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Animus of the Underling: Theorizing City Diplomacy in a World Society

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Introduction

In the 1980s, the nuclear arms race between the U.S. and Soviet Union, along with a range of other issues spanning the domestic and global scales, galvanized a wave of local-level activism significantly more potent than what had been seen during the Vietnam War. This wave of activism, which saw local governments intervening directly in foreign affairs issues, often in direct defiance of the federal government, came to be known as the municipal foreign policy (MFP) movement.¹ According to Kirby et al., ‘until its demise in 1991, the most consistent and comprehensive coverage of MFP issues was found in the *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*’.² This *Bulletin* was not only a record, it was the flagship publication of a key organization advancing the MFP movement: The Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID). CID was established in 1982 in San Francisco by attorney Michael Shuman to promote citizen diplomacy and local government action to end the arms race with the Soviets. Meanwhile, in 1983, then-mayor of Irvine, California, Larry Agran, established the Local Elected Officials of America (LEO-USA) project, a network of over 250 U.S. local officials advocating for the end of the arms race, reduction in U.S. defense spending and reallocation of federal spending back to economically ailing American cities.³ Both organizations built support for the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign that began in 1981, but came to contribute to a much wider range of diplomatic issues in the last decade of the Cold War. CID soon merged with LEO-USA, the latter absorbing into the former, and moved to Irvine. This merger led to the creation and publication of the *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*.⁴

No study has yet been produced having fully combed through *Bulletin* and other CID materials due to the absence of an archive containing all issues, and this study marks the first. In 2016, former Irvine, California, mayor Larry Agran and I collected and archived these materials into the California Digital Archive, making them accessible online for the first time in full.

* The author dedicates this work to Richard V. Knight, a scholar, mentor and friend. The author is grateful to the funding provided by the Kugelman Fellowship, Center for Citizen Peacebuilding, at the University of California Irvine. The author would also like to thank the scholars who provided valuable input on previous drafts of this work at the University of California Irvine, the University of Oxford and the University of Southern California.

¹ P.J. Spiro, ‘Taking Foreign Policy Away from the Feds’, *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1988), pp. 191-203.

² A. Kirby, S. Marston and K. Seashoals, ‘World cities and global communities: the municipal foreign policy movement and new roles for cities’, in P.L. Knox and P.J. Taylor (eds.), *World Cities in a World-System* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 273.

³ A. Kline, ‘CID Helps Organize First U.S. Workshop on Municipal Foreign Policies’, *The CID Report*, vol. 2, no. 2 (March-April, 1985), pp. 1-3.

⁴ H. Hobbs, *City Hall Goes Abroad: The Foreign Policy of Local Politics* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994).

Accordingly, this study uses *Bulletin* and related CID archive materials to inform and advance our theoretical understanding of city activism on international-scale issues. The ‘MFP movement’ as it is colloquially referred to is not one social movement, but is comprised of several, three of which are observed in this study. U.S. city government measures to divest assets from Apartheid South Africa to help build pressure to end Apartheid; city governments sending aid to and providing sanctuary for refugees from Central American countries impacted by the Reagan Administration’s activities in the region; and the movement of cities establishing ‘nuclear free zones’ (NFZs) banning nuclear weapons manufacturing or materials storage within their jurisdictions. This study argues that these instances of city-level activism are explicable by the world society theory assumption that in certain circumstances, nation-state violation of or failure to enforce universal norms results in subnational entities independently enforcing them.⁵

World Society Theory & Municipal Foreign Policy

The *Bulletin* explained that a principal reason for the participation of U.S. cities in the MFP movement was because they ‘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’.⁶ The chair of the Berkeley, California Commission on Peace and Justice told the *Bulletin* that the universal human rights and peace norms set forth by the UN Charter and Nuremberg Principles ‘establish norms of conduct for every one in the United States, including national and local government officials’ and every municipal foreign policy effort was also ‘an effort to help enforce the Charter and the Principles’.⁷ Sending aid to Central American communities, anti-Apartheid divestment laws, and NFZs then, were described as ‘attempts to accelerate national and international reform’.⁸ City leaders acted thusly on a sense of duty that superseded national-level laws and adhering to universal values, with the understanding that ‘cities can help enunciate, develop, and codify international norms that can be the basis for effective international law’.⁹

To attempt to explain this, the *Bulletin*¹⁰ adopted the ideas of urban affairs scholar Richard V. Knight¹¹ as explanatory of the larger globalization-induced conditions underpinning the municipal foreign policy movement. Specifically, that the acceleration of globalization has given rise to a new global society, in which a ‘global consciousness and a global ethic is being

⁵ J. W. Meyer, J. Boli, G.M. Thomas and F.O. Ramirez, ‘World Society and the Nation-State’, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 103, no. 1 (July, 1997), pp. 144-181.

⁶ M. Shuman, ‘Why cities are entering international affairs: An overview’ *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Winter, 1986-87b), pp. 3-4.

⁷ A.F. Ginger, ‘From Morality to Law’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy* vol. 4, no. 1 (Winter, 1989-90), p. 3.

⁸ J. Sklansky, ‘CFCs days are numbered’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 4 (Autumn, 1989), pp. 8-12.

⁹ M. Shuman, ‘Support your local state department’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Spring, 1988), pp. 2-4.

¹⁰ W. Swaim, ‘Why Municipal Foreign Policy is Sexy’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Winter, 1989-90a), pp. 6-8; W. Swaim, ‘A City Hall Guide to the Future’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Winter, 1989-90b), pp. 62-63.

¹¹ R.V. Knight, ‘The Emergent Global Society’, in R.V. Knight and G. Gappert (eds.), *Cities in a Global Society* (London: Sage Publications, 1989), pp. 24-43.

forced upon this generation by new technological, ecological, and political realities'.¹² Indeed, Kirby et al.¹³ argues that an emergence of a global consciousness undergirded the municipal foreign policy movement, particularly as globalization increasingly threatened the legitimacy of the nation-state.¹⁴

The phenomena which the *Bulletin* sought to describe is afforded some further, though incomplete, elucidation from extant literature. The above global ethic or consciousness reflects Kantian universalism, where an international society creates moral imperatives limiting the actions of states in international affairs.¹⁵ In the case of the MFP movement, it is city leaders imposing these limitations. When local policymakers and constituents identify with a global larger community and its related problems, a process of forming globally-oriented interests begins, and often leads to a local government claiming political authority in foreign affairs.¹⁶ Through this process, cities increasingly become purveyors and defenders of such global common goods and universal values as human rights.¹⁷ The capability of sub-state entities to effect such limitations varies by national context. Federal systems can allow for internal forces to allow sub-state entities to gain greater autonomy and thus greater foreign affairs competencies, as in the case of Belgium.¹⁸ However, when constitutional provisions for sub-state competencies are not explicit, this can act as a structural constraint on sub-state foreign affairs autonomy, as in the case of South Africa.¹⁹ Thus, it is sub-state entities with legislative powers that are particularly able to push the envelope on sub-state paradiplomacy that more closely mirrors formal diplomacy carried out by nation-states.²⁰ Limitations on nation-state foreign affairs actions that are imposed from below involve 'a shared global morality and the assertion of universal norms' motivating activism²¹ that results in the formation of network structures which enable subnational actors to mobilize resources to collectively create pressure on national governments.²²

This study argues that encapsulating the above observations in a more complete, encompassing manner is world society theory, which fully elucidates global ideational flows and

¹² Knight, 'The Emergent Global Society', p. 25.

¹³ A. Kirby, S. Marston and K. Seashoals, 'World cities and global communities: the municipal foreign policy movement and new roles for cities', in P.L. Knox and P.J. Taylor (eds.), *World Cities in a World-System* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 267-279.

¹⁴ A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

¹⁵ H. Bull, 'Does Order Exist in World Politics?' in P.R. Viotti and M.V. Kauppi (eds.), *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism and Beyond, Third Edition* (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 1999), pp. 127-129; I. Kant, 'Morality, Politics, and Perpetual Peace', pp. 415-421.

¹⁶ K. Ljungkvist, *The Global City 2.0: From Strategic Site to Global Actor* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).

¹⁷ B. Barber, *If Mayors Ruled The World: Dysfunctional nations, rising cities* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013); N. Cornago, 'On the Normalization of Sub-State Diplomacy', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 5 (2010), pp. 11-36.

¹⁸ P. Bursens and Jana Deforche, 'Going Beyond Paradiplomacy? Adding Historical Institutionalism to Account for Regional Foreign Policy Competences', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 5 (2010), pp. 151-171.

¹⁹ F. Nganje, 'The Developmental Paradiplomacy of South African Provinces: Context, Scope and the Challenge of Coordination', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 9 (2014), pp. 119-149.

²⁰ D. Criekmans, 'Regional Sub-State Diplomacy from a Comparative Perspective: Quebec, Scotland, Bavaria, Catalonia, Wallonia and Flanders', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 5 (2010), pp. 37-64.

²¹ G. Seidman, 'Adjusting the Lens: What Do Globalizations, Transnationalism, and the Anti-apartheid Movement Mean for Social Movement Theory?' in Guidry, Kennedy and Zald (eds.) *Globalizations and Social Movements*, pp. 339-358.

²² M. Keck and K. Sikkink, 'Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics', *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 51, no. 159 (1999), pp. 89-101.

the national and subnational political processes which follow from them. World society theory holds that norms and practices in human rights, science, governance and other areas initially emanate largely from western countries like the U.S. and then diffuse globally through supranational institutions such as the United Nations (UN)²³ and both the identity of nation-states and the norms which they are expected to enforce are exogenously influenced by this diffused world culture.²⁴ As a result of direct connections formed between local actors and world culture, if a nation-state neglects to adopt world-approved policies or enforce universal norms, then subnational entities will try to carry out or enforce conformity to those norms.²⁵ These elements of world society theory provide a fitting explanation for the local-level influence of such global norms embodied in the Nuremberg principles and UN Charter, as well as the defiant response by U.S. cities when nation-states fail to abide by those norms. Further justification for this approach is that the U.S. is understood as highly embedded within world society²⁶, in that such western nations are simultaneously the most prominent source from which world society norms emanate and also the most rapid adopters and enforcers of such norms.²⁷

The capability these highly embedded states to actually enforce norms, rather than just superficially adopt them as many other countries do, is attributed to their advanced level of economic development and global connectivity.²⁸ American cities then, being situated within the national context of the highly embedded, economically advanced and globally connected nation of the United States, can be understood as particularly likely to be exposed to world society norms and to have the capability and willingness to enforce them. A world society approach may thus provide a fitting theoretical explanation for U.S. city-level involvement in the NFZ movement, divestment from South Africa and intervention in the Central American crisis during the larger MFP movement, as this approach should fully explain the conditions and causes animating these processes at all relevant scales.

‘Renegade Local Governments’: The Nuclear Free Zone Movement

Through the early 1980s, the Reagan administration cut large quantities of federal assistance to local food, housing, education and employment training assistance and redirected funds to the

²³ W. Longhofer and E. Schofer, ‘National and Global Origins of Environmental Association’, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 75, no. 4 (2010), pp. 505-533; J. W. Meyer, J. Boli, G.M. Thomas and F.O. Ramirez, ‘World Society and the Nation-State’, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 103, no. 1 (July, 1997), pp. 144-181; E. Schofer, ‘Cross-National Differences in the Expansion of Science, 1970-90’, *Social Forces*, vol. 83, no. 1 (2004), pp. 215-248.

²⁴ J. A. Guidry, ‘The Useful State? Social Movements and the Citizenship of Children in Brazil’, in J. A. Guidry, M.D. Kennedy and M.N. Zald (eds.), *Globalizations and Social Movements: Culture, Power and Transnational Public Sphere* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp. 147-182.

²⁵ Meyer, Boli, Thomas and Ramirez, ‘World Society and the Nation-State’.

²⁶ A. Hironaka, *Greening the Globe: World Society and Environmental Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

²⁷ G. Drori, ‘Governed by Governance: The New Prism for Organizational Planning’, in G. Drori, J.W. Meyer and H. Hwang (eds.), *Globalization and Organization: World Society and Organizational Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 91-120; Y.S. Jang, ‘Transparent Accounting as a World Societal Rule’, pp. 215-248.

²⁸ J.W. Meyer, ‘World Society, Institutional Theories, and the Actor’, *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1 (2010), pp. 1-20.

defense budget to fund the arms race with the Soviet Union.²⁹ This drop in U.S. federal aid to locales coincided with the emergence of the U.S.-led neoliberal economic order, with accelerated global investment flows and economic competition, pulling city economies directly into the global market while also allowing cities to become key players in the norm-driven international society.³⁰ U.S. cities were economically disenfranchised by the same federal government that was causing a persistent threat of nuclear annihilation via the arms race, while also rapidly gaining relevance in global civil society alongside other world cities. As other cities around the world began responding to the threat by establishing nuclear free zones (NFZ), American cities thus followed close behind. In 1982, Garrett Park, Maryland became the first American city to declare itself an NFZ, declaring that it would allow neither nuclear weapons production-related activities to take place in nor nuclear weapons production-related materials to pass through its jurisdiction.³¹

Given the strong local perception that the arms race impacted the safety of locales³², NFZs aimed ‘to raise the moral, financial, and bureaucratic costs for the U.S. government to continue the nuclear arms race’³³, and multiple U.S. city officials told the *Bulletin* that it was necessary to create this pressure in order to shift the position of the federal government on the arms race.³⁴ By 1988, over 3,800 locales in seventeen countries worldwide had declared their jurisdictions NFZs, in which local campaigns to educate communities about the dangers of the arms race and need for disarmament prompted locales to bring NFZ declarations to a local vote.³⁵ Former U.S. Senator Jesse Helms was a harsh critic of American cities declaring themselves NFZs, calling these cities ‘renegade local governments’³⁶ and Spiro argued that ‘if every state had the constitutional capacity to declare itself a nuclear free zone, the federal government might find itself in a position in which it was powerless to deploy such weapons’.³⁷ Helms also responded to American NFZs by hypothetically positing ‘what if cities decided they were going to declare war on other countries?’³⁸ Such verbal federal opposition accompanied the many legal battles the federal government launched against NFZ cities.

Larry Agran's LEO-USA was an example of cities viewing the nuclear threat as an intrinsically local issue, since cities would be the first victims of nuclear attack.³⁹ CID and LEO-USA used the constituent mobilization technique of frame alignment⁴⁰ to educate hundreds of

²⁹ S. Danziger and Robert Haveman, ‘The Reagan Budget: A Sharp Break with the Past’, *Challenge*, vol. 24 (May-June, 1981), pp. 5-13; R. Randall and C. Wilson, ‘The Impact of Federally Imposed Stress Upon Local-Government and Nonprofit Organizations’, *Administration & Society*, vol. 21, no. 1 (1989), pp. 3-19.

³⁰ S. Curtis, *Global Cities and Global Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016);

J. Kincaid, ‘Rain clouds over municipal diplomacy: Dimensions and possible sources of negative public opinion’, in E. Fry, L. Radebaugh and P. Soldatos (eds.), *The new international cities era: The global activities of North American municipal governments* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1989), pp. 223-250.

³¹ Hobbs, *City Hall Goes Abroad*.

³² C. Alger, ‘The world relations of cities: closing the gap between social science paradigms and everyday human experience’, *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 34 (1990), pp. 493-518.

³³ M. Shuman, ‘A Tale of Two Courts’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Summer, 1990), pp. 4-6.

³⁴ T. Masanz, ‘As it lay dying’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Autumn, 1988), pp. 28-30.

³⁵ Nuclear Free America (NFA), ‘Nuclear-free-zone communities now exceed 3,800 worldwide’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol., 2, no. 1 (Winter, 1988), p. 36.

³⁶ W. Swaim, ‘Feds On Offense?’ *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 4 (Autumn, 1989), pp. 22-24.

³⁷ Spiro, ‘Taking Foreign Policy Away’, p. 197.

³⁸ W. Swaim, ‘Feds On Offense?’, 22.

³⁹ Alger, ‘The world relations of cities’.

⁴⁰ D. Snow, E. Rochford, S. Worden, and R. Benford, ‘Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation’, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 51, no. 4 (August, 1986), pp. 464-481.

U.S. local government officials on the dangers of the arms race and on how to establish NFZs.⁴¹ As NFZs faced various legal challenges from the federal government, attorneys supporting and defending NFZ cities recommended that NFZ ordinances should be adopted pursuant to the ‘police power’ authority that gives state and local jurisdictions the power to adopt legislation to protect ‘health, safety and public morals’⁴². For example, Oakland's city attorney city framed the local NFZ law as being ‘for the benefit of the citizens and their health and safety’.⁴³ Cities also became NFZs because of the hazards of radioactive materials⁴⁴, emphasizing the adverse local economic consequences of military contracting and advocating for economic conversion away from the defense industry.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, the overarching motivation for NFZs was the collective goal of ending the arms race. As one Detroit City Council member stated, ‘local elected officials can only fulfill their local duties by working for fundamental changes in priorities and proportions of federal spending and policy as a whole, including foreign policy’.⁴⁶ Opponents argued that matters concerning nuclear weapons are of national concern and do not turn on questions of local interest, citing as justification the preemption doctrine of the Supremacy Clause in the U.S. Constitution, which holds that nonfederal entities may not take action inconsistent with federal policy.⁴⁷ Yet the fact that local-level involvement in foreign affairs is enshrined Tenth Amendment of the Constitution allowed for many legal battles over NFZs and other municipal foreign policy issues to be won.⁴⁸

The universal jurisdiction of world society norms necessarily supersedes national jurisdiction, but this transcendence of boundaries goes relatively unnoticed when national actions and interests are in agreement with universal norms. However, the jurisdictional disagreement seen in the NFZ movement places national interests counter to universal ones, with nationalism seen in the accusations by some politicians of NFZs being ‘un-American’.⁴⁹ As city government leaders and other activist advocates for NFZs persisted, it became well understood that ‘participation of nonstate actors [i.e., cities] in foreign affairs hold the prospect of creating the global norms, laws and institutions that can make disarmament possible’.⁵⁰ Pursuant to these goals, city leaders and activists engaged in more focused efforts to create yet more networks and organizations among NFZ cities. Several hundred cities from around the world International Conferences on Nuclear Free Zones, the fourth of which was held in 1989 in Oregon, where Larry Agran and CID established the U.S. Nuclear Free Zone Association. This was modeled after the existing National League of Cities, and quickly came to comprise 168 NFZ cities across

⁴¹ M. Shuman, ‘Dateline Main Street: Local Foreign Policies’, *Foreign Policy*, vol. 65 (1986–87a), pp. 154-174.

⁴² Shuman, ‘A Tale of Two Courts’, p. 4.

⁴³ W. Swaim, ‘Feds On Offense?’ p. 22.

⁴⁴ W. Riles, and J. Vasquez, ‘What May Have Been’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Winter, 1989-90), p. 45.

⁴⁵ A. Donnay and H. Averbek, ‘Challenging the nuclear weapons industry’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Spring, 1988), pp. 47-50.

⁴⁶ M. Ravitz, ‘Foreign policy-making: A local elected official’s constitutional duty’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Spring, 1988), p. 22.

⁴⁷ Spiro, ‘Taking Foreign Policy Away’,

⁴⁸ Shuman, ‘Dateline Main Street’.

⁴⁹ Donnay and Averbek, ‘Challenging the nuclear weapons industry’, p. 48.

⁵⁰ M. Shuman, ‘International Institution Building: The Missing Link for Peace’, *The CID Report*, vol. 1, no.1 (August/September, 1984), p. 13.

America, advancing public education on disarmament and raising support for the legal defense of NFZs.⁵¹

‘Shot at by bullets you paid for’: The Central American Crisis

Fearing the further spread of communism, the Reagan administration responded to the pro-communist revolutions in Central America by funding anti-communist forces such as the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, supporting anti-communist regimes in Guatemala and El Salvador, and imposing a trade embargo against Nicaragua. This resulted in prolonged civil wars and loss of life that many Americans saw as conflict sponsored by their national government.⁵² For example, during a 1989 New York delegation visit to its sister city in Nicaragua, Contra rebels opened fire on the delegation, nearly killing them, to which an American Reverend in the delegation remarked, ‘it’s quite an experience to be shot at by bullets you paid for’.⁵³ The moral affront to American city leaders and activist constituents witnessing the loss of life in Central America, compounded with the awareness that the U.S. federal government was directly responsible, constituted a clear violation of human rights norms, and evoked city-level responses across the U.S.

Burlington, VT, Pittsburgh, PA and several other cities forged sister city relationships with Nicaraguan and El Salvadoran cities to send aid from locally-raised funds and help relieve the ravages of war, and help offset the economic impact from the embargo.⁵⁴ At the 1988 U.S.-Nicaragua Sister City conference, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said, ‘you can’t put an embargo on conscience’.⁵⁵ Rochester, NY sent aid to its Nicaraguan sister city, representatives of which characterized Rochester as a ‘bodyguard of the oppressed peasant’.⁵⁶ Speaker pro tem of the State Assembly of Wisconsin, the sister state to Nicaragua, stated in the *Bulletin* that the Reagan administration’s support for anti-communist forces in Central America was a ‘corrupt foreign policy’ that was ‘undemocratic and morally wrong’, and for which U.S. city and state engagement in efforts via sister cities is a ‘rekindling of idealism and regaining national self-respect’.⁵⁷

Another externality of the civil wars was Central American refugees fleeing to the U.S. in hopes of safe haven. By the end of 1987, twenty-seven U.S. cities had declared themselves sanctuary cities for Central American refugees, including the entire State of Wisconsin declaring itself a sanctuary state.⁵⁸ Other efforts included Denver City Council passing a resolution calling

⁵¹ B. Keller, A. Donnay and H. Prensky, ‘Homage to Oregon: World Delegates Meet For NFZ Conference’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Spring, 1989), pp. 24-25.

⁵² Vasquez, ‘LEOs Question U.S. Policy in Central America’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Autumn, 1988), p. 19.

⁵³ C. Idzik, ‘The War Comes Home’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Winter, 1989-90), p. 57.

⁵⁴ N. Gotthelf, ‘Madison Links Up With Arcatao, El Salvador’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Spring, 1987), p. 10.

⁵⁵ L. Chilsen, ‘Central America’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy* vol. 2, no. 4 (Autumn, 1988), pp. 16-17.

⁵⁶ H. Levine, ‘Rochester plans water project’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 3 (Summer, 1989), p. 16.

⁵⁷ D. Clarenbach, ‘Central America and local policy: The view from Wisconsin’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy* vol. 3, no. 4 (Autumn, 1989), 59-60.

⁵⁸ P. Deleray, ‘List of Sanctuary Cities’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Winter, 1987-88), p. 20.

for Congressional passage of legislation granting the refugees a temporary haven in the U.S.⁵⁹ In declaring his city a sanctuary city, the mayor of Detroit appealed to human rights norms:

‘Mayor Young ‘called upon the people of the city of Detroit to reaffirm our commitment to human rights and justice, and to reaffirm the American tradition of providing refuge to per sons who have fled their native country for fear of persecution’’.⁶⁰

U.S. city interventions into Central American affairs took additional forms. When local leaders of Salvadoran cities El Varillo and San Antonio Los Ranchos were kidnapped by Salvadoran government forces, local officials in Baltimore, Maryland and Berkeley, California respectively used Congressional lobbying and other means to pressure the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador to secure the release of each kidnapped official. The two cities’ efforts were successful, and the freed officials credited Baltimore and Berkeley for their release.⁶¹ In 1990, Nicaraguan elections for new leadership were held, and voters unseated the incumbent anti-communist government supported by the Reagan Administration that had cost tens of thousands of lives. The Central American crisis drew to a close as the fall of communism that began in 1991 with dissolution of the Soviet Union soon reached Central America. Reagan’s entanglements with the Contras ultimately have become recognized as an example of when gross misjudgment and amateurism occur at the federal level, and why subsequent subnational foreign policies can serve as both a healthy check on ill-conceived or immoral national foreign policies.⁶²

Making a statement with the almighty dollar: The Anti-Apartheid Movement

From 1948 to 1994, the South African system of Apartheid institutionalized racial segregation, favoring the whites who led the government. In 1985, President Reagan issued an executive order imposing economic sanctions on South Africa, and in 1986, Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which included harsher trade restrictions. However, as the *Bulletin* notes, these national sanctions did not force a hard line on corporations, so cities began to use divestment measures to force the South African government to reassess the costs it was willing to pay to continue apartheid.⁶³ Over 100 U.S. cities divested billions of dollars in assets out of firms doing business in Apartheid South Africa.⁶⁴ City, county and state governments placed sanctions on and refused to provide loans to companies that did business with South Africa, and implemented selective purchasing policies prohibiting local government contracts to South African firms.⁶⁵ These divestment statutes and ordinances required the sale of almost \$20

⁵⁹ R. Martinez, ‘Denver Council Lends Support to Central American Refugees’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Spring, 1989), p. 12.

⁶⁰ M. Ravitz, ‘Detroit Becomes 27th Sanctuary City’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Winter, 1987-88), p. 20.

⁶¹ K. Daubman, ‘How Baltimore Saved a Salvadoran Local Official’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Winter, 1988-89), pp. 25-26; L. Hancock, ‘Berkeley Mayor Battles for Release of Salvadoran Mayor’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Spring, 1989), pp. 11-12.

⁶² R. Bilder, ‘The role of states and cities in foreign relations’, *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 83 (1989), pp. 821-831.

⁶³ K. Pfordresher, ‘U.S. Cities, South African Apartheid: Where Do We Stand?’ *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 3 (Summer, 1989), p. 37.

⁶⁴ Shuman, ‘Dateline Main Street’.

⁶⁵ E. Fry and P.K. Kresl. *The Urban Response to Internationalization* (London: Edward Elgar, 2005).

billion in stocks and bonds, the overall objective being to end Apartheid through forcing American corporate withdrawal from South Africa.⁶⁶

In a 1989 Senate meeting, Senator Jesse Helms threatened to punish U.S. cities divesting from South Africa by denying them federal transportation funds. Yet, even Transportation Appropriations Committee chair Frank Lautenberg recognized that ‘financial concerns must at some point yield to moral standards. This is such a point’.⁶⁷ Further illustrating this was New York Senator Daniel Moynihan’s comment:

‘From the day this Union of States was formed, we have found that citizens, communities, states, feeling strongly about moral or ethical issues in world affairs, have made their position clear, and have under taken actions that affect them and them alone. Often we have found that, with time, as we are seeing, those views spread. They gain ascendancy, and policy rises from the grassroots of the nation to the nation’s capital’.⁶⁸

The outspoken critic of municipal foreign policy, Spiro, argued that in enacting anti-South Africa legislation, cities ‘assert a right, if not strictly speaking a purpose, to add a moral dimension to their actions as market participants’.⁶⁹ Indeed they did. As the *Bulletin* reported, city government leaders in Tallahassee, Florida divested from South Africa, saying that they *do* want the economic growth opportunities which come from doing business with South Africa, ‘but not at any price’.⁷⁰ Other anti-Apartheid efforts by cities took the form of sending material and financial aid to black South African cities through such channels as the U.S.-South Africa Sister Community Project.⁷¹ St. Paul, Minnesota mayor George Latimer told the *Bulletin* that Apartheid was ‘morally repugnant to the people of St. Paul’,⁷² a sentiment which the city acted upon.

St. Paul established a sister city relationship with a Lawaïkamp, a small South African black community of 1,800 residents which for years the nearby white city of George had been attempting to forcibly relocate. St. Paul officials directly intervened and negotiated with the government of George, and successfully pressured them to abandon the forced relocation effort. St. Paul soon thereafter earned direct praise from Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who in turn promoted the U.S.- South Africa sister city efforts as an important part of the U.S. anti-apartheid movement.⁷³ When Nelson Mandela was freed from imprisonment by the South African government in 1990, he visited U.S. cities, joining the efforts of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and other officials to end Apartheid, which led to the U.S. Conference of Mayors passing a resolution condemning the Apartheid system.⁷⁴ In 1994, a South African new constitution was written, and Nelson Mandela became President, marking the end of Apartheid.

⁶⁶ Spiro, ‘Taking Foreign Policy Away’.

⁶⁷ W. Swaim, ‘Feds On Offense?’, p. 23.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ P.J. Spiro, ‘State and Local Anti-South Africa Action as an Intrusion upon the Federal Power in Foreign Affairs’, *Virginia Law Review*, vol., 72, no. 4 (1986), p. 824.

⁷⁰ J. McLean, ‘Divestiture: One City’s Experience’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Winter, 1988-89), p. 8.

⁷¹ S. Hurley, ‘Solidarity, St. Paul Style’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Winter, 1988-89), 49.

⁷² G. Latimer, ‘St. Paul mayor rejects South African offer’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Spring, 1989), p. 42.

⁷³ W. Wilson, ‘South Africa Agrees to Spare Black Township’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 3, no. 4 (Autumn, 1989), pp. 28-29.

⁷⁴ T. Bradley and James Scheibel, ‘Cities Marching On’, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, vol. 4, no. 4 (Autumn 1990), 35.

Discussion & Conclusion

The above cases demonstrate U.S. city-level actors in the MFP movement, motivated by world society norms of human rights, security and equality, intervened in foreign and domestic affairs to enforce these norms when the U.S. federal government violated or failed to do enforce them. This confirms the world society theory assumption that when the nation-state violates or fails to enforce universal norms expected of it, subnational entities in certain conditions will intervene and enforce said norms, a result of connections formed between local actors and the world society.⁷⁵ That world society norms originate in and are diffused from western nations and the supranational institutions they largely created⁷⁶ is seen in the MFP movement in the evident influence of the Nuremberg principles and UN Charter. This better contextualizes ideas in extant literature of a global consciousness or morality⁷⁷ where a seeming Kantian universalism takes place in cities⁷⁸, where cities become defenders of normative issues such as human rights⁷⁹ and international-scale security concerns.⁸⁰

The specific conditions allowing for this process in the MFP movement involved U.S. embeddedness in world society⁸¹ affording it high likelihood of adoption and enforcement of world-society approved norms⁸², which is extended here to U.S. cities via Meyer.⁸³ The provisions for subnational foreign affairs in the Tenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution are a further enabling condition given the legal justifications made and legal battles won using it, the which lends support to the argument that local-level foreign affairs competencies are less limited when there are explicit Constitutional provisions for it.⁸⁴ Further, that the MFP movement involved local legislative powers such as zoning and selective purchasing supports Criekmans'⁸⁵ argument that sub-state entities with legislative powers that are particularly able to push the envelope on sub-state paradiplomacy that more closely mirrors formal diplomacy carried out by nation-states. The exogenous conditions set forth by world society theory and the endogenous conditions discussed above together may constitute the complete set of conditions required for future MFP movements to occur in a given region or country.

Fax and telephone were the principal means by which city-level actors in the 1980s MFP movement coordinated efforts. The post-Cold War advent of the Internet has accelerated global communication, city networking and city diplomacy-related processes.⁸⁶ The connectivity between world culture and local-level actors that creates the conditions for city-level intervention

⁷⁵ Meyer, Boli, Thomas and Ramirez, 'World Society and the Nation-State'.

⁷⁶ Longhofer and Schofer, 'National and Global Origins'.

⁷⁷ Kirby, Marston and Seashoals, 'World cities and global communities'; Knight, 'The Emergent Global Society'.

⁷⁸ Bull, 'Does Order Exist in World Politics?'; Curtis, *Global Cities and Global Order*; Kant, 'Morality, Politics, and Perpetual Peace'.

⁷⁹ Barber, *If Mayors Ruled*; Cornago, 'On the Normalization of Sub-State Diplomacy'.

⁸⁰ Ljungkvist, *The Global City 2.0*.

⁸¹ Hironaka, *Greening the Globe*.

⁸² G. Drori, 'Governed by Governance'; Y Jang, 'Transparent Accounting'; Schofer, 'Cross-National Differences'.

⁸³ Meyer, Boli, Thomas and Ramirez, 'World Society and the Nation-State'.

⁸⁴ Bursens and Deforche, 'Going Beyond Paradiplomacy?'; Nganje, 'The Developmental Paradiplomacy of South African Provinces'.

⁸⁵ Criekmans, 'Regional Sub-State Diplomacy'.

⁸⁶ Curtis, *Global Cities and Global Order*.

in national-level norm enforcement⁸⁷ has thus deepened over time. Current American politics illustrate these conditions. Responding to U.S. President Donald Trump's executive order to withhold federal funding from American cities declaring themselves sanctuary cities for Syrian and other refugees, San Francisco sued the Trump administration, resulting in a district judge ordered an injunction blocking the executive order.⁸⁸ Washington State and several others launched legal challenges to President Trump's temporary travel ban from seven majority-Muslim countries,⁸⁹ and federal judges soon blocked both iterations of the ban.⁹⁰ Most notably, President Trump's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accord has given rise to the U.S. Climate Alliance, in which over 250 cities have pledged to enforce the Paris Accord in the void of the U.S. national government.⁹¹ Thus the universal norms and associated world society processes that underscored the MFP movement of the 1980s endure to the present day and for the foreseeable future. The world society has cultivated a Kantian international morality, and as globalization weaves increasingly inter-connected cities into the fabric of the world society, cities will increasingly defend universal values and norms developed in, diffused and reinforced by the world society. Future research on diplomacy by cities must analyze these dynamics at the institutional, socio-organizational, and individual level as done above, as diplomacy by cities yields greater impacts over time in global governance, network organizations and outcomes within cities themselves.

⁸⁷ Meyer, Boli, Thomas and Ramirez, 'World Society and the Nation-State'.

⁸⁸ *The New York Times*, 15 March 2017.

⁸⁹ *BBC News*, 10 March 2017.

⁹⁰ *The New York Times*, 25 April 2017.

⁹¹ *The Hill*, 6 July 2017.