Chapter 5
The World Relations of Cities: Closing the Gap Between Social Science Paradigms and Everyday Human Experience

People inhabiting the cities of the world are in desperate need of knowledge that would enable them to cope with the worldwide relations of daily life.[1] Although the mainstream of social science tends to ignore the world relations of cities, scattered scholarship in history, anthropology, sociology, and political science offers important insight on the growing involvement of human settlements in the world. The first main theme of this literature draws on scholarship of urban political economy and world systems which illuminates the changing impact of worldwide economic and social forces on the cities of the world and their inhabitants. In light of these changes, there is research urging that cities be freed from state constraints, research on new kinds of political movements, and advocacy of new approaches to research and teaching. The second main theme assesses the response of city government and local citizens movements to the perceived local impact of the foreign policies of states, with respect to issues such as war prevention and disarmament, world poverty, and human rights. There is both overlap and some contradiction between local issues raised by the two themes. This article will explore the implications for democratic theory, and for research and teaching in international studies, of the new world context of cities and the growing efforts of city governments and local people to deal directly with world issues.

[1] *Author's note.* I am grateful to Ho Won Jeong for his creative assistance in the arduous task of identifying literature for this article. This text was first published as "The World Relations of Cities: Closing the Gap Between Social Science Paradigms and Everyday Human Experience", in: *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 1990, 493–518. International Studies Assn (ISA). The permission to republish this article was granted by Ms. Verity Butler of Wiley Publishers on 8 October 2012.

C. F. Alger, *The UN System and Cities in Global Governance*,
SpringerBriefs on Pioneers in Science and Practice 8,
DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-00512-6_5, © The Author(s) 2014

5.1 Barriers to Understanding the World Context of Cities

The cities of the world are inhabited by people in desperate need of knowledge that would enable them to cope with the multifaceted dimensions of the worldwide relationships of daily life. Unfortunately, the social sciences are of little help. Preventing study and even perception of the linkages between human settlements and worldwide phenomena is a view of the world as a system of states. This obstruction has encouraged a division of labor between those who study connections between states and those who study behavior within states. International relations scholars are inclined to aggregate activity that crosses state borders into state totals. The state paradigm inhibits them from linking this activity to specific human settlements. At the same time, urban scholars have been prevented from following the threads of urban behavior across state borders. The results justify Crawford Young's assertion that the state system serves as a "cast-iron grid [that] exercises a transcendent despotism over reality" (Young 1976, p. 66).

Nevertheless, a few scholars in history, anthropology, sociology, and political science are undeterred by the tyranny of state system ideology over the mainstream of their disciplines. Historians such as Fernand Braudel help us to put present encounters between human settlements and the world into historical perspective, thereby overcoming the widespread belief that these linkages are totally new. "Braudel places people, and the localities within which they operate and reproduce both themselves and their customs, at the center of the world" (Kirby 1986, p. 211). Conveying to the reader his excitement about the "structures of daily life," he asks: "Aren't these questions just as exciting as the fate of Charles V's empire or the fleeting and debatable splendors of the so-called French primacy during the reign of Louis XIV?" (1977, p. 12). He reminds us that cities "have existed since pre-historic times," and that "they are multicenturied structures of the most ordinary way of life. But they are also multipliers, capable of adapting to change and helping to bring it about" (1977, p. 15).

Some anthropologists are criticizing the tendency of their colleagues to study local communities as though they were isolated from the world. Among these is Eric Wolf, who declares that the central assertion of his analysis of the world since 1400 is "that the world of humankind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected processes, and inquiries that disassemble this totality into bits and fail to reassemble it falsify reality. Concepts like 'nation/'society,' and 'culture' name bits and threaten to turn names into things" (1982, p. 3). Another example is Adams' (1970) study of social structures in Guatemala from 1944 to 1966, offering penetrating understanding of the ways in which the lives of Guatemalan farm laborers and coffee farmers are intertwined with actors ranging from local buyers, to political party headquarters, the Pentagon, international labor organizations, and the Vatican.

Contributions from sociology have two starting points. One is the remarkably influential world systems movement stimulated in 1974 by Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World System*, which describes the emergence of a capitalist world-economy in Europe. Initially, the only territorial entities in this view of the world

were states, grouped as core, semi-periphery and periphery, but more recently this constraint has been overcome by work on the world system context of urban areas (Chase-Dunn 1985; Timberlake 1985). At the same time, some sociologists focusing on urbanization have begun to view the city as a node in systems of production, distribution, and exchange, in what Richard Child Hill prefers to label as urban political economy. From his point of view, perhaps the most important contribution urban political economists are making today is their effort to "refine the thesis that the crucial issues now facing cities emanate from their sociospatial location as nodes within a global capitalist system undergoing economic transition" (Hill 1984, p. 131). Thus, "urban political economists reject the notion of an autonomous urban realm. Rather, they attempt to relate patterns of urban development to the development of societies and the international order as a whole" (Hill 1984, p. 127).

While mainstream political science research on international relations has almost totally ignored cities, the "complex conglomerate model" of Mansbach et al. (1976) does at least provide for "governmental noncentral" actors. Another exception is I.D. Duchacek, whose research on federalism concerns three major forms of "trans-sovereign relations" conducted by noncentral governments: (1) influencing external relations from within, (2) trans-border regionalism, and (3) direct contacts with foreign centers of power (1987). Yet another exception is Alger's work, which commenced with an extensive study of the linkages of Columbus, Ohio, to the world and continues with efforts to explicate possibilities for more self-conscious and efficacious participadon in world affairs by people in local communities (1977, 1978–1979, 1985).

Because this work is on the periphery of the several disciplines, it has not made a significant impact on university or pre-collegiate education. Therefore, the inhabitants of the human settlements of the world must deal with the worldwide involvements of daily life as best they can, despite the lack of knowledge which would enable them to perceive, understand, and cope. Their efforts, particularly as they transcend the possible as prescribed by scholarly paradigms, merit the attention of those who wish to comprehend the realities of world politics today.

The purpose of this article is to pull together scattered attempts to understand the growing involvement of human settlements in the world and the increasing impact of these involvements on the human condition. Creating a comprehensive overview of these fragments is not easy, and we could continue with a review of efforts in individual disciplines. But this seems inadvisable as it would inhibit comprehension of the fact that a new field of research is arising in which scholars with origins in several disciplines are coping with phenomena that cannot be perceived in the conventional paradigms of their discipline of origin. Another approach might be to present the review in terms of a dichotomy, on the one hand the work of scholars whose point of origin has been local and on the other the work of scholars whose point of origin has been world relations. But this too might tend to preserve old assumptions about the separateness of domains, inhibiting progress in overcoming false isolation of the "micro" from the "macro" (Alger 1984–1985).

We will take a third approach which will address two themes. The first will focus on the changing worldwide social context of cities and social movements

that are responsive to the local impact of worldwide social and economic processes. These movements are concerned about issues such as unemployment, wages, working conditions, the homeless, destruction of local culture, pollution, and local control over resources. Our second theme will focus on growing efforts in cities to respond to foreign policy issues that have emerged out of the state system and that have traditionally been perceived as exclusively in the domain of national government. This includes issues such as nuclear free zones, conversion of military production to peaceful uses, the struggle against apartheid, human rights, and foreign aid. In the first case, the prime target of concern tends to be powerful external production and financial organizations that are affecting the quality of life in the city. In the second case, the prime target of concern tends to be the "foreign policies" of states and their actual and potential impact on quality of life, both in cities within their own borders and in human settlements in the rest of the world. One justification for this distinction is the fact that the two domains tend to have different constituencies, with local workers affected by changes in the global economy at the core of the first and middle class "internationals" at the core of the second.

Obviously, a limitation of this approach is that a false separation may be created between issues such as the effect on employment of arms production and the effect on employment of international trade. We shall try to discern connections between our two themes in the conclusion. Meanwhile, our approach will illuminate how old paradigms for comprehending the place of cities in the world are crumbling as a result of two kinds of assault, one breaking down false boundaries concerning the local impact of worldwide social and economic phenomena and the other shedding light on the local consequences of the traditional "foreign policy" agenda.

5.2 The Worldwide Economic and Social Context of Cities

Timberlake notes that "urbanization processes have typically been studied by social scientists as if they were isolated in time and explicable only in terms of other processes and structures of rather narrow scope, limited to the boundaries of such areas as nations or regions within nations. However, within the past 15 years, the study of large-scale social change has been transformed by the emergence of the world system theoretical perspective." According to Timber lake, "The fundamental lesson" of this perspective is "that social scientists can no longer study macrolevel social change without taking into account world-system processes. Specifically, processes such as urbanization can be more fully understood by beginning to examine the many ways in which they articulate with the broader currents of the world- economy that penetrate spatial barriers, transcend limited time boundaries, and influence social relations at many different levels" (1985, p. 3).

Although much of the literature tends to emphasize the newness of the worldwide relations of cities, an Argentine scholar who conceptualizes the world economy as "integrated through urban systems" asserts that it can only "be understood

from a historical perspective as a dynamic process" (Penavla 1988, p. 3). The French historian Braudel provides useful historical context as he describes the "centerings and decenterings" of the European world economy, observing that this economy centered on Venice in the 1380s, shifting to Antwerp around 1500, to Genoa between 1550 and 1560, and to Amsterdam where it remained for two centuries. Behind Amsterdam, he notes, the "United Provinces were but a shadow government" (Braudel 1977, p. 95). Portes and Walton also underscore the significance of historic roots in their study of urbanization in Latin America: "The study of determinants of the current forms of urban poverty in Latin America must start with the colonial beginnings of present cities. Spanish and Portugese cities in South America were "centers of conquest and political control" in unknown and often hostile territories. By 1580 "the creation of a continent-wide urban scheme was completed" (Portes and Walton 1976, pp. 7, 10).

5.2.1 Local Articulation of World Production and Markets

But even those who emphasize the importance of a historical perspective would probably agree with Friedmann and Wolff that since World War II there has been a great acceleration in "the processes by which capitalist institutions have freed themselves from national constraints and have proceeded to organize global production and markets for their own intrinsic purposes" (1982, p. 310). In listing the attributes contributing to "the spatial articulation of the emerging world system of production and markets through a global network of cities" (1982, p. 309), they begin with the transnational corporation and the fact that capital has become almost instantaneously mobile over the entire globe. Facilitating this mobility are technological breakthroughs that link urban areas through computers, communication satellites and wide-bodied jets. Flowing through these facilities are worldwide networks of services for transnational corporations: financial, advertising, construction, real estate, hotels, restaurants, entertainment, luxury shopping, private police, domestic services, and labor recruitment. At the same time, research and development have transformed production such that "the simple transformation of raw materials into final products is more and more left to robotized labour and to assembly operations dependent on unskilled labour of young women and minorities" (1982, p. 316). This has significantly transformed the structure of employment in the cities of the world and left them with problems associated with widespread unemployment and labor migration.

Although each city is unique, Penavla notes that "the internationalization of the city supposes a certain standardization, and therefore each international city must be highly equipped so as to respond to the requirements deriving from its part in the world system" (Penavla 1988, p. 20). An integral part of this standardization process is what Friedmann and Wolff call a "'new class' of technocrats," such as accountants, lawyers, engineers, architects, and information specialists, whose "chief characteristic is a willingness to serve the interests of transnational capital

in its global expansion (Friedman and Wolff 1982, p. 318). As a result the urban area tends to become an arena of conflict between these transnational elites and local interests.

David Harvey writes graphically of the conflict between "place-bound loyalties" and "the communities of money and capital" which he says are "communities without propinquity." Observing that cities are "definite places within which a definite patterning of social economic and political processes—and hence consciousness—occurs," he notes in contrast that for "communities of money and capital, such places are no more than relative spaces to be built up, torn down, or abandoned as profitability dictates" (1985, p. 255).

The migration of people from the countryside is responsive to the flow of money and capital to cities, creating "overurbanization," a phenomenon of particular concern to those analyzing urbanization in the Third World. Overurbanization is a term applied to cities that have far larger populations than can be employed, in countries with much larger urban populations than the present developed countries had at a similar stage of development. As portrayed by Wellisz (1971, p. 44); cited by Timberlake and Kentor (1983, p. 493), "Overurbanization, in short, stands for a 'perverse' stream of migration sapping the economic strength of the hinterland without correspondingly large benefits to urban production. Instead of being a sign of development, overurbanization is a sign of economic illness." In trying to understand the causes of overurbanization, world system analysts have turned to the involvement of Third World cities in the world economy.

In a data-based study, Timberlake and Kentor (1983) found support for the proposition that dependence upon foreign capital leads to overurbanization, defined either as the proportion of a country's population living in cities relative to level of growth or the balance of service to manufacturing workers. At the same time, they found that increases in overurbanization are consistently accompanied by relative declines in per capita economic growth, though the effects of higher levels of overurbanization do not appear to impede economic growth.

Other scholars have focused on the impact of transnational production systems, as in the case of Richard Child Hill's study of Japanese automobile manufacturers, which focuses on Toyota's production system centered in Toyota city and Nissan's directed from Tokyo-Yokohama. These production systems are a collection of operating units that involve thousands of firms that "range in size from enormous transnational companies to family workshops; and they are all interlinked in a system which functions over regional, national and international space with varying degrees of logistical precision and efficiency" (Hill 1987, p. 2). Hill draws on the work of Sheard (1983, p. 53) in revealing that the average Japanese automaker's production system comprises 171 large firms (300 or more workers), 4,700 medium firms (30–299 workers) and 31,600 small firms (1–30 workers). These production firms link "together in one system the most highly automated engine and final vehicle assembly plants in the world and crowded backyard workshops where families turn out small stampings on foot presses 10 h a day, six or seven days a week." (Hill 1987, p. 6). Hill concludes that "it would be quite fallacious to view firms in Japan's auto production system

as if they were independent actors engaging in market exchange relations with a major automaker. Rather, it makes more sense to view each firm as a cog in a total production system organized around a transnational parent company" (1987, p. 10). Subcontractors secure the benefits of stable markets, access to investment funds, stable supplies of raw materials, and technical and managerial guidance from the transnational corporation. But, says Hill, this enables the company to exercise a variety of forms of control, including "constant and harsh demands for decreases in the price of…products" from suppliers (1987, p. 9). Citing Jacobs (1984), Hill notes that "the spatial concentration and growth of operating units knit together in production systems is what generates urban and regional development." Naturally, the transnational production system has another goal, the accumulation of profits at headquarters. "Therein lies the basis for a structured conflict between regional development concerns of local and national governments and the production strategies of transnational corporations." (1987, p. 16).

While world-system scholars have tended to focus primarily on the impact of capitalist enterprises on Third World cities and countries, Hill notes that the impact of transnational production systems "is as true for Great Lakes or West Midlands governments…as it is for development planners in Malaysia or People's China" (1987, p. 17). Ross and Trachte have underlined this point in their studies of the impact of "global capitalism" on labor in Detroit and New York City. In their study of Detroit (Trachte and Ross 1985) they attribute the decline of economic life in Detroit to increased mobility of capital and specifically to the transfer of production facilities from Detroit to areas where there are lower wages. They note how both the transfer of production facilities and the threat to transfer them have contributed to high rates of welfare dependency, declining income of workers and unemployment.

In their study of New York City (Ross and Trachte 1983) they place it in a class of "global cities" in which are located the command centers of financial and corporate decision-making. They note that cities such as New York, London, and Tokyo "concentrate the production of cultural commodities that knit global capitalism into a web of material and symbolic hierarchy and interdependence." In these cities are to be found the headquarters of great banks and multinational corporations that radiate a web of electronic communications and air travel corridors along which capital is deployed and redeployed and through which the fundamental decisions about the structure of the world economy are sent.

But the main point of the New York study is to direct attention to a paradox, "the contradictions, of the existence of such physical concentration of capital and control over it and the condition of the working class resident in such places" (1983, pp. 393–394). They note how globalization of capital has produced an outflow of manufacturing jobs from New York City, with over fifty percent of manufacturing jobs lost since 1950. Hence, wages in manufacturing have declined steeply relative to their position in the U.S. thirty years ago, renters have lost purchasing power, a growing percentage of renters is poor, and there are in New York City areas of high infant mortality rates more typical of conditions in the periphery

than in the core. Thus, they conclude: "in the global city, one finds jobs, wages, and levels of living reflecting the range of working-class life and work throughout the world, including the world's poor regions" (1983, p. 429). Saskia Sassen-Koob also applies the term paradox to the simultaneous occurrence of "massive high-income gentrification" and a "relentless [economic] decline in New York City" (Sassen-Koob 1984, p. 147).

5.2.2 The Hierarchical Order of Global/World Cities

As early as 1973, Harvey drew attention to the differences between historical and contemporary forms of urbanization, emphasizing that the present global economy "is hierarchically ordered with global centres dominating lesser centres, and all centres outside of the communist nations being ultimately subordinate to the central metropolitan areas in North America and Western Europe" (Harvey 1973, p. 262).

R. B. Cohen attributes this hierarchy to the rise of a new international division of labor (NIDL) replacing the old, which was characterized primarily by the production of manufactured goods in Western Europe, the United States, and Japan and the production of raw materials by Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This NIDL reflects several transformations in the world economy. First is the international spread of manufacturing. Second is the international spread of corporate-related services, including multinational banks, law firms, accounting firms, advertising firms, and contracting firms. Third is the development of a system of international financial markets less subject to regulation by nationally based banks but tied to the needs of major international firms and large multinational banks. This integration of production and corporate services on a world scale has drawn increasing numbers of people into complex hierarchical systems of qualitatively different types of laborers with different levels of work experience, varied types of social backgrounds, and vastly divergent types of labor organizations. The NIDL arose from the desire of firms not merely to utilize less expensive sources of labor and more profitable situations for production, but also to obtain more flexible control over operations in light of geopolitical uncertainties, to respond to the growing bargaining power of some developing countries, to cope with growing international competition and to escape the constraints of organized labor and government regulations (Cohen 1981, pp. 288–289).

Cohen discerns a hierarchy of cities, at the top of which are "a series of global cities which serve as international centers for business decision-making and corporate strategy formulation. In a broader sense, these places have emerged as cities for the coordination and control of the NIDL" (1981, p. 300). These global cities have not only become centers for international decision-making by major firms but also have become centers for corporate services such as banks, law firms, accounting firms, and management consulting firms who have expanded their international skills and overseas operations to serve the needs of transnational corporations.

"Even the international activities of firms headquartered outside these cities [are] increasingly linked to financial institutions and corporate services located within them." In the United States, Cohen observes, New York and San Francisco are now at the top of the U.S. city hierarchy: "As a result, cities which had been important centers of business in an earlier, more national-oriented phase of the economy began to lose economic stature to these global cities. Jobs related to international operations did not develop as extensively in places like Cleveland, St. Louis, and Boston, as they did in New York and San Francisco" (1981, p. 301). Cohen supports these observations with a "multinational index" for U.S. cities which compares the percentage share of a city's Fortune 500 firms in total foreign sales to their percentage share of total sales (1981, pp. 301–302). Sassen-Koob (1984, p. 151) believes that a more composite index should be developed and that it would "bring Los Angeles ahead of San Francisco today."

Friedmann applies the term "world city" to those cities that "are used by global capital as 'basing points' in the spatial organization and articulation of production and markets." Taking a different approach than Cohen, he offers a suggestive mapping of the hierarchy of world cities, although the data to verify it are still lacking. As shown in Fig. 2.1, he locates all world cities in either core or semi-periphery areas and classifies them as either primary or secondary. All of the primary cities are located in the core except Sao Paulo and Singapore. At the same time, Friedmann discerns three distinct sub-systems of world cities: an Asian sub-system centered on the Tokyo-Singapore axis [see also Rimmer (1986)], with Singapore playing a subsidiary role as a regional metropolis in Southeast Asia; an American sub-system based in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, linked to Toronto, Mexico City, Caracas, and the Caribbean; and a West European sub-system focused on London, Paris and the Rhine valley axis, and linked to Johannesburg and Sao Paulo.

Looking to the future, Cohen expects corporations to become increasingly global, producing a number of contradictions within the world hierarchy of cities. He expects that large multinational corporations and banks will undermine or contravene established government policies, particularly in "certain traditional centers of government policy where corporate head offices or major financial institutions are not present in large numbers" (1981, p. 308). He also expects conflicts between centers of the Eurodollar market and older, more national centers of finance. He predicts a particularly strong impact of the NIDL on cities in developing nations, resulting from the accelerated creation of foreign subsidiaries of transnational corporations, aided by transnational banks. Drawing on the work of Friedman and Sullivan (1975), he expects that "the relatively high wage costs and subsidized capital investment in the corporate sector [will] lead to more capital-intensive development, decreasing the labor absorption capacity of this sector." This will create "urban crisis even when a nation's gross national product is expanding because of the inability of manufacturing companies to create enough new jobs, the destruction of jobs in the family enterprise sector and the accelerating flow of people into cities" (Cohen 1981, p. 309, Fig. 5.1).

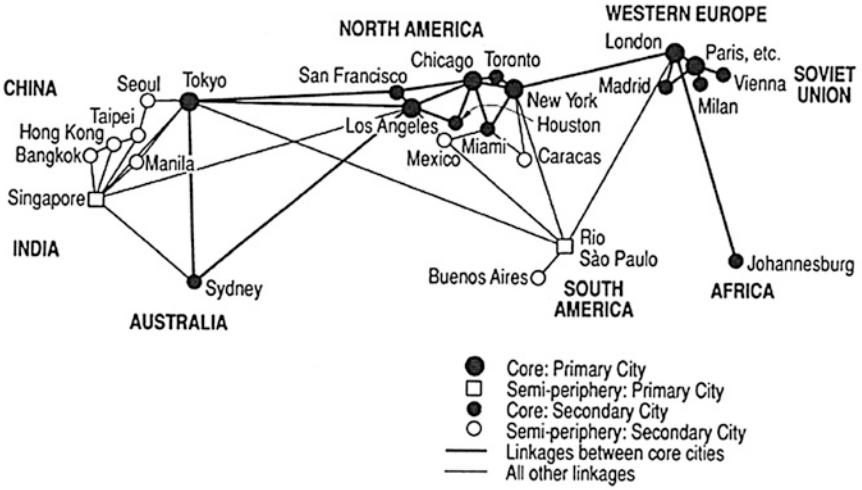

Fig. 5.1 The hierarchy of world cities. *Source* John Friedmann (1986) 'The World City Hypothesis (Editor's introduction),' *Development and Change*, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 74

5.3 Responses to the Worldwide Economic and Social Context of Cities

What recourse do people have who live in cities in the vortex of intertwined processes of overurbanization, transnational production and finance systems, and decisions eminating from headquarters in global cities that may produce Third World conditions even in cities at the apex of the world city hierarchy?

5.3.1 Free Cities from State Constraints?

In a refreshing frontal assault on conventional economic assumptions, Jane Jacobs advocates that cities be freed from the constraints that states place on their economic activity, enabling them to be more autonomous units in the worldwide economy. In *Cities and the Wealth of Nations: Principles of Economic Life* (1984), Jacobs ignores the work of world systems scholars and focuses her attention on the limitations that states place on the capacity of cities to pursue their economic interests in the world economy. Recognizing that "nations" are political and military entities, she observes that "it doesn't necessarily follow from this that they are also the basic, salient entities of economic life." Indeed, "the failure of national governments and blocs to force economic life to do their bidding suggests some sort of essential irrelevance." Nevertheless, says Jacobs, despite the fact that

nations are "not discrete economic units…we pretend that they are and compile statistics about them based on that goofy premise" (1984, pp. 31–32). Significant to Jacobs is that "nations include, among other things in their economic grab bags, differing city economies that need different corrections at given times, and yet all share a currency that gives all of them the same information at a given time" (1984, p. 162).

If economic development were to be defined in one word, Jacobs would choose "improvisation." She sees development as a process of continually improvising in a context that makes the injection of improvisations into everyday economic life feasible. This context is created by volatile trade between cities. The cycle of a vigorous city is stimulated by the buildup of a critical, unstable mass of potentially replaceable imports. This provokes a period of vigorous import-replacing which Jacobs sees "at the root of all economic expansion" (1984, p. 42). Eventually challenge from other cities requires a repeat of the cycle. From Jacobs' point of view, cities require different phases of one another's cycles in order to "intersect constructively at their different phases" (1984, p. 171). Thus, Jacobs concludes that "among all the various types of economies, cities are unique in their abilities to shape and reshape the economies of other settlements, including those far removed from them geographically" (1984, p. 32).

The way to avoid the negative impact of national economic policies on cities according to Jacobs would be to free cities to maximize their economic advantages by dividing single sovereignties into a family of smaller sovereignties. "A nation behaving like this would substitute for one great life force, sheer survival, that other great life force, reproduction" (1984, p. 215). She sees this as a "theoretical possibility" rather than a likely eventuality. Yet she observes that the separation of Singapore from Malaysia offers at least one concrete example, and wonders whether pioneers may arise who have sufficient confidence in "their culture and capacities" and political inventiveness to "dispose of centralized control and problem solving" (1984, p. 219). Meanwhile, she concludes that "things being what they are, we have no choice but to live with our economically deadly predicament as best we can…Societies and civilizations in which the cities stagnate don't develop and flourish further. They deteriorate" (1984, pp. 220, 232). Unfortunately, Jacobs's creativity in diagnosing the problem is not matched by insight on sources of change.

Taking a dramatically different approach, Harvey would "curb interurban competition and search out more federated structures of interurban cooperation…certainly those forms of interurban competition that end up generating subsidies for the consumption of the rich at the expense of the social wage of the poor deserve instant attack" (1985, p. 275). Although he does not present a concrete strategy for achieving these goals, Harvey emphasizes the importance of servering "the tight connection between self-realization and pure consumerism," and of distinguishing between money (and the individualism enhanced by money) and capital (and the use of money power to procure privileged access to life chances). He advocates a new kind of urban consciousness based on an alliance of progressive forces which Harvey admits would be difficult to achieve.

5.3.2 Political Movements

Critics of both urban political economy and world systems research look to political movements as the source of city resistance to the intrusions of global capital. Richard Child Hill, in an overview of the "emergence, consolidation and development" of urban political economy, makes this parting declaration:

> If, as some scholars imply, the city has become the "weak link" in the world capitalist system, then the most pressing urban research issues today center upon investigation of the conditions under which global–local contradictions…give rise to political movements and public policies directed toward changing the structure and dynamics of the translocal system (Gilbert and Ward 1984a, p. 135).

Craig Murphy makes a similar criticism of world systems research in the title of a 1982 paper: "Understanding the world-economy in order to change it: A plea for including studies of social mobilization in the world system research program." As we have seen, powerful actors in transnational production systems and in global cities do understand the world economy and they are changing it. But Murphy has a different concern, noting that "the trouble comes when world systemists are asked to define what dynamic role, if any, Third World cultures have in the transformation of capitalism." But before this can be done Murphy sees the need for "a theory of the role of political consciousness and social mobilization in the dynamics of world capitalism" (1982, p. 1). Murphy believes that Stavrianos' popular history of the Third World, Global Rift (1981), points the way because he "tells the story of the Third World by constantly focusing on mobilization against capitalism…But the broad strokes of Stavrianos' history need to be filled in by detailed studies of individual political movements, unique and repeated cases of people becoming convinced to act against capitalism…the stuff of actual social mobilization" (1982, p. 17).

Some insight into the "stuff of actual social mobilization" is to be found in studies of grassroots movements in the Third World. Snow and Marshall offer particularly acute observations of the way in which Islamic movements have been provoked by "cultural degradation and desecration" caused by the "market expanding efforts of Western multinational corporations" (1984, p. 146). Not very encouraging is Gilbert and Ward's study of community action among the poor in Bogota, Mexico City, and Valencia (Venezuela) (1984a and b), They found that regimes in each city were successful in deflecting opposition by making concessions, by providing services, and by co-opting leaders. But they report that "service provision in each city is shaped more by governmental constraints and needs than by local or settlement conditions."

> This conclusion is discouraging if not unexpected… The truth seems to be that in Bogota, Mexico City and Valencia the state has developed highly effective methods of channeling and controlling participation. There is certainly little sign of participation in the sense of growing control by poor people over the resources and institutions that determine their quality of life. The state in each city has been successful in containing discontent. (Gilbert and Ward 1984b, p. 921).

The results of Gilbert and Ward's study would tend to confirm the conclusion of Manuel Castells, based on his cross-cultural study of grassroots urban social movements, that

"the state has become an overwhelming, centralized, and insulated bureaucracy…local communities are, in reality, powerless in the context of world empires and computerized bureaucracies" (Castells 1983, p. 329).

Basing his analysis on Indian experience, Rajni Kothari is somewhat more encouraging. His starting point is a view similar to that of the world systems analysts, in that he perceives tendencies,

> that seek, on the one hand, to integrate the organized economy into the world market and, on the other hand, remove millions of people from the economy by throwing them in the dustbin of history—impoverished, destitute, drained of their own resources and deprived of minimum requirements of health and nutrition, denied 'entitlement' to food and water and shelter—-in short, an unwanted and dispensable lot whose fate seems to be "doomed." (Kothari 1983, p. 598).

In response he sees "grass-roots movements and non-party formations" springing "from a deep stirring of consciousness and an intuitive awareness of a crisis that could conceivably be turned into a catalyst of new opportunities" (1983, pp. 604–605). These new movements are attempting to "open alternative political spaces" outside the traditional arenas of party and government.

Kothari observes that the very content of politics has been redefined. Issues that "were not so far seen as amenable to political action…now fall within the purview of political struggle" (1983, p. 606). These include people's health, rights over forests and other community resources, and women's rights. Not limited to economic and political demands, the struggle extends to ecological, cultural, and educational issues. Examples include people's movements to prevent the felling of trees in the foothills of the Himalayas, the miners' struggle in Chattisgarh (a predominantly tribal belt in Madhya Pradesh), an organization of landless activists in Andhra Pradesh, and a peasant's organization in Kanakpura, Karnataka, against the mining and export of granite.

While basing his analysis on Indian experience, Kothari sees these movements as part of a "phenomenon [that] has more general relevance." They are, in his view, responsive to "a new…phase in the structure of world dominance, a change of the role of the state in national and sub-national settings, and a drastically altered relationship between the people and what we (half in jest and half in deception) call 'development'" (1983, p. 613). Kothari sees the emergence of these new grassroots movements as very "important in shaping the world we live in, including the prospects of survival." Therein, he says, "lies hope." Nevertheless, he cautions that "No one with any sense of realism and any sensitivity to the colossal power of the establishment can afford to be an optimist, either for these movements or for any other transformative process at work" (1983, p. 610).

5.3.3 New Approaches to Research and Education

There is increasing recognition that traditions in research and education prevent people from coping with problems, and possibly opportunities, presented by the local impact of world wide production and financial organizations, and the local

"development" strategies of states and international organizations. Basing his reflections on grassroots experience in Bangladesh, Rahman (1985) emphasizes the development of the creativity of the people through their own thinking and action. For him, participation consists of investigation, reflection (analysis), decisionmaking, and application of decision. Korten and Klauss reach compatible conclusions in emphasizing the difference between "people-centered development" and production-centered development, with the former having three prime characteristics: (1) creation of enabling settings which encourage and support people's efforts to meet their own needs, (2) development of self-organizing structures and processes, and (3) local control of resources (1984).

Emphasis on development based on local initiatives and power has intensified interest in nonformal education. "If one seeks to find education that does more than legitimize and reinforce gross inequalities in life chances, then one must look outside formal schools to the educational activities of reformist collective efforts seeking individual and social renewal" (Paulston and LeRoy 1980, p. 20). This requires nonformal education that is much more than an adjunct of the system of formal schooling. In a study of seventy nonformal education programs in ten Latin American countries, Thomas LaBelle found that they had limited potential for social change because they were "man-oriented" rather than "system-oriented." In focusing on change in attitudes and behavior of individuals they neglected change in the socioeconomic structures and processes which prevent individuals from implementing new attitudes through new kinds of actions. Among other principles, LaBelle emphasizes the importance of involving people in their own learning, with a maximum of control over their own learning activities. He also stresses the importance of making direct links between educational programs and application of learning by people in their daily lives (Labelle 1976).

Catalin Mamali has succinctly described the connection between research and participation by observing that "the conscious participation of the members of a social community in its evolution process, *also depends upon the level and quality of the participation of its members (specialists and laymen) in knowing the reality they live in*." Pointing out that each member of a community has a double cognitive status, that of observed and that of observer, he notes that prevalent research practice inhibits "the subjects' natural observer status." Thus he concludes that a "*just distribution of social knowledge cannot be reached unless its process of production is democratized*" (1979, pp. 13–14).

Numerous efforts are in progress to bridge the gap between research and grassroots movements. For example, the Lokayan movement in India is striving to link research and action through interfacing researchers and activist groups. According to D. L. Sheth, Lokayan "aims at changing the existing paradigm of social knowledge in India, the generation of new social knowledge and its use, with a view to making it more pertinent to the issues of social intervention and transformation." In this effort key participants in action groups are brought together "with intellectuals, journalists and, when possible, even concerned public officials" (Sheth 1983, p. 11).

A limitation on research and education that might empower people to cope with the impact of worldwide economic and political systems on their communities

is the absence of theory—or even penetrating descriptions—of how local communities are linked to the world. In response, some scholars studying grassroots movements in the Third World are attempting to gain insight on what some refer to as the micromacro dynamic. Perceiving "macro" and "micro" as "only differential expressions of the same process," Kothari calls "for a review of ideological positions that continue to locate 'vested interests' in local situations and liberation from them in distant processes—the state, technology, revolutionary vanguards" (Kothari 1983, p. 615). Writing out of experience with the Lokayan movement in India, D.L. Sheth concludes that a new politics is required that is "not constricted by the narrow logic of capturing state power." Rather, he concludes:

> It is the dialectic between micro-practice and macro-thinking that wili actualize a new politics of the future,.. In brief a macro-vision is the prime need of these groups and movements, and this can be satisfied only by a growing partnership between activists and intellectuals in the process of social transformation. (Sheth 1983, p. 23).

He perceives a new mode of politics arising across regional, linguistic, cultural, and national boundaries. It encompasses peace and anti-nuclear movements, environmental movements, women's movements, movements for self-determination of cultural groups, minorities, and tribes, and a movement championing non-Western cultures, techno-sciences, and languages.

This bears striking similarity to the vision of two Swedish economists, Friberg (1982), who see a worldwide "Green" movement emerging that offers an alternative to the "Blue" (market, liberal, capitalist) and the "Red" (state, socialism, planning). From the Green perspective, "the human being or small communities of human beings are the ultimate actor" (1982, p. 23). Rahnema, too, points to the emergence of informal networks that not only link "together the grass-roots movements of the South but also establish new forms of co-action between those and those of the North" (Rahnema 1986, p. 43). He concludes:

> To sum up, new ways and means are to be imagined, mainly to allow each different group to be informed, to learn about other human groups and cultures, in terms of their respective life support systems; in other words to be open to differences and learn from them. As such, only a highly de-centralized, non-bureaucratic, inter-cultural rather than international network of persons and groups could respond to such needs (1986, p. 44).

5.4 Local Non-Governmental Action on Foreign Policy Issues of States

As the global context of cities has been transformed, changes have been taking place in the ways in which local people attempt to cope with the foreign policy issues of states. Although these changes are not necessarily confined to specific parts of the world, the most obvious changes seem to be centered in Europe, North America, and Japan. Those involved tend to be a small minority of middle class people who have had some international education and sometimes some kind of international experience that sustains their concern for international issues. The

traditional activities of these local "internationals" in the United States has been of three main types: relief and aid, exchange programs, and international education.

Overall these traditional international programs for local citizens have been in the spirit of creating positive background conditions for a peaceful and humane world. They have operated comfortably within the context of the state system and its ideology, permitting a tacit division of labor in which the state makes foreign policy and voluntary organizations create favorable background conditions which will help the state system to run smoothly. Most local international programs have tended to avoid taking positions on foreign policy issues. Certainly individual local leaders of international programs have often disagreed with national foreign policy, but in the past they have tended not to form local movements to push their views. They also have had a tendency to defer to the expertise of national foreign policy leaders.

But dramatic changes are now taking place in the willingness of local people to become actively involved in "foreign policy" issues. The fact that some employ the slogan "Think Globally and Act Locally" is one indicator that people are becoming aware that the intrinsic character of a global issue is that it affects all human settlements. This being the case, it ought to be possible to act on the local manifestation of that issue, whether it be distrust of the "enemy," military bases, lack of concern for distant poverty and suffering, or callousness to deprivation of human rights. An overview of these local movements can be approached through brief descriptions of activities in the context of (1) war prevention and disarmament, (2) poverty, and (3) human rights.

5.4.1 War Prevention and Disarmament

As we have stated, traditional citizen exchange activity has had the purpose of creating a general background of intersocietal relationships that facilitate peacemaking among states. Some exchange programs have now evolved into activity more specific to foreign policy issues. An example is the Citizen Exchange Council (CEC), which was founded in 1962 as a response to U.S. Soviet tensions that resulted in the Cuban Missile Crisis. Each year the CEC sends hundreds of US people to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The CEC believes that "the experience sharpens participants' abilities to analyze daily news reports and discern rhetoric from fact. Better understanding of Soviet society passes to participant's neighbors, friends, students, or classmates, helping more Americans make informed judgments about international events." Other examples of more issue focused exchanges are Peace Pilgrimage to the USSR, Peace Study Tour to Russia, the Volga Peace Cruise, and the Iowa Peace.

A Scandinavian counterpart has been the peace marches of Scandinavian women. In 1981 they walked to Paris, in 1982 to Moscow, and in 1983 to Washington. In 1985 they planned to walk to all countries in Europe that belong to the United Nations, where they would put basic peace questions to their governments (Warner and Shuman 1987).

Somewhat similar are the numerous programs in which U.S. citizens have visited Central America, particularly Nicaragua. Many of these visits have been arranged by church related organizations. As a result, leaders in churches and voluntary organizations in many communities throughout the country have observed conditions in Central America for themselves and are offering information and policy advice to local people that supplements the normal sources of information and opinions on foreign policy issues—the national government and the media. It is reasonable to conclude that this first-hand citizen experience contributed to widespread citizen resistance to the U.S. government's efforts to escalate U.S. military involvement in Nicaragua.

Thus the evolution of adult exchange programs into issue-focused investigations is adding a new element to local dialogue on foreign policy issues—local people who have had significant issue-related experiences abroad. In a sense, these people can be viewed as a "people's foreign service" that does not accept the traditional state system assumption that people should defer to the experts in Washington on issues such as Soviet and Nicaraguan relations.

One form of "citizen diplomacy" is the city twinning movement, now including efforts directed toward the development of sustained relationships through which people from the two cities attempt to cope with issues that have created animosity between their national governments. Lofland (1987) study of these city twinning efforts places them in the context of social movements, classifying them as consensus movements as distinguished from conflict movements. A key feature of consensus movements is that their programs of action imply conflict with certain aspects of social policy, but they "phrase their aims and programs…in ways that achieve a facade of consensus" (1987, p. 3). Thus they are able to obtain mainstream community support from politicians, media, business, and churches. From Lofland's perspective, "the prime aim of consensus movements [is] the alteration of awareness rather than of social conditions" (1987, p. 32). He concludes that consensus movements "*mystify social causation and social change* by portraying social problems as merely isolated matters of incorrect awareness, ignorance, and lack of direct or personal relationships" (1987, p. 39). Although Lofland's critique raises penetrating questions, we are inclined to believe that he does not give adequate attention to those city twinning programs which serve as an alternative "foreign service," one that links cities (not states) and one that links a great diversity of occupations (not just the professional foreign service). Unlike conflict movements within societies, whose primary goal is to change government policies, the city twinning movement is establishing its own transnational institutions. One example is the eighty-five U.S. sister city programs (Trubo 1988) in which citizens from U.S. cities deliver humanitarian aid and at the same time acquire first-hand knowledge of conditions in Nicaraguan cities. Another example is the over thirty sister city programs which are developing sustained ties between U.S. and Soviet cities (Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy 1987, 1989). Of course, a long-term goal of these programs is also to change the policies of national governments.

As local citizens have become more knowledgeable about military strategy, arms races, and arms production, they have also become increasingly informed

about their personal support of military production and deployment, the conflict between military expenditures and the ability of a society to satisfy human needs, and the explicit ways in which their own local community is a part of military production and deployment (Arkin 1985). They are learning how much people in their local community contribute to military budgets through taxes, about specific local military contracts, about local production of military equipment and about the kinds of activities at local military bases. (Center for Economic Conversion 1984). Increasingly local groups are developing strategies for making these local manifestations of military policy widely known. When feasible they are attempting to develop strategies for bringing these activities into line with their personal values and policy preferences.

Local plans for conversion from military to civilian production appeal to the self-interests of workers by citing studies such as one by the U.S. government indicating that investment of one million dollars in "defense" production creates 76,000 jobs, whereas the same investment in civilian production would produce over 100,000 jobs (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics 1972), cited by Lindroos (1980). The U.S. trade unions most active in studying conversion have been the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers and the United Automobile Workers' Union. Groups in numerous cities have developed conversion plans (Gordon 1984; Christodoulou 1970) Perhaps the best known conversion effort was the Corporate plan published by the Lucas Aerospace Workers in England, in 1976. In some one thousand pages the plan identified 150 new products along with suggestions for reorganization of production. The goals of the plan were the safeguarding of jobs and the production of goods that are useful to society. Said the plan, "our intentions are…to make a start to question existing economic assumptions and make a small contribution to demonstrating that workers are prepared to press for the right to work on products which actually help to solve human problems rather than create them" (Wainright 1982, p. 243).

Another local approach has been prevention of weapons deployment. Perhaps the most reported effort to prevent deployment of weapons has been the efforts of the Greenham Common Women in the United Kingdom to blockade US bases. They have also brought a suit in the U.S. courts charging that cruise missiles are unconstitutional. They argue that the missiles, capable of being quickly and secretly launched, deprive Congress of its right to declare war, threaten to deprive life and liberty without due process, in violation of the Fifth Amendment, and violate several canons of international law because of their indiscriminate and long-lasting potential effects. Hundreds of U.S. and British churches, disarmament groups, and labor organizations joined the suit as "friends of the court." A U.S. court dismissed the suit (Defense and Disarmament News 1985). In Nebraska a coalition of Western environmental and peace groups filed a legal suit to block the deployment of MX missiles, in Western Solidarity v. Ronald Reagan. Ground Zero in Bangor, Washington, has blockaded a local naval base in a campaign against the Trident submarine which they perceive to be a first strike weapon. In April 1985, community organizers in eight U.S. cities pledged their resistance to deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs). Most of the representatives came from

cities which the Navy had considered as possible homeport sites for battleship surface action groups. These ships; have the potential to carry the Tomahawk SLCM (Disarmament Campaigns 1985).

A final local approach to military policy is the application of deterrence by citizens. In the Pledge of Resistance campaign people have agreed to engage in either legal vigils or nonviolent civil disobedience in case the U.S. invades, bombs, sends combat troops, or significantly elevates its intervention in Central America (Butigan et al. 1986). By January 1985 some 42,000 had signed the pledge. Local groups have created local plans of action for civil disobedience and are already engaged in training for nonviolent action (COPRED Peace Chronicle February/April 1985, p. 5).

Perhaps the greatest significance of these local approaches to military policy is not in their success or failure but in the way in which people are reconceptualizing both] targets of action and strategies for achieving goals. Instead of demonstrating only against distant officials, they have acted against manifestations of their policies in local neighborhoods. Instead of appealing only to these same officials for changes in relationships with other countries, they have established their own relationships with people in cities abroad. In so doing they are significantly challenging traditional j norms for the participation of local people in world affairs, both by making the local community an arena of "foreign policy" action and by direct involvement abroad. These changes are also reflected in local activity with respect to poverty and human rights.

5.4.2 Poverty

Over the past couple of decades voluntary programs to relieve suffering abroad have gradually evolved into programs for overcoming poverty through long-term economic and social development. Participation in Third World development has in turn involved leaders of voluntary programs in a complicated political process as they simultaneously attempt to raise funds from affluent people in the United States and use these funds to serve needs of the poor in the Third World. Lissner's The Politics of Altruism (1977) graphically portrays the tension between the expectadons of many who donate to aid programs and those administering the programs overseas. As Lissner sees it, donors tend to think of aid in terms of "resource aid" that improves the standard of living by means of various social services (such as education, health, agriculture) within the given economic and political structure. On the other hand, people involved in administering programs in the Third World tend to see the need for "structural aid" to transform the local socio-economic environment by "conscientization through literacy training, establishment of rural credit institutions and rural cooperatives, support of trade unions and liberation movements" (1977, p. 22). Even more difficult to communicate to affluent supporters is the discovery "that many (but not all) of the problems of the Iow-income countries originate in and are sustained by factors and policies in the

high-income nations; and that many (but not all) of the governmental and voluntary aid efforts 'out there' are of little use, unless those root causes located within the high-income countries are tackled simultaneously" (1977, p. 10).

Increasingly, voluntary agencies involved in development programs in the Third World have created development education programs in their home countries as a response to these difficulties. U.S.-based organizations such as CARE and CROP (Church World Service) now devote a specified portion of their budget to development education (Hampson 1989). Programs for development education are most highly developed in Europe and Canada, and U.S. programs are patterned after them (Pradervand 1982; Traitler 1984). Canadian efforts include development education centers in cities such as Toronto, London, and Kitchener-Waterloo. Although the development education movement is only in its infancy in the United States, it has great potential for transforming the species identity reflected in willingness to respond to famine and poverty into much deeper understanding of the long-term causes of these conditions. In essence, development education is largely education in global political economy that provides a framework for understanding how people in local communities in both Third World and First World countries are linked to the global economy. This can open the way to specifying local policies in First World countries that are responsive to the needs of local communities in the Third World.

It is not surprising that some people perceive a relationship between arms expenditures in the Third World and poverty. This, of course, raises concerns about sales of arms to the Third World by First World manufacturers and governments. Since 1974 the British Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) has been publishing a newsletter under the same name. In December 1984 they reported on an International Conference on the Arms Trade held in The Netherlands in November 1984. In May 1985 a CAAT-sponsored "Bread not Bombs" nationwide Week of Action, publicizing the damaging effects of the arms trade on Third World countries, focused on Britain as the world's fourth largest supplier of arms to the Third World. Emphasis was placed on local action. OXFAM, long active in Third World development programs, has issued a "Cultivating Hunger" report whose suggestions for action include: "Encouraging a transfer of spending from the Arms Race to Development. In particular: cutting out Government encouragement for arms dealing with the Third World, carefully restricting the export of repressive equipment and arms likely to be used for quelling internal disturbance caused by the anger of the hungry" (Campaign Against Arms Trade 1984).

5.4.3 Human Rights

In conformance with the ideology of the state system, fulfillment of human rights as promulgated in the Declaration of Human Rights is normally perceived to be the task of national governments. Nevertheless, the two covenants drafted to fulfill the declaration (one on civil and political rights and one on economic, social and

cultural rights) both assert in their preambles: "Realizing that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant." One example of local response to the spirit of this appeal is the promulgation of the UN International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in Burlington, Iowa, in an ordinance adopted by the city council (The Burlington Iowa Hawk Eye 1986). One organization that endeavors to fulfill this responsibility is Amnesty International (AI), particularly through its program in which local AI groups work for the release of prisoners of conscience throughout the world. The primary approach of these AI groups is to bring pressure on foreign governments through publicity, letters, and phone calls (Amnesty International 1986).

The struggle against Apartheid in South Africa has also been localized through local boycotts of companies and banks doing business in South Africa and efforts to change their policies by participation in shareholders meetings. There are also campaigns on many college campuses attempting to pressure boards of directors of colleges and universities to disinvest in corporations doing business in South Africa. In these cases the investments consist principally of endowment funds (Love 1985).

Another form of local human rights activity is the effort to provide new homes for refugees from political oppression, war and economic deprivation in other countries. Normally this means settling legal immigrants in local communities, although sometimes it can—either deliberately or unwittingly—involve assistance to illegal immigrants. Presently the sanctuary movement is offering sanctuary for refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala whom the movement believes would suffer punishment or death if they returned. But the U.S. immigration service has declared them to be illegal aliens whom it intends to return to El Salvador; in March 1989 the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco upheld the 1986 conviction of eight religious workers who gave sanctuary to aliens from Guatemala and El Salvador. The movement began in 1981 in Arizona and the San Francisco area when church people of many denominations began to assist, feed, and shelter refugees fleeing El Salvador and Guatemala. Since then over three hundred religious congregations have declared themselves to be sanctuaries in a movement involving over fifty thousand people. The sanctuary movement bases its efforts on the Refugee Act of 1980, which provides asylum for those persecuted or having "a well-founded fear of persecution in their own countries," and sees itself as following a U.S. tradition, as exemplified by the Underground Railroad during the Civil War. Then, too, those helping the slaves were indicted and imprisoned.

Still another local form of human rights action is the INFACT Campaign against the Nestle Corporation and its marketing practices for infant formula in the Third World. INFACT instigated local boycotts of Nestle products, disinvestment campaigns, and national and international efforts to set standards for the marketing of infant formula in the Third World. Its actions culminated in the approval of recommended standards by the Assembly of the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1980. Only one negative vote was cast, by the representative of the United States, and the

Nestle Corporation accepted the WHO standards (McComas et al. 1985). Although INFACT field monitoring has detected significant violations of the WHO standards, it has found that marketing of baby food and hospital feeding practices for infants have changed substantially since the code was adopted (Infact 1984, cited by (Sikkink 1986, p. 822). In a study of this case that included field work in Central America, Kathryn Sikkink concluded that "the activities of nongovernmental groups, in particular transnational activist groups, were essential to the final outcome" (1986, p. 840).

5.5 Local Government Action on Foreign Policy Issues of States

Perhaps the most challenging approach to local activism on "foreign policy" issues are efforts to put international issues on the agendas of city government and to put foreign policy questions before the electorate in local referenda (Shuman 1986–1987). Beginning with anti-Vietnam resolutions by city councils in the 1960s and 1970s, there have been increasing efforts to get city councils to make declarations and pass legislation on international issues, including the struggle against apartheid, a nuclear weapons freeze, nuclear weapons free zones, a nuclear test ban, sanctuary, and conversion plans. Janice Love (1985) study of anti-Apartheid campaigns in Michigan and Massachusetts reported that twenty-two local U.S. communities had withdrawn investments from corporations doing business in South Africa. By 1986 the American Committee on Africa reported that fifty-four cities had divested.

The nuclear weapons freeze campaign put much of its efforts into nuclear freeze votes by city, town and county councils and local referenda. The freeze called for a bilateral (U.S.-Soviet) freeze on the production of nuclear weapons. Based on figures from the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign National Clearinghouse in St. Louis, Newcombe (1983) reported that 240 city councils, 466 New England town meetings, and 63 county councils passed freeze resolutions, for a total of 769. In addition, referenda were passed in over fifty cities and counties. This effort was followed by a comprehensive test ban campaign that had received support from 154 cities by 1987.

Cities have also declared themselves to be nuclear weapons free zones (Takayanagi 1983; Takahara 1987). The idea of a nuclear weapons free zone originated in the context of continents, such as Antarctica and Latin America, and regions, such as the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, the Middle East, Central Europe, and Scandinavia. Perhaps frustrated by lack of progress in obtaining the support of states for nuclear free zones over these large areas, the movement was moved to the grassroots. A nuclear weapons free municipality generally forbids the stationing and transit of nuclear weapons within its boundaries, including surrounding water and air space. It may also forbid the stationing, transit, or production of weapons systems associated with nuclear weapons. A few cities have extended the nuclear weapons free zone to a "nuclear free zone" which prohibits civilian nuclear power stations as well as nuclear weapons.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) started the municipal nuclear free zone movement in Britain, where 192 local councils have approved the proposal-representing over 60 % of the population, Nuclear Free America, Baltimore, Maryland (The New Abolitionist, October 1988), reports that there are 4222 nuclear free zone communities in 23 countries: Argentina (1), Australia (111), Belgium (281), Canada (176), Denmark (20), Finland (3), France (1) Great Britain (192), Greece (70), Ireland (117), Italy (700), Japan (1315), The Netherlands (100), New Zealand (105), Norway (140), The Philippines (21), Portugal (105), Spain (400), Sweden (7), Tahati (1), the United States (155), Vanatu (1), and West Germany (200).

For those who view these local involvements in international issues from the standpoint of state system ideology, city meddling in issues such as the war in Vietnam, apartheid, the nuclear freeze, and nuclear free zones appear to be intrusions in affairs that should be handled in Washington, producing messy and confusing foreign policy that puts the "national interest" at risk. At the same time, these issues are perceived as diverting local officials from their appropriate local responsibilities. This argument has been made cogently in a resolution passed by the City Council of the city of San Buenaventura, California, in May 1971 (Hobbs 1985):

> *Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved*, by the City Council of the City of Buenaventura that they will continue to devote their time and efforts to considering and resolving only those matters of local concern of which they have elected responsibility; and further the City Council will use whatever means available to dissuade those groups or individuals who request their assistance on matters of national or international concern.

The reasons given for this resolution by the council are that (1) they were elected to represent the citizenry on matters of local concern, (2) the council does not have the authority to make decisions or to change goals on national and international issues, and (3) individuals bringing national and international issues to the council would better spend their time communicating with representatives elected to debate and resolve these issues.

On the other hand, some view these issues as intrinsically local in that the first victims of nuclear war would be cities. How then can it be said that citizen initiatives whose goal is to prevent nuclear war are not appropriately the concern of local government? Bitter experience motivates the extensive anti-nuclear activities of the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, exemplified by their personal lobbying efforts in the United Nations. Among many local officials sharing their view is Larry Agran, now on the city council of Irvine, California, and former mayor of the city. Viewing the nuclear threat as a local issue, he took the initiative in organizing mayors and council members in California through Local Elected Officials of America (LEO-USA). This organization supports the nuclear weapons freeze, arms reductions, reduction of U.S. military spending, and conversion of the funds to more productive civilian purposes. Other interesting indicators of the dynamic interest in municipal foreign policies centered in California are the emergence of the Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy, published by the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (1986–1987) and the appearance of *Building Municipal Foreign Policies: An Action Handbook for Citizens and Local Elected Officials* (Shuman 1987).

In Europe there is a movement for town councils to create policies for development cooperation, reflected by a conference organized in Florence in October 1983 by the International Union of Local Authorities, the United Town Organization and UNESCO. Emphasis was placed on "twinning" cities in Europe and the Third World and sensitizing local people to Third World problems. Says the conference report: "Increased interest in these problems and the desire amongst local inhabitants to make their own contribution towards solving them has in many cases led to municipal councils being confronted with these matters. Development cooperation items appear on Town Council agendas more and more" (IFDA 1984, p. 27).

The conference report cites examples of municipal Third World policies in Northern Europe. In Belgium there is a campaign to have an Alderman for Development Cooperation appointed in each municipality. In Bruges the Alderman for Development participates on a fifteen-member Third World committee composed of representatives from all organizations in Bruges involved in development cooperation. This committee advises the Bruges Towm Council on matters pertaining to development cooperation, conducts educational activities for the Bruges population, and coordinates initiatives of the various local organizations involved in Third World activity. In Leiden the municipality decided in 1979 to make available an annual amount of ten thousand guilders for informing people about Third World developments. In Tilburg, Netherlands, the mayor and aldermen in 1979 produced a draft "opinion" on "foreign affairs" examining the possibilities of municipal authorities contributing to local awareness about the inequality in the relations between industrial countries, such as the Netherlands, and countries of the Third World. This led to the creation of an Advisory Board in June 1980 composed of members of the town council and representatives of community organizations. After an inventory of local organizations involved in development cooperation it was decided that development education would be approached from two angles: conditions in the Third World, and the domestic situation (textile workers). A fund has been established for local education and for programs directly linked to a Third World situation. The Town Council annually contributes fifty thousand guilders to this fund.

Responding to a suggested outline of the Towns and Development Secretariat in The Hague, a number of European towns and cities have contributed case studies of their relationships with Third World counterparts. (As yet no case studies from Third World participants seem to be available.) Because no available document generalizes across the case studies, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the achievements of this program. On the other hand, it is significant that the number of participating towns and cities is growing. Very impressive is the forthright critical approach of the case studies in which both failures and successes are reported. Says Lode De Wilde of Brugge, "Linking with towns in developing countries is fated to be short-lived because of the great differences in mentality between local governments on both sides. The degree of bureaucracy in nearly all Third World countries inevitably confines you to official channels" (Kussendrager 1988: p. 17). A report on Oldenburg complains that the relationship with a town in Lesotho had not progressed between 1985 and 1988. More upbeat reports are

offered on links between Amsterdam and Managua and between Bremen and towns in Namibia, the Western Sahara, and Nicaragua. Gunther Hilliges, head of the Department of Development of Bremen, reports that Bremen is in an ambigious position. "It is part of an economic structure, but it supports the critics of that structure," resulting in much opposition in Bremen to the development cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany (Kussendrager 1988, p. 72). Thus we have some evidence that the Towns and Development program offers a challenging arena for local "hands-on" experience in contending with the complexities of economic relationships between the First and Third Worlds.

5.6 Conclusion

We have drawn on studies in urban political economy and world systems to illuminate the dynamic impact of world-wide economic and social forces on the cities of the world. These works have emphasized "overurbanization," transnational production, and a world-wide hierarchy of cities, with "global cities" at the pinnacle. We have drawn primarily on Third World scholars for insight into the response of social movements to these developments, but we have also learned that conditions in the periphery of cities in the industrialized world bear some resemblance to those in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Drawing on examples from industrialized countries, we have described how people in cities are gaining insight into how the "foreign policies" of states affect their cities and other cities around the world, and how people are creating movements and institutions through which people and governments in cities can become involved in formulating these policies.

In this appraisal it has been necessary to draw on scholarship from anthropology, economics, history, and sociology, as well as from political science, largely by ferreting out fragments of work beyond the mainstream of these disciplines. The social science mainstream is still locked into that "cast-iron grid," the state system, that inhibits scholarship that would illuminate the full reality of city life today. We have drawn on resources that offer analysis and description of the struggles of people to cope with the intrusion on city life of both world-wide economic and social forces and the foreign policies of states.

As a result of this modest but still continuing effort, an authoritative judgment on relevant literature is not feasible, yet some impressions may be useful. We found the work of sociologists and anthropologists to be most useful, and that of political scientists to be much less so. On the other hand, political scientists have insightfully diagnosed problems which limit our capacity to respond to the changing boundaries of political phenomena. After criticizing the "realist" paradigm as a tool for gaining understanding of global politics, Mansbach and Vasquez propose an issue paradigm that encompasses "any individual or group that is able to contend for the disposition of a political stake" (1981). In thinking through the consequences of this approach they then find it necessary to offer "a rejection of the alleged dichotomy between 'international' and 'domestic' politics," and to

propose "a theory of politics…that reunites the disparate and artificial divisions among international, comparative, American, or other national theories of politics." Clearly, people attempting to cope with the worldwide relations of everyday life desperately need views of the world that unite falsely separated ideas that in their everyday experience are linked together.

Dahl and Tufte arrived at a conclusion similar to that of Mansbach and Vasquez, although their starting point was a concern for the adequacy of democratic theory. In searching for the optimum size of a polity that would provide the greatest opportunity for citizens to participate effectively in decisions, they uncovered contradictions between their preference for small units and the reality of transnational units. This forced them to conclude that "theory, then needs to do what democratic theory has never done well: to offer guidance about the appropriate relations among units" (1973, p. 140). By this they mean:

> Rather than conceiving of democracy as located in a particular kind of inclusive, sovereign unit, we must learn to conceive of democracy spreading through a set of interrelated political systems, sometimes though not always arranged like Chinese boxes, the smaller nesting in the larger. The central theoretical problem is no longer to find suitable rules, like the majority principle, to apply within a sovereign unit, but to find suitable rules to apply among a variety of units, none of which is sovereign (1973, p. 135).

Although it is not likely that they have read Dahl and Tufte, people attempting to create a foreign policy agenda for cities are implicitly responding to their appeal. In contrast, although political scientists have diagnosed the problem and although they now have produced a vast literature on processes and institutions that transcend state boundaries, they seem to be particularly constrained from focusing concern on the world-wide linkages and agendas of human settlements.

Although the literature on struggles of people to cope with a world-wide agenda in their own communities is still not highly developed, much of it being descriptive, it is vitally important. It draws attention to the inability of social scientists to provide knowledge that would help people to cope with the world-wide involvements of daily life—by failing to provide knowledge that would illuminate their worldwide linkages, by failing to identify issues that emerge from these linkages, and failing to discern the possibilities for movements and institutions through which people in cities can cope with these issues. But despite education and socialization based on the "cast iron grid/" a growing number of people, have devised their own ways for coping with problems that intrude on their daily lives. There seems to be an important message here for social scientists. Perhaps we need to be more involved with people in the communities in which we live who are attempting to cope with worldwide issues through local organizations and movements. They could help us to become more penetrating observers of the world at our doorstep and could suggest research questions responsive to their needs.

At the same time, those who are interested in enhancing their competence to provide knowledge that is useful to people attempting to cope with the world-wide contexts of daily life may wish to rethink their research and education methodologies in light of the evolving approaches of colleagues working in Third World contexts. Particularly challenging are efforts to diminish the gap between research and

participation, as reflected in Anisur Rahman's assertion that participation consists of investigation, reflection (analysis), decision-making and application of decision. Also provocative is Mamali's conclusion that "just distribution of social knowledge cannot be reached unless its process of production is democratized." At the same time LaBelle emphasizes the importance of linking educational programs and application of learning by people in their daily lives. What are the full implications of these challenges? Is people-centered development, in contrast to production-centered development, feasible without these kinds of changes in research and education—in both industrialized and Third World cities? Given the norms of the disciplinary and university contexts in which most social science researchers and educators work, dare we think seriously about such things?

Finally, there is the challenge of thinking through the relationship between the two themes of city involvement in the world, the one responsive to the increasing impact of world-wide economic and social forces and the other in reaction to the local impact of "foreign policies" of states. As we have said, the two domains tend to have different constituencies, with local workers affected by change in the global economy at the core of the first and middle class "internationals" at the core of the second. The themes overlap on issues such as social justice and human rights, although the middle class "foreign policy" activists tend to be more concerned about the fate of distant people than they are about those in their own backyard. Both share a concern about jobs, although for the "foreign policy" activists, creating more jobs through conversion is a means for controlling violence, whereas for those concerned with the impact of worldwide production, jobs are an end goal. There is some convergence in the two views, reflected in the development education movement that has evolved out of earlier "foreign aid" approaches. Increasingly this educational effort seeks to understand the relationship between local linkages with the world and poverty at home as well as abroad. This is leading to growing comprehension by some middle class "internationals" of the similar circumstances and interdependence of two Third Worlds—one in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and the other at the periphery of cities in industrialized countries.

There is no doubt that the global context of cities is changing and that the self-conscious and organized responsiveness of people to these changes is growing. This will provide a significant new dimension to the future world polity. The nature of cooperation and conflict between the different constituencies of the two themes of response may profoundly affect the outcome. The emerging interdisciplinary network of scholars who are attempting to understand this dynamic change in world politics has the potential to contribute important enlightenment to the people involved.

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