

# UC Irvine

## CID Report

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“To us, national security means more than weapons. It means economically vibrant communities. It means health care and education, childcare, and transportation worthy of our citizens. It means decent, affordable housing for every American.”

# the CID Report

Volume 4, Number 4 CENTER FOR INNOVATIVE DIPLOMACY

Autumn 1988

## MAYORS' STUDY SHOWS MILITARY CUTS ENHANCE U.S. SECURITY

Agran says nation's  
“cities are under siege”

A U.S. Conference of Mayors' study supports CID's contention that even modest transfers from military to domestic programs would enhance national security by improving life in the nation's cities and towns, by boosting the nation's GNP, and creating nearly 200,000 new jobs.

The study, “A Shift in Military Spending to America's Cities,” was released on 6 October in Chicago. CID's Executive Director, Irvine, California, Mayor Larry Agran, who authored the Conference's National Priorities Resolution calling for the study, was a keynote speaker at the press conference marking its publication.

Agran said the report added weight to his charge that presidential candidates have ignored “real national security.”

“The candidates speak often of their commitment to strong national security. But to most Americans — including many of America's mayors,” Agran said, “the candidates speak a foreign language. They talk of national security only in the narrowest

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**Study Released.** From left, Irvine (CA) Mayor, Larry Agran, Trenton (NJ) Mayor Arthur Holland, Chicago (IL) Mayor Eugene Sawyer. Conference President Holland said the 50-page report proves “investing in the cities is really investing in America. What works for the cities works for the nation.”

## SHUMAN SCOUTS BRAZIL FOR MODEL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Laboring beneath a life-long fear of snakes, CID President Michael Shuman hardly imagined himself plunging through the Amazon — where 30-foot anacondas devour whole calves for between-meal snacks. But that is precisely where Shuman found himself in October, as he and 45 other “Kellogg Fellows” toured Brazil for fifteen days.

Shuman received his fellowship from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in August 1987. Designed to develop the leadership skills of 50 young American leaders, the Kellogg Fellowship helps recipients to learn

about a field outside their current expertise. Shuman is using his fellowship time to study decentralized approaches to Third World development. He'll take a leave of absence from CID beginning this spring to look at development projects in Latin America, particularly those in which local governments play a central role.

During the October trip, Shuman's group saw both the best and worst sides of development projects — from successful cooperatives in which formerly impoverished peasants support one another in learn-

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## A Note from CID

In our last occasional memorandum, we wrote of our plans to help cities around the country establish Offices of International Affairs (OIA). A number of you called or wrote messages of praise and support for that effort to help cities use their authority to address the arms race — to determine what the arms race costs locally and what benefits would accrue from arms control and disarmament.

■ As one way of promoting that strategy, Larry Agran authored a National Priorities Resolution which his colleagues in the U.S. Conference of Mayors unanimously adopted in June 1987. That resolution called on the President and the Congress to redress the imbalance between military and domestic spending. But more than that, the resolution pledged the Conference's resources to study the economic impacts on the nation and on the cities of a transfer of \$30 billion per year, for five years, from military outlays to programs of proven effectiveness in our cities and towns. You can read about that study on page one of this issue of the *CID Report*.

### Conference, from Page 1

terms. They speak of Trident submarines, MX missiles, and Star Wars. In short, they equate massive, even wasteful, military spending with national security.

"Mayors worry about national security, too," Agran said. "But to us, national security means more than weapons. It means strong families and strong neighborhoods in economically vibrant communities. It means good-paying jobs in modern industries that are competitive in the global marketplace. It means health care and education, childcare, and transportation worthy of our citizens. It means decent, affordable housing for every American.

"Measured in these terms, our national security has been breached. Our cities are under siege."

Chicago Mayor Eugene Sawyer agreed, saying increases in military spending have come at the expense of America's cities.

"The lack of federal funding in recent years has directly and indirectly caused

■ For the next several months, Larry will be busy meeting with local officials interested in finding out how their cities can build Offices of International Affairs, as well as putting in appearances in Minnesota, Massachusetts, and Oregon where he's been asked to address groups of officials, scholars and activists interested in municipal foreign policy.

■ Even as we write, Michael Shuman is on a speaking tour that has taken him, in several months, from Northern California and New York, to Washington, D.C., and Managua, Nicaragua. At the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., Michael recently delivered a major oration on the legality of city involvement in foreign affairs — a subject he's found the time to explain at even greater length in part of a forthcoming book funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

Back home in Irvine, four hardy souls hold down the main office and publish our *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy* — important work made possible by your generous support.

many of the social ills we are experiencing in our urban areas today — housing, economic development, education, job training, mass transit, health and social services cutbacks...cities teeming with drug-related crime and our jail cells overflowing."

The study documents the likely impact of a \$30 billion transfer from military spending to what Agran called "programs of proven effectiveness in our cities and towns." It shows specifically that the \$30 billion shift would free at least \$5 billion each year for the construction or renovation of nearly one million homes; \$12 billion to schools to hire 387,000 new teachers, aides and support staff; would release \$3 billion for the enhancement of rapid transit systems; \$2 billion for public health projects; and \$8 billion for an array of childcare, senior service and job-training programs.

For a copy of "A Shift in Military Spending to America's Cities," send \$10 to Employment Research Associates, 115 W. Allegan Street, Suite 810, Lansing, Michigan 48933. Bulk discounts available.



# CID

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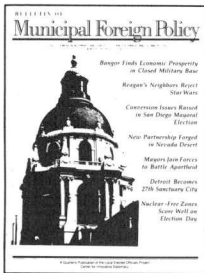


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# Bulletin BRIEFS

Each issue of the Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy documents the myriad ways in which cities have entered the world of cultural exchange and global politics and economy. The Autumn 1988 issue of the Bulletin included the following:

**ARMS AND THE CITY.** In his lead editorial, CID President Michael Shuman says the U.S. "may have escaped economic calamity in recent years, but this is because of unprecedented government debt. Between 1982 and 1986, the United States borrowed more than \$400 billion abroad..." Shuman says borrowing abroad has kept the Reagan Administration a step ahead of record military spending, on the one hand, and popular support for remaining social programs, on the other. But fiscal profligacy has transformed the U.S. "from the world's largest creditor into the world's largest debtor."

And wasteful federal spending is one reason cities are getting involved in international affairs. As the government competes with business and local governments in loan markets for increasingly scarce capital, cash-hungry American businesses will fall prey to global competition. "The decline of America's competitiveness will reverberate in more plant closings, mortgage foreclosures, and business failures—all of which will leave our cities reeling with more unemployment, crime, and despair," Shuman predicts.

Shuman suggests that local officials and activists begin studies of "your own backyard...because most people, in most cities, are big losers from the military pork barrel." Such studies will show cities "that doing nothing about the arms race is fiscally irresponsible."

**HOW IT WORKS.** The inner workings of military spending — and their precise impact on the economy — rival in their obscurity the most arcane religions. In an illuminating interview with the *Bulletin*, economist Michael Oden points out that "issues of national security have traditionally been separated from issues of economic performance and national strength." Military spending, he charges, has undermined American security.

Military spending "has drawn skilled personnel out of the civilian sector and has diverted capital into unproductive military activities. These sap innovation, productivity, and international competitiveness and help trap the economy between the rock of inflation and the hard place of stagnation."

**HOW DISARMING.** Citizens and local governments in Hawaii and New England face unique local military problems. In Hawaii, local officials and activists have called for an end to the decades-long practice-bombing of Kaho'olawe—the smallest of Hawaii's eight islands, just south of Maui. In New England, citizens and local officials have become partners in a fight to stop the erection of Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) Towers designed to help the U.S. military fight a protracted nuclear war. Fifteen towns in Maine, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts have already said no to the towers.

**TERMS OF DIVESTMENT.** Minneapolis Councilmember Walt Dziedzic knows what he'd say to Queen Elizabeth should she grant him an audience: "I'd say, 'What the hell are you doing in Northern Ireland?' And I'd say it in a little more Northeast [Minneapolis] terms than that." In the meantime, Mr. Dziedzic and his fellow councilmembers have settled for a stern resolution to divest city funds from those companies doing business in Northern Ireland that have yet to adopt the MacBride Principles of fair treatment.

*The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy is a quarterly publication of the Local Elected Officials Project of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy. Membership in CID, including a subscription to the Bulletin, is \$35 annually.*

## BRAZIL from Page 1

ing handicraft and woodworking skills, to hydroelectric dams in the Amazon which are destroying precious rainforests to produce electricity nobody can afford.

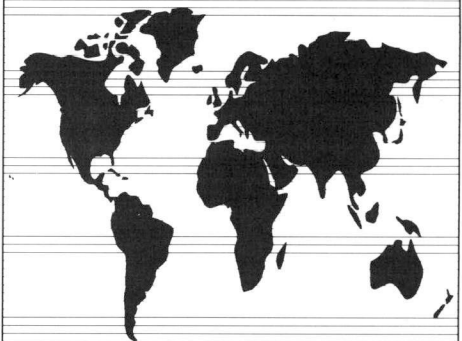
"What we saw over and over again," Shuman said, "was that the more modest, human-scale development projects were more sensitive to both the people and their environment. The possibilities for American cities to help support these town-sized development projects are extraordinary."

Shuman contends that most North American cities will see advantages in town-to-town development projects. "If American cities act quickly," he said, "they can help prevent the kinds of social, economic, and ecological disasters already unfolding—not just here in Latin America, but all over the planet."

Shuman plans to return to Brazil in the Summer of 1989. And what about that snake phobia? "I'll use a small part of my fellowship money to go through a 'snake de-tox' desensitization program."

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# SECURITY PROJECT SCALES THE ROCKIES

CID Board Members at work  
on Nonprovocative defense

CID President Michael Shuman recently fulfilled one of his long-standing dreams — to play Phil Donahue for a day. Microphone in hand, Shuman ranged an audience of some 200 conference-goers for reactions to CID's Alternative Security Project at a gathering sponsored by singer John Denver's Winstar Foundation.

Shuman responded to the reactions of Soviet television commentator Vladimir Posner, actor Dennis Weaver, conservationists David Brower and Amory Lovins, actor Dennis Weaver, writer Barbara Marx Hubbard, and Soviet academician Yevgeni Velikhov, chair of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev.

The discussion followed Shuman and CID Board Chair Hal Harvey's workshop on their forthcoming book *Alternative Security: Beyond the Controlled Arms Race*. The



**Far Out.** John Denver greets CID's Hal Harvey and Michael Shuman.

book's thesis is simple: The U.S. would increase its national security and reduce its military budget through a better mix of environmental, economic, and diplomatic policies. For example, by promoting energy conservation at home, the U.S. could reduce the geopolitical importance of oil, demobilize its dangerous Rapid Deployment Force in the Middle East, and save billions of dollars in the process.

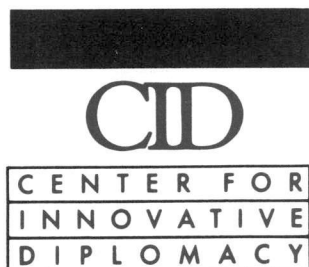
As another example, Shuman and Harvey suggested that Americans could promote perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union by opening up Soviet-American trade, cultural exchanges, and joint research projects. Posner challenged the point, arguing that foreigners have little influence over other nations' international affairs. "If that were really true," Shuman countered, "Vladimir Posner would be out of a job."

Shuman and Harvey also discussed what they called "nonprovocative defense"

(NPD). European security would be enhanced, the two argued, if NATO transformed its nuclear and conventional forces into purely defensive configurations. That strategy, they predicted, would provide incentives for de-escalation by the Warsaw Pact and, again, save billions of dollars.

While "restructuring" clearly has its adherents in the West, nonoffensive defense strategies remain controversial. Stephen Flanagan, of the Pentagon's National Defense University, argues, in Harvey's words, "that deterrence requires the ability not only to deny victory but to inflict punishment as well."

But in *Alternative Security* Shuman, Harvey, and co-author Daniel Arbess contend that "deterrence by denial" has prevented aggression against the Swiss for hundreds of years, and stayed the Soviet hand against Yugoslavia for more than forty years.



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