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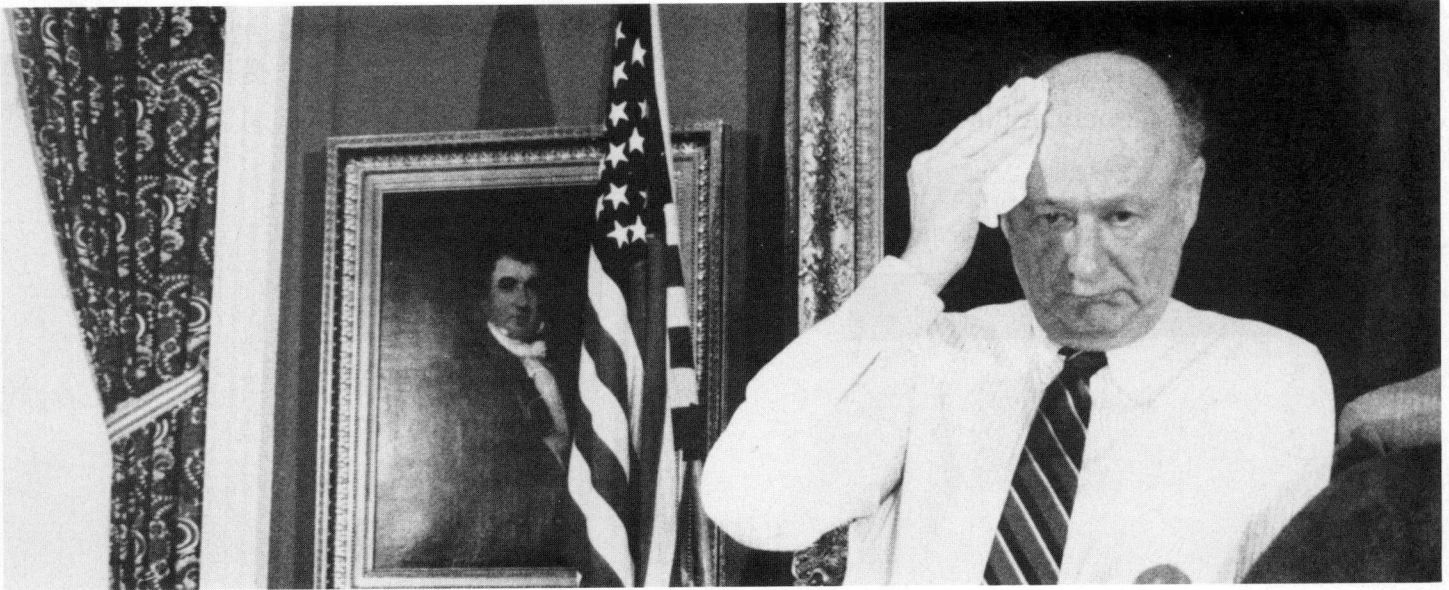
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Peer reviewed

Municipal Foreign Policy

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND GLOBAL POLITICS




Donna Binder / Impact Visuals

ED KOCH AND THE THEATER OF POLITICS Meeting Force with Force

PUT OLLIE IN STATE PRISON
Think Globally, Sue Locally
Michael Shuman


WHY ARE AMERICANS HERE?
U.S. - Nicaraguan Sister City Programs Face Challenges of War
Richard Trubo

WHEN YOU WISH UPON A STAR WARS
Huntsville Mayor Shoots Back



The Americans have no neighbors and consequently they have no wars, or financial crises, or inroads, or conquests to dread; they require neither great taxes, nor large armies, nor great generals; and they have nothing to fear from a scourge which is more formidable to republics than all these evils combined; namely, military glory.

-Alexis de Tocqueville



C O N T E N T S

THE BULLETIN OF MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY
SUMMER 1988 VOL. 2, NO. 3

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PUT OLLIE IN STATE PRISON

In 1985, private American assistance to the Nicaraguan contras reached \$25 million, one-third of it earmarked for ammunition and weapons. This aid helped support the American-financed contra war, which has thus far killed 26,000 Nicaraguans (including 2,000 children), displaced 60,000, and produced 10,000 war orphans. Over the last two years, right-wing Americans have given hundreds of thousands to the Renamo anti-Mozambique "liberation movement" in the form of knives, radios, walkie talkies, military cipher machines, and other aid. According to the State Department, "100,000 civilians may have been murdered" by Renamo through beating, mutilation, starvation, shooting, stabbing, or burning.

This legacy of death and destruction was conceived by, among others, Oliver North, Richard Secord, Richard Viguerie, and Jack Wheeler. It is a legacy that is not only cold-blooded, immoral, and counter-productive, but also illegal under federal law. While media commentators and some members of Congress have repeatedly inquired whether the contra aid network violated the Boland Amendment, almost none have noted that it violates the Neutrality Act, a federal criminal law prohibiting Americans from helping to overthrow governments abroad with which we are at peace.

Why, then, have none of these gun-runners been prosecuted? Because enforcement resides exclusively in the Justice Department, and outgo-

ing Attorney General Ed Meese has been anything but eager to put his anti-communist friends behind bars.

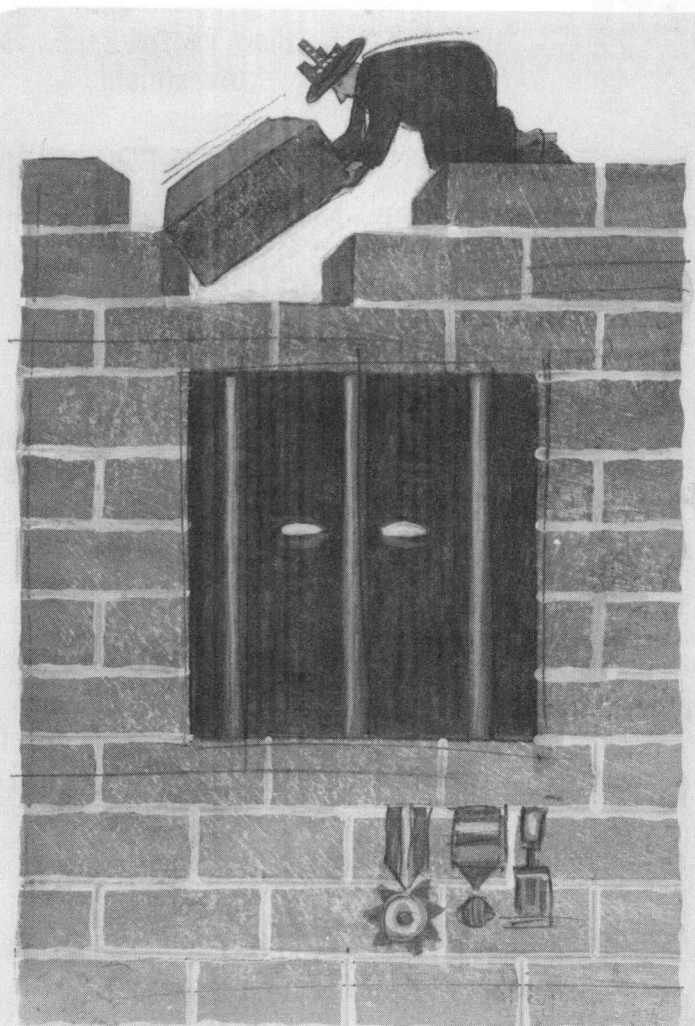
To cities and states around the country, the nonenforcement of the Neutrality Act has been more than just

lapse in Meese's performance, there's something you can do about it: Get your state to pass its own neutrality act, make gun-running a state crime, and throw the criminals in state prison. If the Justice Department refuses to stop American terrorism abroad, then the fifty states should step in and do the job.

Meesed Opportunities

The Founding Fathers of the United States were committed to making Presidential adventures abroad difficult and therefore placed the powers to declare and finance war in the hands of Congress. They also deemed it essential that, when the United States was not at war, the country should remain scrupulously neutral in other nations' conflicts. One of George Washington's legacies was the 1794 Neutrality Act, which made it a crime to organize or initiate a hostile expedition on U.S. territory against a foreign country with which the United States is not at war. Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, Presidents enforced the Act and courts broadly construed it to facilitate prosecution.

Courts held, for example, that the Act prohibits military expeditions even when a *de facto* state of war exists between the United States and other countries (as between the United States and Nicaragua today). The Act applies not only to U.S. citizens, but also to foreign exiles living in the United States (such as contra rebel leaders in Miami). Moreover, claims of presidential or executive approval are no defense



a regrettable oversight. It has meant mercenaries training in local camps, caches of advanced weapons amassed in city warehouses, drugs smuggled to help finance the operations, and death squads roaming our cities to silence ideological opponents. Unprosecuted paramilitary operations exact an enormous toll on Main Street.

If you're alarmed by this further

because, as a New York federal court put it in 1806, "it is the exclusive province of Congress to change a state of peace into a state of war."

Courts also have interpreted the Neutrality Act to prohibit *any* type of military expedition or enterprise. The enlistment and training of troops, arms shipments, and even contributions of money, clothing or other paramilitary items are all forbidden. Merely beginning these activities is illegal. How can anyone at the Justice Department claim with a straight face that the contra and Renamo aid networks do not violate the Act?

The Meese Justice Department, of course, is hardly the first to ignore and weaken the Neutrality Act. Shortly before the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, Attorney General Robert Kennedy disparaged the neutrality laws as "not designed for the kind of situation which exists in the world today...." For presidents since World War II, inconsistent enforcement has become virtually the rule. Short of a complete rewrite, the Act will continue to be dodged whenever administrations find it politically expedient.

But there's an alternative.

Think Globally, Sue Locally

Preliminary research by the Center for Innovative Diplomacy suggests that state governments may be able to enact their own State Neutrality Acts (SNAs) — acts which would put the Ollie Norths of the world out of business, once and for all. California, for example, could make it a crime for anyone in its jurisdiction to ship ammunition, arms, or paramilitary equipment to groups trying to overthrow governments with which the United States is at peace. If other progressive states like Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Oregon, Washington, Wisconsin and Vermont were to join, these SNAs could puncture the right-wing paramilitary networks for good.

In the adjoining box we feature the broad outlines of a model SNA. It

A MODEL STATE NEUTRALITY ACT

WHEREAS, individuals are increasingly planning, financing, and participating in efforts to launch military or naval expeditions against nations with which the United States is at peace;

WHEREAS, such activities are taking place in the State of _____;

WHEREAS, Congress enacted the federal Neutrality Act (18 U.S.C. Section 960) to criminalize the involvement of Americans and other resident aliens in foreign hostilities against nations with which the United States is at peace;

WHEREAS, the federal Neutrality Act recognizes that each nation has the duty under international law to exercise due diligence to prevent its territory from being used as a base for hostile expeditions against nations with which it is at peace;

WHEREAS, the United States Justice Department has been unable or unwilling to enforce the federal Neutrality Act, reducing the ability of the State of _____ to maintain the peace and provide for the health, safety and welfare of its residents;

WHEREAS, unprosecuted violations of the federal Neutrality Act have exacerbated conflicts outside the United States and have produced the following deleterious effects on the people of the State of _____:

(1) the proliferation of guns, munitions, mercenary training camps, and paramilitary materials, all of which increase the incidence and intensity of criminal violence within the State;

(2) the increased commerce of drugs within the State to finance military or naval expeditions, resulting in increased incidents of violent crime and addiction, and in overburdened State law enforcement and social service agencies.

(3) the increased danger of violent reprisals against individuals in the State by parties involved in foreign conflicts that are exacerbated by neutrality violations;

(4) the aggravation of tensions between the communities within the State whose members include relatives or descendants of opposing parties in the conflict abroad;

(5) greater financial burdens on the State resulting from increases in the U.S. defense budget needed to deal with greater international military tensions and from commensurate cuts in programs benefiting the State and its local governments; and,

(6) the erosion of the moral environment in the State.

THEREFORE, be it enacted:

A. PROHIBITIONS: Whoever, within the State of _____, knowingly does any of the following:

(1) begins or sets on foot or provides or prepares a means for or furnishes the money for, or takes part in, any military or naval expedition or enterprise to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominion of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people with whom the United States is at peace;

(2) accepts a commission to serve a foreign state, colony or people in wars against any other state or people with whom the United States is at peace;

(3) enlists or recruits a person to serve a foreign government or foreign army; or,

(4) fits out or arms a vessel with the intent that such vessel either serve a foreign state or commit hostilities against the citizens or property of a foreign country; shall be fined not more than \$100,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both.

B. CONSISTENCY WITH FEDERAL LAW: This statute shall be construed in a manner consistent with federal statutes defining the laws of neutrality.

C. LIMITED SCOPE: None of the following shall be considered violations of this act:

(1) meeting with individuals, organizations, or any other entity outside the United States at which specific plans for military or naval expeditions are not discussed; or,

(2) the furnishing of financial or material assistance to individuals, organizations, or any other entity outside the United States for strictly humanitarian purposes.

D. SEVERABILITY: If any section, subsection, clause, phrase, or portion of this statute is for any reason held invalid or unconstitutional by any court or federal or state agency of competent jurisdiction, such portion shall be deemed a separate, distinct and independent provision and such holding shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions thereof.

has four important features:

LOCAL INTERESTS. To pass a legitimate criminal law, a state must demonstrate that local interests served. Our model SNA notes that citizen support for military and paramilitary operations often brings mercenary camps, dangerous weapons, and drug traffickers into the state, which pose dangers to the general health, welfare, and morals of residents. In addition these operations create tensions that can boomerang back home; in Los Angeles, paramilitary networks supported by right-wing Californians have been implicated in the harassment of Salvadoran refugees.

FEDERAL CONSISTENCY. To avoid legal preemption, a SNA should be consistent with federal law. Our model SNA therefore incorporates federal law practically word for word and directs state courts to interpret the SNA so that it follows federal law. The major difference, of course, is that state attorneys general can be expected to enforce the law more frequently and consistently than Ed Meese. Even if just *one* state prosecution proceeded, we would be making an important step forward.

NARROWED SCOPE. Unlike the federal Act, our model SNA sets tighter limits on the reach of the law. Under the federal Neutrality Act, many activities evincing no intent to overthrow a government — peaceful consultations with the African National Congress or humanitarian aid shipments to FMLN resistance members in El Salvador — could conceivably be prosecuted as well. State legislation should make clear that consultations and humanitarian aid shipments are legal, providing they are not intended to support military expeditions.

HIGH PENALTIES. The federal Neutrality Act punishes violators with up to a \$3,000 fine and a three-year jail sentence. Our model SNA, in contrast, prescribes up to a \$100,000 fine and a

ten-year jail sentence. When gun runners like Richard Secord pocket millions in Swiss bank accounts, can a \$3,000 fine be taken seriously? If states are to stop these political networks of Murder, Inc., serious penalties are needed.

Taken together, these provisions would make it extremely difficult for large-scale violations of the Neutrality Act ever to take place again. To be sure, if Florida did not pass a SNA, Adolfo Calero and other contra leaders could continue directing their military operations from Miami. But any contra leader that stepped foot in, say, California, would fear being met with a warrant for his arrest. If several major states passed SNAs, national organizing drives for these military operations — direct-mail campaigns, supply networks, and planning conferences — would be all but impossible.

SNAs paradoxically promote local foreign policy and yet also set important limits on it. Skeptics of municipal foreign policy often ask, "What happens when right-wing city councils decide to support 'freedom fighters' in Nicaragua with city monies?" By passing SNAs we would be setting reasonable boundaries for all municipal foreign policies, whether conservative or progressive, and would be ensuring that these policies remain peaceful and nonviolent.

The power to strike a blow against state-sanctioned terrorism now lies in our hands. We urge state officials and activists alike to consider this new strategy. No longer do we need to watch helplessly as our nation's reputation in foreign affairs is further torn apart by wild-eyed, gun-slinging cowboys. Nor do we need to tolerate the cynical indifference of our national Attorney General to these lawless adventures. With creative local law-making, we have the power to stop them. Let's use it.

— Michael H. Shuman

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Flint, MI	Gail Shulman, Special Projects Director	Oakland, CA	Council Member Ruth Messinger		
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LET'S HEAR IT!

What's going on in your city?

The Bulletin is always on the lookout for interesting stories about local involvement in global affairs. News clippings or original copy should be sent to:

Center for Innovative Diplomacy
Editor: Bulletin of
Municipal Foreign Policy
17931-F Sky Park Circle
Irvine, CA 92714

HUMAN RIGHTS

**KURT WALDHEIM,
NEIN DANKE**



Kurt Waldheim may still be the President of Austria, but a growing number of U.S. state legislatures are pulling the welcome mat out from under him. In New York, for instance, Alan Hevesi, Assistant Majority Leader of the New York State Assembly, and State Senator Jeremy Weinstein led their respective houses of the legislature in unanimous votes calling upon Waldheim to resign as Austrian president. On the other side of the country, California Senator Herschel Rosenthal led the drive in that state which caused both houses of the California legislature to call for Waldheim's resignation. Similar resolutions have been passed by state lawmakers in Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Florida.

The International Historian's Commission, which was established at Waldheim's request, recently concluded that he had intimate knowledge of Nazi atrocities and willingly assisted with them. "We are astounded at Waldheim's absurd claims that he was not aware of the fate of the Christians and Jews he helped to deport," New York Assemblyperson Hevesi and Senator Weinstein said in a joint statement. "The outrage over Waldheim's wartime activities is apparent in the U.S. Department of State's swift move to place Waldheim on its Watch List. Denying a head of state entry to this country through placement on the Watch List is a highly unusual move."

Senator Rosenthal concurs: "It is an outrage that this man has attained the highest post in the Austrian government while consistently lying about his role involving the slaughter of thousands of innocent people."

Assemblyperson Hevesi led a delegation of New York legislators who traveled to Austria in mid-May to

deliver personally the state's resolution calling for Waldheim's resignation. They met with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky in Vienna and members of the Austrian Parliament. They also traveled to the village of Mauthausen near Linz to participate in the Mauthausen Liberation Day activities — an event commemorating the 43rd anniversary of the liberation of the Mauthausen concentration camp.

SOURCES: Assemblyperson Alan G. Hevesi, Legislative Office Building, Room 943, Albany, NY 12248 (518-455-4926); Senator Herschel Rosenthal, State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814 (916-445-7928).

SISTER CITIES

**AMERICAN SISTERS
TOP 1,300**

Sister Cities International has just released its 1988 "Directory of Sister Cities, Counties and States," showing that 801 U.S. cities now have 1,341 affiliations abroad. Leading the pack with 16 sisters is Los Angeles, closely followed by Seattle (13), Cleveland (11), San Francisco (11), San Diego (10), Miami (10), Atlanta (9), Baltimore (9),

Honolulu County (9), and Houston (9).

Most of these sororal relationships are with cities in the developed world. Links with Europe (482), Japan (200), Australia (44), Israel (30), and New Zealand (19) account for more than half of the affiliations. In all of Africa, by contrast, Americans have 63 links; in the Mideast outside of Israel, there are only four.

Official sister city ties with East Bloc countries are up, but still only a drop in the bucket. There are now 17 recognized sister cities in the Soviet Union, 7 in Poland, 1 in Rumania, and 1 in Bulgaria.

SOURCE: Sister Cities International, 120 South Payne St., Alexandria, VA 22314 (703-836-3535).

MILITARISM

**FREEPORT DECLINES
TO FLY
POW/MIA FLAGS**

Last January, Maine's state legislature passed a joint resolution encouraging cities to fly prisoner-of-war and missing-in-action flags. But in April the Freeport Town Council refused to comply, 5-to-2.

John Nelson, vice-chair of the Council, urged his fellow councilors — and those in other cities throughout Maine — to "listen to testimony from those knowledgeable of the facts." He noted that by raising the POW/MIA flags, attention is focused away from the many Vietnam veterans who need help, placing it on "an issue that doesn't exist."

Before the Freeport council had rejected the Maine legislature's suggestion, Nelson had written a letter to the Maine Municipal Association, expressing his concern about the state lawmakers' resolution. "There is no documentation that there are any

POW or MIA Americans alive in Southeast Asia," wrote Nelson, a veteran of the Vietnam War and a member of Veterans for Peace. He added, "Of greater concern to the American people and their elected officials should be the 500,000 living Vietnam veterans who have significant adjustment problems. Included in this number are thousands incarcerated in jail, afflicted with PTSD [post traumatic distress syndrome], physically mutilated, or now dead from suicide. Let us not forget by resolving to help and remember MIAs and POWs who do not exist. They are all a part of the greater tragic legacy of that war."

SOURCE: John Nelson, Freeport Town Council, Municipal Building, Freeport, ME 04032 (207-865-4743).

ON THE LIGHTER SIDE

THE PEN IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD... AND A LITTLE SLOWER

If Ray Taber, Mayor of Sausalito, California, had any doubts about the seriousness of his sister city relationship with Sakaide, they were erased when an official delegation from the Japanese town visited in March. A small ceremony was placed on the agenda of the regular City Council meeting, and Mayor Taber delivered a few impromptu remarks — "no text, you know, just how happy we are to become sisters, that sort of thing."

But then Tatsuo Banjo, Mayor of Sakaide, took center stage — with his formal speech in ceremonial Japanese. "He even used a special tone of voice," Taber recalls. "It was high-pitched, and you could tell it was important even if you could not understand the words."

Mayor Taber signed the agree-

ment with an everyday pen. After that, Mayor Banjo brought out his writing utensils — a set of brushes used only for special occasions. He proceeded to carefully sign his name for the next twenty minutes.

ON THE LIGHTER SIDE:
PART 2

WAS THAT REALLY AN ENDORSEMENT?

Kenosha (WI) Mayor Eugene Dorff couldn't have been prouder. Last February, Jesse Jackson came to town to campaign at a rally outside a Chrysler plant scheduled for closure. Mayor Dorff not only enthusiastically

proclaimed his support of Jackson, but gave a rousing — and unexpected — introduction to the Democratic Presidential candidate at the campaign stop.

"This country needs a spear chucker, and I think we've got him right up here on this podium," Dorff told the crowd.

People in the audience gasped, since "spear chucker" is a common insult to blacks. Later, Mayor Dorff tried to explain his off-the-cuff comment: "I wanted him to chuck a spear to the heart...in the context it goes to the heart of the problem."

And how did the city of Kenosha react to Mayor Dorff's remark? No one knows for sure, although there's at least one clue: Two months after the comment, Mayor Dorff was defeated in his bid for re-election by Alderperson Pat Moran.

T R A D E O F F S

WEAPON	COST	ALTERNATIVE
50 MX "Peacekeepers"	\$4.5 billion	One year of long term health care for one million chronically-ill children and elderly in the U.S.
Star Wars Research (1988 fiscal year)	\$3.9 billion	Elementary school education for 1.4 million children in Latin America.
1 Aircraft Carrier (Nimitz class)	\$3.9 billion	A meal a day for 6 months for 20 million underfed Americans.
1 Nuclear Weapons Test	\$12 million	Training of 40,000 Third World health workers.
1 Harpoon Missile	\$940,000	Building of four duplex houses, renovating 10 units of abandoned housing, and weatherizing 22 homes.

SOURCES: Ruth Leger Sivard, World Military and Social Expenditures, 1987-88, World Priorities (Box 25140, Washington, D.C. 20007); Jobs with Peace Campaign, 76 Summer St., Boston, MA 02110, (617-338-5783).

PORTLAND ON THE RIGHT TRACK

COUNCIL SUPPORTS CITIZENS' TRAIN TO WASHINGTON

A generation ago, the train was as much a feature of American politics as a carefully-crafted speech or a smoked-filled room. Candidates rode trains on whistle-stop campaigns, stopping at towns across the country and delivering their remarks to crowds gathered around a platform on the back of the train. But train campaigns have joined hoolah-hoops in the history books — unless, of course, you happen to be part of the peace movement in Oregon.

Last March, 120 Oregon residents rode what they called "the Citizens' Train" from Union Station in Portland to Washington, D.C. The Oregonians carried a powerful message to the nation's capital: America's budget priorities need reordering. Put more money into human needs and less into the military.

Before the train departed, Portland's city officials left no doubt about their strong support for the Citizens' Train. In a resolution introduced by Commissioner Mike Lindberg, the Portland City Council unanimously resolved to convey its "wholehearted support for the Citizens' Train Project." The measure declared that "individual and community needs must be fully met in the federal budget process." It also deplored that "federal spending has risen dramatically over the past seven years in the areas of military spending, though support for

our nation's cities has been reduced more than 50 percent in the same period, making it increasingly difficult for cities to provide for the needs of their citizens."

Initially, Portland Commissioner Bob Koch looked as though he would be the sole opponent of the Council resolution endorsing the Citizens' Train. But the Commissioner, who often aligns himself with conservative causes, was aggressively lobbied by various groups of Portland residents — particularly senior citizens who told him of the negative impact of program cutbacks upon the elderly. That public sentiment moved Commissioner Koch to join his colleagues by the time the vote was taken.

The Citizens' Train, which took on an additional 150 passengers at stops along the way to Washington, was two years in the planning, with business, religious and civic leaders

Individual and
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From left (in hats), Commissioners Mike Blumenauer & Mike Lindberg, Mayor Bud Clark, and Commissioners Dick Bogel and Bob Koch.

(including Salem Mayor Sue Miller) on the project's advisory board.

Commissioner Lindberg said, "As an active member of the National League of Cities, I was waiting for a project like the Citizens' Train: Something that represents the truest form of our democracy — citizens in action demanding that their country hear their concerns. These citizens are saying that national defense is more than just another missile, that true national defense means adequate prenatal care, that true national defense means a good education for our children so that they are competitive in a world market, that true national defense means meaningful employment of our citizens, and the ability to visit [friends] with the confidence that they will be safe on our nation's streets. True national defense means that when we all grow to a ripe old age, we can reap the rewards of our years of

"National
defense is more
than just another
missile"

*Mike Lindberg
Portland Commissioner*

service. These are the values of the Citizens' Train, and these are my values."

While in Washington, the members of the Citizens' Train met with members of Congress and presented a "Citizens' Budget" urging cuts in military spending and renewed financial support for education and assistance for the poor over military demands. Many members seemed receptive to the goals of the Citizens' Train. Congressman Les AuCoin (D-Ore.) told the grass-roots lobbyists that Congress should put money into Meals on Wheels (a home meal program for the elderly) and take it out of the MX land-based mobile missile system.

SOURCES: Mike Lindberg, Portland Commissioner, 1220 S.W. Fifth Ave., Portland, OR 97204 (503-248-4145); Rick Bella, "City Council Backs Plan to Lobby Congress to Cut Arms Outlay, Spend More on People," *The Oregonian*, 10 March 1988, p. B1; Foster Church, "Citizens' Train Arrives in Nation's Capital," *The Oregonian*, 23 March 1988, p. 1; Elizabeth Moore, "Citizens' Train Members Return," *The Oregonian*, 29 March 1988, p. B3.

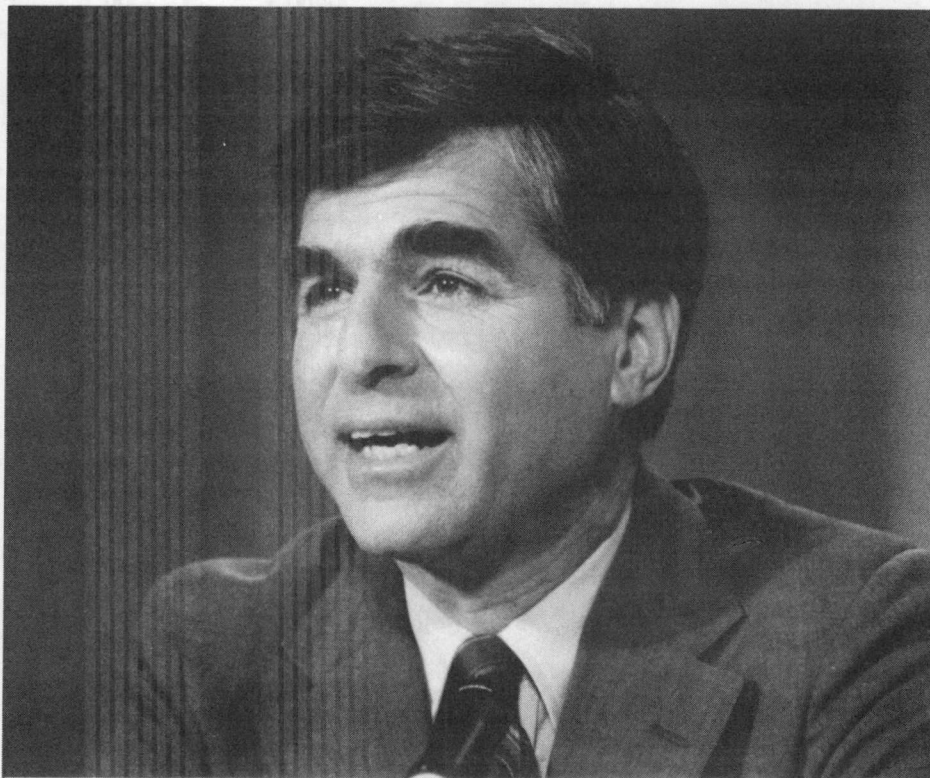
Court Orders Massachusetts National Guard Into Central America

JUDGE RIPS HOLE IN

In early May, U.S. District Court Judge Robert Keeton rejected Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis's efforts to block sending his National Guard troops to Central America. Dukakis had challenged the constitutionality of the Montgomery Amendment, a 1986 federal law barring governors from withholding approval for sending their National Guard troops abroad, based on the location or purpose of their duty.

Dukakis's lawsuit was similar to that launched last year by Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich. Both governors argued that the Constitution gave states control over their militias that the federal government could not legislate away. Perpich's suit was also rejected by a U.S. district court, though it is now on appeal.

Keeton's decision prompted a cock-a-doodle of victory from the Wall Street Journal (19 May 1988) and a rejoinder by Harvard Law School Professor Laurence Tribe (Wall Street Journal, 31 May 1988). Both are excerpted below.



Les Stone / Impact Visuals

LAWYER IN CHIEF?

Mike Dukakis has just learned that those who live by the lawsuit die by the lawsuit. A federal judge this month laughed out of court the case of *Michael S. Dukakis v. U.S. Department of Defense*. This was the first test case for a Dukakis foreign policy that manages to oppose the liberation of Grenada, bombing of Libya and capture of the Achille Lauro terrorists because, in his view, these operations were illegal.

Governor Dukakis also declared that "the Reagan administration's policy in Central America is illegal," and announced in January that he wouldn't let any of his Massachusetts

National Guardsmen go to Panama and Honduras for a two-week training mission when their turn comes up later this month. He stipulated that he "would have no objection to them going to another theater," but said that the Constitution says "explicitly that the governors have responsibility for training the guards." He sued to keep his militia at home.

Boston federal Judge Robert Keeton ordered the troops to go. Judge Keeton reminded Governor Dukakis that the Constitution gives Congress the sole power to "raise and support armies" and to "provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia." While the states appoint militia officers and train the militia "according to the discipline prescribed by Congress," National Guardsmen are dually enlisted in a unit of the U.S.

Army, under the sole control of the commander-in-chief.

Congress passed a provision in 1986 expressly to stop liberal governors from usurping presidential authority by trying to withhold troops from duty in Central America. Congress prohibited governors from withholding their consent for any foreign deployment of National Guardsmen on the grounds of "the location, purpose, type, or schedule of such active duty."

Judge Keeton was not amused by Governor Dukakis's trying to enlist the aid of the judicial branch. "In general, disputes are to be resolved through political processes," he wrote, "where in essence they are disputes as to whether particular calls of units of militia to temporary active duty, and

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DUKAKIS'S SUIT



Joe Fish / Impact Visuals

TRIBE DEFENDS DUKAKIS

In your editorial "Lawyer in Chief?" you say that Gov. Michael Dukakis views "foreign policy as primarily a legal exercise" and claim that he was rebuked by a federal court in *Dukakis v. Department of Defense* for "trying to enlist the aid of the judicial branch" in that enterprise. Both your legal analysis and your historical perspective are wide of the mark.

Gov. Dukakis argued that the Constitution's express reservation to the states of "the authority of training the militia" (Art. I, Sec. 8) prevented the federal government from using members of a state's National Guard

— under the guise of "training" them overseas and without the state's consent — to pursue administration policies in Central America. Far from treating that issue as a "political question" unfit for judicial resolution, the district court wrestled to resolve the conflict between the constitutional clause giving states power over training the militia and the clauses empowering the federal government to raise and control regular armies.

And, far from "laughing" the Dukakis position "out of court," as you assert, the court in fact accepted the governor's basic position that the militia clause limits congressional power in this area. It conceded that a "plain reading of the Constitution supports plaintiff's contention that Congress cannot 'abolish' the militia by transforming it into part of the

Army," although the court ultimately concluded that the "narrow" issue of federal control over peacetime training should be decided in the federal government's favor.

Your intimation that Gov. Dukakis was trying to use the courts to foist a liberal, legalistic foreign policy on the nation is wholly belied by the facts: The first governor to resist the Reagan administration's supposed "training" of state National Guard units in Honduras was California Republican George Deukmejian, who joined at least 20 state legislatures and a dozen governors of all political persuasions over the past three years in challenging militia deployments abroad without state consent.

In an era when Latin American policy is conducted out of the White House basement by officials who profess their dedication to preserving "plausible deniability" for the president, Mr. Dukakis's interest in accountability within our constitutional order can hardly be dismissed as naive. The governor argued that the administration's goal in deploying the National Guard next door to Nicaragua was "to avoid accountability: by claiming to be training troops, they may refuse to state the foreign-policy purposes they are attempting to achieve."

Such evasion, even when authorized by Congress, undermines the democratic principles that animated the Framers' creation of a citizen army subject to the joint authority specified in the Constitution. Indeed, the administration finally admitted in court what it had previously sought to obscure: that the Constitution's reservation of state power over National Guard training did not matter, because the administration was exercising the separate presidential power to

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continued from page 10

the locations to which units are sent during such a period, do or do not serve national interests." He said this is not a case "in which judicial intrusion would be appropriate."

So here we have a governor who would be President trying to use the courts to reduce the powers of the position he seeks. Presidents have a hard enough time maintaining a consistent and credible foreign policy in the face of kibitzing from 535 congressmen without also worrying about 50 governors and judicial review.

It strikes us as strange even in this lawyer-happy country, for a presiden-

Here we have a governor who would be President trying to use the courts to reduce the powers of the position he seeks.

tial candidate to view foreign policy as primarily a legalistic exercise, rather than an effort to protect the nation's vital interests. It becomes even more worrisome when he gets the law wrong. The *Economist* offered a harsh judgment, saying that Governor Dukakis's "belief in multilateral diplomacy and legal solutions makes him little more than a one-man United Nations, and a somewhat simple-minded one at that."

We should add that Governor Dukakis picked an odd test case. This entire controversy is about 13 Guardsmen who serve in the Massachusetts public affairs unit. The AP quoted Pfc. Marianne Merritt as looking forward to the material she'll collect on her trip for her "On the Homefront" column in the state guard's quarterly publication. "Our idea of shooting is taking pictures," she said.



TRIBE

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"determin[e] our national policy with respect to Central America" and "us[e] the National Guard...as an instrument of that foreign policy."

But the value of the Dukakis lawsuit does not depend upon whether the court should have granted the precise relief the governor sought. For much of the Constitution's interpretation has flowed from suits in which public officials, seeking to test matters of power and responsibility, have taken positions vindicated by history even if not by the lawsuits themselves. Thus, in a federal suit brought in 1793, John Hancock, the first governor of Massachusetts, urged that a state may not be sued in such a tribunal without its consent. That principle — in the form of the 11th Amendment — was ultimately recognized as a cornerstone of our federal system. And when Barry Goldwater in 1979 challenged President Carter's power to rescind a treaty without Senate concurrence, the nation's foreign policy jurisprudence was enriched, not trivialized, by the Supreme Court's explanation in that case of why treaty revocation should be left to the political branches to resolve.

Perhaps the most important Supreme Court decision ever rendered was one in which the plaintiff, an office seeker, was ultimately denied the relief he sought. In William Marbury's suit against Secretary of State James Madison, the Supreme Court held that the Executive Branch must obey the law and that the judiciary, in saying "what the law is," must keep Congress as well as the Executive from crossing constitutional boundaries. If the *Journal* had been around when *Marbury v. Madison* was decided in 1803, it might have opined that Marbury's lawsuit, like that of Michael Dukakis, was "an odd test case." But it is precisely through such cases that we come to govern ourselves as a nation under law.

CITIES WANT U.S. OUT OF CENTRAL AMERICA

CHICAGO VOTE CALLS FOR ILLINOIS PULL-OUT

Last March Chicago voters approved by more than two-to-one an advisory referendum demanding a halt to the training of the Illinois National Guard troops in Central America.

The measure, placed on the ballot by the Chicago City Council, asked: "Shall the Illinois National Guard, considering the current state of civil unrest in Central America, stop training in that region?"

Peace activists and a coalition of community organizations campaigned for passage of the referendum. As an advisory measure, the vote is not binding on any legislative body.

The National Guard issue became the center of controversy early last year, when some 800 members of the Illinois Guard were sent to Honduras for two-week training exercises. Peace activists and some state and city officials objected, saying that placing Guard troops in war-torn Central America was inappropriate and dangerous.

Alderpersons David Orr, Jesus Garcia, Luis Gutierrez, Raymond Figueroa and Danny Davis sponsored a City Council resolution to place the question before Chicago voters. Last July the City Council adopted the resolution by a 37-to-3 vote.

Some state lawmakers, mostly Republicans, announced their opposition to the Chicago measure, but conservative Governor James Thompson remained relatively quiet. The most organized opposition came from the National Guard Association of Illinois, an organization of

current and former Guard members, which waged an active campaign against the measure.

The citywide ballot tally was 288,999 yes votes, and 141,628 no votes.

SOURCES: Alderperson David Orr, 6925 N. Ashland, Chicago, IL 60626 (312-764-3617). Also: "City and Suburban Referenda," Chicago Tribune, 17 March 1988, p. 25; James Strong, "Cubs Lights Foes Hold Lead in Referendum," Chicago Tribune, 16 March 1988, p. 2:2.

DETROIT COUNCIL ATTACKS U.S. TROOP FORAY

Last March, when President Reagan ordered 3,200 U.S. troops to Honduras, the Detroit City Council responded with a strongly-worded resolution in opposition, rejecting all further aid to the contras. The measure, authored by Councilmember Mel Ravitz, urged that the U.S. soldiers be returned to the states "as promptly as possible" and noted that "the City Council opposes a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua or any country in Central America."

The resolution challenged President Reagan's claim that the Sandinistas invaded Honduras, noting that battles between the Nicaraguan army and the contras have taken place on the Nicaraguan-Honduran border for years. "The recent indictments of the leaders of the Iran-Contragate scandal," said the resolution, "remind us that the Reagan administration's policy toward Nicaragua has been saturated with deception, law-breaking, embezzlement, military adventurism and gunboat diplomacy."

The measure finally warned that a "U.S. invasion of Nicaragua or any country in Central America would involve our country in a Vietnam-like war tragedy."

SOURCE: Councilmember Mel Ravitz, City Hall, Detroit, MI 48226 (313-224-3270).

HUNTINGTON BEACH RESPONDS TO GUATEMALAN FIRE ALARM

In the Guatemalan town of Puerto Barrios (population 46,000), the average annual family income is about \$1,000. There's not much extra money for luxuries — or for necessities, for that matter, such as a functional fire truck. For years, the Puerto Barrios' fire department raced to fires using an old station wagon.

But on January 23, firefighters from Huntington Beach, California, came to the rescue. They donated a rebuilt and repainted fire engine to the people of Puerto Barrios, along with a surplus water tanker, a radio dispatch system, generator, hoses, nozzles and tools.

Eighteen Huntington Beach firefighters used their vacation time to journey to Guatemala, present the truck and equipment, and provide training for their use. When they arrived in the town, they were greeted by residents lining the street, a military band, hand-made gifts from children, and hand-painted banners declaring, "God Bless the American Fire Fighters."

Huntington Beach became aware of the needs of Puerto Barrios through a training exchange program.

SOURCE: Council Member Grace Winchell, Huntington Beach, P.O. Box 190, Huntington Beach, CA 92648 (714-536-5553).

WHY ARE AMERICANS HERE?

85 U.S.-Nicaraguan Sister City Programs Face Challenges of War, Culture, Distance

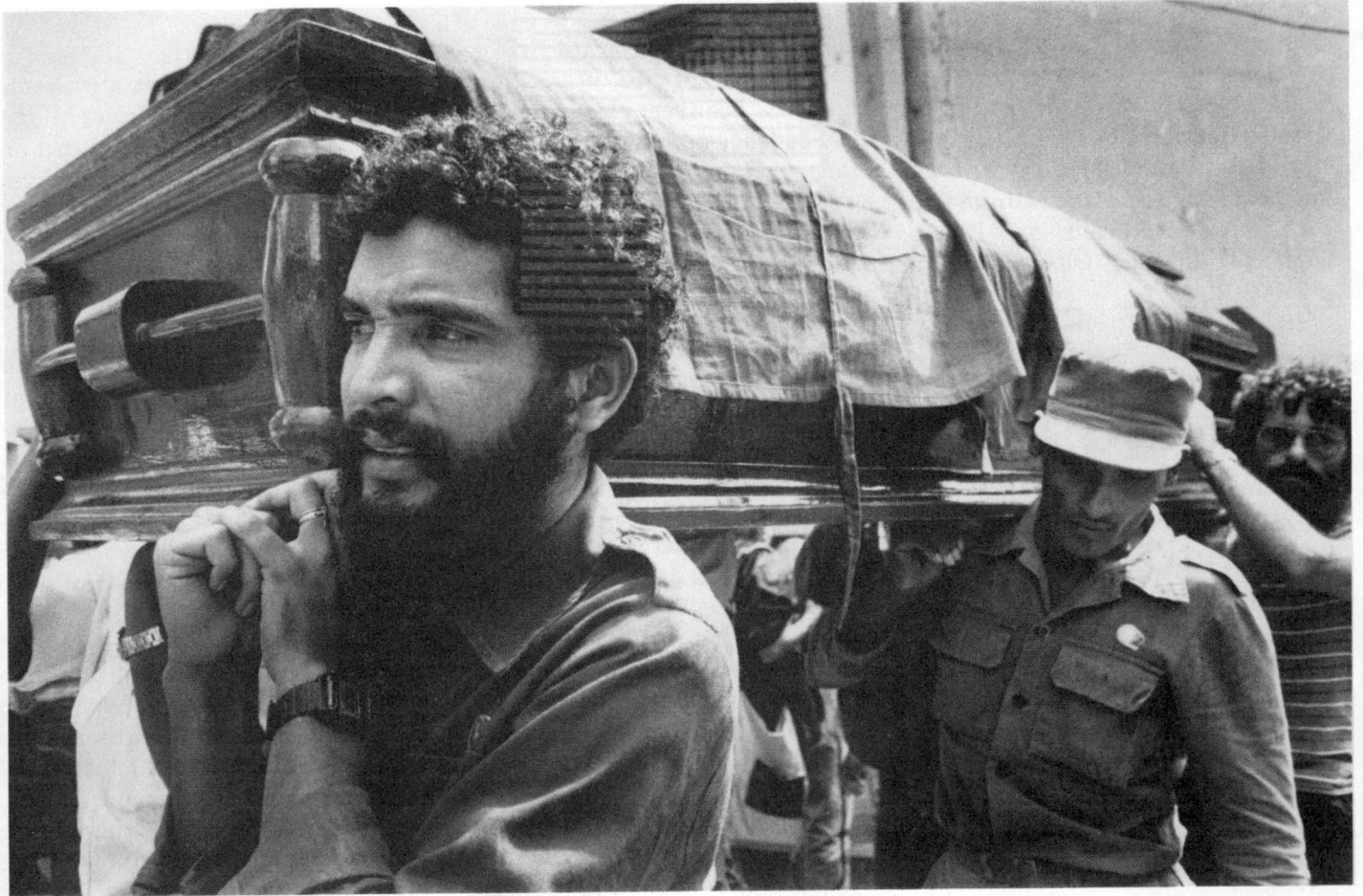
By Richard Trubo

With the advent of a temporary peace in Nicaragua, funerals for kids are no longer so common. But to Nicaraguans bedeviled by eight years of war, the current truce is a flimsy defense against a return to scenes painfully familiar in their towns and villages.

Not long ago, in Jalapa, a funeral was held for a victim of the war — this time for a 12-year-old boy killed on the outskirts of the city, cut down by contra bullets presumably supplied by the U.S. government. Doug Milholland, president of the Port Townsend (WA)-Jalapa Sister City Association, was in Jalapa that day and attended the funeral. As the crowd was disbanding after burying the boy, an emotionally-charged epithet rang out: "Damn it, why are Americans here?" Before anyone else in the crowd could react, another Nicaraguan responded: "Hey, these people are coming in friendship. It's all right."

Looking back, Milholland says that's the only time he has ever heard a negative comment aimed at North Americans participating in the growing U.S.-Nicaraguan sister city programs. Almost without exception, sister delegations from the United States traveling to the war-torn Central American country have been received with kindness and warmth.

"I've been there 19 times, heading 19 delegations," Roy Wilson, who guides the Seattle-Managua Sister City Association, said last May. "We've never encountered antagonism or anger." Maintaining any sister city connection is always demanding, due to language and geographic



Another funeral in Matagalpa.

Paul Shoul / Impact Visuals

barriers. But when the sororal bond is with a city in a country devastated by years of war, particularly when the U.S. government has so actively supported one side in that conflict, the challenges can become enormous.

The Scorched Earth

Nicaragua is a country that peace seems to have neglected. It's a nation of grieving parents who have lost children and thousands of orphans who will never know their parents.

"When I was in Nicaragua last summer, I remember picking up the newspapers there, and seeing pages filled with pictures of young men who had died," says Susana Picado of the Gainesville/Matagalpa Sister City Program. "I was shocked. The war has taken a terrible toll."

The toll has not been just in human lives. Whenever sister city delegations

travel to Nicaragua, they come back with poignant impressions of a country that's been wounded in many ways by war and a weakened economy. They describe people for whom belt-tightening has become a way of life. Children who go to bed hungry. Soldiers who wear their uniforms even when they're not actively serving — because they have no other clothes to wear. No electricity in many parts of the country. No running water. "The people are just so war-weary," says Sara Lee of the Friendship City Projects and the Boulder-Jalapa sisters program.

Obviously, the needs of the Nicaraguan people are enormous, and the 85 U.S.-Nicaraguan sister city programs are attempting to help them with humanitarian aid. But while some programs have had little difficulty getting supplies through to Central America, others say they've been

hampered by the U.S. trade embargo.

"When the embargo first went into effect, we were told by the U.S. State Department that we couldn't send down school supplies and vegetable seeds for home gardens," recalls Milholland. "Only supplies with no economic value would be permitted."

However, because of strong ties between the schoolchildren in the two cities, teachers and principals in Port Townsend protested. They were joined by Port Townsend's mayor in a letter-writing campaign to the State Department, and they contacted legislators, too. Ultimately, an exemption was granted, and the paper, pencils and other school supplies got through.

Fear of Bullets

Sister city programs have also become conscious of safety, especially since Ben Linder was murdered by the

contras a year ago. As with sister relationships in other parts of the world, North Americans tend to be greeted quite graciously in Nicaragua. "People who aren't familiar with Nicaragua are amazed at the warmth with which they're received," says Picado. Even so, on their trips to Central

It's hard to condemn a children's park project as being a bad thing to do.

America, people are often quite concerned about going into a country where war has become a way of life. Although many Nicaraguan sister cities are not near the actual fighting, some North Americans are still anxious about traveling there. Alan Wright of the New Haven-Leon Sister City Project says that on occasion, people have signed up to be part of a delegation, and "then at the last min-

ute have backed out because of fear."

In March of this year, Project Minnesota-Leon sent 13 young people to Nicaragua on a youth exchange. While they were there, President Reagan accused Nicaraguan troops of crossing the Honduran border and airlifted U.S. soldiers into the region. Understandably, that sent the stress levels of Minnesota parents soaring.

"A couple of parents in particular were extremely concerned," recalls Nancy Trechsel of Project Minnesota-Leon. "We kept in constant communication with the parents and with our people in Nicaragua. As it turned out, the children were never in any danger, and we tried to allay the fears of the parents back home. Once the youngsters were back in Minnesota, all the parents said they were glad their kids had had the experience of the trip to Nicaragua."

Selling Programs at Home

In U.S. cities with links to Nicaragua, some limited opposition to the sister relationship has occasionally surfaced, encouraged in part by the Reagan Administration's strong opposition to the Ortega government. Even so, when the Seattle City Council conducted a public hearing before formally approving the Seattle-Managua connection in 1984, there were 209 citizens who signed up to speak in favor of the sisters association, and only 11 who opposed it.

In New Haven, the relationship with Leon has received the blessing of the mayor and the city's Congressman. "We're a city of 110,000 people, and 3,000 of them are involved" in the sister city program, says Wright. He believes that New Haven's elected representatives have recognized not only the merits of the program, but also the political benefits of supporting something so popular.

Most sister city programs have also stayed away from controversy by concentrating on educational and

humanitarian projects. "It's hard to condemn a children's park project as being a bad thing to do," says Milholland. "People also aren't generally going to get upset about us providing fresh drinking water for a small town."

There also has been little local opposition to visits by Nicaraguans to their U.S. sister cities. Even so, these exchanges are often difficult to arrange, primarily because the State Department frequently delays granting visas to the visitors. The State Department sometimes does not approve visas until five to ten days before the scheduled arrival of the Nicaraguans, making it hard to organize a local or national tour for them in so short a time.

When the war in Nicaragua ends, the sister city programs will undoubtedly continue, although perhaps with an expanded focus. Representatives of the programs in many U.S. cities feel that the embargo has tied their hands, preventing them from going to their own communities and promoting the trade and economic benefits of a sisterly link.

"Without the embargo, certain businesses could have a fairly good business relationship with Nicaragua," says Wilson. He notes that in the early 1980s, a marine diesel motor company in Seattle had a contract to repair and replace diesel engines in boats owned by a Nicaraguan fishing company — but the embargo made that business illegal.

For now, participants in the U.S.-Nicaraguan sister city connections are determined to continue with their educational exchanges and programs of humanitarian assistance, despite the perils and problems presented by the war. And to a person, the North Americans who visit Nicaragua as part of the sister-city delegations say the trips into a poor and war-racked nation are profound experiences. "Everyone's affected," says Lee. "It's not the sort of trip you take without being moved in one way or another." ■

U.S.-NICARAGUAN SISTER CITY BRIEFS



Mayor Rosaura Salazar Ocon of Camoapa, Nicaragua (left) greeted by Arcata, California Mayor Thea Gast. Joe Cempa

Here are highlights of the activities of some of the more than 80 U.S.-Nicaraguan sister city (and state) relationships. Further information is available from the contacts listed below each entry.

ARCATA (CA) - CAMOAPA

In February, Camoapa Mayor Rosaura Salazar Ocon traveled to Arcata and surrounding communities in northern California. The mayor met with Arcata's city council and the county board of supervisors, and attended meetings of groups ranging from the Rotary Club to Central America Solidarity. She also appeared on several television and radio shows, gave newspaper interviews, attended church services, and visited Arcata's schools.

"We have many problems, but the war is the worst problem," Mayor Salazar told a press conference at Arcata City Hall. "With the war, we cannot develop as we would like."

Mayor Salazar's visit came on the heels of a 10-day trip to Nicaragua by Arcata Mayor Thea Gast in January, which included a stay in Camoapa. While there, Mayor Gast and other Arcata residents built and furnished an addition to the community health clinic. "The people of Camoapa are very, very grateful to the people of Arcata for the gifts we brought — medical and school supplies, tools, clothing and toys," says Mayor Gast. "But they said what they were most grateful for was our friendship. A number of them said, 'Please tell the people we don't want war anymore. Please stop the war.'"

A dental brigade (including dentists, dental assistants and a registered nurse) from Arcata spent ten days in Camoapa in March, providing dental care and education. They brought nearly \$3,000 worth of dental sup-

plies to use and leave behind in the town's dental clinic.

CONTACT: Arcata/Camoapa Sister City Project, P.O. Box 1042, Arcata, CA 95521 (707-822-7130).

BOULDER (CO) - JALAPA

An infant nutrition project has already sent materials to Jalapa, and in the spring more materials were collected to be taken by the Boulder delegation attending the Third Annual U.S.-Nicaraguan Sister City Conference in June. Supplies included canned food, vitamins, powdered milk, and medicines for diarrhea. This project also includes an educational component providing instruction on healthful food preparation and sanitation.

Other projects are helping Jalapa build a potable water system and providing a sewing cooperative there with needles, thread, cloth and sewing machines to make clothes for Nicaraguans.

Daniela Rodriguez, director of the Jalapa preschool that Boulder citizens helped to start and support, will be visiting Colorado in October.

CONTACT: Sara Lee, Friendship City Projects, P.O. Box 7452, Boulder, CO 80306 (303-442-0460).

MADISON (WI) - MANAGUA

This spring, bicycle enthusiasts in Madison collected bikes and bike-parts to be sent to a Bikes Not Bombs shop. Because of a petroleum shortage in Nicaragua, bicycles there are an important means of transportation.

Plans are being made to bring works by Nicaraguan artists to Madison next year for an art show. The Nicaraguan art works may become part of the Festival of the Lakes program in the fall of 1989.

CONTACT: Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua, P.O. Box 1534, Madison, WI 53701 (608-257-7230).

MINNESOTA - LEON

Construction by Leon residents is now underway on a pharmacy at the El Jicaral Rural Health Center. Funds for the project are being provided by Minnesota residents.

A team of two to three Minnesota health-care profes-

sionals will travel to Leon in August. They'll bring some donated medical equipment with them, and teach hospital personnel there how to use it.

Nicaraguan youths will also visit Minnesota. In October a Leon youth group of twelve children and a chaperone will spend three weeks in Minnesota — two weeks in the Twin Cities area and one week in other parts of the state. They will attend school and live in private homes. This will be the third Nicaraguan student group to visit Minnesota.

A group of Minnesota residents have formed Minnesotans for the Environment of Central Americans (MECA). In cooperation with the Nicaraguan Institute of Water and Sewer, they have provided plumbing tools and laboratory chemicals for analyzing drinking water. More recently MECA has completed a project to bring running water to a community of 400 people in Subtiava on the edge of Leon.

CONTACT: Nancy Trechsel, Project Minnesota/Leon, 7455 S. Lake Sarah Dr., Rockford, MN 55373 (612-477-6366).



The New Haven-Leon Sister City Project at work.

Alan Wright

NEW HAVEN (CT) - LEON

In collaboration with Bikes Not Bombs, the New Haven/Leon Sister City Project is opening a bicycle shop in Leon. The shop will provide employment for local residents as well as bicycles.

The sister city program is also working with the health-workers union in Leon to open a new day-care center, expanding the number of such facilities from three to four in the city. In late May about \$6,000 worth of playground equipment and school supplies were shipped to Leon to help equip the new center. At the

same time other humanitarian aid was sent, including electrocardiogram machines for hospitals, bicycles, sewing machines and medicines.

Luis Felipe Perez Calderon, Mayor of Leon, was expected to spend several days in New Haven in early June. He was also scheduled to visit several other cities, including New York City and Brookline, Massachusetts.

CONTACT: Alan Wright/Paula Kline, New Haven/Leon Sister City Project, 965 Quinipiac Ave., New Haven, CT 06573 (203-467-9182).

NORWALK (CT) - NAGAROTE

For the third time, Norwalkers have filled their share of a regional 40-foot material aid container headed for Nagarote and nearby areas. Included in the load is a complete set of used Little League uniforms and equipment requested by Nagarote's Mayor during his two-week visit to Norwalk in October 1987. Much of the rest of the load is medical supplies and books, and supplies and equipment for the Nagarote library. A team of local librarians will travel to Nagarote this summer to set up the new library.

The committee has also obtained a used ambulance which will be rehabilitated and driven to Nicaragua to provide the basic medical transportation lacking in the area.

CONTACT: William A. Collins, Former Mayor of Norwalk, 23 Split Rock Road, Norwalk, CT 06854 (203-854-7701).

PORT TOWNSEND (WA) - JALAPA

In March six Port Townsend residents were joined by three other Washingtonians in a trip to Jalapa to work on a children's park there. They completed Phase I of the project, installing a carousel and constructing around it a pavilion and other multi-level play structures. The sister city association plans to help Jalapa finish the park by providing funds to purchase concrete for a basketball court.

A water project is underway, which will supply diesel generators to Jalapa to pump water during dry seasons and power outages.

Guillermo Martinez, Mayor of Jalapa, is tentatively scheduled to travel to Port Townsend in October. He is also expected to visit Boulder (another Jalapa sister city) during his trip to the United States.

CONTACT: Doug Milholland, Jalapa/Port Townsend Sister City Association, 1829 Lincoln St., Port Townsend, WA 98368 (206-385-6525).

SEATTLE (WA) - MANAGUA

A delegation of seven Nicaraguan pastors spent two weeks in Seattle in May. They met with religious leaders in Seattle, and discussed establishing new Managua-Seattle sister church relationships. There are already five such church connections between the two cities.

In the spring the sister city association collected medical equipment, educational supplies (including typewriters and slide projectors), and sports equipment (such as baseball gloves) to donate to the children of Managua.

A scholarship exchange program allowed a 19-year-old Seattle student to study in Managua earlier this year; at the same time, a 19-year-old student from Managua spent time in Seattle studying English.

CONTACT: Seattle-Managua Sister City Association, 2524 16th Ave., S., Seattle, WA 98144 (206-329-2974)

WISCONSIN - MANAGUA

Before attending the Third Annual U.S.-Nicaraguan Sister City Conference in Managua in June, ten Wisconsin residents visited Matagalpa, inspected the agricultural program, and met with officials and other personnel who provided them with an update on the peace talks.

Fifteen health-care professionals from Wisconsin traveled to Nicaragua in June to investigate the possibility of establishing a joint program between the University of Wisconsin School of Medicine and the medical school at the National Autonomous University in Managua. The program would facilitate the flow of expertise and humanitarian aid between physicians and other health-care workers at the Wisconsin and Nicaraguan facilities.

Friends in Deed...The Story of the U.S.-Nicaraguan Sister Cities, a book written by Liz Chilsen and Sheldon Rampton of the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua (WCCN), will be published in September. The 130-page volume will describe the successes and difficulties involved in U.S.-Nicaraguan sister connections, and provide guidelines on establishing new ones. The book, priced at \$19.95, can be ordered from WCCN.

CONTACT: Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua, P.O. Box 1534, Madison, WI 53701 (608-257-7230).

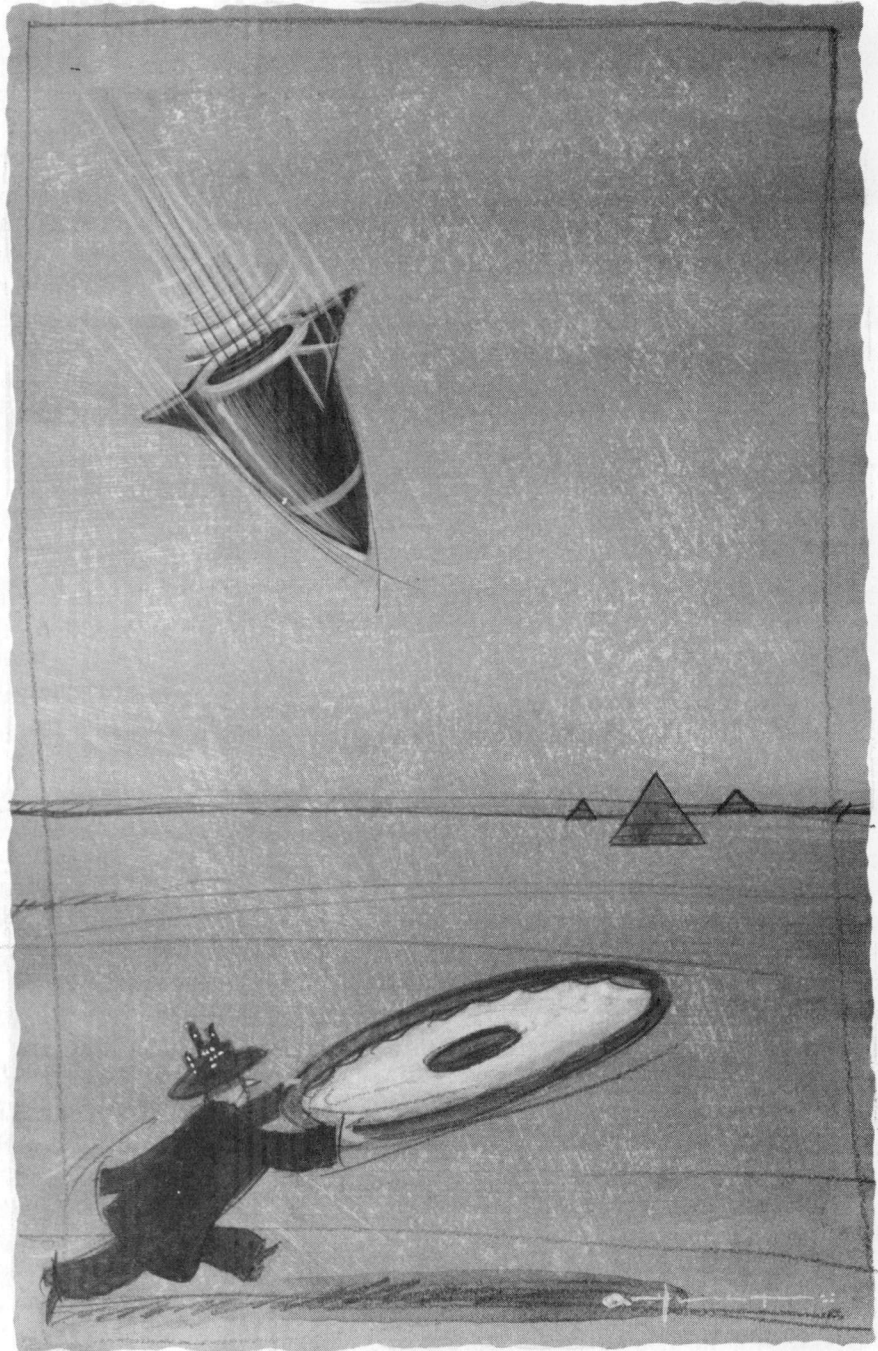
WHEN YOU WISH UPON A STAR WARS

Huntsville Mayor Shoots Back

Alabama may be one of the country's poorest states but the city of Huntsville has enjoyed unprecedented prosperity. In the last four years, employment has soared 23 percent, and optimism is so high that the Chamber of Commerce's business cards now carry the slogan, "The sky is not the limit."

Credit for this newfound prosperity in Huntsville must go to Strategic Defense Initiative research and development — as well as to the civilian space program and several Army missile ventures. These research projects have brought a flood of federal dollars into high-tech firms such as Teledyne, Delta Research, Dynetics, Sparta and SRS Technologies. In turn, the employees of these companies have spent their comfortable salaries at local shopping malls, restaurants, clothing stores, and car dealerships.

The dollar figures are immense. The Federation of American Scientists reports that Huntsville's high-tech companies have reaped \$862 million in SDI contracts in the last four years.



The National Aeronautics and Space Administration funnelled nearly \$600 million into the community in 1987 alone.

Public response seemed effusive, at least until Daniel Charles described the plight of Huntsville's "have-nots" in *The Nation* last December. For instance, the black community there, which makes up nearly one-quarter of the population, has been largely forgotten, and its high unemployment rate persists. Gene Hodges, a sociology professor at the University of Alabama's Huntsville campus, notes, "You have this high-tech boom that makes the marginal people even more marginal." There is no transportation system in the city, and thus, adds Hodges, "without a car, you're out of the labor market."

Amid Huntsville's prosperity, the city's housing authority decided to tear down 200 low-rent apartment units not long ago, with no plans to replace them. Charles notes that for thousands of the city's residents, the main concern "is how to get along on a Social Security or unemployment check."

The city's dependency on defense contracts has roused a chorus of local pro-SDI sentiment rooted more in job security than in national security. One Huntsville engineer told *The Nation*, "You don't think about the wider implications [of SDI]. You just hope that somebody else is doing that." And are his colleagues interested in the ultimate purpose of SDI? "You can't even get five to ten percent of them even to discuss it."

Charles' article rocked the boat a little too much for Huntsville Mayor Joe W. Davis. In a lengthy letter to the magazine published last March, Davis insisted that most of his citizens employed in the SDI program "have a deep-seated conviction that it is a noble enterprise, representing a long-overdue shift in national strategic

*'Once the
rockets are up,
who cares
where they
come down?
That's not my
department,'
says Wernher
von Braun.*

—satirist Tom Lehrer

policy....The more common view is that it is morally satisfying to be working on a program that is dedicated to protecting lives, defending the national value structure and ultimately, helping make nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete."

Mayor Davis also attacked Charles for suggesting that SDI may pose economic problems for the United States. "Historically, defense R&D programs have served as a catalyst in the application of emerging technology and as an underwriter for high-risk, high potential payoff research that might otherwise not be undertaken," wrote Davis. "The more fundamental and challenging the research goals have been, the more potential payoff has existed for the civilian sector. SDI research is in the category that has the greatest potential for technology transfer. And, contrary to some opinion, if the SDI program did not exist, its budget would not necessarily be re-programmed into a space mission to planet Mars or to some other favorite nondefense project."

But Charles responded this way: "Certainly, there will be some useful technology developed under Star Wars, and every time there is, the Pentagon will trumpet it far and wide. But if anyone is seriously trying to develop technologies that will have a widespread impact, raise productivity and create jobs, Star Wars is a senseless way to go about it."

Meanwhile, some SDI critics are still trying to get their message across to the engineers who work for Huntsville's defense contractors. Carl Sagan spoke to a crowd of 3,200 in Huntsville last summer, during which he asked, "When is it the responsibility of the scientist to say 'no' to the government?"

No one responded.

SOURCES: Daniel Charles, "Star Wars Fell on Alabama," *The Nation*, 19 December 1987, p. 748-750; Joe W. Davis, "Rocket City Mayor Fired Up," *The Nation*, 26 March 1988, p. 398.

ANOTHER KIND OF SLAVERY?

BALTIMORE HEARING CALLS FOR SHIFT IN PENTAGON FUNDS

The Baltimore City Development Commission, created by a citywide vote in November 1986, is finally beginning to flex its muscles. In April, hundreds of people showed up for a 4 hour Saturday public hearing during which many witnesses called for a reallocation of billions of dollars of Pentagon defense funds to social needs. Even though the hearing was held at Baltimore's War Memorial Building, where many historic weapons are displayed, almost every person attending spoke as though weapons of war belonged only in museums and nowhere else.

As we reported in the Winter 1987-88 issue of the *Bulletin*, the 1986 referendum mandated that the mayor appoint a seven-member panel to "advise the city on the impact of military spending and recommend economic policies and practices which will increase the number of civilian-oriented jobs." According to Jobs with Peace, it is the first city agency in the nation whose only purpose is to prepare for a future without military spending.

"We in Baltimore, we can move this whole nation," declared Sister Katherine Corr, chairperson of Baltimore Jobs with Peace, at the hearing. Her organization spearheaded the campaign supporting passage of the ballot measure. She and others at the hearing called attention to \$50.5 billion that the General Accounting Office says is uncommitted Pentagon money, and urged that it be channeled into social programs. Those testifying included representatives from neighborhood groups, unions, peace organizations, social outreach programs, and churches.

Jack Levin of the Maryland Food Committee commented, "The last day of Passover [is] a good day to undertake...another deliverance from another kind of slavery — our volun-

tary, even eager enslavement to the military. We already have enough to destroy our enemy, ourselves and our planet many times over, while we deny the necessities of life to ourselves, and drive our children, our grandchildren toward bankruptcy....Our real enemies are poverty, hunger, homelessness, illiteracy, sickness."

Rev. Harry Holfelder, a member of the Commission, said he hoped that "the energy and the number at this meeting" would be translated into some practical steps toward conversion. "We don't want to be just a forum where steam gets let off," he said.

Reverend William F. Burke, Commission chairperson, seemed to feel the same way. After the meeting, he said the panel will prepare a short report — based in part on testimony at the April hearing — for the Mayor and City Council.

SOURCES: Rev. William F. Burke, Baltimore City Development Commission Chairperson, 3615 Harford Rd., Baltimore, MD 21218; Baltimore Jobs with Peace, 100 S. Washington, Baltimore, MD 21231 (301-342-7404); Sheridan Lyons, "Shift of Pentagon Funds to Social Needs Backed," Baltimore Sun, 10 April 1988, p. 3.



"We in Baltimore can move this whole nation."

— Katherine Corr

CAMBRIDGE SUPPORTS STATE ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION ACT

Thanks to a resolution sponsored by Vice Mayor Alice Wolf, the Cambridge City Council has gone on record supporting the Massachusetts Economic Diversification Act. The proposed state legislation would create a semi-public corporation that would underwrite non-weapons business development to reduce the state's dependency on military contracts while saving jobs.

In mid-March, a week after approval of the resolution, Wolf testified before the state legislature's Joint Committee on Commerce and Labor in favor of the bill. She told the lawmakers that the bill would provide valuable "technical and marketing assistance for companies interested in diversifying."

At press time, the bill had been referred to the House Ways and Means Committee.

SOURCES: Vice Mayor Alice Wolf, City Hall, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617-498-9094); State Rep. David Cohen, State House, Room 20, Boston, MA 02133 (617-722-2410).

PREPARING FOR THE MORNING AFTER

Six years ago, the town of Kingsland, Georgia, had a population of just 2,000 and an economy built atop the timber industry. But then the Pentagon arrived with a brimming billfold.

The Pentagon built a new submarine base, spent one million dollars a day, and launched a tremendous economic boom. The population of Kingsland has since tripled and is expected to leap to 14,000 by the time the base is finished in 1992.

To many in Kingsland, the economic bonanza could not be more welcome. After all, a 1,300-unit housing development is under construction, and the city has formed its first recreation department. The fire department just moved into a new building — part of a \$750,000 public safety complex.

Amid this mushroom of municipal growth, more and more people are looking at the inevitable downside of the Pentagon boom. With the twin deficits in the federal budget and trade, blank checks from Congress for pet defense projects are under increasing scrutiny. In an article by Jonathon Rauch in the *National Journal* last December, various people debated the economic significance of the imminent military slow-down.

Some leaders are trying to convince the public that now is the time to begin serious conversion planning. Leo McCarthy, California's Lieutenant Governor and a U.S. Senate candidate this fall, recently said, "The California defense industry has been a major factor in American national security for five decades, and will continue to be. But recent events mean that California can't rely on defense budget increases for long-term job increases. We can't pretend this is not so. We can say it is not so — which is what I expect [McCarthy's opponent, incumbent Senator] Pete Wilson will do — or we can start preparing for the future."

According to Michael Closson, Executive Director of the Center for Economic Conversion, "More and more

people are aware that the economic and political environment is changing, and that we had this gigantic military binge over the last six or seven years, and it's clear that it can't continue."

Conservative political analyst Kevin Phillips, in his own *Business & Public Affairs Fortnightly*, seems to concur. "To date, [conversion has] been a hard trend to take very seriously. Yet a combination of circumstances — new polls, local referenda, a surge of shareholder resolutions, the sympathetic positions of Democratic presidential candidates — suggest that that could be changing."

In many parts of the country, there's a growing awareness that some regions have not gotten their fair share of the Pentagon checks. A study by the Northeast-Midwest Institute concluded that "the distribution of Pentagon funds increasingly has favored southern and western states," with the rustbelt and midwest watching their share of direct Defense Department contracts plummet by half from 1951 to 1983. Even in states that have done well, some sections have fared much better than others. In 1986, five of California's 58 counties received about 86 percent of the state's defense contracts.

But the Pentagon seems unconcerned by such inequities. "With any economic change, all the pain is not equally distributed, and all the benefits are not equally distributed," says Robert M. Rauner, head of the Pentagon's Office of Economic Adjustment. "We don't think that defense is the right instrument to try to balance the national economy."

And in Kingsland, few people are complaining about what's taking place. "You've always got some soreheads," says Bill Andrews, Kingsland city administrator, "but in Kingsland, almost 100 percent of the population is thrilled."

SOURCE: Jonathon Rauch, "After the Boom," *National Journal*, 19 December 1987, p. 3193

With the twin
deficits in national
spending and trade,
blank checks from
Congress for
pet defense projects
are under
increasing scrutiny.

CONVERSION BRIEFS

Louise McNeilly of the Center for Economic Conversion (CEC) has provided the following updates on state efforts to convert military production to more socially beneficial production. For additional information, contact the name or organization listed at the end of each entry below, or CEC at 222-C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041 (415-968-8798).

CONNECTICUT

In March, the state Task Force on Manufacturing issued a report urging "product diversification within defense-dependent industries." It considered this step particularly important for areas such as southeastern Connecticut, where "prime contract awards...are equivalent to more than 40 percent of that region's aggregate personal income."

The report also called upon the legislature to mandate that the state Job Training Coordinating Council provide \$5 million for a "dislocated worker fund" to subsidize half of a dislocated worker's salary when an in-state manufacturing firm agrees to employ him or her and provide on-the-job training for at least six months. The same fund would subsidize tuition and books for a dislocated worker receiving job training at a state technical or community college.

CONTACT: Kevin Bean, Saint Luke's Parish, Box 3128, Darien, CT 06820 (203-655-1456).

MINNESOTA

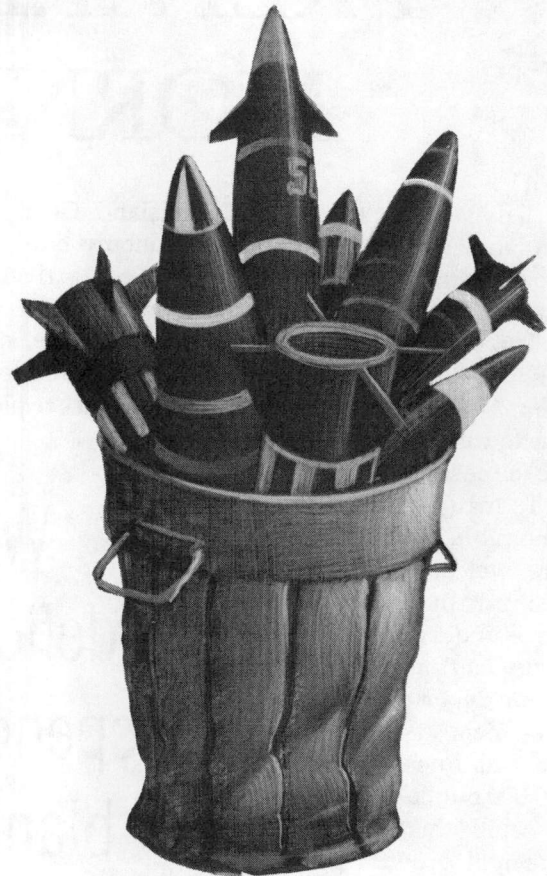
The state Conversion Task Force hosted three conversion activists and experts from Great Britain in March. While touring in Minnesota, the delegation testified before the state House Committee on Economic Development and the Conversion Task Force itself. They described conversion efforts in England and Wales.

CONTACT: Mel Duncan, Minnesota Jobs with Peace, 1929 S. 5th St., Minneapolis, MN 55454 (612-338-7955).

PENNSYLVANIA

In May the state House Labor Relations Committee held a hearing on economic conversion. Labor and religious leaders provided forceful testimony advocating state conversion legislation. In the aftermath of the hearings, the legislature was expected to consider passage of an Economic Adjustment Act, which would create regional "alternative use" committees.

CONTACT: John Goldberg, Pennsylvania Jobs with Peace, 924 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215-925-3758).



WASHINGTON

The Washington legislature has appropriated \$40,000 for a study of the state's dependence on federal defense spending by Washington State University researchers, calling upon them "to investigate the state's reliance on the defense industry and to investigate methods to promote greater economic diversification of the state's economy." The study will "focus primarily on identifying companies and workers at risk from defense cutbacks over the next five years," and evaluate ways to return them to work in other industries. The report is due before the state legislature by January 1st.

Puget Sound SANE has come out with its own report on military dependence in Washington state ("Military Spending and the Two Washingtons"). It notes that while military spending in the United States has averaged \$916 per person annually in recent years, the figure is much higher (\$1543 per person) in Washington state. Still, it found that while five counties in the state "significantly benefit from military spending...the other 34 benefit little, if at all."

CONTACT: Rep. Gary Locke, 3832 Ranier Ave., S., Seattle, WA 98118 (206) 723-2153; Puget Sound SANE, 5516 Roosevelt Way, N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206-527-8050).

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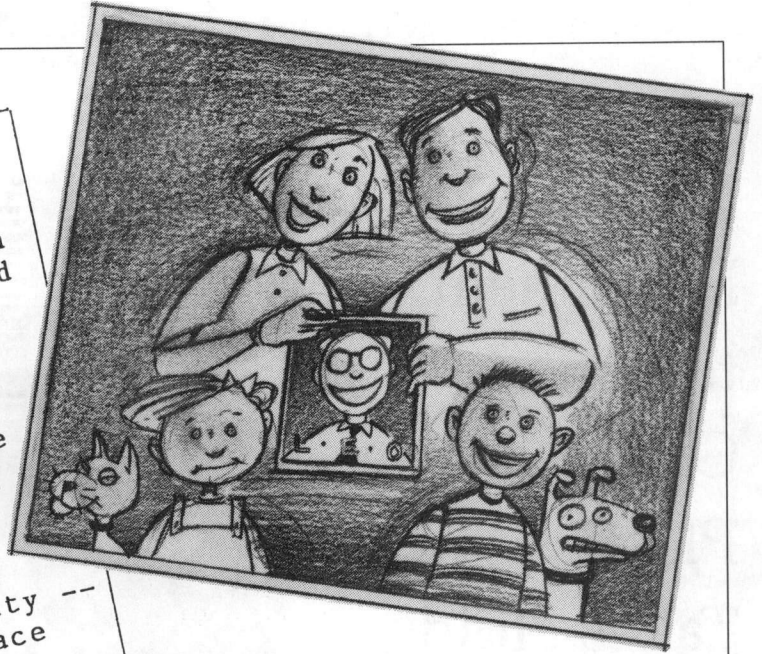
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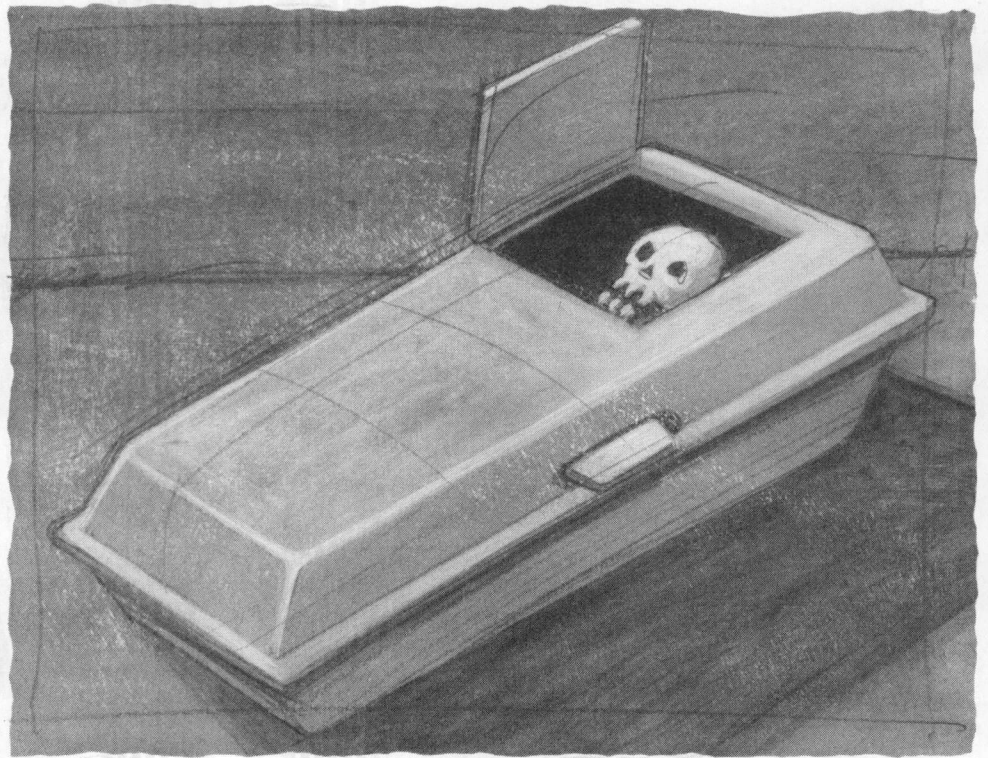
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Nationwide
 Movement
 to Ban
 Ozone-eating
 Plastics
 Takes Hold
 in Suffolk
 County and
 Berkeley



OZONE DESERVES A BREAK TODAY

At McDonald's, "you deserve a break today." But in Suffolk County, New York and Berkeley, residents will soon get a break every day from the global environmental impacts of McDonald's styrofoam food containers.

In the most far-reaching legislation of its kind, Suffolk County, located in the environmentally-conscious eastern half of Long Island, has ordered fast food restaurants, as well as grocery stores, bars, delis and roadside stands, to stop packaging their food in environmentally destructive polystyrene foam and polyvinyl chloride (PVC). Beginning in July 1989, businesses will have to switch to paper products.

Blinded by Science

Polystyrene foam is used to make the plastic containers that keep Big

Macs and Egg McMuffins warm. It's also used in egg cartons, meat trays and coffee cups.

These foam products are made with either chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) or hydrocarbons (including n-pentane), both of which have been implicated in destroying the Earth's atmosphere. An emerging body of scientific evidence — bolstered recently by a National Aeronautics and Space Administration study — has concluded that CFCs have already caused a significant decline in atmospheric ozone in both the Northern and Southern Hemispheres over the past two decades. If this deterioration continues, it will allow more of the sun's ultraviolet radiation to reach the Earth, causing increased skin cancers and eye problems and seriously damaging flora and fauna. Although hydrocarbons don't pose a risk to the ozone, they can combine with other

chemicals to produce caustic air pollutants. None of the foam containers is biodegradable.

County Legislator Stephen C. Englebright, chief sponsor of the Suffolk legislation, said the main target of the measure is "point of purchase" packaging, that is, packaging for food products consumed soon after they are bought. Businesses violating the law face a \$500 fine.

Suffolk is not alone in taking action to protect atmospheric ozone. Last September, the City Council in Berkeley, California, voted unanimously on the first reading to approve an ordinance that would ban foam containers made with CFCs; however, the ordinance was never returned for a second reading because the Council decided that its implementation provisions needed some fine-tuning. A completely revamped ordinance, modeled after the Suffolk County

measure, was passed in early June. That ordinance went beyond a simple ban on CFCs — which takes effect in Berkeley in September — and banned all plastic foam food packages beginning in 1990. In the meantime, the Berkeley ordinance urges local restaurants and food vendors to reduce voluntarily their use of plastics.

In January 1988, New York Mayor Ed Koch signed an executive order banning all mayoral agencies from purchasing products made of polystyrene foam.

Throughout the country, dozens of other cities are also considering laws of their own that would prohibit the foam products.

Ozone Wars

Not surprisingly, many of the manufacturers of these items — such as the Mobil Corporation and the Amoco Corporation — have become vocal opponents of this local legislation. In ads in national magazines, Amoco labeled “foam fast food containers the scapegoat, not the problem.”

Allen Gray, a Mobil spokesperson, says that the Suffolk County legislation “discriminates” against plastic products. “It doesn’t offer any solutions to waste disposal. It does not provide for incinerators, does not provide for landfills, does not bring about a reduction in the matter of trash.”

But County Legislator Englebright says, “This is a first step. It is not meant to be a magic wand to solve all the problems that are created by the composition and chemistry of our mixed waste stream.”

Patrick G. Halpin, Suffolk’s County Executive who signed the measure into law, says the new legislation should “send a clear message to the plastics industry that the time is now to begin an aggressive and comprehensive recycling program.” He called the measure “progressive, mile-

stone legislation.” It was passed by the county legislature by a 16-0 vote, with two abstentions.

At about the time Berkeley was contemplating passing its own law last year, McDonald’s may have seen the handwriting on the fast-food wall and announced that it would phase out its U.S. use of foam containers made with CFCs by the end of 1988. “We have made this decision with the full recognition that McDonald’s packaging represents only a minute portion of total CFC usage,” said Clifford Raber, vice-president for government relations for the world’s largest restaurant chain.

But McDonald’s also announced it would continue to sell its food items in foam packages using only hydrocarbons, which the Suffolk County law would ban, too.

Berkeley Councilmember Nancy Skinner, one of the leaders in the drive to ban CFCs, says that the ban on fast-food containers “may be an insignificant drop in the bucket as far as stopping the ozone depletion. But if it causes the country, the manufacturers and the lawmakers to look for alternatives, then it is significant.”

Minnesota State Senator Greg Dahl, who helped pass a law in his state this year banning plastic foam packaging made with CFCs, says that the law “will send a very strong message to industries who use CFCs that they have to clean up their act.” The Minnesota law bans these containers beginning in 1990. A similar law passed by the Maine legislature will ban food packaging made with CFCs, beginning in 1989.

SOURCES: Citizen’s Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes, P.O. Box 926, Arlington, VA 22216 (703-276-7070); Councilmember Nancy Skinner, 2180 Milvia Street, Berkeley, CA 94705 (415-644-6359); Associated Press, “Foam Packaging Makers Not Fretting Law,” Orange County Register, 9 May 1988, p. C4; Environmental Research Foundation, “Suffolk County, NY, Bans Plastic Food Containers — First In Nation,” Hazardous Waste News, 9 May 1988, p. 1; Philip Gutis, “Ban on Wrapping in Plastic Signed,” New York Times, 30 April 1988, p. 1; Philip Shabecoff, “Most Authoritative Study Yet Shows Declining Ozone Layer,” New York Times, 16 March 1988, p. 1; Matt Lait, “Holding the Foam to Save the Ozone,” Washington Post, 16 February 1988, p. A3; “McDonald’s Container,” New York Times, 6 May 1987, p. D22.

Since we first started talking about it, McDonalds has announced it wouldn't use products with CFCs, so it's had the effect many of us wanted.

*-Berkeley Councilmember
Nancy Skinner*

WORLD MAYORS CONFERENCE CALLS FOR TEST BAN AND DISARMAMENT

Nine world mayors have called upon the United Nations and the peoples of the planet to ban nuclear testing and eventually abolish all nuclear weapons. The mayors — who make up the executive committee of the World Conference of Mayors for Peace Through Inter-City Solidarity — met in Como, Italy in April, and hammered out the resolution, which also advocated the abolition of chemical weapons and a reduction of conventional arms.

Anne Rudin, Mayor of Sacramento, California, represented the United States. She was joined by the mayors of East Berlin, Como, Hannover, Hiroshima, Lusaka, Nagasaki, Vancouver and Volgograd. Their resolution was presented to the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament in June on behalf of the World Conference of Mayors for Peace.

The preamble of the document reaffirms the commitment of cities throughout the world to peaceful co-existence through a solidarity that transcends national boundaries. It recalls the devastation that Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as the cities of Europe, suffered 43 years ago, and concludes with a call to eradicate nuclear weapons.

"When we consider that in war, especially when nuclear weapons are used, it is the cities and the people who live in them that suffer most, it is only natural that city administrators, and the individual citizens of those cities as well, work as diligently as possible in the search for peace," the mayors wrote.

In calling for an immediate and comprehensive ban on nuclear testing and the eventual abolition of all nu-

clear weapons, the resolution's signers conceded that their quest will be "long and difficult." But they called the banning of these weapons "our top

It is only natural that city administrators work as diligently as possible in the search for peace.

priority." They also noted that "world peace cannot be achieved without a reduction in conventional arms."

Because many weapons used in local wars are imported from coun-

tries not involved in the actual conflict, the mayors also demanded a ban on weapons exports to other nations. Finally, the mayors called for a redirection of national budget priorities, asking that funds now spent on military weapons be used to assist economic growth and the elimination of poverty in developing nations.

Before adjournment, the executive committee made plans for the Second World Conference of Mayors for Peace, to be held in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 5-9, 1989. Membership in this organization is open to all cities that subscribe to the goals of world peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons. More than 200 cities in 39 countries make up the group's membership.

SEND YOUR MAYOR TO HIROSHIMA

Mayor Anne Rudin of Sacramento is looking for U.S. mayors and other local elected officials to represent their cities in Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the Second World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity. If this conference is like its predecessor, representatives will have an unprecedented opportunity to discuss municipal peace policies with hundreds of mayors from around the world, as well as experience unmatched Japanese hospitality.

For further information about representing your city (if you're an official) or getting your local officials to attend, contact:

Mayor Anne Rudin
915 I Street, Sacramento
CA 95814
(916-449-5300)

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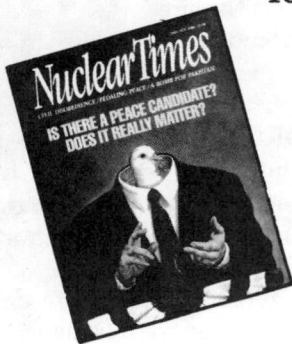
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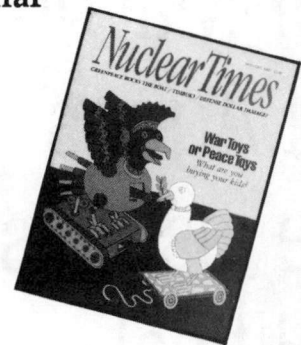
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NIGHT OF THE LIVING MISSOURI

For Mayor
Art Agnos
the issue is a
political
minefield.

In the last issue of the *Bulletin*, we reported that between Congressional funding cuts and the landslide mayoral victory of Art Agnos, an outspoken critic, the plan to homeport the nuclear-armed U.S. Missouri in San Francisco appeared all but doomed. Now, three months later, the fate of the project remains surprisingly uncertain as a complex political scenario has unfolded — a scenario filled with regional opportunities and dangers.

The drama begins with San Francisco's new mayor, Art Agnos, who has decided to approach the homeport issue with a number of alternative plans that would balance Navy and city interests. His "mixed-use" plan would open up to public use half of the 550 acres at Hunters Point, where the Navy was hoping to build the homeport. The Navy could then use the remainder for repairing ships and providing housing for its personnel already stationed in San Francisco (the Navy is already short 2,600 units of housing for personnel in the Bay Area). Critically important to homeport opponents is that the Agnos plan precludes the stationing of the battleship Missouri, support ships, or cruise destroyers. It also recommends

environmental cleanup of wastes the Navy has already left in the area and provides for creation of a light industrial facility, extension of Hunters Point Park around the area, and a doubling of the number of small businesses on the site.

To move along the mixed-use plan, Agnos has also commissioned a study by the firm of Deloitte, Haskins and Sells. According to the *Bay Guardian*, the firm's preliminary findings are that the plan will economically benefit the city; its final report is expected in mid-June.

In mid-May, Agnos presented the mixed-use plan to the Navy in Washington, D.C. But so far, the Navy has not responded.

For Agnos the issue is a political minefield. As much as he would like to drop the homeport once and for all, he has tried to respond to other interests in the community. Many residents at Hunters Point, a predominantly black and economically depressed community, want some kind of development plan for the area. The Navy wants satisfaction, too, lest it evict the hundreds of tenants on the site whose leases have expired. And to preserve his political capital, Agnos has tried not to alienate the several powerful

*Until someone
drives a wooden stake
through the heart of
the USS Missouri, no
one should presume
that the San Francisco
homeporting plan
is dead.*

figures in the California Democratic Party who support revival of the homeport.

One powerful supporter of homeporting is former Mayor Dianne Feinstein, who became virtually obsessed with pushing through the project before her term expired. On June 15 she held a \$150 a plate fundraiser for the Missouri at the Fairmont Hotel. California Speaker of the Assembly Willie L. Brown, Jr., attended. So did Senator Pete Wilson (R-CA), who is eagerly seeking to build up supporters for himself among the beneficiaries of the homeporting plan.

State Senator Quentin Kopp has also actively lobbied for the homeport. He now is reportedly supporting a bill that would redirect \$2 million budgeted for an AIDS treatment facility to dredging for the Missouri.

The mainstream press in San Francisco has seized the opportunity to criticize Agnos. The *Examiner's* editorial page praised the initiation of "a people's campaign" of "ordinary citizens" to "convince officials that continued opposition is unpopular and



unwise" (10 April 1988). In a later editorial, the *Examiner* derided the mixed-use plan and portrayed the conflict as one between ordinary citizens and certain special interests which are holding the mayor hostage: "The mayor has promised his three core constituencies on this issue — gays, anti-military activists and environmentalists — that he will oppose the homeporting plan. Meanwhile, he is under pressure from labor, business, indeed the majority of San Franciscans, to conclude the Missouri porting agreement approved last year by the

Board of Supervisors" (22 May 1988).

Supporters of the Missouri, politicians and press alike, have dismissed the environmental concerns about the project as "resolved" after Reagan's Environmental Protection Agency approved the necessary dredging operation. Likewise, they have belittled objections to the Navy's discriminatory employment practices toward lesbians and gay men.

Meanwhile, many opponents of the homeport have looked at Agnos's efforts to appease supporters with the mixed-use plan as something near

treason. Saul Bloom of the Arms Control Research Center, however, a leading opponent of homeporting, supports the mayor's efforts to end the controversy and depolarize the debate. Although he remains worried that Agnos might cave in to pressure by homeport supporters, Bloom thinks Agnos's plan could be enormously beneficial to the region.

Grassroots activists continue to add their own pressure. A vigil attended by visiting Japanese to commemorate Hunters Point involvement in the Hiroshima bomb took place on the morning of the Feinstein fundraiser. In addition, local activists have drafted a Jobs with Peace ordinance to implement the nuclear free zone referendum passed by San Francisco voters last fall.

The ultimate fate of the homeport may rest in Congress, which has been reluctant to provide funding. In 1986, the Navy requested \$799 million for all fourteen homeports — a figure the Congressional Budget Office concluded would barely fund just the Everett, Washington, and New York sites. Congress may direct the Navy to complete these two sites and delete funding for all the Gulf and California sites. The General Accounting Office concurred that the total cost for the project would far exceed the \$799 million requested.

Congress will also not release funds for berthing the Missouri at Hunters Point until the Navy issues an informal supplemental impact statement that would detail, among other things, the number of ships it would moor and realistic timelines.

Recent developments in Washington, D.C., strongly militate against funding for the project. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci has proposed legislation establishing a special joint executive-legislative committee which would, in an attempt to reduce the overall deficit, review all homeport facilities and develop a master list of bases to cut. To get around the traditional pork-barrel

politics, Carlucci has suggested that Congress be unable to amend the list; instead, Congress would have to pass or reject the entire package as written.

Back in San Francisco City Hall, Mayor Agnos is considering other use-options for Hunters Point, too, including: (1) building a cultural center on the site that would be modeled after San Francisco's Fort Mason, a converted World War II military installation that is now a successful center housing non-profit art and community organizations; (2) using the port to expand fishing in the Bay Area; and (3) developing new businesses that could create a more racially and economically integrated workforce at Hunters Point.

Alameda's Mayor Chuck Corica has apparently added his own bid to

berth the Missouri across the bay from San Francisco, but there are signs he will face significant opposition, too. Alameda City Hall was picketed by protesters when Corica met with a task force convened to develop a strategy for courting the Missouri. City Councilmember Rita Haugner criticized Corica for proceeding without notifying the Council and before the effects of berthing had been studied.

SOURCES: Saul Bloom, Arms Control Research Center (ARC), 942 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415-397-1452); Thomas Keane, "Agnos Asked to Reconsider Missouri Issue," San Francisco Chronicle 8 April 1988, p. A-6; Editorial, "Missouri: A People's Campaign," San Francisco Chronicle, 10 April 1988, p. A-18; Paul Weingarten, "Sink or Swim When the Navy Hits Town," San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner, 17 April 1988, p. A-8; Editorial, "The Truth About USS Missouri," San Francisco Chronicle, 15 May 1988, p. 1; Tim Redmond, "Warning: Claims of Missouri's Death Highly Exaggerated," San Francisco Bay Guardian, 18 May 1988, p. 6; Thomas Keane, "Alameda Beckons to the Missouri," San Francisco Chronicle, 18 May 1988, p. A-4; Marc Sandalow, "Protest Over Ship's Invitation," San Francisco Chronicle, 20 May 1988, p. A-11; Editorial, "City Hall Plays with Boats," San Francisco Examiner, 22 May 1988, p. A-18.

HOMEPORTING PLAN STALLED IN EVERETT, WASHINGTON

Court Decision Could Have Far-reaching Implications

A coalition of six environmental groups won a significant victory in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which ordered all construction work halted on the Navy's USS Nimitz homeport site at Everett, Washington. Sierra Club Attorney Victor Sher said the ruling had ramifications beyond Everett: "It means the Navy must comply with state environmental laws just like everybody else."

The \$272 million plan to berth the aircraft carrier USS Nimitz and support ships, and to construct base facilities in Everett, would necessitate dumping nearly 4 million cubic yards of dredge mud in 400 feet of water at Port Gardner Bay. Environmentalists charged that the dredge mud is contaminated with heavy metals and that the proposed dumping would create ecological hazards in Puget Sound.

Judge Edward Leavy's order overturned U.S. District Court Judge John Coughenour, who had allowed on-land construction to begin even though Everett's shoreline permit was issued on the condition that all appeals be resolved before construction began.

Because of delays, federal funding for the project has been tentatively withdrawn for the current fiscal year.

SOURCE: "9th Circuit Requires Halt to Construction Work at Navy Facility," Metropolitan News, (Los Angeles), 8 March 1988; Saul Bloom, Arms Control Resource Center, 942 Market Street, San Francisco, CA (415-397-1452).

New York Mayor Urges Israel to Meet Force With Force

ED KOCH AND THE THEATER OF POLITICS

New York Mayor Ed Koch leaves no doubt about where he stands on just about any issue, whether local, national or international. Last March, Mayor Koch urged Israel to bar cameras from the occupied areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. And to ensure that his views had the greatest impact, he penned them in a column which was published not only in the New York press, but also in the March 4 issue of the *Jerusalem Post* under the headline "Israel Forced to Play the Villain."

"As an American," Koch wrote, "I am concerned first and foremost with what happens in America and what happens outside that has an impact on our security. But as a Jew, I am also concerned about what occurs in the land of my ancestry, Israel."

After underscoring the importance of continued U.S. support for Israel, Koch said that Palestinian protests in Gaza and on the West Bank were "casting Israel in an unfavorable moral light in the eyes of the world. It is profoundly regrettable that the new strategy is achieving its desired results. Because while the goal of a new homeland may be acceptable, the violence which now propels the issue is not."

This violence, Koch argued, "is seen simply as a continuation of war—in this case, of the war that ignited the Arab-Israeli conflict 40 years ago, with the goal of destroying Israel and driving the Jews into the sea. If the Israeli government allows the rioters to succeed, it will lose in the streets what it won on the battlefield. Thus, it uses whatever force is necessary to keep the rioters from winning."



Palestinian demonstrators near Nablus

Bill Biggart / Impact Visuals

"This is not news. This is acting."

Koch then complained about "the power of the international press corps, in particular television....Selective news coverage of the Palestinian street violence creates the false impression that Israel is an oppressive society. A case can be made that by allowing television to cover every violent confrontation in Gaza and the West Bank, it promotes further confrontation and is a disservice to peace."

Koch even suggested that Palestinian "mobs tailored their actions and rhetoric to the TV crews taping them. This is not news. This is acting."

After lauding the Israeli government for its free press, he then urged it "to work with producers and correspondents to reduce provocations caused by the presence of cameras."

These reporters, he wrote, should show more of the Israeli victims of Arab violence.

"Most criticism of Israel is laced with hypocrisy. Where were the defenders of human rights when Syria crushed an insurrection in the city of Hama, killing a reported 20,000 people? Were there protests in the U.S., sanctions against Syria? No. Only silence."

Citing several Palestinians he had seen on television, Koch claimed that "those interviewed were very clear that they believed the street violence is part of a fight to the death."

"So what should Israel do? I believe it must continue to meet force with force."

Indeed, the Israeli government may already have taken proposals like

Koch's to heart. In an interview with the American Jewish bi-monthly, *Tikkun*, recently deported Palestinian pacifist Mubarak Awad claimed that censorship in the occupied territories is already common.

In January, Awad told *Tikkun* that stories of peaceful political cooperation "between Palestinians and Israelis" which might undermine the government's claim that all Palestinians are bent on the destruction of Israel "are censored by the government of Israel."

The potential for censorship has some American local officials worried. Koch's argument drew criticism from two southern California Mayors — James Conn of Santa Monica and Larry Agran of Irvine — who had recently met with Tawfiq Zayyad, a Palestinian Member of the Israeli Knesset and the Mayor of Nazareth (see related story on next page).

"I'm glad to see that Mayor Koch

is speaking out on foreign policy issues, of course," said Agran. "He's clearly out in front on a number of issues."

But, said Agran, "on this one, he's quite simply wrong." Agran argued that "if the real issue is human rights and peace, it makes no more sense to shut down the cameras in Israel than it did to shut down the cameras in South Africa."

Conn agreed. "In many cases, in fact, unless there's some human rights team around, the press often best documents human rights abuses," he said. "In many cases people have been fully informed only because of the presence of television cameras and photographers."

But Madison (WI) Alderperson Eve Galanter disagreed. "I don't think Mayor Koch is the first official to comment on the impact of the presence of the media on political events," Galanter said. "And there's a great

deal of research in the journalism profession which discusses the extent to which the presence of cameras exacerbates or even creates volatile situations."

Galanter said that she "would never request that the presence of the media be forbidden. But I would have to caution viewers or other interested parties that the presence of those recording devices does tend to modify events."

Agran suggested that Koch might better use his influence to "increase communication between the belligerents" in the occupied territories. "Instead of turning off the cameras and pretending the violence doesn't exist, we should gather together our colleagues in Israel — from every party and from every ethnic background — and work to resolve the differences that sometimes leave street protest as their only form of expression." ■

BERKELEY TURNS DOWN JABALIA

In recent years, Berkeley's ambitious sister city programs have proceeded with barely a political scratch. Despite its ties to such politically-charged places as Leon in Nicaragua and Oukasie in South Africa (see related story on page 41), Berkeley residents have been comfortable with the city's forays — at least until the City Council considered a proposal to adopt a Palestinian refugee camp.

Last March more than 400 people turned out for a passion-filled City Council meeting to debate whether Berkeley should become a sister city with Jabalia, a camp holding 60,000 Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip, and ultimately watched the Council vote six-to-three to reject the plan. Supporters of the Jabalia link had urged the City Council to approve the sister city connection as a show of support for "the cause of the young people who are being murdered daily by Israeli terror tactics," as one resident put it. But other citizens, some of them Nazi concentration camp survivors, expressed concern that sanctioning the sister city association would "bring violent anti-Semitism out of the closet and onto the streets."

Voices were raised, tempers flared and placards waved during the public debate that lasted nearly two hours. At one point, the meeting was halted for thirty minutes as members of the audience shouted one another down. Amid

the yelling, cursing and chanting, an exasperated Rabbi Arnold Levine exclaimed, "We are acting like animals!"

When the City Councilmembers themselves expressed their own views, Councilmember Maudelle Shirek described her visit to Jabalia in February and urged adoption of the new sister city: "I witnessed the appalling conditions of the people living there.... These conditions are wrong. It's demeaning to humanity."

But Councilmember Don Jelinek, one of those voting against the proposal, insisted that supporting Jabalia would be tantamount to a censure of Israel. "It's a tragedy in Berkeley when the community is so divided," he added.

Mayor Loni Hancock also voted against the Jabalia link, noting that all of Berkeley's other sister city connections had strong community support. "We do not have that community consensus now."

The city's appointed Peace and Justice Commission had proposed the new sister-city relationship about a month before the Council took up the matter.

SOURCES: Mayor Loni Hancock, 2180 Milvia St., Berkeley, CA 94704 (415-644-6484); Debra Levi, "Berkeley Turns Down Plan for Palestinian Sister City," San Francisco Chronicle, 16 March 1988, p. A24; Howard Levine, "Mideast Turmoil Hits Berkeley Amid Defeat of Sister City Plan," San Francisco Examiner, 16 March 1988; Susan Stern, "Berkeley Rejects Sister City Plan," Oakland Tribune, 16 March 1988, p. A1; Edward Epstein, "Bay Area Jews Debate Israeli Policy," San Francisco Chronicle, 12 March 1988, p. A9.

CALIFORNIA ELECTED OFFICIALS MEET WITH MAYOR OF NAZARETH

When the Palestinian uprising in Israel's West Bank and Gaza Strip reached full boil earlier this year, Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad addressed a rally of 40,000 demonstrators in Nazareth "in support of the Palestinian struggle." Mayor Zayyad told them, "By this uprising, the Palestinian people in the occupied territories have sent the following letter signed with the blood of their martyrs: 'No peace and no coexistence with the occupation. We will not accept less than national independence in a national state.'"

But Zayyad's support of the Palestinian cause did not end with strong words. The city of Nazareth shipped material aid to "our besieged brethren in the camps," Zayyad said, not merely as a "humane" response to the plight of 8,000 Palestinians in Israeli relocation camps, but "for political reasons because we are part of this battle."

Zayyad is no stranger to municipal foreign policy. A member of the Knesset since 1973 and Mayor of Nazareth since 1975, Zayyad's concern for fellow Palestinians has led him abroad on several occasions. In that time, he has spoken "in defense of the cause of the Palestinian people" at international and United Nations-sponsored gatherings in Greece, Belgium, Italy, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

At the end of May, Zayyad met with four local elected officials at the office of Mayor Jim Conn of Santa Monica, California, in yet another attempt "to mobilize as much as possible leaders of American popular opinion for justice — not for this side or that side, but simply for justice."

Joining Mayor Conn at Santa Monica City Hall were Lida Lenney, a Laguna Beach Councilmember and



Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad (left) and Santa Monica Mayor Jim Conn.

candidate for U.S. Congress; Pat Stanyo, a representative from the office of Los Angeles School Board Member Jackie Goldberg; and Irvine Mayor Larry Agran.

Agran turned the discussion toward strategies for peace, particularly ways local elected officials in the Mideast could move the peace process forward. "In our own country," Agran said, "thousands of local officials have begun working out foreign policies that more closely conform to the concerns of their citizens."

Asked if anything like that could be accomplished in Israel, Zayyad responded that it would be difficult because of that country's strict political party structure. No Jewish official, he said, would risk the wrath of his party's proscription on meeting with Palestinians or with representatives of the PLO.

But Zayyad added that an American initiative, in which U.S. mayors began a dialogue with Arab and Pales-

tinian mayors "might persuade Jewish mayors — for sure members of the Knesset — to join such a dialogue." The involvement of American local officials could begin with "fact-finding missions," Zayyad said, "missions which touch the wounds of Israel."

Conn told one reporter after the talk that meeting with Zayyad was important because, "as local officials, we're frustrated with the lack of movement by our national leaders. And, as local officials, we have to put up with the results of failed national policies. So we wanted to meet on a mayor-to-mayor level."

When asked by a local reporter if Santa Monica's very active Jewish community would resent his meeting with a Palestinian, Conn said, "Look, I go to the Nevada test site and get arrested for peace. Why should I turn away a Palestinian — the Mayor of Nazareth and a member of his nation's congress, the Knesset, no less — if he wants to talk about peace?"

NORTHERN IRELAND BECOMES NEW TARGET FOR DIVESTMENT

Support for MacBride Principles Gains in Cities and States

Just as apartheid has outraged millions of Americans and moved more than 100 state legislatures and city councils to divest government funds from firms doing business in South Africa, religious discrimination in Northern Ireland has convinced a growing number of state legislatures and city councils to pressure American companies doing business in Northern Ireland to end their discrimination against Roman Catholic workers.

At the center of this growing campaign are the "MacBride Principles" — a series of nine guidelines for fair employment in Ulster, the predominantly Protestant British province. The principles were created by four Irish and American human-rights activists, most notably Sean MacBride, a Nobel Peace Prize winner and founder of Amnesty International. Patterned loosely after the Sullivan Principles (an ethical code developed by the Rev. Leon Sullivan for companies with operations in South Africa), the MacBride Principles call upon U.S. companies in Northern Ireland to create affirmative action hiring and training programs for Catholics, and to protect them from harassment on the job and while traveling to and from work.

To date, seven states and eight cities have adopted legislation calling upon U.S. firms to adopt the MacBride Principles (see adjoining box for a complete list). In some cases — specifi-

cally in Philadelphia and Connecticut — the laws mandate divestment if companies refuse to comply. In others, the laws are less restrictive but still often give the state or the city the right to sell its holdings in these firms.

The Philadelphia law states that two years after enactment of the statute, no funds of the Municipal Retirement System "shall remain or hereafter be invested in any corporation or other business entity doing business...in Northern Ireland or with the government of Northern Ireland...that is not a signatory of the MacBride Principles."

In Hartford, Connecticut, a City Council resolution says that if a survey by the city treasurer and the pension commission finds companies in Northern Ireland discriminating on the basis of religion, they can urge those companies to adopt the MacBride Principles, and support sharehold-

ers' resolutions aimed in that direction.

"Our reasons for involvement in Northern Ireland are the same as those for our involvement in South Africa," says New York City Comptroller Harrison Goldin, who oversees most of the city's pension funds and has spearheaded that city's support of the MacBride Principles. "We must act in a manner that maximizes returns for retirement beneficiaries, whose needs are compromised by firms that discriminate on the basis of race or religion."

At present, the unemployment rate among Catholics in Northern Ireland is twice as high as among Protestants. That's the kind of statistic that can make the Washington-based Irish National Caucus' lobbying effort much easier. In a recent newsletter, the Caucus argued, "Because America is the largest investor in Northern Ire-

SUPPORTERS OF NORTHERN IRELAND LEGISLATION

The following states and cities have passed legislation supporting the MacBride Principles. The year in which the measures were approved appears in parentheses:

STATES: Connecticut (1987), Maine (1988), Massachusetts (1987), Minnesota (1988), New Jersey (1987), New York (1986), Rhode Island (1987).

CITIES: Cleveland (1987), Detroit (1987), Hartford (1988), New York (1986), Philadelphia (1987), Rochester, NY (1988), Springfield, MA (1986), Wilmington, DE (1987).



Shankill Road, Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Gunter Beer/ Impact Visuals

land, Americans have the power to make demands for equality and justice.... And they have the absolute right and obligation to demand that American dollars stop subsidizing anti-Catholic discrimination in Northern Ireland."

There are presently 24 U.S. firms doing business in Northern Ireland, and none of them has yet officially adopted the principles. Eleven percent of the employed population in Northern Ireland work for one of 24 U.S. companies, which include General Motors, Ford and Dupont. According to Standard & Poor's New York Stock Exchange Reports, total U.S. investments by institutional investors (including states and municipalities) in these 24 companies exceeds \$29 billion.

"Discrimination is not something that will go away overnight," says Father Sean McManus, national director of the Irish National Caucus. "But the [MacBride] Principles have served to concentrate the mind of the British government on the problem of discrimination."

Both the Reagan Administration and the British government strongly oppose the MacBride Principles. The British have called them "unnecessary and their adoption undesirable." Tom King, Britain's Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, traveled to the United States last fall to lobby against MacBride legislation in several states.

As for the Reagan Administration, the State Department has commented that the MacBride Principles campaign has created "new uncertainties for business in the already difficult Northern Ireland environment. The imposition of such an important new negative factor would militate against expansion, and perhaps even retention, of U.S. firms.... A reduction in U.S. investment would have serious consequences for the entire economy and could contribute to increased sectarian strife if members of the two communities were faced with dwindling economic opportunity."

Inside the State Department, the Counsel General is evaluating whether to challenge these divestment measures in court. One of its considerations is that a successful court challenge to the less controversial and less well-known Irish divestment measures could be used to halt South African divestment.

SOURCES: Mag Gottlieb, Director of Legislation, American Legislative Exchange Council, 214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20002 (202-547-4646); Father Sean McManus, Irish National Caucus, 413 E. Capitol St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-0568); Helen Booth, "U.S. Companies and Fair Employment Practices in Northern Ireland," a booklet published by the Investor Responsibility Research Center (1755 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036), 1988; Elder Witt, "New Laws Put Pressure on Northern Ireland," *Governing*, March 1988, p. 60; Elliott D. Lee, "Activist Holders Target Northern Ireland," *Wall Street Journal*, 20 January 1987; Steve Lohr, "Push on Hiring Bias in Ulster," *New York Times*, 4 September 1986, p. D1.

Northern California On the Road to

OAKLAND SCHEDULES PUBLIC VOTE FOR NOVEMBER

It was the largest petition drive ever for a nuclear-free zone (NFZ) in the United States. It has also set the stage for a public vote in one of the largest cities to tackle the NFZ issue so far. On November 8, Oakland, California, the state's sixth largest metropolis, will decide whether to join 147 other cities in banning the production of nuclear weapons or their components within the city. In addition, the measure would require the city to divest from any financial or contractual involvement with nuclear weapons makers, ban nuclear waste from the city, and severely restrict transporting any banned materials on city streets.

Even though Oakland is not a community with a thriving nuclear industry, supporters of the initiative point out that military helicopters loaded with nuclear weapons frequently fly over Oakland neighborhoods, trucks carrying nuclear waste drive on Oakland's highways, and Navy ships carrying nuclear reactors travel through Oakland's waters.

Because Oakland has a relatively large population of 340,000, NFZ activists across the nation will have their eyes riveted on Oakland on elec-

tion day. Supporters of the measure collected over 41,000 signatures during the petition drive. Steve Bloom of the Nuclear Free Oakland Coalition steering committee said the signers rallied to the cause "in large part because they want every resident of this city to think seriously about the consequences of nuclear war and about what we can do as a city. Having a public vote is essential to this."

Early backers of the initiative include Alameda County Supervisor John George, Oakland City Councilmember Wilson Riles, Jr., State Assemblyperson Tom Bates, Alameda County Clerk-Recorder Rene Davidson, and both of Oakland's Congressional representatives, Ron Dellums and Pete Stark.

Two other Bay Area locales — Sonoma County and Pinole — will also have NFZ measures on the ballot in November. This is the second time that Sonoma County citizens will be voting to become a NFZ. In 1986, Sonoma voters defeated a NFZ initiative by a 3-to-1 margin after local nuclear weapons manufacturers outspent proponents 17-to-1.

SOURCE: Steve Bloom, Coalition for a Nuclear Free Oakland, 4042 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611 (415-653-5027).

Supporters of the measure collected over 41,000 signatures during the petition drive.

Neighbors Nuclear Divestment

BERKELEY TACKLES NFZ ISSUES IN HEARINGS, COUNCIL CHAMBERS

The city of Berkeley, California, has moved several steps closer to implementing the nuclear-free zone ordinance its voters approved in November 1986. This April the city's Commission on Peace and Justice held its first public hearing on the ordinance and heard heated testimony on nuclear weapons-related work being conducted at the University of California at Berkeley.

The public hearing was held not long after university officials, headquartered in downtown Berkeley, renewed their contract to manage the federal nuclear weapons laboratories at Livermore, California, and Los Alamos, New Mexico.

"The commitment of many witnesses to struggle against U.C. system-wide contracts with the Departments of Energy and Defense over nuclear weapons and other weaponry was very strong," says Ann Fagan Ginger, Chair of the Commission.

Hugh E. DeWitt, a theoretical physicist at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory who has become an outspoken critic of Star Wars, testified, "I along with many colleagues on the faculties of the U.C. campuses believe that the U.C. management role

and supposed oversight role of the nuclear weapons design laboratories are a sham." He argued that "the main function of the U.C. oversight is to allow the weapons labs essentially complete freedom to promote nuclear weapons work any way they see fit, and to lobby for new weapons in Washington. The U.C. management of the labs simply provides a cover for the labs, a veneer of academic respectability."

The ordinance specifically identified the University of California as an alleged "nuclear weapons agent" because of the role the system-wide administration plays in the operation of the federal nuclear weapons labs. But U.C. officials claim the city has no jurisdiction over the university, which it says is responsible only to its Board of Regents. Generally, however, U.C. administrators have remained silent about this controversy. Although invited to send a representative to the hearings, U.C. President David Gardner declined to do so.

The Berkeley Commission on Peace and Justice plans to complete by this November its formal plan on implementing the NFZ ordinance. Until then, commission members are

not speculating on what recommendations, if any, it might make relative to the U.C. system. Says Ginger, "We're working under a fundamental constitutional principle giving a municipality powers over health and safety issues in the community."

Meanwhile, the Berkeley City Council also began implementing the selective-investment portion of the NFZ ordinance by moving toward divesting itself of federal Treasury bonds. Although T-bills were not mentioned by name in the original ordinance, the council has now made it clear that the law's intent was to forbid investments in any nuclear weapons manufacturers, including the U.S. government. From here on, any decisions regarding city purchase of T-bills must be made by the council.

Currently Berkeley holds two long-term Treasury bonds, but at some point, the council is expected to divest itself of them. Future purchases of T-bills would only occur if no satisfactory alternative investments can be found.

SOURCES: Ann Fagan Ginger, Peace and Justice Commission, 2180 Milvia St., Berkeley, CA 94704 (415-849-1338); Steve Bloom, Coalition for a Nuclear Free Oakland, 4042 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611 (415-653-5027).

TAKOMA PARK PURCHASES FOR PEACE

In November 1986, Mayor Stephen Del Giudice of Takoma Park, Maryland, sat at his desk and signed a stack of 50 letters, each directed at a corporation intimately involved in the development of nuclear weapons. The message was simple: Takoma Park regrets that it will no longer be able to do business with you.

As one of America's growing list of nuclear-free-zone cities, Takoma Park has taken seriously the "purchasing restriction" in its nuclear-free ordi-

AT&T and General Motors have had the door shut on their recent efforts to gain contracts with the city.

nance. Just ask executives at companies such as American Telephone & Telegraph (AT&T) and General Motors, who had the door shut on their recent efforts to gain contracts with the city.

Takoma Park, which has a population of 16,000, buys \$1.2 million in goods and services each year. When AT&T asked for and received a meeting with the mayor, its executives informed him that they would be bidding for the contract on the City Hall telephone system. They tried to make the case that AT&T had every right to compete for the contract — but Takoma Park was not impressed. After all, in Nuclear Free America's list

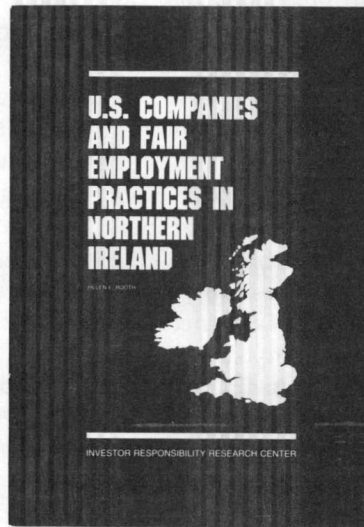
of the Top 50 Nuclear Weapons Contractors, based on data from the Departments of Defense and Energy, AT&T ranked tenth. The corporation could hardly claim that it wasn't involved in weapons manufacturing. The result: The contract went to another phone company.

The city also turned down bids for police cars from both General Motors and Ford because of their appearance on Nuclear Free America's list of corporations involved in nuclear weapons production. Instead, the order went to Chrysler.

In some instances, according to Takoma Park officials, the city has turned away from quality products that would have otherwise been at the top of a "must buy" list. For instance, although the city would have preferred to buy dictation recorders from one company, it went elsewhere with its business after learning that the firm had been acquired by a parent corporation active in the nuclear-arms industry.

SOURCE: Charlotte F. Ahern, "Few Activist Cities Boycott Businesses to Be Nuclear Free," City and State, 14 March 1988, p. 4.

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BERKELEY, ST. PAUL INTENSIFY SISTER COMMUNITY EFFORTS

The sister city tie between Berkeley (CA) and Oukasie in South Africa is hardly typical. Oukasie is a black community caught in a fight for its very existence. When it reaches out to Berkeley, it does so not to exchange gifts or keys to the city, but rather for survival. The South African government has targeted Oukasie for extinction as part of its policy of systematically eliminating "black spots."

As we reported in the winter 1987-88 issue of the *Bulletin*, Berkeley became a "sister community" with Oukasie last November, the first formal pairing in the United States-South Africa Sister Community Project. Both before and since the relationship was formed, the Botha regime has been attempting to force Oukasie's 10,000 residents to move to another black township more distant from Johannesburg. Despite intensifying government harassment — including shutting down the water supply and the transportation system — many black families refuse to budge.

Last February, South African security forces jailed 15 community leaders in Oukasie without providing them with a reason for the detention. Because blacks in Oukasie are forbidden to demand publicly the release of the detainees, they turned to Berkeley for help. The Berkeley City Council responded by giving the agenda item emergency priority and voted to send a telegram to the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C., condemning the detention of the black leaders. The U.S. Department of State and California legislators were also informed of the incident. And the Berkeley

committee responded by running a newspaper ad urging residents to write letters to the South African embassy protesting the turn of events.

In May, Berkeley learned that Oukasie had been declared an "emergency camp," with police and soldiers placing renewed pressure upon residents to evacuate their homes. The government raised rents on existing homes to levels beyond the reach of most residents.

Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock responded by sending letters to both the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C., and the South Africa Parliament in Cape Town. "We vehemently protest these actions," she wrote, "and call on your government to withdraw the security force presence in Oukasie, release the detained community members, and to invest monies on upgrading rather than destroying the community."

Meanwhile, a second sister community relationship has been established in South Africa — this one between St. Paul (MN) and the black township of Lawaaiikamp, whose 2,000 residents also face eviction from their homes. The St. Paul City Council voted unanimously in February to create the sisters link, and immediately started a letter-writing campaign aimed at South African officials and the U.S. Congress.

The telephone has also emerged as a potent weapon in linking the South African sister communities with their counterparts in the U.S. Despite the news blackouts that have all but silenced outside press reports of events in South Africa, there has been considerable coverage of the sister commu-

nity phone communications with the United States. In a conversation with Mayor Hancock apprising her of worsening conditions in Oukasie, Marshall Buys, chairman of the Brits Civic Association (Oukasie's representative body), said, "As Americans, you can have a lot of influence. Whatever little things you do could...make South Africa stop all these things."

Melford Notschokovu, a Lawaaiikamp leader, said to St. Paul Mayor George Latimer over the phone, "We'd like to have any assistance, as much as you can. Publicity will be of great assistance. Let the whole world know what is happening."

In a separate phone hookup in May, schoolchildren in St. Paul talked for 90 minutes to children in Lawaaiikamp.

Mayor Latimer has told the people of St. Paul, "If we are truly against apartheid, if we are truly all brothers and sisters, then we cannot ignore and stand quietly when the people of Lawaaiikamp are being removed from their homes."

St. Paul attempted to escalate the pressure by sending a delegation to Washington, D.C., in May to meet with the South African ambassador. Councilmember Bill Wilson led the group, bringing with him 1,500 letters from St. Paul schoolchildren expressing their support of the people of Lawaaiikamp. At press time, there were reports of mounting anxiety at the South African Embassy over the negative publicity.

SOURCES: United States-South Africa Sister Community Project, 2601 Mission St., Suite 400, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415-824-2938); Mayor Loni Hancock, 2180 Milvia St., Berkeley, CA 94704 (415-644-6484); Mayor George Latimer, 347 City Hall, St. Paul, MN 55102 (612-228-3208).

SAN FRANCISCO BECOMES A CITY OF REFUGE

BUT SUPERVISOR MAHER CHALLENGES CITY'S GLOBAL OUTLOOK

On May 9, San Francisco's Board of Supervisors passed two anti-apartheid resolutions by a 9-to-1 margin. One established San Francisco as a city of refuge for South African and Namibian refugees. A second resolution prohibited any city official or employee from expending funds to host or meet with representatives from the present governments of those countries. Board President Nancy Walker authored both resolutions.

Objections to the resolutions were raised only by Supervisor Bill Maher. Arguing that adoption of the resolutions would detract from the Board's attention to acute local problems, including a \$150 million city deficit, thousands of homeless, and thousands of AIDS victims, Maher said, "My obligation is to oppose the Board's irresponsible conduct....We should stop pretending we're Congress....We need effective policies to deal with our citizens." Maher also called the resolution "another symbolic measure" that "does nothing."

Nearly all of the other supervisors criticized Maher's rigid distinctions between local and international affairs as unrealistic. Declining to act, they said, would be an abdication of responsibility to both San Franciscans and to the world community.

The two black supervisors on the Board, Willie Kennedy and Doris Ward, said that residents of San Francisco, a city noted for its racial and ethnic diversity, strongly supported the measures. Supervisor Ward stated that "when we can *do* something, it is our business," and in this case, the city



San Francisco Civic Center.

could do something by protecting refugees.

Other supervisors took issue with Maher's assertion that the city had no interest in international affairs. Supervisor Jim Gonzalez pointed out that the Board's international activity has direct economic benefits, particularly in international trade, and that the city's sister city program supports these trade ties and facilitates exchange of medical information, research, and cultural resources. Supervisor Carol Ruth Silver characterized Maher's view as "parochial, ancient, and dangerous," and suggested that it was increasingly important for the Board to express its opinion and act on important international issues.

The supervisors also rejected Maher's charge that the resolutions were purely "symbolic." Gonzalez said that San Francisco's role as a city of refuge was hardly insignificant in

view of the activities of Salvadoran death squads in the United States. Deploring the "deafening silence" surrounding Hitler's extermination of the Jews, Supervisor Richard Hongisto contended that speaking out against injustice is the "only moral and responsible thing to do" and that reform movements always begin with seemingly insignificant "symbolic" actions. Likewise Supervisor Kennedy affirmed her commitment to "speak out about injustice anywhere in the world. I will do it any time and anywhere."

Perhaps most damaging to Maher's arguments was the fact that he, too, occasionally brought matters of not purely local concern before the board. For example, he had previously introduced an Irish dissident to the Board meeting, and had urged support of the United Farmworkers grape boycott. ■

BREMEN AWARDS SOLIDARITY PRIZE TO WINNIE AND NELSON MANDELA

In February, the City-State of Bremen in West Germany awarded its first "Solidarity Prize" to Winnie and Nelson Mandela for their decades of dedication to ending apartheid. Nelson Mandela has been in a South African prison since 1964.

In a speech presenting the prize, Mayor Klaus Wedemeier said, "Nelson Mandela, who will be 70 this year, is surely the most well-known prisoner of the whole world. Ever since his conviction in 1964, his speeches and writings are banned in South Africa. His voice and his words are no longer heard and read. Photographs show him as a young man. While Nelson Mandela has been in prison, a new generation has grown up. But there is no black child who does not know his name...."

"Nelson Mandela's entire political life has been dedicated to the fight for freedom and justice for his people. His goal is freedom from racist suppression, economic exploitation and political discrimination.

"Almost all that has been said about the political conviction and principles of Nelson Mandela is also true for his wife Winnie, who continues the struggle of her husband ever since he was imprisoned. The thirty years that she has been married to Nelson Mandela can be [described] by three words: persecuted, banned, arrested."

West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher said, "I think that the award of the Bremen Solidarity Prize to the Mandelas is a politically important gesture of solidarity with Winnie and Nelson Mandela. This sign of solidarity effectively supports our efforts to achieve the release of Nelson Mandela...."

MINNEAPOLIS CALLS FOR FEDERAL SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

The Minneapolis City Council has joined the more than 100 city councils, county governments, and state legislatures expressing their outrage at South African apartheid. Last March, the seven-member council unanimously passed a resolution calling for strong federal sanctions against the Botha regime.

"We call especially on the Minneapolis Congressional delegation to co-sponsor and vigorously work to ensure the

passage of H.R.1580/S.556, the Dellums/Cranston sanctions bill."

The measure, authored by Councilmember Sharon Sayles Belton, urged the U.S. government to impose a total trade embargo and demand complete withdrawal of U.S. corporations from South Africa. The Council went on record as labeling apartheid and the practices of the South African government as "unconscionable and contrary to the principles of basic human rights."

In her remarks to the City Council during consideration of the resolution, Councilmember Sayles Belton pointed to increasing repression of human rights in South Africa, demonstrated most recently by the government's decision to ban 17 organizations leading nonviolent campaigns against apartheid. She also noted restrictions imposed on South Africa's largest labor union that would prevent it from urging the release of its members in detention.

SOURCE: Councilmember Sharon Sayles Belton, 307 City Hall, Minneapolis, MN 55415 (612) 348-2208.

DETROIT CALLS FOR SEVERING DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH SOUTH AFRICA

The Detroit City Council responded to constituents' outrage at recent actions by the South African government with a sweeping resolution approved in March. The legislation called upon President Reagan to "sever diplomatic relations with apartheid South Africa, close the U.S. Embassy and withdraw all U.S. personnel from South Africa."

The resolution followed the Botha regime's ban last February on the activities of most nonviolent and previously legal anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa; it prohibited, among other things, the Congress of South African Trade Unions from engaging in anti-apartheid activities or speech. "By these most recent bannings, the South African government has severely compounded crimes against humanity and peace," according to the Detroit measure.

Mel Ravitz, author of the resolution, wrote that the "Detroit City Council demands that the South African government rescind its February 24 banning orders." The Council also went on record as supporting H.R. 1580, a bill sponsored by Congressperson Ron Dellums (D-CA), which would prohibit investments in South Africa.

Copies of the approved resolution were sent to President Reagan, as well as Michigan Senators Carl Levin and Donald Riegle, Jr., and all of Detroit's Congressmembers.

SOURCE: Councilmember Mel Ravitz, City Hall, Detroit, MI 48226 (313-224-3270).

CISNEROS TELLS GORBACHEV OF STRENGTH OF CITIES

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev got a glimpse of where American cities may be headed during his trip to Washington, D.C., last December. At a small breakfast meeting hosted by Vice-President George Bush, San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros was one of six Americans — and the only mayor — invited to discuss American life with the Soviet leader. At the 64th Annual Congress of Cities in Las Vegas, Mayor Cisneros recounted some of his impressions of that meeting:

"I told [Gorbachev] that, in our system, cities are the places where some of the most critical problems in the society will be solved related to race relations, education and so on.... We're undergoing a kind of decentralization in our country that is going to change the New Deal formula of the role of the federal government. Whoever is President in 1988 or 1992 will face \$150 billion of deficits and little likelihood that he can return to the old formula of a strongly centralized national government with a recipe book to solve national problems. There's an explosion of governmental entrepreneurialism in our country in big and small cities, working on problems like day care, issues of dealing with the homeless, and so on....

"I suggested to [Gorbachev] that it seemed to me that this strategy called *perestroika* — the restructuring

of Soviet society — is going to have to acknowledge a role for decentralized units of government with greater independence than they're afforded today in the Soviet system. It's

There's an
explosion of
governmental
entrepreneurialism
in our country in
big and small
cities.

-Henry Cisneros

impossible to centrally plan either an economy or, for that matter, a nation of 150 different national groupings and languages in a top-down fashion.

"He challenged back.... He said, 'If America is decentralizing, then explain General Motors to me. That's not a decentralized institution and it's

taking its jobs offshore, and creating unemployment.'"

"I said, 'Some of that's happening, but we also created 700,000 new businesses in this country last year.... In years in which the Fortune 500 creates a net sum of zero jobs, small business in this country creates six million jobs.'"

The San Antonio Mayor told Gorbachev that "cities are the places where the best of the society occurs—the greatest accomplishments—whether they be the cure for cancer or forms of new architecture. However, the worst of the society sometimes manifests itself there, too." It's the cities, he emphasized, where the problems of drug abuse and the homeless are going to be solved.

Cisneros's interest in other countries stems in large part from travels abroad in his role as a municipal official. "I've been impressed that, despite the differences in systems, the job of local officials remains pretty much the same from country to country. . . We have a good deal in common, and can learn from each other." He adds, "We can be a positive force that finds commonality of interest even if our national governments may not be able to do that."

"In my heart, I believe that this notion of decentralization is going to be one of the dominant stories of our time." ■

DEUKMEJIAN ASKS GORBACHEV FOR ARMENIAN ACTION

Recent protests by citizens of Karabakh and the Armenian Republic prompted California Governor George Deukmejian to appeal directly to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev for a fair solution to the crisis. Shortly after the Soviets announced they had rejected the reunification of the Nagorno-Karabakh region with the Armenian Republic, the California Republican wrote to Gorbachev expressing his "deep disappointment" over the

complimented Gorbachev on the Kremlin's decision to send Soviet troops to the area to protect Armenians from attack by Azerbaijanis. The California governor credited this move "with saving thousands of lives," and "I applaud your instructions to forcefully prosecute those responsible for the violent acts against Armenians and the restoration of

public order."

The letter marked the first time that Governor Deukmejian — the son of Armenian immigrants — has engaged a foreign leader on a non-trade issue.

SOURCE: Carl Ingram, "Deukmejian Pushes for Armenian Settlement in Letter to Gorbachev," Los Angeles Times, 26 March 1988, p. 18; Associated Press, "Deukmejian's Plea to Gorbachev," San Francisco Chronicle, 26 March 1988, p. A6.

The letter marked the first time that Governor Deukmejian has written to a foreign leader on a non-trade issue.

Kremlin's failure to press for a "fair and equitable" solution.

While Deukmejian applauded the "positive elements" in the Kremlin decision — including a plan to improve living conditions in Nagorno-Karabakh — he cautioned that "it is not a final resolution of the serious error made under the Stalin era [when the disputed region became part of Azerbaijan]." Deukmejian also

UNITED TOWNS DAY BRINGS SOVIET GREETINGS

The mailman — or to be more accurate, the telex machine — brought a pile of letters recently to U.S. cities that have sister relationships with the Soviet Union. The occasion was International United Towns Day (April 24) and the letter-writers were the mayors of the Soviet cities linked with U.S. communities. The letters brought greetings of goodwill to the people of their sister cities, many expressing hopes that the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Moscow in May would be successful.

Bob Broedel, who heads the Tallahassee-Krasnodar Sister City Program, received the personalized telex messages and passed them on to the mayors and newspaper editors of the recipient cities in the United States. Many local newspapers published them.

In his letter to the mayor of Modesto, California, the Chair of the Executive Committee of Khmelnitsky, Ivan Bukhal, wrote that he hoped that the May summit would be "more than just a courtesy by the President, a return visit to the leader of another nation, but an act that will add a few more bricks to the edifice of universal peace."

Victor Gnezdilov, Nakhodka Executive Committee Chair, addressed a letter to Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson, noting that "the enemy image inculcated in the minds of Americans and Soviet people by national propaganda remains a tangible obstacle to the attainment of [the] humane goal" of developing "business, scientific and cultural links between the Soviet Union and the United States." He added that "summits are not the only way to overcome...the barriers of mutual distrust and fear. We should develop people's diplomacy."

SOURCE: Bob Broedel, Tallahassee-Krasnodar Sister City Program, P.O. Box 20049, Tallahassee, FL 32316 (904-576-4906).

U.S.-SOVIET SISTER CITY BRIEFS

Here are updates on recent and upcoming activities of some of the U.S.-Soviet sister city programs. Further information is available from the contacts listed below:

ATLANTA (GA) -TBILISI

In April, Mayors Andrew Young of Atlanta and Irkali Andradze of Tbilisi signed an agreement in Atlanta that formalized the sister city relationship between the two communities. Tbilisi, a city of 1.1 million, is the capital of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, and Atlanta, of course, is the largest city in the state of Georgia.

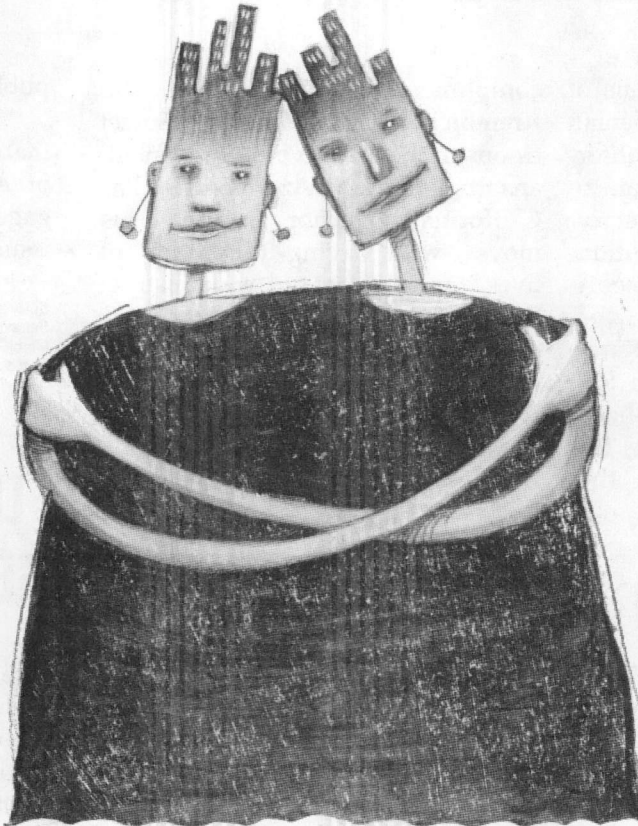
While in Atlanta, Mayor Andradze and his delegation were particularly impressed with the American technology they saw, including two rooms full of computers at a local high school.

Ten Americans are expected to tour Soviet Georgia in October. Other possible future exchanges involve high school students. The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce is planning a trade mission in September that will include a trip to Tbilisi.

CONTACT: Sister City Program, Office of the Mayor, City of Atlanta, Atlanta, GA 30335 (404-527-7000).

BALTIMORE (MD) - ODESSA

In March, Baltimore hosted 16 high school students and two faculty members from Odessa. This exchange was part of a growing relationship between the McDonogh School in Baltimore and School Number 119 in Odessa. As well as visiting McDonogh and other schools in the Baltimore area,



the Soviet students were greeted by Vice President George Bush and attended a concert by rock singer Bruce Springsteen. The Soviet students returned home with posters and cultural materials depicting the city of Baltimore, which were displayed at a Sister Cities International Day in Odessa on April 24.

This exchange program is expected soon to incorporate Baltimore students from public, private and parochial schools. As many as eleven students may travel to Odessa in September for two weeks.

A group of university students from Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College were tentatively scheduled to participate in a four-week summer exchange, attending classes at Odessa State University in the Russian language. At the same time, Odessa students were ex-

pected to study English here.

CONTACT: Sister City Program, Office of the Mayor, 250 City Hall, Baltimore, MD 21202 (301-396-3100).

CAMBRIDGE (MA) - YEREVAN

In June a Cambridge delegation that included Vice Mayor Alice Wolf traveled to Yerevan to deliver a collection of photographs of their city. A seven-member high school jazz ensemble also came along, performing in the first Cambridge Days Festival in Yerevan.

In May scholars from Harvard, Tufts, the University of Massachusetts and other institutions spent two weeks in Yerevan working with their counterparts in the fields of archaeology, art history, religion, medicine and history.

The first visit of four Yerevan youths to Cambridge was expected to take place in July and August as part of an International Youth for Peace Workcamp. In September six business leaders from Yerevan will come to Cambridge for

ten days, participating in training seminars on American management techniques.

CONTACT: Jeb Brugmann, Cambridge-Yerevan Sister City Association, 57 Inman St., City Hall Annex, Cambridge, MA 02139.

DULUTH (MN) - PETROZAVODSK

Renat Ayukaev, professor of engineering at Petrozavodsk State O.W. Kuusinen University, traveled to Duluth in April carrying numerous proposals — gathered during meetings with the people of Petrozavodsk — for joint projects between the two cities. He met with Duluth city officials and businessmen to discuss his suggestions, which he had gathered in meetings with the people of Petrozavodsk.

Ayukaev proposed a joint venture to produce items such as water meters and water filtration systems — his own engineering specialties. The joint firm, he suggested, might also produce fertilizers from sewage and woodworking waste. He also recommended joint research projects in fields such as biology and sociology, and cultural contacts through the exchange of exhibitions. Future research and technology exchanges, as well as trade exchanges, are expected to emerge from these recommendations.

Ayukaev made a number of these suggestions at the Lake Superior Water Policy Conference at the University of Minnesota in Duluth.

More than 30 amateur and professional photographers in Duluth took photographs of their city on June 10; their pictures were sent to Petrozavodsk and are being added to a Soviet book of photos taken that day in four of Petrozavodsk's other sister communities.

In a recent letter to Duluth Councilmember Joyce Benson, journalist Sergei Lukin of Petrozavodsk wrote, "All of our readers were brought up by the propaganda of Brezhnev's era, when U.S. imperialism was declared as an enemy of all communism. Now our Soviet journalism tries to change the stereotype of U.S. imperialism, and your citizen diplomacy helps us in the process."

CONTACT: Councilmember Joyce Benson, City Hall, Duluth, MN 55802 (218-723-3711).

GAINESVILLE (FL) - NOVOROSIISK

Ambassador Gennadi Gerasimov, head of information of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visited Gainesville in April. At a press conference, he fielded questions about Afghanistan, trade, and the state of Soviet journalism. He was invited to Gainesville by Steven Kalishman, Co-Chair of the Gainesville Sister Cities Programs.

While in Gainesville, Gerasimov was guest speaker at a \$100-a-couple fundraising dinner. About \$2,500 was raised

on behalf of the Alaskan Performing Artists for Peace, an organization working to help the Yup'ik Eskimos. These Eskimos, who inhabit the islands in the Bering Strait, have been split since the end of World War II — some under the jurisdiction of the Soviets, others under the United States. The Eskimos are trying to persuade the Soviet and U.S. governments to allow freer visits across the straits.

CONTACT: Steven Kalishman, 9421 S.W. 61st St., Gainesville, FL 32608 (904-376-0341).

JACKSONVILLE (FL) - MURMANSK

In March and April a Jacksonville delegation visited Murmansk, coinciding with the Soviet North Sports Festival. The visitors from Jacksonville included three City Councilmembers (Terry Wood, Sylvia Thibault, Eric Smith), their spouses, Dr. Karen-Jean Munoz (Chairman of the Jacksonville-Murmansk Sister Cities Committee), and journalist Ann Hyman of the *Jacksonville Times-Union*. The delegation was received in Moscow by Murmansk Mayor Vladimir Goryachkin and a representative of the Moscow City Council, Lev Yeryomin. The group was treated to a champagne dinner before boarding a train for the 36-hour journey to Murmansk. While in their sister city, the Jacksonville guests attended the North Festival opening ceremonies and visited the Regional Studies Museum, the Arctic Research Institute, and a teacher training institute. They also held a press conference.

An official twinning of three Jacksonville and three Murmansk elementary schools has been finalized. Exchange plans and activities are being planned for chess clubs in the two cities.

CONTACT: Dr. Karen-Jean Munoz, Florida Community College at Jacksonville, 3939 Roosevelt Blvd., Jacksonville, FL 32205 (904-268-7149).

MODESTO (CA) - KHMELNITSKY

A delegation of three Khmel'nitsky citizens — two physicians and an engineer — spent four weeks in Modesto in April and May. The group met with the Modesto Mayor and City Council and were formally introduced to the people of Modesto during a televised Council meeting. Each of the Soviets had the opportunity to stay in private homes during the visit. The guests also traveled to San Francisco, Sacramento, and Yosemite National Park. The doctors got a firsthand look at Modesto's medical facilities.

Angie Wiinikka, a city staff liaison to Modesto's International Friendship Committee, spent a week in Khmel'nitsky in June. Future exchanges involving students and a dance group were discussed during her trip.

CONTACT: Angie Wiinikka, Mayor's Office, City of Modesto, P.O. Box 642, Modesto, CA 95353 (209-577-5323).

OAKLAND (CA) - NAKHODKA

In late summer ten Oakland high-school students from Head-Royce School are expected to participate in the first-ever student exchange between Oakland and Nakhodka. Next year young people from the Soviet city will travel to Oakland.

An exhibit of photos, art work, books and other items from Nakhodka was displayed at the Oakland Public Library this spring. The exhibit included watercolors — landscapes, still life and peace posters — by Nakhodka students.

Yuri Algunov, the San Francisco correspondent for *Tass*, spoke at the Oakland/Nakhodka Sister City Association's public program in May.

CONTACT: Bonnie Hamlin, Oakland/Nakhodka Sister City Association, c/o A Central Place, 477 15th St., Suite 200, Oakland, CA 94612.

SALEM (OR) - SIMFEROPOL

This summer 17 high school soccer players from Salem will spend six days in Simferopol as part of a trip to the Soviet Union, where they will play several games with young Soviet players. The students raised over \$20,000 to help pay for their trip. In one fundraising venture, Salem residents paid \$15 each to have their name appear in a local newspaper advertisement supporting the exchange.

A four-person delegation from Simferopol will visit Salem this fall. They are expected to stay in the homes of local residents during their tour.

April was Sister Cities Month at the Salem Public Library, and photos and artifacts from Simferopol were displayed there.

CONTACT: David Hunt, Salem-Simferopol Sister City Committee, 894 Highland, N.E., Salem, OR 97303 (503-364-1736).

SEATTLE (WA) - TASHKENT

A Peace Park in Tashkent is presently being built by Seattle residents. The first team of workers from Seattle, consisting of about 32 people, left for Tashkent at the end of May. After two to three weeks in the Soviet sister city, they will be replaced by another team of similar size staying for about three more weeks. A total of seven teams will eventually rotate through Tashkent, completing the 1.5-acre park by September.

Three Tashkent physicians spent one month in Seattle this spring on a medical exchange. They divided their time among seven hospitals in the Seattle area and stayed in the homes of families in the community. This program was sponsored jointly by the Sister City Committee, the Physicians for Social Responsibility, and the participating hospitals.

Middle- and high-school students from Tashkent spent about two weeks in Seattle this April on an educational exchange. They were accompanied on their trip by the deputy mayor of Tashkent, a school administrator, and an English teacher from the Soviet city.

CONTACT: Virginia Westberg, Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee, 630 Randolph Pl., Seattle, WA 98122 (206-324-6258).

TALLAHASSEE (FL) - KRASNODAR

About ten Tallahassee residents are expected to travel to Krasnodar in September. They will visit several other Soviet cities as well, including Moscow, Leningrad and Vilnius. A television crew from a Tallahassee television station may accompany the Florida delegation on their trip.

Editors of a Krasnodar newspaper, *Komsomolyets Kubani*, have proposed an exchange of newspaper articles with the *Tallahassee Democrat*. In April a collection of 24 art works by Krasnodar schoolchildren were displayed at the LeMoyne Art Foundation in Tallahassee. A Soviet periodical, *News From The Ukraine*, celebrated International Children's Day in June by publishing an article by Tallahassee student journalist Katey Brown about the art show.

Georgy Grechko, who spent 140 days in space, visited Tallahassee in February. He is head of the Laboratory of the Institute of Atmospheric Physics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow. His visit was jointly sponsored by the Tallahassee-Krasnodar Sister City Program and the Tallahassee Peace Coalition.

CONTACT: Bob Broedel, Tallahassee-Krasnodar Sister City Program, P.O. Box 20049, Tallahassee, FL 32316 (904-576-4906).

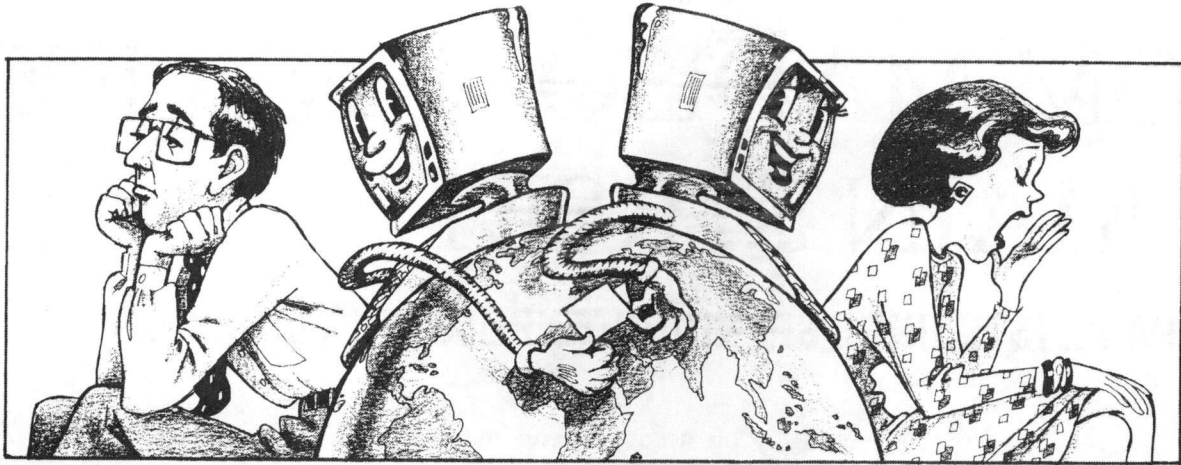
WORCESTER (MA) - PUSHKIN

A five-person delegation from Pushkin spent a week in Worcester in May. The Soviet guests included Yuri Niforov, president of Pushkin's regional government, as well as a deputy minister from Leningrad and a research scientist from Pushkin's Agricultural Institute.

While in Worcester, the delegation met with the mayor and city manager, and received a plaque from the City Council. They attended concerts, museums, a craft center, and several dinners in their honor. They also met with officials from Worcester's public works department and inspected the city's sewage treatment plants. They went on to visit Boston and New York City, and were given a citation by the Massachusetts State Legislature.

Lyubov Vinogradova, editor-in-chief of *Vperyod* in Pushkin, has proposed that his newspaper exchange articles with the *Worcester Gazette-Telegram*. Since late 1987, the Soviet paper has been publishing a column on relations between the sister cities.

CONTACT: Cindy Wood, Soviet Sister City Project, 21 Crown St., Worcester, MA 01609.



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FROM MADISON AVENUE TO MAIN STREET

N.L.C. PANELISTS URGE SPENDING TO BOLSTER TOURISM



Tourism creates
more than 12,000
jobs in Louisville
and generates half
a billion dollars for
the city's economy.

You need to spend money to make money. It's an old business maxim, but when it comes to attracting tourists, some cities have been slow learners. In a series of workshops at the National League of Cities annual meeting in Las Vegas last December, however, several panelists had a lot to say about the benefits of a city promoting itself.

Scotty Baesler, Mayor of Lexington, Kentucky, said that a city is like any other marketable product: It has to be advertised. He reported that mayors throughout Kentucky became anxious over the impact upon local tourism when neighboring states significantly increased their own advertising budgets. For instance, when the Illinois state government increased its tourism advertising budget from \$3 million to \$20 million, 40 percent fewer visitors from Illinois visited the state of Kentucky.

As a result, Lexington hiked its own advertising budget from \$200,000 to \$650,000 three years ago. Subsequently, occupancy rates increased from 60 percent to 67 percent, a particularly impressive figure since the number of hotel/motel rooms in the city jumped from 4,000 to 6,000 during that time.

"As a politician, advertising is the hardest thing to sell, because most people who aren't familiar with the importance of tourism think we're just talking about fluff," said Mayor Baesler. In Lexington, the situation has been made easier since the state legislature authorized the city to institute an additional one percent hotel room tax that can channel revenue

directly into advertising.

In nearby Louisville, the importance of spending is also well-recognized, explained Russell Anderson, executive director of that city's Visitor and Convention Center Bureau. After studies showed that Louisville had no image in the minds of people thought to be in the city's marketing area, a program was devised for creating that image. "A committee is raising \$10 million to be used over a period of five years, beginning in 1988." It may sound like a lot of money, said Anderson, but tourism creates more than 12,000 jobs in the city and generates half a billion dollars for the city's economy.

Glenda Hood, commissioner in Orlando, Florida, concedes her community has an easier time attracting tourists from the U.S. and abroad, thanks to attractions such as Disney World and Epcot Center. But she emphasized the importance of planning when those kinds of major attractions come into a city, so as not to seriously disrupt the lives of local residents. "Most of our tourism area is southwest of our downtown." However, some local people are still distressed by the invasion of visitors, and have to be reminded that travelers contribute enormously to the city's economy, she said. "It's a very difficult position to be in; it takes a lot of balancing and juggling."

Audio tapes of these and other workshops at the National League of Cities conference can be purchased from NLC, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20004 (202-626-3205).

WILL INVESTMENT RIDE TOURISTS' COATTAILS INTO ROCKIES?

COLORADO TAKES AIM AT JAPANESE TOURIST DOLLARS

How do you get more tourists to put your state on their itinerary? Colorado thinks it has the answer: Wine and dine influential business leaders to get a taste of vacationing here and encourage them to return home with rave reviews.

This summer 20 Japanese businessmen were invited to sample some of Colorado's most luxurious resorts and attractions, including a major golf tournament. Stewart Bliss, head of the state's Office of Economic Development, hopes these foreign business leaders will find Colorado not only a great vacation spot but also a good place to do business.

This is a new strategy for Colorado. In the past, its Tourism Board has spent only about \$150,000 of its \$8.5 million annual budget on promotions overseas. Bill Artist, a former state legislator who now does international consulting, is blunt in his criticism of the state's past neglect of the

foreign travel market. "We know the Japanese do travel, yet they don't even know where Colorado is," he says. "Investment follows tourism."

Still, not everyone is convinced that the foreign tourist is the best target for the state's promotional dollar. And the state is approaching Colorado's new international outreach program cautiously. Dan Love, executive director of the Colorado Tourism Board, wonders whether there may be more value in directing the state's energy toward attracting tourists from within the U.S., particularly from those areas that have never accounted for much tourist trade in Colorado such as Florida, Minnesota and New England.

Recent efforts to lure British travelers have not fared well, Love complains. He points to a trade delegation to England last year, led by Governor Roy Romer, that set up a mechanical ski area in London to give

the British a taste of Colorado skiing. Despite a lot of media coverage, it did not attract many British skiers to Colorado's slopes.

Even so, Love believes there could be a pot of gold at the end of the tourist rainbow. But he considers the Colorado Tourism Board's efforts part of a long-term investment. "You spend big dollars and ultimately there's a payoff."

SOURCE: Jeffrey Leib, "Colorado Sells State Worldwide in Pitch to Snare Investment," Denver Post, 10 April 1988, p. G1.

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RISING SUN OVER WAIKIKI

WILL HAWAII SPURN FOREIGN INVESTORS?

“What I see happening here is not fair to American citizens and American businessmen.”

-Mayor Frank Fasi

Few real estate markets in the world are now booming like Hawaii's. On the beach near Diamond Head, a house sold for \$5 million last year, resold early this year for \$8 million, and at last report, was on the market again for \$13 million. A billionaire recently bought 130 Hawaiian homes and condominiums over a seven-month period. In the Kahala district of Honolulu, a house was recently purchased for \$21 million — a record price for a private home in the U.S.

These real estate transactions all have one thing in common — Japanese investors eager to pour their yen into the Hawaiian housing market.

That has Honolulu Mayor Frank Fasi outraged — so outraged, in fact, that in March he asked the state legislature to slow foreign investment by banning the sale of residential property to foreigners who don't intend to live in the home at least 185 days a year.

“What has triggered my action is the Japanese buyer with his cheap dollars,” said Mayor Fasi. “They have been buying homes in several areas of Oahu, forcing values to unprecedented levels. I believe in free and open trade between our countries. But I also believe in fairness. And what I see happening here is not fair to American citizens and American businessmen.”

Because of the high value of the yen in relation to the dollar, real estate and other goods priced in dollars are relatively inexpensive for Japanese investors. As a result, many Japanese —

some looking for quick profits, others shopping for vacation homes — are spending big in Honolulu. But their new properties are frequently vacant much of the year, which irritates many Hawaiians because of the housing shortage in Honolulu and because the empty houses do little to contribute to the local economy.

According to a report released in April by the Los Angeles-based Kenneth Leventhal & Co. consulting firm, Japanese investors spent \$12.7 billion on U.S. real estate last year, an increase of about 70 percent over 1986. Although Japanese investors are especially interested in Hawaii (\$7.24 billion worth in 1987), they also poured their money liberally into California and New York, and, to a lesser degree, into other states such as Massachusetts, Illinois, Arizona, Florida and Washington. The report estimated that in 1988 the Japanese would add between \$16 billion and \$19 billion worth of U.S. real estate to their existing holdings.

The mayor says he's concerned primarily about what's going to happen to Hawaii's present residents as property tax assessments rise with property values. Soaring home costs, he adds, are pricing a lot of young Hawaiian families out of the housing market altogether.

In late April, Hawaii's state legislature adjourned the current session with Mayor Fasi's measure still locked up in committee. According to Courtney Harrington, an aide to the mayor, legislators may take up the bill again next year, depending on what hap-



On the rim of the Pacific Rim: Japanese investors make some Hawaiians nervous.

Peter French / Honolulu Visitors Bureau

pens to the Hawaiian real estate market by then. "A lot will hinge on the amount of [Japanese] investing we see this year, and whether it drives up property taxes," Harrington said.

Some of the most vocal support for Mayor Fasi's proposal comes from Honolulu residents upset over runaway property taxes. Honolulu attorney Anthony Locricchio shares the mayor's concerns. "The rest of the U.S. must look closely at what's happening here because it is eventually going to spread."

But realtors are critical of the measure. One local agent complains, "If we want to be part of the world, if we want to be an important hub to the Pacific, then we must leave our doors open, not only for money to come in for business, but also to own properties." And the Bank of Hawaii's David Ramsour insists, "I don't think we're going to see people in medium and

lower incomes being affected in terms of their [home] prices."

Some city leaders have expressed concern that Mayor Fasi has reached out for an inadequate, quick-fix solution. Honolulu City Councilmember Randall Iwasi says, "When you deal with a bill like this, which in effect would discriminate against a category or classification of people, it is something that must be thought through so that the bill can be drafted in a manner that's constitutional."

The state attorney general's office has rendered an opinion that the mayor's proposed legislation would be constitutional. However, there are civil rights concerns associated with the measure since it clearly targets Japanese investors, even though the Japanese are not specifically singled out in the bill.

Mayor Fasi, a Republican, has seen his proposal criticized by Hawaii's

Democratic Governor John Waihee. "The mayor is a good politician, but as usual [his proposal] is way out of proportion," says the governor. Some leaders point out that Japanese investors have helped keep the state's unemployment rate low (at about four percent) and enlarged the state's treasury with a surplus of about \$400 million. "For the most part, Japanese investment has been very positive for the state," adds Governor Waihee. As the debate continues, Mayor Fasi points to 1987 statistics showing that 41 percent of buyers of Waikiki Beach condominiums were foreigners. When asked if he is overreacting, he responds, "I just hope I'm acting soon enough."

SOURCES: Mayor Frank Fasi's Office, City Hall, Honolulu, HI 96813 (808-523-4141); Tom Furlong, "Hawaii Hit by Wave of Speculation," Los Angeles Times, 26 April 1988, p. 1; Laura Dayton, National Public Radio's "All Things Considered", 29 March 1988; Don Oliver, NBC-TV's "NBC Nightly News," 14 April 1988; Douglas Frantz, "Japanese Buy Record \$12.7 Billion of U.S. Property," Los Angeles Times, 5 April 1988, p. IV:1.

GOVERNORS ON THE GO: TO JAPAN AND BEYOND

If your own governor is not in the state capital today, he or she might be heading to Asia in search of business and trade. Last year alone, trade winds lofted the governors of more than half of the U.S. states to Japan, and it's unlikely that the pace will slacken. At the same time, many governors are also visiting Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and China.

Of course, these gubernatorial trips are not cheap and taxpayers generally foot the bill. But the governors are bringing back new business for their states and sometimes jobs, too.

For instance, in the wake of his trip to the Orient, Governor Robert Orr of Indiana said that at least two Japanese companies had agreed to build plants in his state to manufacture auto parts and household items. Yes, Orr's trip cost \$57,000, but one of the new plants alone is expected to provide 200 new jobs for Indiana residents.

As a result of Connecticut Governor William O'Neill's visit to Japan and China, several companies in his state found themselves actively negotiating to export products to the Far East and to enter into joint ventures. Since Governor George Deukmejian of California personally cut the ribbon on his state's new trade office in Tokyo, the three-person staff there has helped funnel over \$100 million in Japanese investment to California.

Some governors, however, have approached trade missions a bit more cautiously. New Mexico Governor Garrey Carruthers stayed away from them because he didn't want them "turned into sightseeing tours at taxpayers' expense," according to a spokesperson for Carruthers. But the governor's reluctance finally melted last spring when he "became con-

vinced there was some benefit to be gained," leading him to visit Japan and Taiwan in May and June, where he met with trade and businesspersons.

Indiana Governor Orr urges a more aggressive approach. He describes his recent tour of a Chinese television factory, during which he saw only two American items (boxes of floppy disks from 3M and IBM). Most of the technology, he recalls, had come from Japan.

With so much potential for trade,

some governors believe they have seen only the tip of the Asian iceberg in the business ventures for their states. Says Oregon Governor Neil Goldschmidt, "My personal view is that the speed with which investment will move onshore in the United States principally from [Japan, South Korea and Taiwan] is going to be beyond anybody's belief."

SOURCE: Associated Press, "U.S. Governors Catch Trade Winds to Orient," Denver Post, 13 December 1987, p. D3; Governor Garrey Carruthers' office, State Capitol, Santa Fe, NM 87503 (505-827-3000).

WHO'S BEEN WHERE?

A STATE-BY-STATE ITINERARY OF ASIA-BOUND GOVERNORS

The Associated Press has compiled the following list of thirty governors who have gone on recent trade missions to Asia. The countries they visited are in parentheses:

- | | |
|---|--|
| Alabama — Guy Hunt (Japan, South Korea, Taiwan) | New Jersey — Thomas Kean (China, Japan) |
| Alaska — Steve Cowper (China, Japan) | New Mexico — Garrey Carruthers (Japan, Taiwan) |
| Arizona — Evan Mecham (Japan, Taiwan) | North Carolina — James Martin (China, Japan, South Korea) |
| California — George Deukmejian (Japan) | Oklahoma — Henry Bellman (Japan) |
| Colorado — Roy Romer (China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan) | Oregon — Neil Goldschmidt (Japan, Taiwan) |
| Connecticut — William O'Neill (China, Japan) | South Carolina — Carroll Campbell (Japan, South Korea) |
| Georgia — Joe Frank Harris (China, Japan, South Korea) | South Dakota — George Mickelson (Japan, Taiwan) |
| Hawaii — John Waihee (Taiwan) | Tennessee — Ned McWherter (Japan, South Korea, Taiwan) |
| Illinois — James Thompson (Japan) | Utah — Norman Bangert (Japan) |
| Indiana — Robert Orr (China, Japan, South Korea) | Virginia — Gerald Baliles (Japan, South Korea, Taiwan) |
| Iowa — Terry Branstad (Japan) | Washington — Booth Gardner (Japan) |
| Kansas — Mike Hayden (Japan) | West Virginia — Arch Moore Jr. (Japan, Taiwan) |
| Kentucky — Martha Layne Collins (Japan, Taiwan) | Wisconsin — Tommy Thompson (China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan) |
| Louisiana — Edwin Edwards (Japan) | Wyoming — Mike Sullivan (Taiwan) |
| Maryland — William Donald Schaefer (Japan, Taiwan) | |
| Nevada — Richard Bryan (Japan, Taiwan) | |

WHY BERKELEY HAS ITS OWN FOREIGN POLICY

The following op-ed column, written by Berkeley (CA) Mayor Loni Hancock, appeared in the Oakland Tribune on 25 April 1988.

Berkeley covers only 11 square miles, but pursuing our local self-interest means that our concerns cannot stop at our local borders. We have been forced to recognize that what happens elsewhere is often as important in defining what is possible locally as the decisions the council makes every Tuesday night in city hall — decisions which, too often, have the feeling of simply “rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic.”

Berkeley has serious local concerns that are similar to those faced by all Bay Area cities: We are losing children to drugs, and the violent drug culture is harming the larger community; we need more affordable housing; our aging streets and sewage systems badly need expensive repair; residents call for more city services; we struggle to develop our local economy in a way that can create productive, stable jobs for residents and inject life back into disadvantaged areas.

As we work to meet these real and urgent community needs, we face continued cutbacks in support from our national government. For example, for years Berkeley received a critical \$1.5 million annually from the federal government. That was eliminated last year when the General Revenue Sharing Program was abolished for all American cities. Scores of other federal programs have been eliminated during the Ronald Reagan years, and cities have had to increase local taxes or cut services as we watch needed funds siphoned to battles in Nicaragua and Honduras, with which a vast majority of our citizens disagree.

The \$1 billion that has been spent in direct and indirect contra support since 1981 could have been better used to build homes, expand transportation, improve schools, train our unemployed and develop our parks. The 3,200 troops Reagan recently sent to Honduras should have been airlifted to the Bay Area armed with textbooks, tools and supplies. It's time that we speak out and insist that America's real national defense begins with strong cities and a healthy, educated people.



Mayor Loni Hancock speaking at the opening of the Jackson for President Campaign Headquarters in Oakland, California.

John Jackson / Impact Visuals

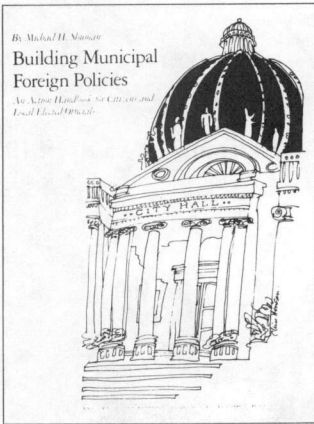
This recognition is growing. Across our nation, elected officials are indicating their frustration and anger over misplaced priorities.

Last January, mayors from 40 U.S. cities announced in Washington, D.C., that they wanted to see an end to U.S. support, both overt and covert, to the contras and see active U.S. support of the Central American peace plan. The mayors represented such diverse cities as Fargo, N.D., Birmingham, Ala., Minneapolis and Boston. In California, mayors from San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento, Oakland, Berkeley, Richmond, Hayward and Irvine were represented.

North, south, east, west, in large and small communities, mayors are recognizing that support of the Arias peace plan is as much in the interests of the people in *our* cities as it is in the interests of the people in Central American cities.

Although the votes may be taken in Washington offices far away from us, the public opinion that strongly influences those votes is shaped locally. Foreign policy may appear remote and out of our reach, but we see and feel its effects in our own neighborhoods. Our cities' local stability and security are deeply connected with our national priorities — including our foreign policy — and the livability of our cities as well as the vitality of our democracy depend on our effectively advocating for our long-term self-interest in a just and peaceful world.

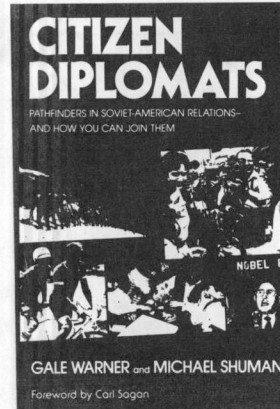
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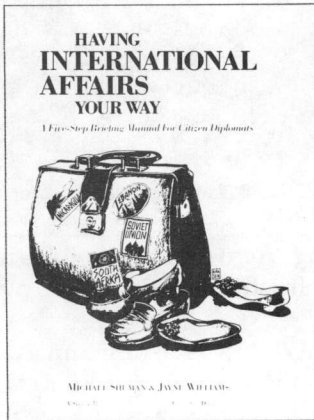
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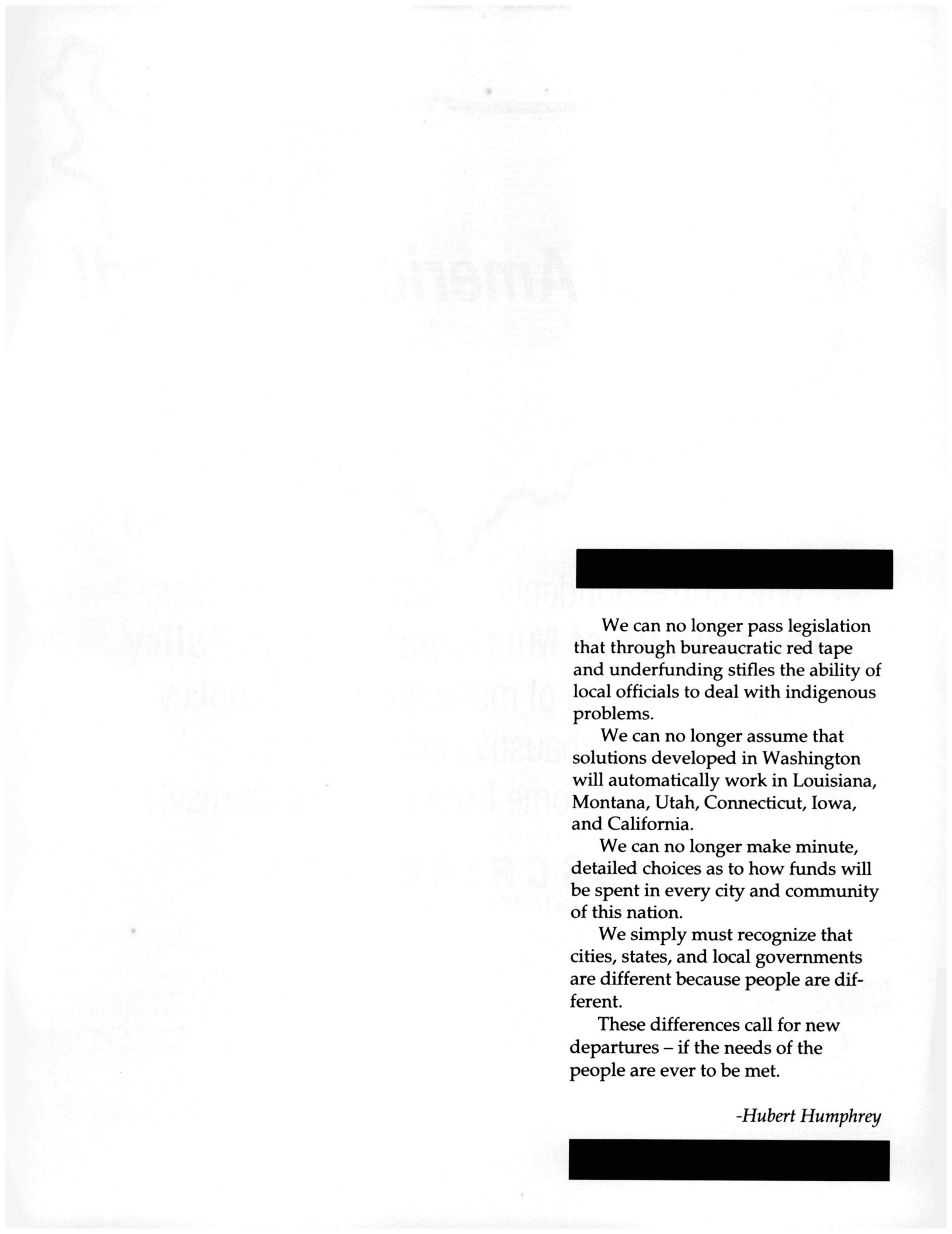
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We simply must recognize that cities, states, and local governments are different because people are different.

These differences call for new departures – if the needs of the people are ever to be met.

-Hubert Humphrey





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