation and Development Comm., 461 U.S. 190 (1983), the federal Atomic Energy Act does not preempt state and local regulation of the non-radiation safety aspects of atomic energy. Because the Ordinance applies only to private parties and does not address radiation safety concerns, it does not frustrate the purposes of the Atomic Energy Act.

"The Ordinance does not violate the Commerce Clause. It is a valid exercise of police power that does not discriminate against interstate commerce, unduly burden the flow of interstate commerce, or interfere with federal regulatory activities.

"The Ordinance does not conflict with the federal war powers. The Atomic Energy Act is the most applicable exercise of these war powers and the Act does not preempt the Ordinance....

"The Ordinance does not infringe upon First Amendment freedoms because it regulates only conduct and exempts both basic research and any writing or speech devoted to public commentary or debate.

"Finally, the Ordinance does not represent a taking of private property without due process of law. To regulate, or even prohibit, activities found detrimental to the City's welfare is not an unlawful 'taking.'

"Accordingly, there is no ground upon which the Ordinance is unconstitutional or otherwise invalid under either federal or state law."

SOURCE: Alderman David Orr, 6925 N. Ashland, Chicago, IL 60626 (312-764-3617).

## CAMBRIDGE RELEASES DRAFT STUDY ON ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION

Fulfilling its mandate from the Cambridge City Council to collaborate with local military contractors to develop conversion and "alternative use" plans, the Cambridge Peace Commission has just released a draft of its report entitled: "The Cambridge Case for Diversification Planning: Towards Stability in a R&D Economy." Copies of the report are available for \$3 each.

SOURCE: Jeb Brugmann, Cambridge Peace Commission, City Hall Annex, 57 Inman St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617-498-9000, ext. 9535).

\*\* SELECTIVE INVESTING AND CONTRACTING \*\*

84 LOCAL JURISDICTIONS DIVESTING FROM SOUTH AFRICA

According to the latest report prepared by the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), 19 states, 13 counties, 70 cities and the Virgin Islands have passed various forms of sanctions against firms doing business in South Africa. These measures have thus far required the sale of \$18.5 billion in stocks and bonds in U.S. corporations and banks involved in South Africa.

The states engaged in some form of selective investment or purchasing are:

California	Maryland	North Dakota
Colorado	Massachusetts	Rhode Island
Connecticut	Michigan	Vermont
Iowa	Minnesota	West Virginia
Kansas	Nebraska	Wisconsin
Louisiana	New Jersey	
Maine	New Mexico	

Below is a summary of cities and counties engaged in various kinds of selective investment. An asterisk ("\*") indicates that the measure involves selective purchasing as well.

ARIZONA           \* Cities -- Tucson

CALIFORNIA       \* Cities -- Berkeley, Davis, Fresno, Los Angeles\*, Oakland\*, Palo Alto, Richmond\*, San Diego, San Francisco\*, San Jose, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, Stockton\*, and West Hollywood\*  
\* Counties -- Alameda\* and Sonoma\*

COLORADO         \* Cities -- Boulder, Fort Collins

CONNECTICUT     \* Cities -- Hartford, Middletown, and New Haven

DELAWARE         \* Cities -- Wilmington\*  
\* Counties -- New Castle

FLORIDA          \* Cities -- Gainesville and Miami

GEORGIA          \* Cities -- Atlanta

ILLINOIS         \* Cities -- Chicago\*

KANSAS           \* Cities -- Kansas\* and Topeka\*



LOUISIANA \* Cities -- New Orleans

MARYLAND \* Cities -- Baltimore and College Park\*  
 \* Counties -- Howard, Montgomery and Prince George's\*

MASSACHUSETTS \* Cities -- Amherst, Boston, Brookline, Cambridge

MICHIGAN \* Cities -- Ann Arbor, Detroit, East Lansing\*,  
 Grand Rapids, and Ypsilanti

MINNESOTA \* Cities -- Minneapolis and St. Paul  
 \* Counties -- Hennepin\*

MISSOURI \* Cities -- Kansas City and St. Louis

NEBRASKA \* Cities -- Omaha\*

NEW JERSEY \* Cities -- Atlantic City, Camden, Jersey City,  
 Newark\*, and Rahway  
 \* Counties -- Bergen

NEW YORK \* Cities -- Freeport, New York, and Rochester\*  
 \* Counties -- Monroe\*, Rockland, and Westchester

NORTH CAROLINA \* Cities -- Raleigh\*

OHIO \* Cities -- Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus,  
 and Youngstown  
 \* Counties -- Cuyahoga

PENNSYLVANIA \* Cities -- Erie, Harrisburg\*, and Pittsburgh\*

SOUTH CAROLINA \* Cities -- Charleston

TEXAS \* Cities -- Houston\*

VIRGINIA \* Cities -- Alexandria, Charlottesville,  
 Portsmouth, and Richmond\*

WASHINGTON \* Cities -- Seattle

WASHINGTON, D.C.\*

WEST VIRGINIA \* Cities -- Fairmont\*

WISCONSIN \* Cities -- Madison

SOURCE: American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway,  
 New York, NY 10038 (212-962-1210).

## ANTI-APARTHEID SELECTIVE PURCHASING MEASURES UNDER ATTACK

The American Committee on America (ACOA) reports that the Reagan Administration is now using Federal competitive bidding laws to attack local anti-apartheid selective purchasing legislation:

"In April, the Federal Department of Transportation (DOT) notified New York City that its anti-apartheid selective purchasing law violated Federal competitive bidding guidelines when applied to Federally funded contracts. The DOT then threatened to cut off Federal funding for the city's transportation projects.

"ACOA has been working with New York City as it opposed the DOT's action. It is clear that cities often take actions to restrict contracting and purchasing using criteria such as equal opportunity employment and preferences for home state companies. If these actions are legal, then it is inconsistent for the DOT to argue that apartheid related restrictions are somehow different and illegal.

"The national sanctions law contains a clause preventing the Federal government from cutting off local funding because of anti-apartheid purchasing laws until January 1, 1987. But the DOT has acknowledged that -- after January 1, 1987 -- it will begin cutting Federal funding for all cities that apply selective purchasing measures to Federally funded contracts.

"The approach taken by the administration so far has been to contact a city or state (often through the office of the comptroller or other financial officer) and say that their particular purchasing law is in violation of Federal guidelines, making no mention of the fact that all such laws are under attack. As a result, legislators are often the last to learn of attempts to weaken local laws in response to Federal pressure."

ACOA is now trying to organize states and localities to respond to this federal intimidation.

SOURCE: Rob Jones, American Committee on Africa,  
198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212-962-1210)

## CALIFORNIA LEAGUE OF CITIES PROMOTING ANTI-APARTHEID MEASURES

On October 21, 1986, in a move organized by Oakland City Council Member Wilson Riles, Jr., the California League of Cities resolved that it would "collect and disseminate to interested cities ordinances, policies, procedures, legal opinions and informational reports which have been developed by California cities and other informed entities in the areas of divestment and non-investment of funds in the Republic of South Africa, and on the purchase of goods and services from financial institutions and corporations doing business in South Africa...."

SOURCE: California League of Cities, 1400 K St.,  
Sacramento, CA 95814 (916-444-5790).

\*\* CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS \*\*

GAINESVILLE'S SOVIET-AMERICAN SISTER CITY PROGRAM

For Steve Kalishman, 32, a lawyer from Gainesville, Florida, the notion of pairing with the Soviet Union has had special significance. In 1976, while working as a sailor on an American merchant ship delivering grain to Novorossiisk, a Soviet port on the Black Sea, he met and fell in love with a Soviet woman named Natasha. On his next trip to the Soviet Union, they married and several months later Natasha emigrated to Florida with him, where she now lives and retains her Soviet citizenship.

Kalishman has since become a matchmaker between his and Natasha's hometowns. In 1982, working with a coalition of local church and synagogue members eager to improve Soviet-American relations, Kalishman convinced the Gainesville City Commission -- by a unanimous vote -- to invite the people of Novorossiisk to join them in "a long-standing friendship and association." A delegation hand-delivered the resolution and a key to the city of Gainesville to the mayor of Novorossiisk, and three more Gainesville delegations followed, who agreed to try this unique approach to forming relations with an American city.

Three more Gainesville delegations followed, each led by a city commissioner and involving representatives of local news media, businesses, schools, and the school board. Each of the delegations received a warm welcome in Novorossiisk and was about to engage in frank, open discussions with nonofficial Soviets in their homes, parks, and restaurants.

These visits have resulted in exchanges of medical information, pen pals, childrens art, and photographs. They have also pointed the way to some local business deals; one Gainesville jeweler now has an exclusive agreement to import Soviet cut diamonds and jewelry based on nineteenth century Russian designs. Novorosiisk has become such a regular part of Gainesville life that the annual homecoming celebration of the University of Florida has sported booths with Russian food and a Novorosiisk theme-float in the homecoming parade.

The Gainesville-based Cross Creek Cloggers and the Bucksnot Barndance Band, an Appalachian-style dance ensemble and string band, kicked off a one-year fundraising drive to pay for a journey to Novorossisk in August 1985 under the heading, "Ask Your Sister to Dance." After raising the necessary funds, 43 of Gainesville's finest "dancing diplomats" stomped and whirled in both formal and impromptu concerts in Moscow, Kiev, Krasnodar, and Novorossiisk, with one spontaneous concert stopping traffic on a main street in Moscow as hundreds gathered around, and another one, in cahoots with the well-known Russian Folk Ensemble, lasting through the middle of the night. A video crew accompanying the group captured their more than 18 hours of performances and their other encounters with Soviets in a documentary, "Ask Your Sister To Dance II," which had a gala premier in Gainesville and will soon be broadcast on PBS.

To involve the greater Gainesville community and to help educate other communities, Kalishman is distributing videotapes,

a bi-monthly magazine called The Citizen Diplomat with has articles about the Gainesville program and other citizen diplomacy initiatives, and a handbook, "American-Soviet Sister Cities: Bridge Toward Peace," aimed at encouraging other cities to start their own ties with Soviet cities.

SOURCE: Steve Kalishman, Gainesville-Novorossiisk Sister City Program, 408 W. University Ave., Gainesville, FL 32601 (904-376-0341).

#### TEN NEW SOVIET-AMERICAN SISTER CITIES APPROVED

The Gainesville-Novorossiisk Sister City Program -- emerging entirely from the grassroots -- represents an important new step in the evolution of Soviet-American city-to-city exchanges. Since 1956, Sister Cities International, an independent organization formed at the suggestion of President Dwight Eisenhower, has established government-sanctioned "sister city" relationships between more than 700 American cities with 1,200 cities in 86 nations. No American cities were linked with Soviet cities, however, until 1972, when, in what were essentially shotgun marriages with little community input, President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev arranged five pairings -- Houston-Baku, Jacksonville-Murmansk, Oakland-Nahodka, Baltimore-Odessa, and Seattle-Tashkent. These relationships were based primarily on existing economic ties; all of the cities chosen were major ports except Tashkent.

In the wake of the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Jacksonville mayor unilaterally suspended his city's relationship with Murmansk in support of President Carter's sanctions. The other sister-city programs also became moribund, with the outstanding exception of the Seattle-Tashkent, which benefitted from the strong support of the wife of Mayor Charles Royer, Rosanne Royer, who speaks fluent Russian. Its "Target Seattle" program, featuring education about the arms race and the Soviet Union, reached more than 25,000 Seattle residents. Because of its strong sister city relationship, the Soviets agreed to designate Seattle as the site of the 1990 Soviet-American Goodwill Games.

As "citizen diplomacy" initiatives multiplied in the early 1980s, new sister city initiatives efforts sprang up throughout the country. The Soviets, however, frustrated that four out of five past sister city relationships had fallen apart, initially allowed one new formal arrangement -- Detroit-Minsk. The sluggish response of the Soviet officials and resulting pessimism from Sister Cities International, in turn, prompted end-runs not only by Steve Kalishmen but also by the Ground Zero Pairing Project, which created informal links between 55 American and Soviet cities.

After the Geneva summit in late 1985, however, Soviet officials began warming up again to the idea of new sister cities. In April 1986, the Soviets approved in principle the establishment of formal sister city relationships for ten more

cities:

Boulder, Colorado-Dushanbe  
Cambridge, Massachusetts-Yerevan  
Duluth, Minnesota-Petrozavodsk  
Gainesville, Florida-Novorossiisk  
Madison, Wisconsin-Vilnius  
Mobile, Alabama-Rostov  
Richmond, Indiana-Smolensk  
Salem, Oregon-Simferopol  
Tallahassee, Florida-Krasnodar  
Worcester, Massachusetts-(Not Yet Determined)

As of December, the Salem-Simferopol relationship was made official and the other ties were proceeding smoothly.

SOURCES: The Citizen Diplomat, Vol. II, Numbers 3 and 4 (1986) (see page 43); Ground-Zero Pairing Project, P.O. Box 19049, Portland, OR 97219 (503-245-3403); Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Program, Sister City Committee, 630 Randolph Place, Seattle, WA 98122 (206-324-6258); and Sister Cities International, 1625 Eye St., NW, #424-26, Washington, DC 20006 (202-293-5504).

#### SOVIET SPOKESMAN URGES MORE SOVIET-AMERICAN TWINNING

On July 19th, the 30th annual conference of Sister Cities International in Los Angeles featured a special workshop on Soviet-American Sister Cities, where Ivan Cherepanov, President of the Association for Relations between Soviet and Foreign Cities in Moscow, relayed his government's enthusiasm for expanding the Soviet-American sister cities program:

"The postwar years saw a rapid growth in the number of twinning between Soviet and foreign cities. Twinning relationships became more diverse, profound and exciting.... [T]he efforts of Soviet cities to develop cultural links and cooperation, and promote exchange of experience in different spheres of economic and social life, are combined with their active participation in the anti-war movement which has swept the whole world. At present 153 Soviet cities maintain friendly links with 345 cities in capitalist and developing countries.

"Over 100 Soviet cities, city districts, regions, administrative areas and autonomous republics have established close links of friendship and cooperation with their administrative and territorial counterparts in the socialist community countries. Thousands of enterprises, organizations and millions of people make up the fabric of this twinning.

"Twinning between Soviet cities and cities in the non-socialist world is also one of our important priorities. Festivals of twin cities have become increasingly popular. Designated as 'days' or 'weeks' of twin cities, they help bring people closer together, and represent major cultural events

celebrating friendship and art.

"Meetings between people of Soviet cities and their twin city counterparts in Finland, Japan, France and Italy have become traditional. The first meeting of Soviet and Swedish twin cities took place a short while ago....

"In October 1985, speaking in the Town Hall in Paris, Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized that 'the cause of mutual understanding and cooperation between peoples would only benefit from more profound and active links between twin cities.

"At the end of last year, a joint session of the Commissions on Foreign Affairs of both Chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet reviewed the links between Soviet twin cities and their counterparts in capitalist and developing countries, a fact which must be seen as a measure of practical support and serious attention given to twinning."

SOURCE: The Citizen Diplomat, Vol. II, No. 4 (see page 43).

#### IRVINE MAYOR GREETES NICARAGUAN BASEBALL TEAM

On October 2nd, Mayor Larry Agran of Irvine, California, welcomed the Seleccion Nacional, the Nicaraguan All-Star Baseball team to his City Hall. Agran presented the team with pewter paperweights bearing the Irvine city seal.

"I'm sure that everyone here has, in some way, felt the tension that exists between the government of your country and ours," Agran told the team in Spanish. "Speaking as one American to another, though, I feel compelled to say that one of the surest ways to overcome this tension is by communicating through the common bonds that exist between us. Baseball is one of these bonds -- a national pastime in both of our countries.

"Let us not forget that relations between the United States of America and China were, at one time, very hostile. Then, in the early 1970s, 'Ping Pong Diplomacy' led the way toward better relations, creating a situation where trade and goodwill between China and the U.S. is today a part of our national policy.

"As our national governments appear to grow further apart, it is imperative that local governments, through people-to-people contact, reach out to one another. No matter how strained our international relations may be, citizen diplomacy is one of the most valuable tools we have to help break down the barriers that prevent us from living together in peace. Let us hope that your coming here will, in some way, make us all more aware of our similarities as fellow human beings."

The Nicaraguans' tour was sponsored by the Los Angeles organization called Bats, Not Bombs, was filled with victories, both large and small. After Agran's presentation, the team was leading Cal State Long Beach, 9-5, when the game was called in the fifth inning because of rain.

SOURCE: Los Angeles Times, 3 October 1983, p. II-13 (Orange County Edition).

**\*\* POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS \*\***

**ANN ARBOR TRAVELS TO JUIGALPA, NICARAGUA**

In April, voters in Ann Arbor voted nearly two-to-one to establish a sister city tie with Juigalpa, a regional capitol of Nicaragua.

In November, the city sent a 17-member delegation with medical supplies and a message condemning U.S. governmental support of the contras. The delegation is headed by Mayor Edward Pierce, who commented, "We're trying to help the people of Nicaragua. I'm not going down to praise the Sandinista Government." The delegation aims to support cultural and educational exchanges and to promote an American-Nicaraguan dialogue for peaceful conflict resolution.

SOURCE: New York Times, 3 November 1986.

**\*\* ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS \*\***

**SAN FRANCISCO'S MAYOR FEINSTEIN VISITS SHANGHAI**

Following up San Francisco's nearly two-year-old trade pact with the Chinese province of Shanghai, San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein returned to Shanghai this November to build more economic ties between the two cities.

After several days of negotiating, feasting, and toasting, Mayor Feinstein and Shanghai officials completed a memorandum of understanding between the two cities. The new agreement calls for: joint business deals including waste paper and chemical recycling ventures worth more than \$100 million; assistance by the Pacific Stock Exchange to help develop a Shanghai Stock Exchange; medical exchanges focusing on administrative procedures and diseases of the elderly; and cultural exchanges involving opera, ballet, television, photography, museums, and orchestras.

This agreement is just the latest in more than seven years of relations between the two cities. What started as cultural ties evolved into a formal trade pact in 1984. "When we sign contracts for outside help," said Chen Beinghui, deputy division chief in Shanghai's foreign affairs office, "we like to give the first chance to our friends from our sister cities."

This trade pact has thus far paid off handsomely. San Francisco's port and airport have increased their traffic because of its ties with Shanghai, one of China's largest cities and principal ports.

While Mayor Feinstein was hoping to lure Chinese investment to San Francisco, Shanghai officials surprised her by offering a series of incentives for San Francisco firms to invest there. "China hopes to rapidly develop its economy and trade with the outside world," explained Beinghui.

Feinstein's trip also included meetings with top business

and civic leaders in Tokyo, Osaka, Hong Kong, and Manila. Her visit overseas was the twelfth such journey in her two terms in office and her fifth in two years.

In Japan, Feinstein told Mike Mansfield, the U.S. Ambassador to Japan, "We believe there's an opportunity for Japanese investments in California. But this trip is a first step. I don't expect to bring any bacon home in our hip pocket."

"You may not expect to bring home bacon," Mansfield replied, "but maybe a little jerky here or there -- or some sushi."

SOURCES: San Francisco Chronicle, November 6, 11, 14, and 17, 1986.

#### BURGEONING EUROPEAN MOVEMENT OF CITIES HELPING THIRD WORLD

The recently published booklet Towns and Development documents that, by 1985, the following numbers of municipalities were actively engaged in development assistance:

Belgium	205 Municipalities
Netherlands	>200 Municipalities
United Kingdom	51 Municipalities
West Germany	>50 Municipalities

The booklet describes the successes and failures of these programs, highlighting nearly a dozen case studies. Written by Nico Kussendrager, Towns and Development is available from the Dutch National Committee for Information on Development Cooperation (NCO), De Ruijterkade 113, 1011 AB, Postbus 186, 1000 AD, Amsterdam, Netherlands (Phone: 0031-20-24-84).

#### NEW BRITISH GROUP LINKS CITIES WITH THIRD WORLD

Hand in Hand is a new British charity linking deprived communities in the Third World with communities in the United Kingdom. Building from other twinning programs run by Oxfam, Africa Now, Action Aid, and Bishopston, Hand in Hand will begin this year by linking Sherbourne in Dorset (population 10,000) with Nkpolugu in Nigeria (population 2,000).

Chair Michael Gould writes that, on his trip to Nkpolugu, "I was introduced to the leader of some twenty other similar communities in the area, all of whom would like some initial help. Once the projects are underway and proving themselves with Nkpolugu, Hand in Hand will establish links with these other communities."

SOURCE: Hand in Hand, The Grange, Mere, Wiltshire, United Kingdom, BA12 6DZ (0747-860396).



\*\* MUNICIPAL STATE DEPARTMENTS \*\*

SEATTLE ESTABLISHES OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

On September 15th, the Seattle city council established an Office of International Affairs to coordinate its 13 sister cities and trade activities. Modelled on similar offices in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Houston, and Boston, the Office of International Affairs represents a major attempt by the city to consolidate and improve its international affairs initiatives.

With an initial annual budget of \$236,000, the Office will be run by a director, a staff person overseeing trade and tourism, a staff person overseeing sister cities, a secretary, and an intern.

Before approving the Office, the city submitted its blueprints to Arthur Young for third-party evaluation. The Executive Summary of the Arthur Young report heartily endorsed the proposal with the following explanation:

"As a result of our interviews with government officials, people in industry and interested citizens, it is clear that City government is and will continue to be an actor in international affairs. City resources are already being used to respond to citizens and agencies active in the international arena. The City's elected officials are in demand to support a variety of international cultural and economic community initiatives. The technology making the world smaller can be expected to create an ever-growing demand for Seattle City government to participate in the international arena with governments, particularly on the Pacific Rim, which have already established an international strategy as part of their public policy agenda.

"We have recommended an Office of International Affairs primarily to focus City resources. Our study revealed broad support for a Seattle presence in the international arena. An office with a mandate to develop strategies in support of this goal will allow the City to move deliberately, rather than react incoherently, toward that end.

"[T]wo major goals emerged during our study: a vision of Seattle as an international trade services center; and citizen enrichment through international cultural, educational, and social opportunities.

"Whatever level of investment the City ultimately chooses should be based upon the knowledge that its international neighbors expect to participate with City officials because their governments participate in international affairs.

"Finally, we do not believe parochialism is an option; geography, technology and an increasingly sophisticated citizenry will continue to push the City and its elected officials into international affairs."

SOURCE William Stafford, Assistant to the Mayor,  
Office of the Mayor, Seattle, WA  
98104 (206-625-4565).

\*\* GLOBAL ORGANIZATIONS OF CITIES \*\*

REPORTS FROM WORLD'S CITIES IN HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

In August 1985, the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki commemorated the 40th anniversary of the explosion of nuclear weapons in their cities by holding "The First World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity." More than 200 local officials attended from 100 cities in 30 countries. The speeches contained in the recently released Proceedings from the conference reveal the richness of municipal foreign policies throughout the world. Here are some samples:

\* EAST BERLIN, EAST GERMANY (Mayor Erhard Krack)

"Tens of thousands of Berliners [have seen] the deeply moving exhibition entitled 'Hiroshima and Nagasaki -- Warning and Obligation,' which our Japanese hosts presented in the midst of Berlin's new city center.

"Our city is a venue for all kinds of contacts between people from East and West. Each year we welcome between 3.5 and 4 million visitors from abroad, a figure three times as high as our population.

"Last year MPs, scientists, doctors, artists, athletes and local politicians from all over the world met in Berlin for 474 congresses, symposia and conferences devoted to international understanding and peace.

"Our citizens are demonstrating their desire for peace in many different ways. More than 700,000 Berliners took part in two mass rallies this year, demanding that the nuclear arms race should be ended and the militarization of space prevented.

...  
"The young people of our country indicated their resolve to defend peace at their traditional Whitsun rallies, their annual Peace Run involving over 70,000 keep-fit enthusiasts from our city this year, and various cultural events such as 'Rock for Peace'."

\* GLASGOW, SCOTLAND (Lord Provost Robert Gray)

"In Great Britain the 1980's has seen the emergence of the nuclear free zone movement, a movement which began in the city of Manchester has now spread to over 150 local authorities in the United Kingdom.

"Glasgow declared its desire to become a nuclear free zone on 21st May 1981...

"[Our resolution declared:] 'Conscious of the magnitude of the destructive capacity of modern nuclear weapons, we recognise that our proposals would have little meaning on their own.'

"We therefore directly appeal to the neighbouring authorities in the West of Scotland and all local authorities throughout Great Britain to make similar statements on behalf of the citizens they represent.'

\* HANGZHOU, CHINA (Mayor Boxi Zhong)

"Last year, a photo exhibition with pictures, paintings of the disastrous scenes of the atomic bomb's explosion in Hiroshima, was held in Chongqing, Hangzhou and other Chinese cities. These enabled those masses of citizens, peace leaders, young generations to have a battle understanding of the harmfulness of the nuclear war as well as the values of peace. So that they can draw a lesson from the tragedy of 40 years ago and will not let it happen again."

\* HANNOVER, WEST GERMANY (Lord Mayor Herbert Schmalstieg)

"In 1979, we set an example with a partnership between Hannover and the Polish city of Poznan. It's proof that detente and mutual understanding are possible on the municipal level, too, in spite of different social systems and historical and political burdens....

"I'm deeply concerned that nuclear arms are brought to the Federal Republic of Germany and to Europe, which are pointed at the citizens of our communist partner-city, and I know that our Polish friends are also against missiles on their territory pointed at us."

\* LEMGO, WEST GERMANY (Mayor Reinhard Wilmbusse)

"Lemgo is a small town which in contrast to its bigger neighbouring towns remained undestroyed during World War II.... Individual citizens and the individual town then felt hopeless and helpless, but Lemgo remained undestroyed because its then mayor, Wilhelm Grafer, bravely negotiated with the advancing American troops to surrender the town. His bravery saved Lemgo but he was executed by retreating German forces. His example gives us hope and encourages us to strive for the seemingly unattainable with persistence.

"It is important that human beings from different nations learn to know and understand each other and that they realize that all of them want to live in peace and that they can live in peace. This is why Lemgo has twin-town agreements with cities in France and England, two of Germany's major war-time enemies. These new friendly ties may help to avoid future animosities and misunderstanding.

"We know that such twin-town agreements are even more important between towns and cities belonging to the power blocks that divide the world. Lemgo therefore would like to be twinned with an East European town...

"Official government aid often breaks down and does not reach the poverty stricken. This is why Lemgo will soon take over sponsorship for a community in Africa or India, probably in cooperation with the partner town in France. This project -- mainly carried out by young people -- may help to overcome the problem of underdevelopment in a local community and at the same time set an example."

\* NAHA, JAPAN (Mayor Kosei Oyadomari)

"I have been striving constantly for the removal of all military bases from Naha in order to create a healthy living environment. We have also written to the United States, the Soviet Union and the other nuclear states requesting the abolition of nuclear weapons..."

\* OTTAWA, CANADA (Mayor Marion Dewar)

"Because I am a strong believer in thinking globally and acting locally, I was not surprised nor dismayed when peace became a local issue in my own community. National governments have perfected the art of disempowering those who oppose the arms race, and they thereby block out popular opposition to such policies. Faced with such a blockage, residents took their requests to a more responsive level of government -- the city or municipality.

"In Ottawa, we responded with a referendum held in conjunction with our 1982 municipal elections. The result was an overwhelming call for balanced disarmament. At the invitation of the city Ottawa, more than 100 other Canadian municipalities responded by holding similar referenda, with similar results in 1982 and 1983.

"Shortly following the 1982 election, a local organization requested that Ottawa declare itself a nuclear-weapons-free zone. Although such declarations are largely symbolic, council was not supportive..."

"In response to this defeat, a local community association, from the downtown core of our city, submitted an application to rezone the downtown area to prohibit the manufacture, research or transport of nuclear products. This application is not at all symbolic, particularly as it includes most of the federal buildings, and the Ottawa office of one of the country's leading manufacturers of arms-related equipment."

\* SACRAMENTO, UNITED STATES (Mayor Anne Rudin)

"As mayor, I have spoken in support of arms control and reductions in federal military spending, to redirect our nation's resources from weapons production to peacetime industries that our cities need to be economically strong.

...  
"As I say this, people in Sacramento are holding a peace vigil, showing their commitment to peace."

\* SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA (Mayor Douglas W. Sutherland)

"Nuclear free zones signs have been erected around the city boundaries and explanation have been given to citizens as to why the decision was made to make Sydney a nuclear free zone.

"It is recognised, that even though such zones have limited legal significance they do have an important symbolic and consciousness-raising role. After all, it is only by mobilising the opinion of our constituents that we will be able to send an effective message to our national governments advocating negotiations for multilateral disarmament.

"On a wider scale, a national nuclear free zones secretariat has also been established with its headquarters at the Sydney Town Hall. There are now approximately 100 local government areas which are members of the secretariat -- embracing nearly half of the Australian population and including the nations three largest cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane.

"Through the secretariat, all political barriers have been transcended to unite these authorities in their common plea for nuclear disarmament. The secretariat also provides links to other anti-nuclear groups throughout Australia, and nuclear free zones secretariats around the world.

"Significantly, the secretariat can also carry the issues -- on which local authorities have taken a stand -- to other spheres of government in Australia and overseas."

\* VANCOUVER, CANADA (Mayor Michael Harcourt)

"[Vancouver has] declared itself a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone. And the declaration prohibits the manufacturing, storage, distribution or transportation of nuclear weapons and components within the city.

"We have a formal peace committee. We have a peace festival next year 1986 in the Year of Peace during our centenary...

"We have raised 1.3 million Canadian dollars over the last 3 months from my citizens for African famine relief."

SOURCE: The complete text of these speeches and of the three unanimous declarations emerging from this conference can be found in the Proceedings of the First World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity, available from the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, 1-2, Nakajima-cho, Maka-ku, Hiroshima, Japan 730.

### III. RESOURCES

#### JOURNALS

The Citizen Diplomat contains articles describing recent developments in Soviet-American sister cities. It is published several times per year by Citizen Diplomacy, Inc., The Seagle Building, 408 West University Ave., Suite 303, Gainesville, FL 32601 (904-376-0341)

The New Abolitionist provides the most detailed news on the development of nuclear free zones, here and abroad. It is published bimonthly by Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575).

Sister City News is a bimonthly summary of developments in American sister city programs. It is available from the Town Affiliation Association of the U.S., Inc., Suite 424-26, 1625 Eye NW, Washington, D.C. 20006 (202-293-5504)

#### REPORTS

National League of Cities International Task Force, "International Trade: A New City Economic Development Strategy," November 1983 -- This short, readable booklet describes the rationales for municipal involvement in international trade, gives ten detailed case studies, and provides a series of recommendations for increasing local trade activity.

#### BOOKS

Ivo D. Duchacek, The Territorial Dimension of Politics: Within, Among, and Across Nations (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986) -- In this detailed survey, Duchacek argues that the field international relations is becoming increasingly governed by subnational actors. The book is rich with examples of municipal involvement in foreign affairs, particularly in the areas of economic and transboundary cooperation.

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