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B U L L E T I N

MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

WINTER 1989-90, VOL. 4, No. 1 • THREE DOLLARS

MFP


CITY INVOLVEMENT IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

- **MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY IS SEXY**
- **THINKING GLOBALLY, WINNING LOCALLY**
- **OPINION: RED AND DEAD**

CITIES AND THE BERLIN WALL

What it means in Europe
What it means on Main Street


**BORDER LIFE • NUCLEAR FREE ZONES • CENTRAL AMERICA • SISTER CITIES
CHINA • ECONOMIC CONVERSION • GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT • WORLD TRADE**



Do you really think this is *your* city any longer? Open your eyes! The greatest city of the twentieth century! Do you think *money* will keep it yours? Come down from your swell co-ops, you general partners and merger lawyers! It's the third world down there! Puerto Ricans, West Indians, Haitians, Dominicans, Cubans, Colombians, Hondurans, Koreans, Chinese, Thais, Vietnamese, Ecuadorians, Panamanians, Filipinos, Albanians, Senegalese, and Afro-Americans! Go visit the frontiers, you gutless wonders! Morningside Heights, St. Nicholas Park, Washington Heights, Fort Tyron — *por qué pagar más!* The Bronx — the Bronx is finished for you!

Tom Wolfe

The Bonfire of the Vanities



BILL BIGGART / IMPACT VISUALS



SAYING GOODBYE TO THE WALL.

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GRAFFITI ON THE WEST BERLIN SIDE OF THE WALL.

Cover Photo by Rachel Johnson / Impact Visuals

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LETTERS

DOUBLE STANDARDS

I have no idea whether St. Paul Mayor George Latimer actually lives in a glass house, but he better quit throwing stones before someone mistakes him for a hypocrite.

Readers of the Bulletin might recall an item in the Spring 1989 issue in which it was reported that Mayor Latimer rejected an invitation from the Mayor of Johannesburg, South Africa, to visit based on the fact that Johannesburg's mayor was not a "representative government official." Latimer wrote, "I look forward to and work for the day when full rights are granted to all citizens of South Africa. At that time, if I were asked to visit Johannesburg by a fully representative government official, I would accept the invitation with great pleasure."

Imagine my surprise when I read in the Autumn issue of the Bulletin that Latimer visited the Soviet city of Novosibirsk for a week in June where he was toasted, wine and dined by Novosibirsk officialdom.

For Latimer's information, Soviet citizens have a great deal in common with South African citizens in that neither have yet been given "full rights," nor is Novosibirsk's Mayor Ivan Indinok any more a "fully representative government official" than is the mayor of Johannesburg. Mayor Indinok was placed in power by the Novosibirsk Communist Party and will be defeated when — and if — true democratic elections are held this spring in Novosibirsk.

I am in favor of free and open travel. I am opposed to the politicization of such travel for domestic political purposes.

State Sen. Bill Owens
Colorado

KEEP IN TOUCH

Portland has taken a different approach to our sister city relationship in China than most of those you described in your Autumn issue ("A

Great Leap Backwards"). Our mayor [J.E. Bud Clark] traveled to Suzhou as planned in September and discussed exchange projects which we intend to follow through with. A municipal worker from Suzhou arrived in August to spend a year in Portland under the sponsorship of the city and our sister city association.

Of course we are repelled and upset by what happened in China last spring. But we feel that now, more than ever, we must keep in contact with the people of Suzhou. What good does it do to lose the trust of our friends, the people of China, now?

Mayor Clark expressed protest to last June's massacre by cancelling a stop in Beijing. But to lose our sister city relationships may be to lose an important tool with which to advocate for democracy in China.

Jan Van Domelen
*Mayor's Office of International Relations
 Portland, OR*

FROM MORALITY TO LAW

Our job will be easier at the local level and in lobbying Congress for peace if we use all the tools at hand. We need especially to integrate into our thinking the language of the United Nations Charter and the Nuremberg Principles. Under United States constitutional law (Art. VI, sec. 2), each of these is part of the supreme law of this land — the UN Charter as a treaty, the Nuremberg Principles as an Executive Agreement — and part of customary international law. These are more than statements of moral principles. They are the basis of peace law — binding upon our nation, our government, and each of us as citizens.

The specific sections of the Charter that support local actions for peace are articles 2.3, 2.4, 55 and 56.

2.3: All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace, and security, and justice

are not endangered.

2.4: All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any member or state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

55: ...the United Nations shall promote: (a) Higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; (b) solutions to international economic, social, health and related problems and international cultural and educational cooperation and (c) universal respect for,

and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

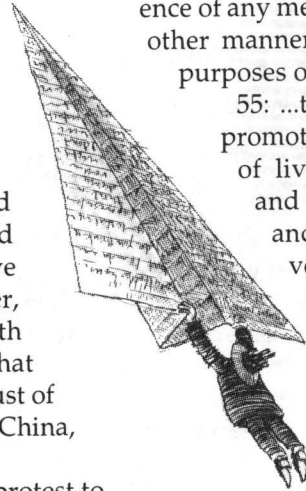
56: All members pledge...to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the [UN] for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

The specific sections of the Nuremberg Principles most important to individuals and local governments are:

1 and 2: Any person who commits an act which constitutes a crime under international law is responsible therefore and liable to punishment... [even if the law of the country] does not impose a penalty for [that] act.

7: Complicity in the commission of a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity... is a crime under international law.

These international documents establish norms of conduct for everyone in the United States, including national and local government officials and individual citizens, and members of the Armed Forces (spelled out in the U.S. Army Field Manual). These norms go beyond the norms established by the founding fathers of the United States in their forward-looking appraisal of the world at the end of the eighteenth century. The



norms in the UN Charter and Nuremberg Principles are based on the forward-looking appraisal of the world after the horrors of the Holocaust and World War II. They encompass the horrors of the bombing of the civilian cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Every action by local government officials in support of peace, jobs, and justice is, at the same time, an effort to help enforce the Charter and the Principles and is an action required by the Principles.

Ann Fagan Ginger
 Berkeley, CA
*Ginger is chair of the Berkeley
 Commission on Peace and Justice;
 executive director, Meiklejohn Civil
 Liberties Institute*

CID

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The Center for Innovative Diplomacy is a non-profit, non-partisan public benefit corporation dedicated to promoting global peace, justice, environmental protection, and sustainable development through direct citizen participation in international affairs. As a coalition of 6,000 citizens and local elected officials, CID is especially interested in documenting, analyzing, and promoting municipal foreign policies throughout the world. CID's projects currently include publishing quarterly the *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, preparing a book on *The Legality of Municipal Foreign Policy*, promoting municipal dialogues to create funded Offices of International Affairs, and educating cities about international agreements to ban ozone-damaging chemicals.

We appreciate receiving your letters, typed, double spaced and limited to 200 words. All letters sent to the *Bulletin* will be considered for publication unless otherwise noted and may be subject to abridgement or editorial comment.

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TWO WRONGS DON'T MAKE HUMAN RIGHTS

Sister cities can always increase understanding, prevent war, and promote human rights. But they have the most to offer when relations between two national governments deteriorate.

Michael H. Shuman

TWELVE OF THE COUNTRY'S FORTY SISTER CITIES WITH China have vented their outrage at the Tiananmen Square massacre by suspending their sister-city relationships. However sincere and well-intentioned these actions, they are naive and dangerous responses to complex political problems.

Sister city relationships should not be seen as gifts to be offered when national relations are good and withdrawn when relations sour. Sister cities are tools for increasing understanding, preventing war, and promoting human rights. And it is when relations between two countries deteriorate, as they have between the United States and China, that sister cities can do the most good. The fact that Americans prefer to stick to "safe," "nonpolitical" activities like art exchanges, tourism, and trade should not limit our vision of what else sister cities can contribute. Consider three ways our sister cities can help the fledgling democracy movement in China.

First, participants in a sister city can bear witness to human rights abuses. When a human rights organization like Amnesty International hears about instances of political imprisonment or capital punishment in China, it does not instruct its members to stick their heads in the sand and stop talking to the Chinese. Instead, it sends in observers who meet and interview as many people as possible. They then might lobby Chinese leaders through delegations and letters.

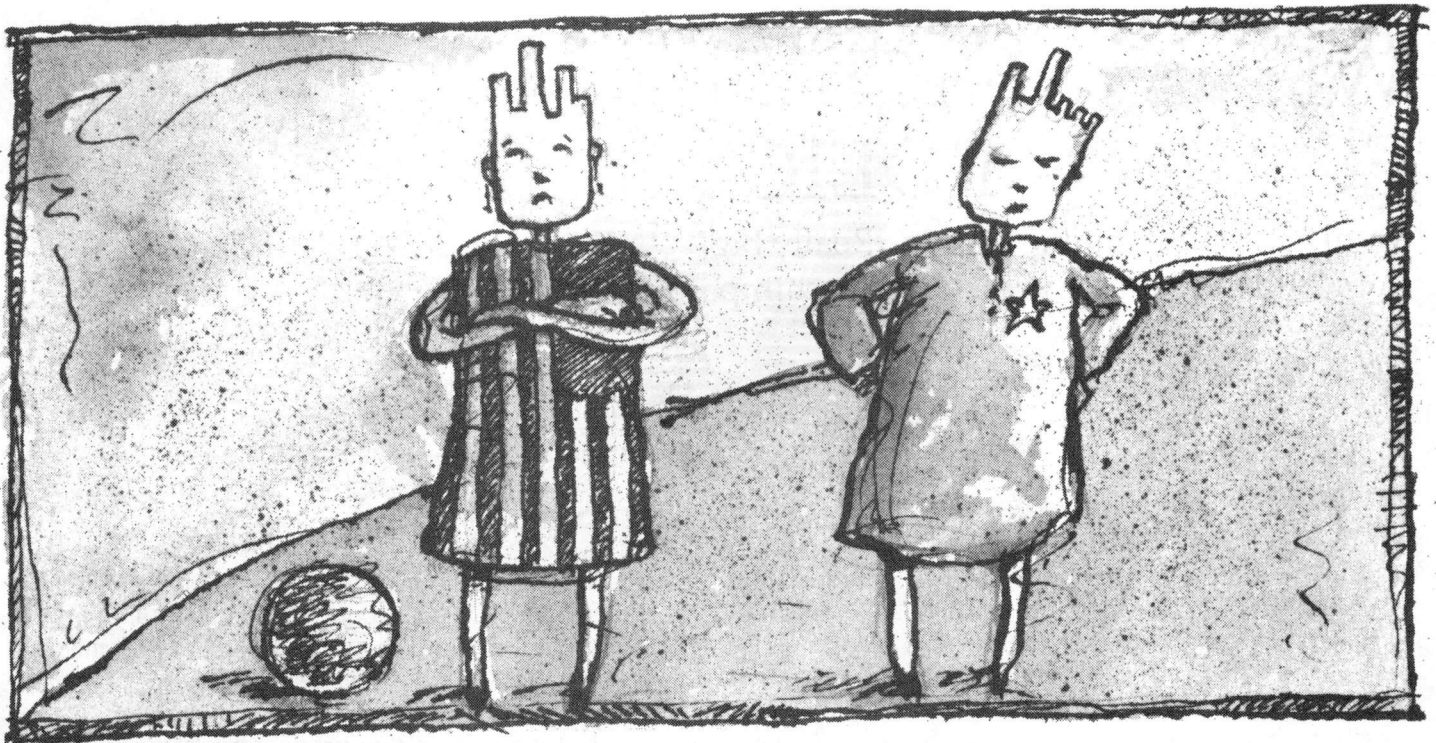
Sister cities must understand that change is possible only through pressure, not isolation. The city of Boulder, Colorado, has just foolishly thrown away a terrific opportunity to help the people of Tibet, who have been under oppressive Chinese rule for 30 years. Two years ago, Boulder became the first American city to form a sister city with Lhasa, Tibet. This relationship had provided Coloradans an unprecedented level of information about the plight of Tibet. (A recent article in the *New Republic* noted that "since the Chinese decision to develop Tibet as a tourist attraction in the early 1980s, some eyewitness reporting [of human

rights abuses] has come from Westerners traveling with tourist visas.") It can safely be said that by the time the Dalai Lama received the Nobel Peace Prize this year, more Boulder residents knew why than the rest of the country put together. But carried away by anti-Chinese sentiment, the city council voted, 5 to 4, to cancel the relationship and turn the Tibetan information spigot off.

Another human rights tool for sister cities is lobbying by local elected officials. Mayors and city council members have the legitimacy to meet with Chinese officials holding real power — meetings citizen groups often cannot get. When Leigh-Wai Doo, a city councilman from Honolulu, met with the Lieutenant Governor of Hainan, Honolulu's "sister island," he strongly criticized the Tiananmen Square massacre. Chastising officials face-to-face, in ways that will be heard, will have more influence than a single gesture cutting off contact. In 1986, San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein was able to meet with Gorbachev and other high-level Soviet officials and convince them to allow 36 people to emigrate and reunite with their spouses. Mayors from cities linked to China now have untold opportunities to use their offices to convince Chinese officials to release students from jail, open up emigration, and return to the road toward democratization.

Local businesses can also play a role. U.S. trade with China in 1988 was \$14 billion, spread over hundreds of joint ventures, purchase deals, and investments. Chinese officials apparently believe they can use Western Capital and technology to modernize the Chinese economy and still keep Western ideas, people, and goods away from their people. Let them continue believing this. The fact is, however, that hundreds of thousands of Americans doing business in China inevitably will develop ties with millions of Chinese citizens. As Chinese encounter more American products, they will begin to see the virtues of market economies and more comfortably support both internal economic reforms and greater trade with the West.

Then there are information technologies, which, as the *Economist* has concluded, "have shown themselves time and again to be destructive of centralized control, in private companies or dictators' states." Indeed, much of the information Americans received about the Chinese students' democracy movement, and much of the reporting of news back to China, was made possible by thousands of Western



computers, videocassette machines, and faxes that already had been spread throughout the country. Sister cities can assist political reform by further dispersing these technologies.

In the Soviet Union, Westerners have proliferated these technologies to assist *glasnost* and *perestroika*. IDG Communications prints and distributes 50,000 copies of *PC World* in Russian. Thanks to the spread of personal computers, laser printers, and desktop publishing, there has been the rapid growth of *samizdat* (unofficial press), including Sergei Grigoryant's hard-hitting, pro-human rights magazine *Glasnost*. A Canadian company is now running public photocopy shops in Moscow. Meanwhile, other Americans are spreading telephones, telephone directories, shortwave radios, and even television shows — every conceivable technology that erodes the government's monopoly on information. All of these activities are just as possible in China.

None of these human rights activities are inevitable, simple, or riskless. But they are certainly more promising than cutting off contact with the Chinese until they start behaving by our standards. Turning our back to those oppressed helps no one.

One important resource sister cities can tap is the vast network of 73,000 Chinese students still in the United States. In Boston, more than 100 students staffed a bank of telephones in June, phoning into China the latest Western news reports about the situation in that country. At Stanford, students interviewed eyewitnesses in China by telephone, prepared press releases, and sent them to Voice of America, whose broadcasts then reached an estimated 60

million Chinese listeners. Leigh-Wei Doo notes that Chinese students have privately encouraged him to keep up as much contact with China as possible — and use that contact to exert pressure.

No one interested in the future of municipal foreign policy should watch these events in silence. In Boulder, many people who were involved in the city's sister relationships with Jalapa in Nicaragua and Dushanbe in the Soviet Union stood by quietly as opponents of the Lhasa relationship convinced the city council to sever ties. Now a terrible precedent has been set.

The next time Daniel Ortega or Mikhail Gorbachev misbehaves — and sooner or later they will do something we dislike — city councils will be under pressure to cut those sister city relationships as well.

Now is the time for people committed to sister cities to speak out. Whether your interest is China, Nicaragua, the Soviet Union, Chile, El Salvador, or anywhere else where human rights violations are occurring, no sister city relationship should be taken lightly. Years of work can always be wiped out by one ill-considered city council vote. The massacre of Tiananmen Square should be the beginning of a new era of sister cities, where human rights are promoted with care rather than ignored in righteous inaction.

Michael Shuman is president of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy and a visiting scholar at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. His forthcoming book, Alternative Security, written with Hal Harvey and Daniel Arbess, will be published by Hill and Wang this spring.

WHY MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY IS SEXY

Municipal foreign policy is big. Really big.
But is it bigger than tractor-driving chimpanzees and UFOs?

Will Swaim

I'VE SPENT YEARS AT THE BULLETIN, WORKING — UNSUCCESSFULLY, SO FAR — to persuade television producers at “Oprah Winfrey,” “Geraldo” and “Phil Donahue” that municipal foreign policy is right for television. What could be better, I ask them, than a panel of mayors answering Oprah’s, Geraldo’s and Phil’s probing questions about sister city exchanges, international trade offices, divestment ordinances, and nuclear free zones? Imagine the biting back-and-forth between municipal foreign policy’s critics and supporters, I say. Imagine that chubby guy (in New York on vacation) rising from his seat near the back of Phil’s studio audience to ask about the difference between the MacBride, Sullivan, Slepak and Valdez Principles.

Imagine television at its best, I say.

But the producers insist that municipal foreign policy doesn’t rank with liposuction, tractor-driving chimpanzees, testosterone-powered UFOs, or dogs singing the rousing choral conclusion to Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony.

They’re wrong, of course. Municipal foreign policy — local government involvement in global affairs — is terrifically sexy. Talk about municipal foreign policies and you are likely to begin raising some of the trendiest issues of our time.

DEVOLUTION

MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY IS ALL ABOUT RETURNING POWER TO the localities, what some folks call “devolution.” Everyone with a strange haircut is talking about devolution. Popular culture figures from the hind-end of nowhere — like Los Angeles-based Ronald Reagan and the Ohio-based pop band Devo — think devolution is hip. Reagan liked the idea of devolution so much that he used it to mask an urban affairs agenda he called “New Federalism.” Never mind that New Federalism was a public policy Hiroshima — that it consisted of returning, not power, but poverty, to the nation’s local governments in the form of reduced federal grants. What’s important is that New Federalism sounded good: Local officials bought it because the rhetoric of returning power to communities is very chic. Even when

the name is attached to something completely contrary to the principle, the lure of devolution is irresistible. And irresistible is what television is all about.

POSTMODERNISM

EVERYONE’S TALKING ABOUT PoMo. FEW PEOPLE KNOW THAT it owes its existence to municipal foreign policy.

Postmodern art is all about placing painfully familiar figures — say, the faces of fundamentalist preachers — alongside images with which those figures are not usually associated — say, unclothed women. (Sometimes, of course, history conspires to produce such images on its own, without the intervention of postmodern artists.) And you are more likely to draw rave reviews from postmodern critics if you can collapse time and space: One brings together Mickey Mouse (Made in U.S.A., circa 1920s) and images of government-sponsored torture in Central America (Hecho en El Salvador, 1989) and, hey, presto, one has a new piece of art where, before, one had only two familiar — and apparently unrelated — images. Sometimes, postmodern artists borrow symbols — like the familiar hammer and sickle — strip them of their original meaning, and market them as neat-to-look-at artifacts on wristwatches. Whether we understand the original meaning of the symbols themselves is beside the point: What the symbol means now is that the world is increasingly borderless, and that we who own postmodern things truck-and-barter with foreign, even exotic, peoples.

Few commentators have pointed out that postmodernism’s roots have thrust themselves most deeply into the soil of internationalist cities. Todd Gitlin, a professor of sociology at Berkeley, comes close. He has written that “High consumption capitalism requires a ceaseless transformation in style . . .”. And that, says Gitlin, is the force behind postmodernism.

But where does Gitlin’s postmodern process take place? In cities. The globalization of the economy — away from mere regional trading blocs, and toward real global trade and production — means that cities become centers of international commerce, communication, production, and distribution, that cities are the stage upon which cultures — and, more superficially, the styles and symbols of cultures — meet.

Postmodern, global cities — cities with their own “foreign policies” — are theaters drawing back the curtain on

new ideas, fashions and styles. Take my own city. Thirty years ago, it was a cow pasture. Today it is home to a major university and more than 400 multinational firms. Kids whose parents grew up herding llamas in the Andes or washing clothes on rocks in rivers near the Khyber Pass come to college in my town, listen to British rock and roll, and wear shirts emblazoned with the Russian words for "Hard Rock Cafe." Their parents work for multinational computer and chemical firms, drive Japanese cars, and work in buildings designed by German emigres.

At night, we all gather in the Marketplace, eat pizzas cooked by an Arab and drink coffee from Central America. It's a global life.

Some folks undoubtedly approach this swirl of international things and people quite superficially. That's what postmodernism is generally about. But global cities like mine also have a sense of social commitment, not to the things themselves, but to the planet and the people which the international cornucopia of things represents. We have not allowed ourselves to become what Gitlin calls mere connoisseurs of surface. Our contact with the melange of international influences has driven us to protect the ozone, to recycle, to defend human rights around the world, to reach out through sister cities, cultural exchanges, and global trade relationships. We have become global citizens, not global spectators. Sexy? You bet.

DECONSTRUCTION

DECONSTRUCTION AROSE IN FRANCE. EVERYTHING FRENCH IS sexy. Everything sexy is right for television. Municipal foreign policies have a deconstructionist edge and, so, are sexy — and right for television — by association.

But, like postmodernism, nobody is sure what deconstruction is. A friend of mine once spent a day listening to famous U.S. and French deconstructionists. It was the first time I had heard about deconstruction.

"What is deconstruction?" I asked.

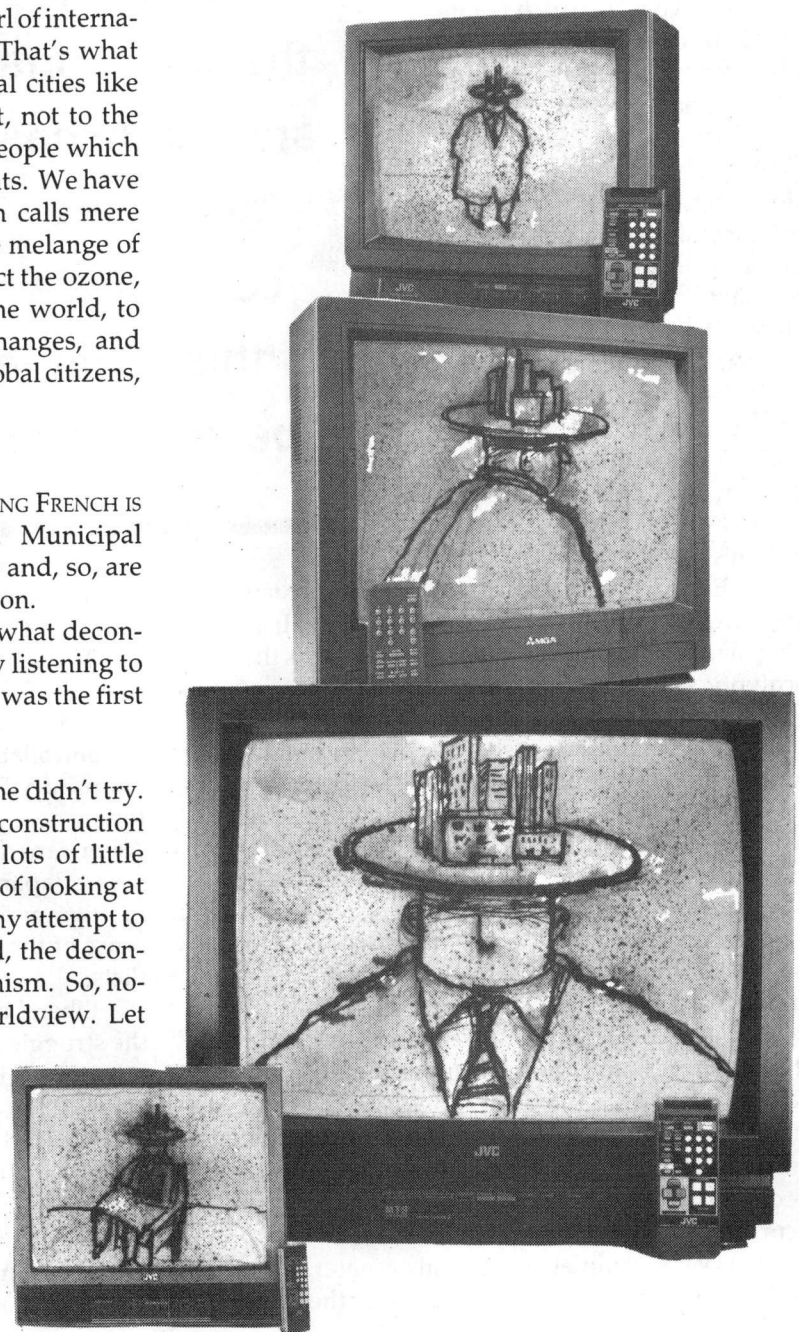
"It's kind of hard to explain," he said. So he didn't try.

That's partly because the main thrust of deconstruction is that there are no main thrusts. Perhaps lots of little thrusts. While deconstruction is clearly a way of looking at the world, it abhors worldviews. Inherent in any attempt to establish a single understanding of the world, the deconstructionists say, are the seeds of authoritarianism. So, nobody defines what's real. To each his own worldview. Let a thousand visions bloom. The same is true of municipal foreign policies. Out of the cacophony of local foreign policy initiatives will rise a few sweet public policy voices. The others, less sophisticated, will go silent, and then gradually pick up the lead of the more melodious voices — a process Irvine Mayor Larry Agran has called trickle-up public policy. What could be sexier?

GLOBALIZATION

ON THE CUTTING EDGE OF URBAN STUDIES ARE THOSE FEW scholars, themselves worldly men and women — professors, thinkers and writers scattered around the globe — who study the integration of the city into the world economy. They do not usually suggest that the process is either good or bad, just inevitable.

One of these thinkers, Richard V. Knight, puts it this way: "Global consciousness and a global ethic is being forced upon this generation by new technological, ecologi-



cal, and political realities. . . . Global imperatives are forcing citizens to act more responsibly both locally and globally and to create mechanisms to ensure that agencies are more fully accountable for their acts."

The key word here is "force." There is, these folks believe, something inevitable about the process. But critics of globalization argue that globalization is an idea, a bad idea, and one they can stop if they ridicule it often enough. They do not see globalization as an ineluctable process. They would prefer to believe with the innocence of small children that the future will be rather like the past, just longer. Sure, they say, we will have wristwatch televisions, and our cars will fly, but local officials will continue reckoning the city's budget on an abacus and will write the annual "State of the City" speech with a hammer and chisel.

Globalization — and, by extension, municipal foreign policy — is perfect for television. It has the predictive quality folks like so much in the *National Enquirer*, as well as the hard scientific edge which television commercials about aspirin have trained us to respect. Municipal foreign policies are harbingers of a new world order.

END OF HISTORY?

ON THE EAST COAST LAST SUMMER, STATE DEPARTMENT POLICY staffer Francis Fukuyama's essay, "The End of History?", was a big media hit. While Fukuyama's essay lacks the kind of apocalyptic splendor most Americans associate with the End Times — no devils wandering the earth in search of souls, no Christians rapturously snapped suddenly from commuter trains or suburban kitchens — the essay does offer a Finish: When the curtain drops on this one, the U.S., or at least liberal democracy, is on top. Very sexy.

Like the postmodernists and the globalists, Fukuyama points to the triumph of "consumerist Western culture in such diverse contexts as the peasants' markets and color television sets now omnipresent throughout China, the cooperative restaurants and clothing stores opened in the past year in Moscow, the Beethoven piped into Japanese department stores, and the rock music enjoyed alike in Prague, Rangoon, and Tehran." These, he says, are the harbingers of a new order. They represent the final collapse of the old, U.S.-Soviet, East-West, communist-versus-capitalist order. Okay, Fukuyama says, "the victory of liberalism has occurred primarily in the realm of ideas or consciousness and is as yet incomplete in the real or material world." But, in the long run, he says, the decline of the old order

means that "we may be witnessing...the end point of mankind's ideological evolution."

It's not a Busby Berkeley finale, or the ending to *Apocalypse Now*. But it is an ending. And we're on top. What could be sexier? you ask.

How about another beginning? Because, even if Fukuyama is right, even if our age is witness to "the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government," there still remains the struggle between those within the same Western liberal camp — between those who believe, on one hand, that we do not surrender our right to speak and trade, or to govern our communities as we see fit when we join a union of states, and those, on the other, who believe that we surrendered each of these to the federal government centuries ago. There is, in the end, nothing so monolithic as "Western liberal democracy"; democracy is conflict institutionalized. Municipal foreign policy is one of democracy's fault lines, a battle between centrifugal and centripetal forces.

But Fukuyama knows no forces save those which appear as ideas: Liberal democrats — George Bush's confusion of the words notwithstanding — have won. Just about everybody

else is fagged out, which means they cannot *think* of new things to do.

The beauty of history is this: It doesn't always wait for folks to *think* of new ideas. It *produces* a new world. Globalization isn't an idea; it's a fact. It is unleashed by the almost uncontrollable, if not invisible, hand of the marketplace. It chops up End-of-History theories and uses them in tomorrow's new and improved breakfast cereal. And, as Americans find themselves face to face with Senegalese music, Japanese business practices, and Eastern European immigrants, this global Babylon (in the cultural, not moral sense of the place) will generate new and fascinating conflicts.

Liberal democracy may, indeed, have triumphed. But the struggle for international understanding will have just begun in earnest. And municipal foreign policies — the connections which communities establish between themselves and other places — will help us understand where all this — this *stuff* — has come from, will help us to discover what animates the swirl, what breathes life in the beast of endless change, what blows the fruit, the pumpkins and squashes out of the cornucopia of this strange and beautiful planet. What could be sexier? ■

What blows the fruit, the pumpkins and squashes out of the cornucopia of this strange and beautiful planet?

NOTES FROM ALL OVER

In This Issue: Signing Up on the New Enemies List, Irvine is New York's Kind of Town, Chinese Spin Doctors in Tel Aviv, and Much More

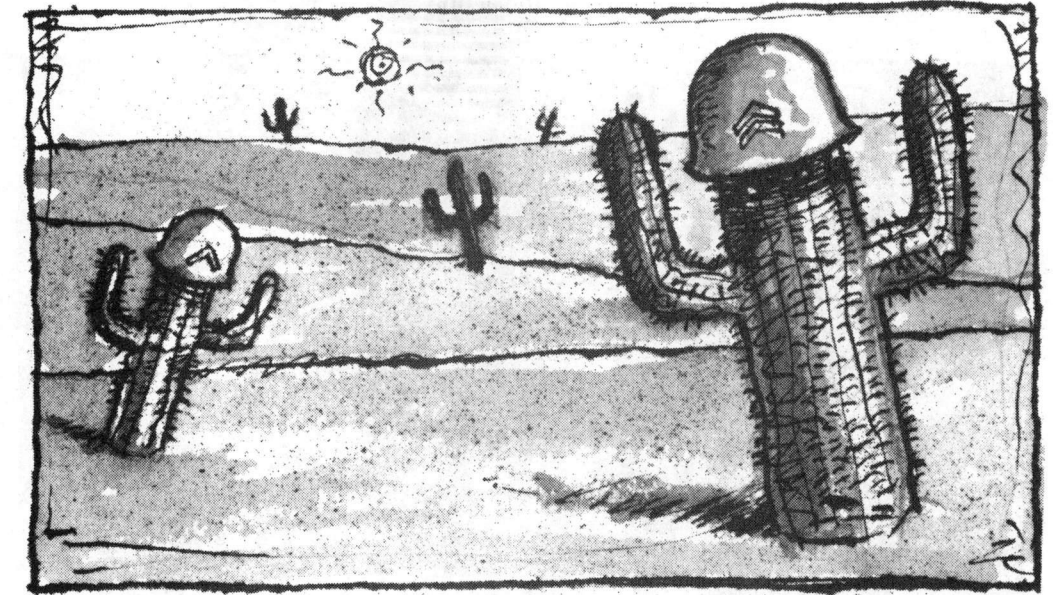
STICK 'EM UP

FEDERAL DRUG WARRIORS have turned to the states, and the drug war has turned prickly. Under a \$2.9 million federal drug-fighting grant, members of the Texas National Guard will dress up as cactus plants along the Mexican border.

More news from the drug wars: A Senate proposal to cut some \$900 million in assistance to cities, and to divert the money to combat the international drug trade was approved by the House in mid-November. Phoenix Mayor, and National League of Cities President, Terry Goddard said the plan "would divert resources that strike at the underlying problems of our drug crisis to fund a drug remedy at a time when we should be seeking a joint, comprehensive effort."

GODDESS STUMBLES

CHINESE COMMUNITY leaders in San Francisco want something small to help them remember the Tiananmen Square uprising — something like a 10-foot tall bronze replica of the Goddess of Democracy which Chinese demonstrators raised in the square before soldiers smashed



the statue and the demonstration on June 4.

The project appeared to have the San Francisco Board of Supervisors' approval just a week after the crackdown in China. By mid-June, Mayor Art Agnos had approved a plan to erect the statue in a public square.

Then the Chinese consulate stepped in. Chinese diplomats appearing at local meetings of the San Francisco Recreation and Parks Commission urged commission members to keep the Goddess out of San Francisco. The Commission relented, and voted against the installation of the privately commissioned statue — proving to the Chinese officials that democracy

must be good for something.

But San Francisco's Chinese community hasn't given up yet. "We're keeping a stiff upper lip and going through the bureaucracy," says Henry Der, of Chinese for Affirmative Action. "It's part of the political process."

SOURCE: Henry Der, Chinese for Affirmative Action (415-982-0801); Shawna Rose, San Francisco Recreation and Parks Commission (415-666-7064).

WE TOLD YOU SO

H.L. MENCKEN WOULD have been suspicious. When business folks begin talking about the benefits of peace, when they actually begin to use the P-word, Mencken might have said, put your hand on your wallet.

But there they are: Right in some of the most conservative media venues in the U.S., business analysts are calling for deep cuts in the military budget. "With the cold war cooling, the Pentagon budget could be cut by a third without weakening defense," says *Fortune Magazine*. "Think what America could do with the extra \$100 billion a year."

Think, indeed, Peter Schwartz of Global Business Network told PBS' Adam Smith, calling for a 50 percent cut "freeing up enormous resources in the domestic economy."

More recently, *Business Week* headlined its cover story, "The Peace Economy: How defense cuts will fuel America's long-term pros-

perity."

Oh, boy! chortled *Business Week*. "By eliminating missiles and demobilizing troops, America could reap a sizable peace dividend... the federal budget would

sacrifices will not be rewarded by any special environmental benefits to the citizens of Irvine."

But, the essayist concluded, "on an emotional level the action

one."

In October, Newark, New Jersey, adopted an ordinance virtually identical to Irvine's.

SOURCE: *The New Yorker*, "The Talk of the Town," October 9, 1989.

and the Seattle city council "for voting Managua a 'sister city,' inviting the Soviets to 'Friendship Games,' etc."

No word yet on who O'Rourke is shoving into the oven in the cartoon accompanying the article.

SOURCE: P. J. O'Rourke, "The New Enemies List: No End in Sight," *The American Spectator*, November 1989, p. 17.

MORE THAN THEY BARGAINED FOR

EVEN THE BEST-LAID plans sometimes run into glitches.

Consider the recent warming of relations between the state of Alaska and regions across the Bering Sea in the Soviet Union. Alaska Governor Steve Cowper has been instrumental in reaching out to the Soviets, opening doors for cultural exchanges and business ties.

But when a Soviet delegation traveled to Little Diomed, an Alaskan island, for the signing of a protocol between Soviet and Alaskan officials, something unexpected happened. It seems that two Soviet students — both in their mid-20s — were part of that delegation. In order to join the friendship mission, they had posed as journalists, with the help of a counterfeit letter written on the stationery of a Soviet Foreign Ministry publication. Then, once they had arrived in Little Diomed, they requested a press interview with a National Guardsman —



move into surplus and growth would accelerate."

Where were these voices of reason ten years ago?

SOURCES: *Fortune*, July 31, 1989; *Business Week*, June 12, 1989; *Adam Smith's Money World* d PBS, October 17, 1989; *Business Week*, December 11, 1989.

TALK OF THE TOWN

IRVINE, CALIFORNIA'S BAN on ozone-depleting chemicals (see the Autumn Bulletin) has captured the attention of *The New Yorker*.

Writing in the magazine's "Talk of the Town" section, an essayist pointed out that Irvine's legislation "will cause hardships for local businesses and raise the cost of some consumer goods for local people, and these

seems exactly right."

The New Yorker properly noted that "as global problems become overwhelming, the idea of a locality assumes a new political importance," that in the case of the arms race, for example, "home is the place where the deepest response to the nuclear situation takes place. . . . Similarly, global environmental problems are both intimate and transcendent.

"The problems of the environment are beyond the power of Irvine to solve, but because the city took responsibility where it could, it is no longer helpless. It examined its own contribution to the destruction of the ozone, asked, 'If not us, who?' and heard the answer, 'No

NIXON ANTAGONISTES

THE CONSERVATIVE *American Spectator* has hired equally conservative ("born-again conservative," he says) commentator P.J. O'Rourke to compile a new enemies list for the American Right. Under the rubric of a call to a "New McCarthyism," O'Rourke invited *Spectator* readers to help him compile the list.

Among others, that list includes municipal foreign policy leaders like Mayor Larry Agran of Irvine, California (who "has set up 80 Nicaraguan/U.S. 'sister city' relationships") and Minneapolis Mayor Don Fraser; cities with "Peace and Justice offices";

and informed the soldier of their wish to defect!

Undoubtedly, this turn of events caused some embarrassment on both sides. After all, Gov. Cowper and his Soviet counterpart, V.I. Kobets, chairman of the executive committee of the Magadan region of Siberia, had been working hard to ease restrictions on travel across the Bering Strait. Nevertheless, in June, the pair was formally granted political asylum in the U.S.

SOURCE: David Johnston, "2 Soviet Citizens Get Asylum After They Defected in Alaska," *The New York Times*, June 8, 1989, p. A13.

BEAVERS IN BUFFALO

BUFFALO OFFICIALS working with local business leaders have launched the nation's first local government initiative designed specifically to attract Canadian investment.

The city government's non-profit Buffalo Development Companies — a kind of funnel between federal and state agencies, on the one end, and local businesses, on the other — plans to use nearly half-a-million dollars in federal Community Development Block Grant funds to help finance a \$12 million "incubator" facility just across the Peace Bridge from Ontario, Canada. The facility will provide shared support services for Canadian tenants hoping to take advantage of Buffalo's lower land, housing and labor costs.

IN SHORT

■ DULUTH, MINNESOTA. VIDEO IS EXPANDING SISTER EXCHANGE POSSIBILITIES. **Wendy Wennberg**, Director of Duluth's Sister Cities Commission, says a local cable company proposed video tape exchanges between Duluth and Thunder Bay, Canada, during the cities' annual Friendship Games, established in 1984. Wennberg says the project may soon expand to the city's relationships with other cities, including Petrozavodsk, USSR.

■ NEW YORK. ON OCTOBER 24, IN THE WANING DAYS OF HIS TENURE, NEW YORK City Mayor **Ed Koch** sent greetings to the United Nations on the world organization's anniversary day. "I am proud that New York is Host City to the World Organization and hope that we can create a climate of interest and support for the United Nations to further its goals," Koch wrote. New York Governor **Mario Cuomo** also recognized United Nations Day. He urged the organization to adopt the Convention on Children's Rights, "offering universal protection to the most vulnerable...of our citizens."

■ PORTLAND, MAINE. IN EARLY OCTOBER, WORLD WAR II VETERAN **ROBERT Krekorian** handed to a visiting Japanese sister city delegation the dog tags of seven Japanese soldiers he killed during a bloody, end-of-the-war battle on the tiny island of Tinian. Krekorian, a retired postal worker, said he began thinking about returning the tags when he saw a documentary about U.S. and Japanese veterans working together to ease the bitterness of their war-time experiences.

■ WASHINGTON, D.C. A *WASHINGTON POST*/ABC POLL LAST AUGUST FOUND that nearly three out of four Americans would cut military spending or raise taxes to balance the budget before they would further reduce social spending. "Even among Republicans and conservatives, military budget cuts were the single most popular deficit-reduction strategy," the *Post* reported. . . . Also in D.C., the **National League of Cities** has plans for a March 6-18 trip through the Soviet Union. "The highlight of the trip," says an NLC newsletter, "will be meetings and exchanges with Soviet officials in each city." Call (202) 626-3105 for more information.

■ VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA. IN LATE SEPTEMBER, THE **VANCOUVER CITY Council** unanimously passed a resolution urging the Canadian government "to change its policy and henceforth actively support negotiations for a comprehensive nuclear weapons test ban in every appropriate international forum, including the United Nations and the Conference on Disarmament." The resolution was submitted to the city council by the Special Council Committee on Peace. Vancouver is the first Canadian city to pass such a resolution.

■ TRENTON, NEW JERSEY. **ART HOLLAND**, MAYOR OF TRENTON FOR ALMOST thirty years, died on November 10 of cancer in a Trenton hospital. He was 71. Holland was a consistent advocate of the urban poor, and a relentless critic of federal officials who defined national security exclusively in terms of military spending. Mayor Holland's family has announced that the Program on Ethics in Government just established in the Mayor's name at Rutgers University will serve as his memorial. Persons wishing to contribute to the memorial should send checks payable to Rutgers University, to: The Arthur J. Holland Program on Ethics in Government, c/o John Cooney, Office of Community Affairs, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Old Queen's, Room 302, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. For more information, call (201) 932-7823.

"We'll get companies going and then move them on to another spot when they get big enough," Buffalo Mayor James D. Griffin said.

SOURCE: Gary Enos, "Buffalo seeks top trade slot with Canada," *City and State*, August 28, 1989, p. 2.

two nations.

The flow of Israelis into China fell sharply following the crushing of the pro-democracy movement last June.

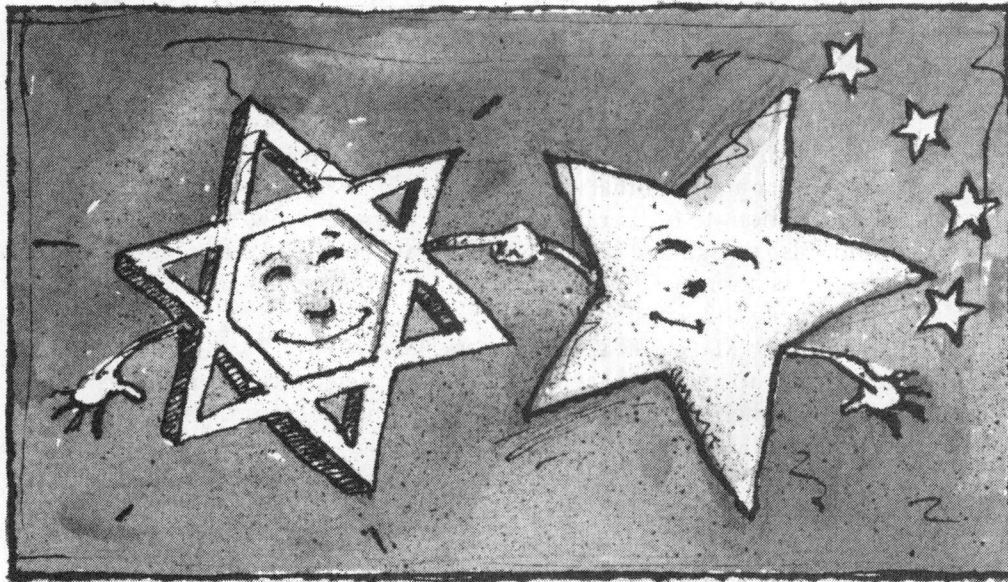
SOURCE: "A diplomatic coup," *The Jewish Week* (New York), October 13, 1989, p. 2.

"We cannot take things for granted," Bailes said. "We cannot rest upon our past accomplishments. We must be willing to invest the time and resources to be competitive."

trade development office in the Soviet Union.

The state's office in Moscow is sponsored by three Illinois-based businesses and will work with a Washington, D.C. firm established by Dwight D. Eisenhower's granddaughter, Susan. She's back in the USSR every six weeks, hawking, among other things, the state's agriculture, food processing, and pharmaceutical industries.

SOURCE: Kitty Dumas, "States map sales strategies to master global trading game," *City and State*, May 22, 1989; "Illinois Ready to Do Business, Comrade," *Governing*, October 1989, p. 13.



TEL AVIV DIPLOMACY

TEL AVIV BECAME Israel's first city to pair off with an East Bloc city. In mid-November, Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat hosted Budapest Mayor Yosef Bialek at the signing of a pact binding the cities.

Lahat didn't stop there. China has opened its first official Israeli tourism bureau in Tel Aviv, an act which Israel watchers in the U.S. said might be the prelude to formal China-Israel relations.

Tang Shuki, China's head of mission at the bureau's opening, said Beijing hoped the flow of tourists would "promote friendship" between the

RESCUING THE U.S. ECONOMY

"WHAT HAPPENS IN distant places can affect our economy, can have an impact on our jobs, can impinge upon the social stability of [our] nation," says outgoing Virginia Governor Gerald Bailes, chair of the National Governors' Association. He should know. During the last three years, Bailes presided over a flood of foreign dollars — \$651 million to be exact — pouring into his state's economy.

What's his secret? Resources. Most U.S. communities and corporations, Bailes says, do not spend at home the money an export economy requires.

A National Governors Association study concluded that the economy of the 1990s will require heavy investments in four areas: Prenatal care; education; long-term support for business and academic research; domestic transportation.

SOURCE: John Dillin, "Governors Urge Steps to Raise US Trade Competitiveness," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 31, 1989, p. 7.

IN THE RED

JUST A FEW YEARS AGO, Illinois Governor James Thompson called the creation of a nuclear free zone in his state "un-American." Now, apparently, the governor knows better: Illinois has become the first U.S. sub-national government to open a

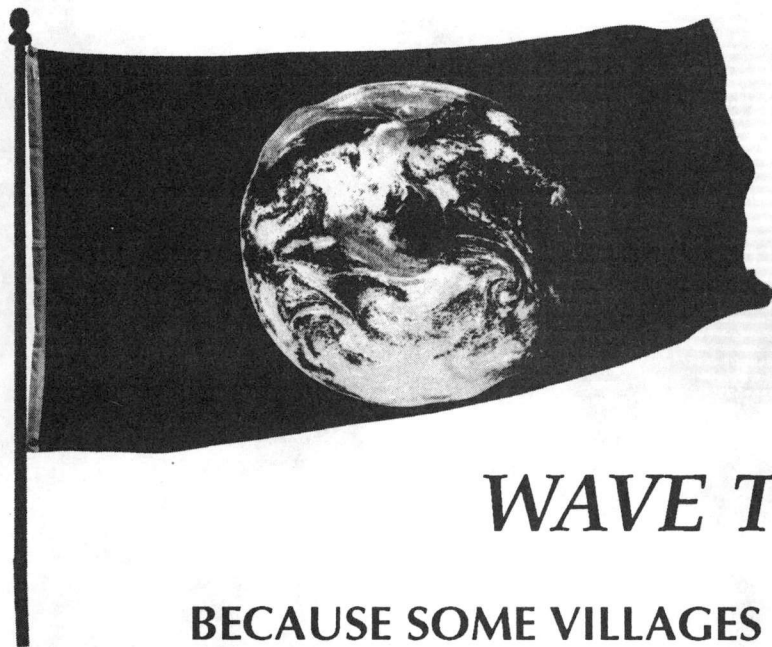
PREPARING FOR PEACE

BERKSHIRE COUNTY MAY get some answers soon on how best to adjust to its changing industrial base. The Massachusetts state Office of Communities and Development has awarded the county's regional planning agency a \$44,000 grant to develop an economic conversion plan—the first grant of its kind from the state.

In Berkshire County, 31 percent of the 136,000 manufacturing jobs are related to the military, but those jobs have been lost by the hundreds in recent years because of Pentagon cutbacks.

The grant money is expected to help organize a task force representing business, labor, government and education, to devise a plan to attract new private industry to the community.

CONTACT: Center for Economic Conversion, 222C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041 (415-968-8798).



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May 1989: The EarthSave Foundation presents an Earth Flag to Mayor Wormhoudt of Santa Cruz, California. The Flag is then raised over the City. Meanwhile, the City of Burlington, Vermont, presents Earth Flags to delegations from its Sister Cities—Yaroslavl, U.S.S.R., and Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. The City itself symbolically raises the Earth Flag in a ceremony marking "Acid Rain and Air Pollution Action Week." **June:** An Earth Flag is flown from the mast of the TE VEGA, the schooner carrying U.S. and Soviet environmentalists on a symbolic 4,000 mile trip from New York to Leningrad (and back). **July:** The Earth Flag Company donates Earth Flags to the city of Irvine, California, in recognition of that city's path-breaking ordinance banning ozone-depleting CFC's. **August:** Twenty Earth Flags are flown by organizers of the August 6 demonstration at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant near Boulder, Colorado. **September:** Wheaton College in Massachusetts formally raises the Earth Flag in a convocation day ceremony. Dean of Students Sue Alexander says, "We wanted to make the students aware of their responsibilities as global citizens."

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TOM MCKITTERICK / IMPACT VISUALS

HOW'S HE DOING?

New York Mayor David Dinkins, with Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, campaigning in June. Dinkins has pledged to keep nuclear warships out of New York Harbor.

THINKING GLOBALLY, WINNING LOCALLY

Winners in St. Paul, Seattle, Cambridge, and New York in November's elections include candidates who took foreign policy to the people.

Some critics might join with two Seattle reporters who called foreign policy — the subject of a debate between mayoral candidates Doug Jewett and Norm Rice — “an issue of peripheral relevance” in local elections. But a survey of several November municipal elections suggests some candidates have embraced foreign affairs as an issue well-suited to the exigencies of a local campaign.

Even candidates with reputations for an interest in the most controversial municipal foreign policy issues

found little opposition on foreign affairs. In St. Paul, Council President Jim Scheibel, a national leader in municipal foreign policymaking who has organized tours of Central America for local elected officials, easily won a contest for the mayor's office, capturing 57 percent of the vote. Scheibel's opponent, former police chief Bob Fletcher, labored unsuccessfully to transform Scheibel's involvement in Central American affairs into a liability.

In the same election, Council-

member Bob Long, a Democrat running for his second term in a heavily Republican ward, captured 72 percent of the vote — in part because of his willingness to help develop an economic conversion plan for a strapped local military contractor.

“It's become a real jobs issue,” Long says of a Unisys plant that has already laid off scores of workers and may close permanently. But the plant's closure also means trouble for city government. “If we lose a plant like that, we lose a significant part of

the city's property tax base. We had business leaders suggesting local government ought to be doing something to keep the plant open."

Long's opponent — "a really nice guy who just couldn't see the big picture" — disagreed. "I think there's a very important role for government to play in this process," Long says. But his opponent argued "that government should keep hands off" conversion planning.

WOLF CAMPAIGNS ON PEACE

IN OTHER CITIES, CANDIDATES CAMPAIGNED aggressively on their foreign affairs experience. In Cambridge, Massachusetts, City Councilor Alice Wolf produced a "peace leaflet" outlining her active pursuit of nuclear disarmament, economic conversion, and peace. The leaflet also noted that Wolf has played a leading role in the state Democratic party — where she introduced a peace plank in the state's 1988 platform — and in the National League of Cities, where she has consistently offered, and found votes for, a national priorities resolution.

Wolf, who was the highest vote-getter in Cambridge's November race, says the peace brochure hit its target. "This kind of information was in my large leaflet, too," says Wolf. "They [the voters] know what they're getting. I've been very up front. I've been very outspoken on this issue."

In an October municipal foreign policy debate, Seattle mayoral candidates Jewett and Rice found themselves in near-perfect agreement on the need for a nuclear test ban, their desire to strengthen Seattle's already powerful sister city program, and on economic conversion, improving the city's international trade relations and divesting the city's pension funds



St Paul, (MN) Councilmember Bob Long

NO CRUISING IN MAINE

IN A NOVEMBER 7TH VOTE, 52 PERCENT OF MAINE'S VOTERS APPROVED A NON-binding referendum urging Governor John McKernan Jr. and the state's congressional delegation to work for an end to the Navy's cruise missile test-flights over the state. McKernan, who opposed the measure, announced two days later that he had contacted the state's U.S. senators and two congressional representatives, as well as the state Attorney General and the U.S. Department of the Navy.

Referendum supporters, including a coalition of four Maine peace groups, focused on arms control, rather than on the local health and safety of cruise missile testing. Eric Johnson, manager for the Campaign for the Cruise Missile Referendum, argues that the cruise missile is "the particular weapon standing in the way of START negotiations. Five thousand Soviet nuclear missiles could be wiped out if we got rid of the cruise missile. We're no safer with cruise."

The Navy's director of public affairs for the cruise missile project, Bob Holsapple, predicts the vote will have no impact. "It would be fair to say the Navy will work closely with state and local officials to address the concerns of the citizens of Maine," Holsapple says. "But we plan to continue testing. We have to continue on with our plans to train our sailors."

The Navy currently tests cruise missiles in Alaska, California, Florida, Nevada, and Utah, as well.

The referendum's supporters unleashed "a real grassroots campaign," says John Nelson, a Freeport city councilor and member of the coalition. "We had people walking door-to-door" during the several months leading up to election day. He added that the campaign was supported through "very small" private contributions, the largest of which was a single donation of \$1,000.

Pentagon campaign spending reports were unavailable at press time. The Campaign for the Cruise Missile Referendum has filed a Freedom of Information Act request with the Pentagon, asking for details about Department spending during the campaign.

Navy representatives changed their strategy several times during the course of the campaign, says Nelson. "At first, they were saying we had no right to interject ourselves into federal issues, that we were trivializing the initiative process," Nelson says. In the end, "the military [public relations] guys did talk about the missile."

And what they said, Nelson says, may have infuriated voters. Nelson says Navy spokespersons argued that "it didn't matter what the people of Maine said, they'd keep on testing the cruise missile until someone higher up told them to stop. I don't know what they mean by 'higher up.'"

Johnson, the campaign manager, says the initiative's success is "a good bellwether of popular sentiments." Not satisfied with the slow pace of arms control, he says, Maine voters "are sending a clear message to Washington. I think this is reflective of the frustration of people across the United States with high levels of military spending... in a time of lessening international tensions."

SOURCES: Eric Johnson, Coalition for the Cruise Missile Referendum (207-772-0680); Bob Holsapple, Department of the Navy (202-692-0565).



WALKING THE LINE.

Seattle Mayor Norm Rice, right, walking in a Machinists Union strike march, with Jesse Jackson. "We are brothers and sisters of the world," Rice said during a foreign policy debate.

from firms at work in South Africa.

Nor was the debate seen as a partisan attempt to hamstring the more conservative, Republican candidate Jewett. Though organized by Washington State SANE/Freeze, the Metropolitan Democratic Club and Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility, the debate provided Jewett with an opportunity to, in the words of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, "strut his liberal credentials on foreign policy and peace issues before a gathering of liberal Democratic activists," many of whom had been bothered by Jewett's more conservative views on school busing.

The debate itself suggested that, in Seattle at least, foreign affairs are local issues. "Our future is as an international city," Jewett said. "We are brothers and sisters of the world," Rice said. When someone in the audience accused City Councilmember Rice of "gutting" Seattle's divestment ordi-

nance, Republican contender Jewett came to his opponent's defense, saying city councilmembers — Rice among them — had done their best to write a local law that did not conflict with federal law.

Rice went on to win the race by 16 percent. He is Seattle's first black mayor.

DINKINS SAYS NO HOME PORT

IN NEW YORK, TWO ISSUES — THE homeporting of nuclear warships and U.S.-Israel relations — dominated the mayoral foreign affairs debate.

Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins, who went on to win the race, early on accepted the backing of internationally oriented citizens groups.

In September, welcoming the endorsement of Voters for a Nuclear Free New York, Dinkins promised that, as mayor, he would "do everything in my power" to block city funds to facili-

tate the construction or operation of a proposed Navy homeport for the battleship Iowa. Dinkins also promised "to scrap the [homeport] emergency preparedness plan" prepared during the Koch administration, and said he would "take our case to Washington and fight to see that the project be discontinued. I guarantee that my election as mayor will be a turning point in our campaign to keep New York Harbor a nuclear-free harbor."

By summer's end, Voters for a Nuclear Free New York had collected the signatures of 50,000 New Yorkers promising to vote only for local candidates opposed to the porting of nuclear-capable Navy ships. In the days before November 7, the organization contacted signers, urging them to vote for a local slate that included councilmembers Ruth Messinger, Elizabeth Holtzman and Miriam Friedlander, and a candidate for Brooklyn District Attorney, Charles Hynes.

JIM LEVITT / IMPACT VISUALS

Dinkins and mayoral opponent Rudolph Giuliani both appealed to New York's numerous Jewish voters, most often by endorsing continuing U.S. support for Israel. "It was," says one New York City official, "just playing to the audience. What else would you call it?"

But the bland endorsements of support for Israel were spiced up when, in the weeks before election day, Giuliani challenged Dinkins to abandon his relationship with Jesse Jackson — whom some U.S. Jews regard as anti-Israel at best and anti-Jewish at worst.

It was a well-calculated move, and one that had some measurable effect, Dinkins insiders say. Andrew Cuomo, the New York governor's son and a Dinkins adviser, told the *New York Times*, "There's no doubt that Rudy's negative campaigning took its toll." And Norman Adler, political consultant to a New York labor union endorsing Dinkins, conceded that Dinkins' take of the Jewish vote — about 40 percent — was smaller than the campaign had predicted.

"I guess we were wrong on the Jews," Adler said.

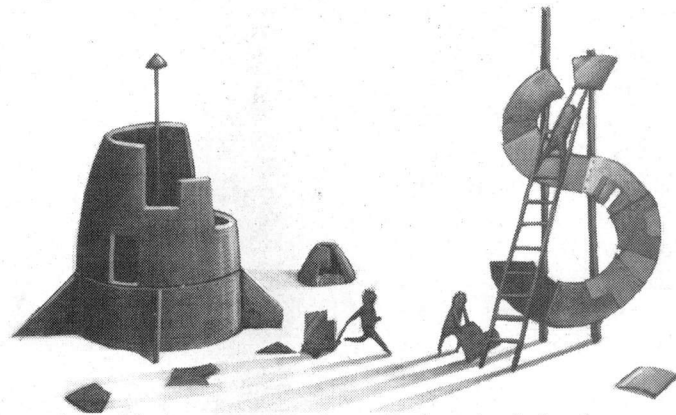
Dinkins had better luck with another sizable New York ethnic group, the city's significant Haitian population. Dinkins pointed to Giuliani's stint with the U.S. Justice Department, and to Giuliani's legal finding while at the Justice Department that Haitian refugees were economic, rather than political, refugees. That finding made the majority of Haitians in the U.S. illegal immigrants, and led to mass jailings of U.S. Haitian refugees. At least one New York City public official believes that bit of intelligence turned New York's middle class Haitians into an unusually active political constituency.

SOURCES: Bob Long, St. Paul City Council (612-298-4473); Alice Wolf, Cambridge City Council (617-498-9094); Neil Modie and Darrell Glover, "An agreeable day for Rice and Jewett," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 3, 1989, p. B6; John Miller, Voters for a Nuclear Free New York (718-788-6071); Sam Roberts, "How Dinkins Almost Lost at the Wire," *New York Times* national edition, November 9, 1989, p. A21; Bruce Rosen, Office of Planning, New York City (212-720-3463).

NEW HAVEN AND TACOMA: "YES" TO MILITARY CUTS

A REFERENDUM IN NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT — ASKING VOTERS WHETHER the military budget should be cut, with funds channeled to cities instead — was a non-binding statement. But judging by the overwhelming 83 percent citizen vote in favor of the measure last November, the sentiment in the community for slashing Pentagon spending could hardly have been more persuasive.

The referendum, placed on the ballot by the Board of Aldermen, asked if "more federal tax dollars should be given to New Haven and other cities for affordable housing, transportation, drug abuse prevention and treatment, quality education, job training, health care, child care, and programs



for elderly and disabled people." It also called on the federal government to "guarantee conversion from military to civilian production without loss of jobs or income."

The ballot measure was initially brought to the aldermen by the New Haven Peace Commission, which had held hearings on the impact of the federal budget on social services in New Haven. Thomas R. Holahan, commission chair, says there was no organized opposition to the referendum, and it was supported by Mayor Biagio Dilieto and many of the city's Democratic ward committees.

In the November election in Tacoma, Washington, 65 percent of the voters cast their ballots in support of a ballot initiative calling for reductions in Pentagon spending. The measure asked the mayor to inform the President, as well as Washington State's representatives in Congress, that Tacoma's citizens support a shift of 10 percent of the military budget to domestic needs and deficit reduction.

Michael Collier of Sixth Sense, who co-chaired the campaign to pass the measure, says 4,300 signatures were collected to bring the issue to a public vote. During the election campaign, about \$7,000 was spent to rally support for the initiative, with funds being channeled into billboards, as well as leaflets passed out during community canvassing.

The *Tacoma News-Tribune*, the only newspaper in the city, published an editorial opposing the measure, arguing that the military budget was already being reduced.

SOURCES: Thomas Holahan, New Haven Peace Commission, 769 Whitney Ave., New Haven, CT 06511 (203-782-9332); Michael Collier, Sixth Sense, 2603 1/2 Sixth Ave., Tacoma, WA 98406 (206-272-5204).

SHARING THE FILTH

As U.S. corporations shift production south of the U.S.-Mexican border, a host of environmental and human problems erupt in the north and south.

WHEN WALL STREET JOURNAL reporter Sonia Nazario traveled the U.S.-Mexican border last summer, she hoped to explore “production-sharing” — the assembling of foreign-made, usually U.S.-made, components in Mexican border towns. What she discovered was a story of industrial neglect that rivals Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle*.

The florescence of foreign-owned factories, or *maquiladoras*, along the Mexican side of the border has its origins in the global search for cheap labor. Components produced in the U.S. — or in France, Japan, or elsewhere — are shipped to Mexico for assembly in cheap-labor factories. Finished products are shipped back to the U.S. at substantial savings. “Duty is paid only on the value added by the Mexican labor, which is dirt cheap,” Nazario reports.

The *maquiladoras* have shaved the unemployment rate from “40 percent in some border towns to almost nothing. . . . But their very success is helping turn much of the border region into a sinkhole of abysmal living conditions and environmental degradation.”

Sinkhole, indeed. And communities on either side of the border are beginning to feel the sinkhole’s ineluctable tug.

■ Every day, Tijuana, one of the border’s fastest growing cities, sends 8 to 12 million gallons of human waste into the Tijuana River — a “murky green ribbon of slime and stench” that winds north across the border into San Diego County. The Tijuana River has turned a U.S. wildlife refuge “into a biological desert.”

■ El Paso’s water supply has been sucked dry by its booming neighbor to the south, Juarez. El Paso “also shares the air with Mexico,” and, so, stands no chance of meeting federal air

— 120 miles north of the border — “20 new strains of pathogenic viruses and bacteria, including three strains of polio” have floated into the U.S. on the New River, products of rapid industrialization across the border.

Several factory owners “say they are in Mexico to make profits and that infrastructure is Mexico’s problem, not theirs,” Nazario notes. And Nogales, Mexico, Mayor Leobardo Gil Torres claims he’s unable to change that attitude. “We are not in a position to scare these companies away,” he says. “We are in a crisis, you see. What do we do if these companies leave?”

It’s a question local officials on the other side of the border are loathe to ask themselves — a question that pits environmental and humanitarian concerns against public and private profits. In cities like Tucson, San Diego, and El Paso, local governments are cultivating south-of-the-border *maquiladoras* for a simple reason: All those finished goods need north-of-the-border warehouses, and the companies that produce those products need nearby offices and communications centers. That means revenue for local governments.

“This place would take a terrible hit” if the *maquiladoras* did not exist, says *El Paso Times* business and political writer David Crowder. The threat of an economic downturn is what assures El Paso’s support — private and official — for *maquiladoras*. (At least one El Paso official claimed the city had no formal interest in *maquiladoras*. Other sources pointed out that city funds make their way to the



quality standards.

“Air doesn’t stop at the border,” El Paso’s chief of environmental and community health services told Nazario. “We’re just spinning our wheels over here.”

■ In San Elizario, Texas, an aquifer shared with a Mexican community has been so contaminated that 35 percent of children under eight, and 90 percent of adults under 35, have contracted Hepatitis A.

■ In Imperial County, California

maquilas indirectly — from the city's coffers, through the city's public airport agency and, finally, to the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), a private, non-profit corporation that works with potential maquila owners.)

A NECESSARY EVIL

"MAQUILADORAS ARE ABOUT THE ONLY thing El Paso has going for it," Crowder says. "They are a necessary evil, a mixed blessing. Almost no one will tell you any differently."

Bill Cline is one local official who will tell you differently. Cline, director of Tucson, Arizona's Division of International Programs, speaks in effusive terms about the benefits of maquiladoras. Part of the reason may be public revenue. "About 15 percent of our manufacturing employment in Tucson is now related to Maquila," Cline says. Reports like Nazario's, he adds — reports "of dreaded working conditions" — are "figments of someone's imagination."

Although he has not read the *Wall Street Journal* account, Cline says he has toured a variety of maquiladoras. "I can say in all sincerity that I have yet to encounter the conditions [critics like Nozario] are talking about," he told the Bulletin.

But Sandi Browne, executive assistant for economic and marketing development to El Paso Mayor Susie Azar, says the people crowding around Juarez's maquiladoras create pressing environmental problems for both communities. On cold mornings, sitting in her office in El Paso, five minutes from Juarez, she can see clouds of black smoke rising from the *Colonias* — the squatters camps that ring the foreign-owned factories.

"Environmentally," Browne says, "we have problems with or without maquilas. It's difficult to go, 'Okay, this is Mexico's problem, and this one's ours.' Our environment is their environment, and theirs is ours."

The problems produced along the
see Filth, page 20

ON THE BORDER

ELSA SAXOD LIVES ON THE EDGE — "OF THE UNITED STATES, OF CALIFORNIA, of the Pacific Rim," she says. Every day, her office, the Mayor's Office of Binational Affairs in San Diego, California, deals with issues unfolding along the U.S.-Mexican border between her city and Tijuana, Mexico, just minutes away.

"San Diego-Tijuana is one region," Saxod says. "We share the same water, air, fog, and sometimes the same sewage."

Even the populations are increasingly indistinguishable, says University of California Professor Jaime Rodriguez. The rising number of Mexicans living and working in places like San Diego, Rodriguez says, "simply continues a pattern of migration first established centuries ago."

So it was natural that local elected officials from the two cities — representing a metropolitan population of 3.5 million — began acting in concert on a variety of fronts.

It hasn't always been that way, Saxod says. Until 1986, most folks in both cities acted as if the national border was impermeable. When relations were established between the cities, they were generally personal relations — relations that ended with the end of an official's tenure on the city council. But in 1986, "there was a sense that we had a growing, booming community to the south of us — and not very good communication between us," Saxod says. That year, the San Diego city council established the Office of Binational Affairs. Two years later the office was transferred from the city manager's office to the mayor's office — "to enable the [Binational Affairs] Office to represent itself as an extension of the chief elected official of the city," Saxod says.

In March 1988, Saxod's office organized a joint meeting of the San Diego and Tijuana city councils. That meeting — "unprecedented," Saxod calls it, "historic" — produced a variety of initiatives on environmental, drug trafficking, education, emergency services, and immigration issues.

"The symbolism [of that meeting] is very important," Saxod says. Gone in an evening were ideas about the political separateness of the two growing communities. But more important than the symbolism was the fact of cooperation itself.

The joint meeting in September, which will be followed by regular meetings of city staffs and elected officials, "institutionalized a way of communicating," she says. Saxod's office has coordinated joint meetings of the cities' police and business leaders. And, when the Tijuana Mayor's office switched hands last fall, incoming Mayor Carlos Montejó asked the San Diego Office of Binational Affairs for a briefing on border issues and cooperation. Montejó and Saxod have since arranged meetings between heads of the city officials responsible for recycling, water and sewage.

The connection has already paid off for San Diego, Saxod claims. Tijuana's city government is, quite naturally, expert in reaching Spanish-speaking citizens; San Diego is less so.

In one of the joint meetings, Mexican officials passed along to their U.S. counterparts "materials and techniques they use all the time" in

see Border, page 20

BORDER

from page 19

their everyday work with Spanish-speaking citizens.

The prospect of such cooperation clearly goes beyond public policy. "We can sit together at one table," Saxod says, "and we're going to unite these cultures."

Saxod's office also arranges cultural exchanges between Tijuana and representatives of other nations who make their way to San Diego. When folk dancers from Soviet Georgia visited San Diego for a "San Diego Arts Festival: Treasures of the Soviet Union,"

Saxod made sure artists from Tijuana were included. On October 22nd, 65,000 San Diegans gathered in Balboa Park for "Superpowers Sunday" and a free look at a Tijuana children's choir, the Russian Faberge Eggs, Soviet chess players, and Mexican folk dancers.

Two weeks later, the Soviets — including their Georgian chefs — joined their counterparts from Tijuana to entertain Mexicans gathered in front of Tijuana's city hall, a moment Saxod earlier predicted would be part of a series of "miniature cultural summit meetings."

The whine of Mexican fiddles, the pounding of Georgian feet, hamburgers, burritos and borscht. What can it all mean?

Perhaps, as Elsa Saxod says, "The border just doesn't matter."

SOURCE: Elsa Saxod, Mayor's Office of Binational Affairs, 1200 Third Avenue, Suite 724, San Diego, CA 92101 (619-533-3940).

FILTH

from page 19

border aren't limited to the natural environment. There are human problems, as well. El Paso reporter Crowder says maquilas are like magnets, drawing Mexico's poor to the border. From there, he says, many workers find irresistible the lure of relatively high-paying jobs north of the border. But mayoral adviser Browne says,

by maquilas," with the money to be used for public works projects. "Maquila operators killed the idea."

Meanwhile, local solutions to the border problems appear limited to addressing symptoms rather than causes.

In El Paso and San Diego, cooperative meetings between local officials and city staffs from both sides of the border may ameliorate the worst envi-



TWO CITIES, ONE GOVERNMENT.

San Diego Mayor Maureen O'Connor's (center) Office of Bi-National Affairs organized the first joint meeting of U.S. and Mexican city councils.

"Maquilas keep people from immigrating. If you have jobs at home, why would you want to move?"

Quality of life might be one reason. Higher wages might be another.

But Cline says the low wages paid maquila workers — about 80 cents an hour — are legislated by the Mexican government. He says factory owners would like to pay more but legally cannot. In the end, Cline says, factory owners have resorted to "income substitutions" — enhancing the quality of life at work and in company housing.

That doesn't square with Nozario's report. She says "the Mexican government last year proposed a 2 percent tax on the annual wages paid

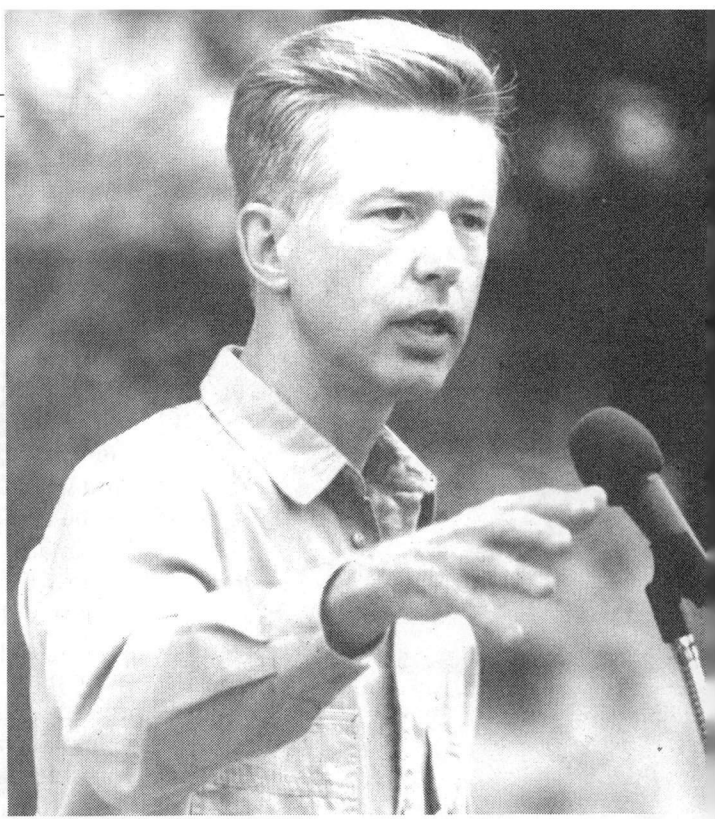
ronmental impacts of maquiladora-induced growth. In Irvine, California, 100 miles north of Mexico — and several hundred miles northwest of its prospective Mexican sister city, Hermosillo — mayoral aide Marco Davanzo says "there's no precedent for local government regulation of maquiladoras." But he also says that Irvine's efforts to cultivate south-of-the-border trade and production relations will "certainly address human rights and environmental issues."

SOURCE: Sonia Nazario, "Boom and Despair," *Wall Street Journal*, September 22, 1989, p. R26; Bill Cline, director, Tucson Division of International Programs (602-791-4911); Sandi Browne, executive assistant to the mayor for economic and marketing development, City of El Paso, Office of the Mayor, 2 Civic Center Plaza, El Paso, TX 79999; Marco Davanzo, Mayor's Office, Irvine, California (714-724-6233).

RAISING CORPORATE CONSCIOUSNESS

The Alaskan oil spill has inspired a corporate code of environmental ethics.

But will the Valdez Principles lead to a "kinder, gentler" regard for the planet?



FOR EXXON, THE VALDEZ OIL SPILL was a serious public relations glitch. For the people, fish, wildlife and natural beauty along the southern coast of Alaska, however, it was an environmental nightmare that will have repercussions for decades.

But in the aftermath of that catastrophe, a new movement has emerged that could curtail what one environmentalist has called "corporate misuse of our air, water and soil." Inspired by the positive effect of the anti-apartheid Sullivan Principles upon the business community, a consortium of environmentalists and social investors — working in conjunction with the stewards of several municipal and state pension funds — has created the Valdez Principles, designed to direct investments in a way to encourage protection of the environment.

The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies (CERES), comprised of 14 environmental organizations and the 325 professional members of the Social Investment Forum — has drafted the new guidelines. "This new code is a tool to influence corporate culture and conduct around the environment through the flow of capital," says Joan Bavaria, CERES co-chair.

The ten principles address the release of pollutants, sustainable use of

natural resources, reduction and disposal of hazardous waste, energy efficiency and conservation, and risk reduction to employees and surrounding communities. They also encourage the marketing of safe products and services, damage compensation, disclosure of potential hazards, the inclusion of an environmental representative on corporate boards of directors, and annual corporate environmental audits.

California Controller Gray Davis, a strong supporter of the Valdez Principles, says he will propose the guidelines to the state's retirement systems and to the state legislature. "I believe California and other state pension funds should adopt these standards in their corporate governance-voting policies."

Harrison Goldin, New York City comptroller who leaves office in January 1990, also strongly supports the principles. "Just as the Sullivan and MacBride Principles steer firms toward responsible *social* behavior [in South Africa and Northern Ireland], so, too, should the Valdez Principles guide companies toward responsible *environmental* behavior."

Eric Wollman, a director of the New York City Comptroller's Division of Investment Responsibility, says that as a first step in response to

**California
Controller
Gray Davis
says state
pension funds
should adopt
the
Valdez
Principles.**



Considering financial profits alone may in fact rob us of our ability to have a future.

Joan Bavaria

the principles, the comptroller is writing letters "to the 52 energy companies in our portfolio. The letter deals with our support of the principles, and discusses having an environmentalist on the boards of these companies. And we'll invite discussion."

The comptroller's plans, says Wollman, are to initiate dialogue in the first year; thereafter, the city will look toward shareholder proposals related to the principles, using pension-fund investments as leverage.

Joan Bavaria says that CERES was founded on the belief that "considering financial profits alone when investing savings for our future can blind us to social and environmental costs that may in fact rob us of our ability to have a future." CERES is now circulating the Valdez

Principles among major U.S.-based multinational corporations for their signing.

"The Valdez Principles offer an unprecedented opportunity for corporate America to actively demonstrate to investors and to consumers their commitment to a clean and healthy environment," says California's Gray Davis. "I urge them to seize the opportunity."

Harrison Goldin agrees. "I have every expectation that these new principles will lead to a 'kinder, gentler' regard for the environment by the corporate community."

And how has Exxon responded to the introduction of the Valdez Principles? William Smith, a spokesperson for the oil company, says, "Exxon has always made every effort to conduct its business in an environmentally responsible manner."

SOURCES: CERES Project, c/o The Social Investment Forum, 711 Atlantic Ave., Boston, MA 02111 (617-451-3252); Office of the Comptroller, City of New York, 1 Center St., New York, NY 10017 (212-669-2012); Gray Davis, California State Controller, 6300 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90048 (213-852-5213); Barnaby J. Feder, "Who Will Subscribe to the Valdez Principles?", *New York Times*, September 10, 1989, p. 6F; Laura Castro, "A Matter of Principle," *Newsday*, September 8, 1989; Joan Bavaria, "Business, Clean Up Your Environmental Act!", *Newsday*, September 7, 1989.

EXCERPTS FROM THE VALDEZ PRINCIPLES

■ WE BELIEVE THAT CORPORATIONS must conduct their business as responsible stewards of the environment and seek profits only in a manner that leaves the earth healthy and safe.

■ We will minimize and strive to eliminate the release of any pollutant that may cause environmental damage to the air, water, or earth or its inhabitants. We will safeguard habitats in rivers, lakes, wetlands, coastal zones and oceans and will minimize contributing to the greenhouse effect, depletion of the ozone layer, acid rain, or smog.

■ We will make sustainable use of renewable natural resources, such as water, soils and forests. We will conserve nonrenewable natural resources through efficient use and careful planning. We will protect wildlife habitat, open spaces and wilderness, while preserving biodiversity.

■ We will invest in improved energy efficiency and conservation in our operations. We will maximize the energy efficiency of products we produce or sell.

■ We will disclose to our employees and to the public incidents relating to our operations that cause environmental harm or pose health or safety hazards. We . . . will not take any action against employees who report any condition that creates a danger to the environment or poses health and safety hazards.

■ At least one member of the board of directors will be a person qualified to represent environmental interests. We will commit management resources to implement these principles, including the funding of an office of vice president for environmental affairs or an equivalent executive position, reporting directly to the CEO, to monitor and report upon our implementation efforts.

NOT JUST ANOTHER MEETING

The United Nations has never paid much attention to cities. CID organizer Jeb Brugmann changed that. In June, the two organizations will host the UN's first international gathering of local officials.

LOCAL OFFICIALS FRUSTRATED BY glacial national and international responses to global environmental disasters have a new ally: the United Nations.

In an arrangement worked out between the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), local government representatives from around the world will gather at the United Nations General Headquarters in New York on June 2, 1990, to meet the challenge of the new decade: Acting locally for a sustainable future.

The four-day World Congress of Local Authorities for a Sustainable Future will mark the first international meeting of leaders of the world-wide movement launched less than one year ago. In August 1989, local officials from the U.S. and Canada called for the creation of an international secretariat for local officials working to reduce emissions of ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons and carbon dioxide "greenhouse" gases.

The speed with which the international movement has spread — and now captured the attention of the United Nations — may have to do with CID organizer Jeb Brugmann. Just days after the North American

conference, Brugmann flew to Australia to deliver a speech at the 29th World Congress of International Union of Local Authorities meeting in Perth.

In that speech, Brugmann challenged more than 600 local officials to confront the global environmental threat.

"Friends, the power to secure a future for our societies has never rested so fully in local hands," Brugmann told the officials.

In meetings afterward with officials from 25 nations, Brugmann says, "the Secretariat concept evolved, matured and won broad-based support."

By mid-October, Brugmann had flown across the Soviet Union — where he met with local officials in Soviet Armenia — to West Germany, Belgium, Holland, England and Ireland, meeting with a score of local officials in each country. Those meetings persuaded him that local officials are ready for the secretariat.

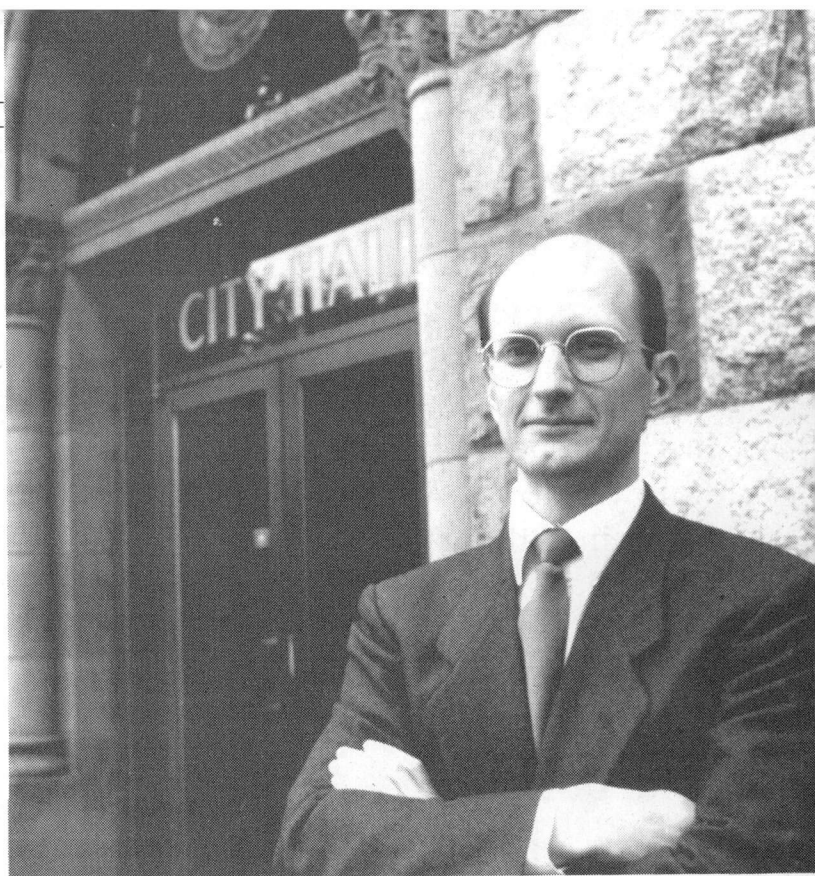
In November, Brugmann approached the United Nations Environment Programme, and cut the deal by which the international agency will lend its support to city-based environmental efforts.

Despite the global nature of the ozone depletion and the greenhouse effect, Brugmann says the causes have local roots and "can only be solved through a restructuring of daily life at the local level."

Brugmann says the UN meeting will serve as "the actual Constitutional Congress of the International Secretariat for Local Environmental Initiatives." The Congress will include two days of workshops on topics ranging from innovations in municipal sewerage treatment and reducing carbon dioxide emissions, to transferring environmental technology to the Third World and planting urban forests in the First.

UNEP plans to use the Congress as a forum for a special UN awards ceremony for municipalities with innovative waste reduction and recycling programs, kicking-off UNEP's "Great Global Clean-up Party" and beginning the UN's 1990 Global Environment Week.

CID and UNEP have invited the International Union of Local Authorities, the City of New York, and the United Nations Development Programme to join as Congress sponsors.



JEB BRUGMANN IN BOSTON.

Global environmental problems "can only be solved through a restructuring of daily life at the local level."

ATMOSPHERIC PROTECTION UPDATE

In This Issue: What the plastics industry doesn't want you to know about HCFC22, Newark joins Irvine in battling CFCs, environmental groups turn to city halls, and more.

by Nancy Skinner

Polystyrene Foam and CFCs

SUCCUMBING TO PRESSURE FROM citizens and environmental groups across the country and faced with product bans passed by over 100 U.S. cities and counties, the plastics industry announced last spring an end to the manufacture of expanded polystyrene foam food packaging produced with CFC 11 or CFC 12. Many communities' plastics packaging laws restrict or ban only those plastics blown with CFC due to the CFC products' harmful effects on atmospheric ozone.

The industry announcement would seem to address the concerns of communities with CFC packaging bans and make those laws unnecessary. But are the alternative blowing agents to CFC 11 and 12 really protecting atmospheric ozone?

Industry sources say they'll use either pentane or HCFC22 as the blowing agent in polystyrene foam food packaging. While pentane is not an upper atmospheric ozone depletor, it does contribute to the production of lower atmospheric ozone, a dangerous component of urban smog.

HCFC22, while not as powerful an ozone depletor as CFC11 or 12, is still an ozone depleting compound — a fact industry lobbyists and Montreal Protocol signers have tried to hide. During the Protocol negotia-



tions in 1987, several countries refused to sign unless HCFC22 was exempted from the list of restricted ozone depletors.

Tim Gilpin, a researcher with Dr. F. Sherwood Rowland's lab in the Chemistry Department at the University of California, Irvine, says HCFC22's ozone depleting potential is one-tenth that of CFC11. Allowing firms to convert to HCFC22 will slow the process of industrial conversion, he argues. In the long run, Gilpin says, "it's much better...to substitute a compound with no ozone depletion potential because that's the goal you want in the end. It makes business sense. Why convert a factory or manufacturing process to a substance [like HCFC22] which in 10 or so years you'll have to convert from again?"

Yet plastics manufacturers, the food packaging industry, and many government sources are now touting the new polystyrene foam as environmentally benign. In fact, the industry announcement and heavy lobbying have successfully halted passage of plastics packaging restrictions in numerous cities and counties since last spring.

To effectively eliminate packaging made with ozone depleting compounds, cities should check the definitions in their ordinances to ensure that they cover all known ozone

depletors, not just those addressed by the Montreal Protocols.

News from the States

JEFFREY TRYENS OF THE NATIONAL Center for Policy Alternatives in Washington, D.C., reports that eight states (California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Illinois, Maine, Missouri, Oregon, Vermont) enacted legislation aimed at addressing ozone depletion and global warming during their 1989 legislative sessions. Unfortunately some of the most promising legislation was either stalled, in the case of Connecticut, or in California, vetoed at the governor's desk.

Although Vermont's law banning the sale of new cars with air conditioners containing CFCs is the best known of the 1989 legislation, Hawaii was the first state to enact a comprehensive ozone depletion reduction program. Hawaii Senate Bill 1344 prohibits the sale of less than fifteen pounds of refrigerants and requires recovery of CFCs by air conditioner and refrigerant repair facilities.

Also in 1989, the Maine legislature enacted the first ever ban on CFC foam board for household insulation — with the caveat that the law goes into effect only when alternative blowing agents are available.

Peter Washburn from the Natural Resources Council of Maine indicated that the Maine Petroleum Association testified at the legislative hearings that approved substitute blowing agents would be available by July 1990. According to Washburn, the Natural Resources Council is "very happy about the responsiveness of the Maine state legislature to these environmental and atmospheric problems, and we're encouraging the state to continue with effective CFC controls."

Banning CFC-manufactured

food packaging was the focus of the remaining state laws passed in 1989. Oregon's law bans the packaging but also requires reduction in the release of halons from the testing of fire extinguishers. In California, the good news is that, in spite of a reluctant governor, a comprehensive Environmental Protection Initiative is now in the signature-gathering phase, and there are hopes it may qualify for the November 1990 ballot. The initiative calls for the phasing out of ozone

Local Governments: The Movement Grows

ONE YEAR AGO, THE ONLY OZONE protection measure even considered by U.S. cities was restrictions on plastic packaging. Today, two major U.S. cities have passed significant and comprehensive laws banning ozone depleting compounds within their jurisdictions. The movement among local governments to "think globally and act locally," especially on environmental problems, is



depleting chemicals by 1997 and addresses pesticide use, global warming, reforestation, oil spill prevention and clean water standards.

A complete listing of all the state bills filed in 1989 can be obtained for \$15 from Jeffrey Tryens at the National Center for Policy Alternatives, 2000 Florida Ave. N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20009. To obtain a copy of California's Environmental Protection Initiative, contact the California League of Conservation Voters, 965 Mission Street, Suite 705, San Francisco, CA 94103.

growing by leaps and bounds.

On October 4, 1989, Newark — New Jersey's largest city — became the second U.S. city to pass a comprehensive restriction on the manufacture, sale and use of CFCs and other ozone damaging compounds (ODCs). In a symbolic gesture, the ordinance — modeled after Irvine, California's — takes effect on Earth Day, April 22, 1990.

"Newark is part of a historic movement where our nation's cities are taking the initiative in attempting to solve global environmental problems on a local level," said Mayor Sharpe James. "Since the sources of

Since the sources of ozone-damaging chemicals are found largely in cities, it makes sense to ban their production and use at the source.

Mayor Sharpe James
Newark, New Jersey

ozone-damaging chemicals are found largely in cities, it makes sense to ban their production and use at the source."

Earlier this year, Newark's ban on food packaging containing CFCs took effect. With both these laws in effect on Earth Day 1990, Newark can proudly boast of being the city with the lowest release of ODCs in the country.

In the Boston area, Congressman Joe Kennedy is encouraging all the cities in his district to restrict ODCs. In an unprecedented move, his office sent a newsletter explaining global warming and ozone depletion to every household in Kennedy's congressional district. Received by over 250,000 households, the newsletter also advises citizens on what they can do as individuals to address these problems.

Taking the lead in Kennedy's district, Cambridge City Councilmember Frank Duehay has introduced an ordinance which would phase out CFC13 and methyl chloroform, require the recovery and recycling of freon from auto air conditioners and refrigerators and ban CFC party streamers, noise horns and cleaning solutions for consumer use. The ordinance is in committee, but passage is expected by the first of the year.

Dr. Carl D. Phaffenberger, a staff member of Dade County, Florida's Department of Environmental Resource Management, announced that Dade County has recently switched from using an ozone depleting solvent for cleaning the city's circuit boards to an ODC-free alternative. They are also participating in a campaign to counter global warming. The campaign includes "Project ReLeaf," to plant trees in new parks and low-income areas of Miami.

Citizens initiating these efforts include Dade County Commissioner Harvey Ruvin and Marjorie Stone-man Douglas, founder of Friends of

the Everglades.

Minneapolis, Minnesota, Councilmember Carol Johnson has been quite busy on the atmospheric protection front. This fall, she is presenting the resolution developed at the Stratospheric Protection Accords (SPA) Conference to the Board of the Minnesota League of Cities.

The resolution calls for a local government ban on ODCs by 1992. Johnson expressed concern that the 1992 date may be an obstacle, but feels the resolution will pass handily if 1992 is changed to "implementation by the earliest possible date."

At the National League of Cities (NLC) meeting in Atlanta in late November, city officials adopted a resolution introduced by Chicago Alderman David Orr — a resolution developed at the SPA Conference in Irvine last July. The resolution calls on U.S. local governments to ban the production and use of ozone-depleting chemicals, and endorses the efforts of the International Union of Local Authorities — a kind of international NLC — to establish a new international environmental agency comprised of local governments.

Environmental Organizations Join the Focus on Local Government

THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL organization Clean Water Action has joined in the campaign to get localities to take action to reduce ozone depletion. Utilizing their 21 regional offices covering 12 states and Washington D.C., John Scott of Clean Water Action's New Hampshire office sees this "as a real opportunity to test the role that community-level democracy can play in solving environmental problems."

Brigid Shea, Clean Water's national coordinator for the Local Initiatives on Ozone Depletion, has

been working with citizens and city officials in Austin, Texas; Denver, Colorado and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. She says the purpose of the campaign is to "work with as many elected officials as possible in cities and states across the country to pass Irvine-style ordinances to protect the earth's ozone shield."

Clean Water staff are working with all sectors of the local community to develop and implement appropriate ordinances. In Austin, they have met with business-user groups, including high-tech firms, to identify concerns and address the economic and job loss issues that could impact the community. Clean Water believes that ordinances such as Irvine's can be designed to eliminate ODCs while at the same time benefiting the economic well-being of the community. As John Scott puts it, "If the efforts are consciously designed with these two goals, then it is possible to protect jobs and the economy while also protecting the ozone layer." For information on Clean Water Action's campaign, contact Brigid Shea in the Austin, Texas office at 512-443-1287.

Greenpeace's Atmosphere Campaign was launched in January 1989. Greenpeace has staff working on three levels: advocates attending every meeting of the Montreal Protocols negotiation process, lobbyists working the halls of Congress in support of HR 2699, the Stratospheric Ozone Protection Act, and regional coordinators to assist local government actions and pressure CFC producing companies.

Greenpeace is currently researching the toxicity of the various CFC substitutes. "There are problems that aren't being anticipated vis-a-vis the toxicity of various CFC substitutes currently being recommended," says Greenpeace's CFC Campaign Coordinator Erik Johnson. "We don't want people to presume that they can just replace CFCs with chemicals that have serious toxico-

logical problems. We believe that there are safe substitutes available." The study will be available in January 1990. Contact Erik Johnson, Greenpeace, Fort Mason, Bldg. E, San Francisco, CA 94123.

Clearinghouse Expansion: CFC Materials Available Now

PARTICIPANTS AT THE SPA CONFERENCE asked my Berkeley City Council office to meet the need for informational materials designed especially for elected officials interested in pursuing ordinances that ban or restrict ODCs. My office already coordinates a clearinghouse on plastics and packaging reduction that distributes packets to interested citizens and elected officials containing model ordinances, industry arguments and rebuttals, and public testimony.

The clearinghouse has now expanded, with three new packets focused on ozone depletion available. The first packet contains copies of the ordinances passed in Irvine, Toronto, and Newark, the draft ordinance proposed for Denver, Colorado, the laws passed by Vermont and Hawaii and Berkeley's amendment to the "right-to-know" or hazardous materials disclosure law that requires disclosure of the use of ODCs.

The packet also includes step-by-step suggestions on how communities should proceed in developing and implementing their ordinances. The second packet includes comprehensive fact sheets and background articles on the earth's ozone shield and the effects of ozone depleting compounds. The third packet focuses on CFC recovery and recycling, including lists of industrial recyclers and manufacturers of CFC recovery units.

To order packets, write or call Councilmember Nancy Skinner, 2180 Milvia Street, Berkeley, CA 94704 (415-644-6359).

**Clean Water
believes that
CFC bans can
benefit the
local
economy.**

WALL FALLS ON PENTAGON

Changes in Eastern Europe may put an end to \$300 billion military budgets. But how much are we likely to save? And are the nation's cities and towns likely to see any of it?



SHIA photo / IMPACT VISUALS

HOW LOW CAN YOU GO?

The *Economist* says Defense Secretary Cheney's proposed Pentagon cuts are "modest." That's bad news for the nation's cities.

MYTHS DIE HARD. BUT THE myth that U.S. and Soviet governments could never peaceably co-exist has died more easily than the U.S. military budget it produced.

Flying off to a meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev last December, President George Bush went to great lengths to dampen any enthusiasm about the Mediterranean discussions. "I am not going to go off and prematurely jump out there and try to grandstand," Bush said.

But just a day after his meeting with Gorbachev, Bush himself conceded that changes in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union might indeed yield a modest "peace dividend" in the form of Pentagon budget cuts. Still, Bush told reporters, any savings from the military budget would go toward easing the federal deficit, rather than toward government social programs.

"There isn't a lot of excess money," Bush said.

Indeed not.

Nor will there be so long as Defense Secretary Richard Cheney has his way. Cheney has already proposed military budget cuts he de-

scribes as "deep," but which the *Economist* magazine said amount to little more than a cancellation of planned Pentagon increases, plus a modest reduction of \$50 billion over five years. That would leave the military budget at about \$300 billion — roughly twice its 1980 size.

The Administration's circumspect approach to the military budget doesn't sit well with local officials weary of the decade-long struggle for declining federal revenue. And those officials are backed by a growing number of economists who say deep cuts in military spending aren't just possible — they're essential to the nation's security.

RUMBLINGS ON MAIN STREET

CAMBRIDGE (MA) COUNCILOR ALICE Wolf has seen the change among her counterparts. In the past Wolf often found herself alone in her criticism of federal budget priorities. But at a November gathering of the Massachusetts Municipal Association, Wolf was herself surprised by the upsurge of concern about national priorities.

During a discussion of Massachusetts' dire economic circumstances, local officials began asking questions

Wolf has been asking for years.

"Suddenly, there were all these people saying, 'We have to do something about the military budget,' and 'Why are we spending so much in Europe when we've got problems at home?'" Wolf remembers. "These are city managers — very conservative people — and local officials saying this. I was thrilled."

Ann Higgins, the League of Minnesota Cities' federal liaison, says her organization probably won't take action anytime soon on the military budget. "Individual cities have been more active in speaking out in their own behalf, rather than bringing it all the way here to the league," Higgins says. With the demise of the Berlin Wall, those cities are likely to speak out more aggressively. They'll have to, she says, if they expect to make any headway on pressing urban problems.

"We've got solutions," she says. "But we need money to keep them going." And that means taking "a stern look" at the military budget — an interest Higgins says she shares with fellow delegates to the November National League of Cities (NLC) Congress in Atlanta.

At the Congress, says Portland (OR) City Commissioner and NLC

Board Member Mike Lindberg, the end of the Cold War became the center of board discussions.

"In all my time at the NLC, I never saw more exciting possibilities, in terms of us having creative and effective input into federal policies," Lindberg says. "It was a fascinating meeting...There was an awareness that the end of the Cold War meant there is a potential for significant reductions in the military budget" — and an awareness of what those cuts might mean for cities.

The wide-ranging consideration of military spending and local revenue needs, Lindberg says, is symbolic of a change in the nationwide organization of city officials.

"It was a real step forward for the NLC," he says. And it was punctuated by the passage of a Federal Budget Priorities resolution which notes that the change in "the world [political] climate supports careful scrutiny of the defense budget." The resolution commits NLC members to an educational program that would "highlight the connection between the reduction of funds for people services and for development of economic services" on the one hand and "the defense budget" on the other.

Though the resolution also commends the NLC for "valiantly" fighting to preserve federal social programs, Lindberg says the November Congress marked a dramatic shift in that fight.

"The NLC hasn't been that aggressive before," Lindberg says. "In past years, we've just been fighting to hold our own. Now I think we're really adding to the process."

A PLACE AT THE TABLE

BUT "ADDING TO THE PROCESS" IS JUST the beginning for the NLC. In the all-important budget debates on Capitol Hill, cities must, as Frank Shafroth, director of federal relations for the National League of Cities, says, act more aggressively than they have in the past. While "it's effective and good

to let Congressional delegations know our concerns," Shafroth says he hopes the NLC will develop some specific proposals for federal officials. "It's important for cities to have a place at the table, with a placard in front of them that says 'cities,' so that we can be sure this is a deliberate, thoughtful [budget] process rather than a half-assed process," Shafroth says.

But no one seems to know quite how, and with what leverage, local officials might approach Capitol Hill. Like others, Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode says he supports "a

reduction in defense spending in light of the truly inspiring developments in Eastern Europe" and the transfer of those funds to "our internal security needs in the areas of drugs, housing, homelessness, AIDS, mass transportation and other areas." Goode promises to take up the struggle over the budget by "working in concert with my fellow mayors through organizations such as the U.S. Conference of Mayors."

WILL GRAMM-RUDMAN TKO PEACE DIVIDEND?

OTHER OFFICIALS SAY MUCH THE SAME:

HE IS HERE TO PUMP U.S. UP

AS FEDERAL BUDGET NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE INTO THE NEW YEAR, SOME despair of ever seeing a federal budget that addresses what Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode has called the nation's "internal security."

Bob Musil isn't among them. Musil, executive director of the D.C.-based Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control, is working with a number of federal and local officials, and peace and "human needs" organizations to design a "Budget for a Strong America."



Bob Musil

"Even with the improved international climate," Musil says, "there are still powerful forces arrayed on both sides [of the budget debate]." There are those who want to direct budget savings into deficit reduction, as well as those who want to see the savings poured into human needs programs. So Musil and his supporters have designed a budget they hope will appeal to lawmakers on both sides of aisle.

The proposed budget — which would, over three years, cut \$90 billion from the military budget and send the savings to urban programs as well as to deficit reduction — is "framed to show how much military strength we have left." That, Musil says, ought to appeal to "centrists in the Congress."

Musil says local officials have an important role in the debate: "since they've borne the brunt of [Reagan-era budget] cuts, they're well aware of the needs." He hopes local officials will contact their own federal representatives, raise the issue locally, and urge national organizations like the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors to throw their weight behind the Budget for a Strong America.

SOURCE: Bob Musil, Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control, 1616 P St., N.W., Suite 320, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202-332-4823).

RICK REINHARD

They'll work through groups like the NLC and the U.S. Conference of Mayors to press their agenda with federal officials. But David Jones, Washington representative of the League of California Cities, says the struggle may already be over — and that deficit reduction may win out over increased funding of what the NLC calls "people services."

It will happen automatically. Jones says Gramm-Rudman cuts scheduled to take effect in February can only be put off by a bi-partisan agreement on budget cuts. One year ago, that sort of agreement was possible. Republicans — frightened about the prospects of Gramm-Rudman cuts in military spending — joined with Democrats — frightened about Gramm-Rudman cuts in domestic spending — to work out a budget proposal that met the law's deficit-reduction requirements and, so, avoided the blunt edge of the Gramm-Rudman axe.

And that's how Gramm-Rudman

centive to move on the budget. They know the military budget will be cut; the President has proposed modest Pentagon reductions. So why not let Gramm-Rudman do the president's work, and simultaneously trim domestic programs conservatives want to see cut anyhow?

"If you're really very cynical," Jones says, you might suspect that Congressional conservatives are deliberately dragging their feet in the budget process, knowing that the February cuts will decide the fate of the "peace dividend" automatically.

"When the Berlin Wall fell," Jones concludes ironically, "the people who got hit with the rubble were proponents of domestic spending. With the Gramm-Rudman law in there, I don't know if we [cities] will see the peace dividend."

The NLC's Shafroth says Jones is right on one thing: There's probably "no way" that the nation's cities will see a "peace dividend next year — for political and logistical reasons. There's a lot of stuff in the pipeline, so even once there's a conscious decision by the federal government to turn it off, it's going to be some time before we see a change."

But, Shafroth says, Gramm-Rudman will play no role. While some Republican leaders favored letting Gramm-Rudman slash domestic programs, there is now agreement among "Republican leaders that Gramm-Rudman is a very irresponsible way to set policy," he says.

SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

IF CONGRESS AVOIDS AUTOMATIC budget cuts, if there is room for debate over the peace dividend, that debate is likely to be over relatively meager funds. It is likely to be furious, nonetheless, as advocates of deficit reduction face off against those who favor increased public investment.

Marion Anderson, of Lansing, Michigan-based Employment Research Associates, says any savings ought to go directly to social programs

in the nation's cities and towns.

Anderson, who prepared the U.S. Conference of Mayors' 1988 report, "A Shift in Military Spending," says, "We could again put this country really on the map as the leading industrial nation, instead of falling behind and being bought up by Japan and other countries which is currently happening to us. We could really be out front in a very, very big way."

Gordon Adams, director of the Defense Budget Project, says some federal funds should be directed toward the few local economies adversely affected by military cutbacks — a goal Portland's Lindberg says the NLC will likely press on Capitol Hill. Adams says the federal government has a role to play in local conversion initiatives — a role it has often shirked in the past.

"States and localities have evolved development planning assistance programs, public and private, in this decade, while federal policy has gone in the opposite direction: Only minimal funding through the Economic Development Administration remains," Adams recently wrote in the *New York Times*. "An important federal initiative in response to the Cheney proposals would be a planning assistance program for communities affected by cutbacks."

But others insist there won't be enough. MIT political scientist William W. Kaufmann says, "We have demands now that amount to, I'd say, over the decade, roughly four to five trillion," Kaufmann says. "So, defense may contribute, but it's not going to solve infrastructure. It's not going to solve the deficit. It's not going to solve child care, etcetera, etcetera. There's just not going to be enough."

SOURCES: Councilmember Alice Wolf, Cambridge City Council (617-498-9094); Ann Higgins, League of Minnesota Cities, 183 University Avenue East, St. Paul, MN 55101; Commissioner Mike Lindberg, City Hall, 1220 S.W. 5th #414, Portland, OR 97204; National League of Cities, National Budget Priorities Resolution (Resolution #15); Mayor Wilson Goode, Mayor's Office, City Hall, Philadelphia, PA 19107; Marion Anderson, Employment Research Associates, 115 West Allegan Street, Suite 810, Lansing, MI 48933; Gordon Adams, Defense Budget Project, 236 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., #301, Washington, D.C. 20002; National Public Radio, "All Things Considered," November 30, 1989.



BRINGING IT HOME.

Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode wants the feds to address "internal security"

is supposed to work: Automatic cuts ought to inspire horror in conservatives and liberals alike. It is, Jones notes, a kind of budgetary "mutually assured destruction." But the opening of the Berlin Wall changed that. Now, Jones says, conservatives lack the in-

JOHN JERNEGAN / IMPACT VISUALS

PERESTROIKA MEANS CHANGES FOR U.S. CITIES

The writing might have been on the wall. But now the Wall itself is gone. Today local governments are looking for smooth transitions to the economy of the 1990s.

AS TENSIONS BETWEEN THE superpowers decline, and the soaring federal debt calls loudly for cutbacks in military expenditures, some communities have begun to confront the reality of the 1990s, and are finding ways for a smooth transition to a peace-oriented economy.

Last November, the San Diego Economic Conversion Council (SDECC) hosted Congressional hearings on the local impact of reductions in defense spending. And Max Schetter, vice president of the economic research bureau of the Greater San Diego Chamber of Commerce, could barely find a positive word to say: "A shift away from the military would have a very adverse impact on the region. Some companies will be able to adapt fairly easily and some will not be able to adapt at all. We could see employment reductions and some companies may go out of business."

According to Schetter, military contracts awarded to local firms dipped 13 percent between 1987 and 1988 alone. "So far, we're coping with it," said Schetter, but he warned that a recession could be on the horizon if Congress imposes a nationwide 10

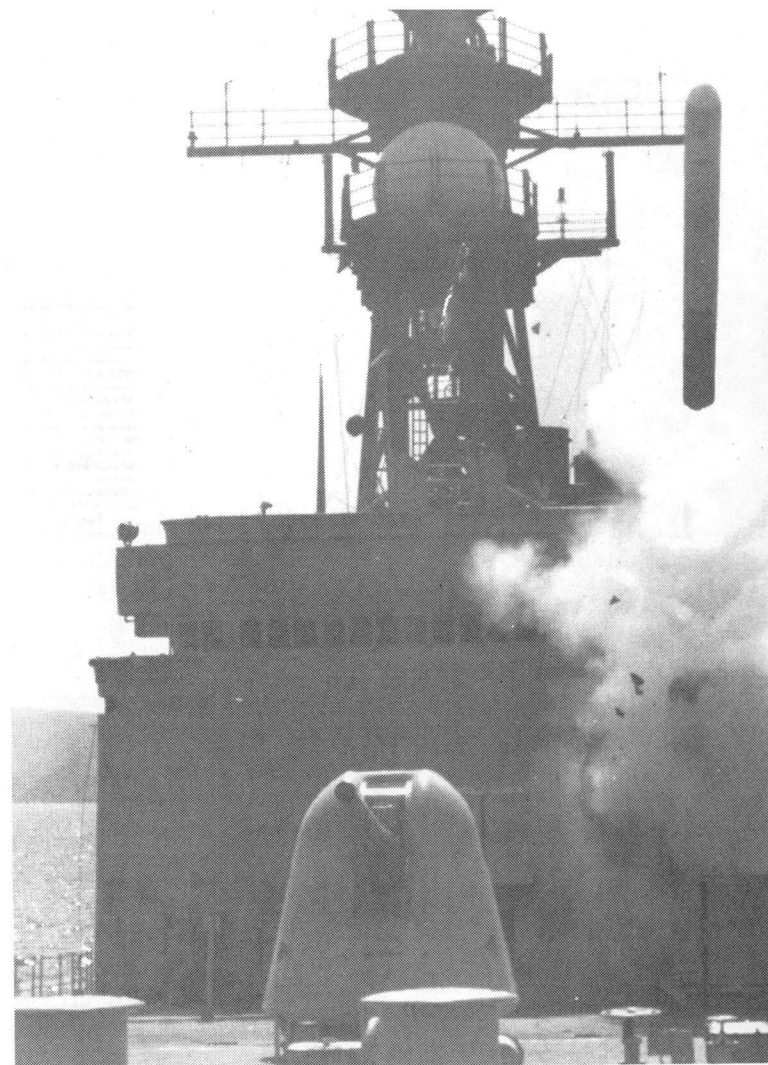
percent reduction in military programs.

Rep. Jim Bates, who chaired the SDECC hearings, has urged Pentagon-dependent cities like San Diego to prepare in positive ways for changing times. Military spending cuts will "inevitably increase in the 1990s," but he notes that through economic conversion planning, freed-up resources could be shifted to "other critical areas of concern, such as upgrading the infrastructure."

CUTS BOOST ECONOMY

SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS IN THE HEARINGS agreed that the nation's changing priorities could create important opportunities if businesses and citizens rise to the occasion. University of San Diego economist Joan Anderson said that though Pentagon cuts would create short-term and difficult problems, they could also produce long-term gains.

The Center for Economic Priorities has helped put the challenge of conversion into perspective with a



BOOM TURNS TO BUST.

A General Dynamics Tomahawk cruise missile is fired from the deck of the USS Merrill. The missile is manufactured in San Diego.

study of two regions strongly dependent on military contracts (California and Long Island, NY), and another region that isn't (Illinois) — how they will be affected, and how they may respond to shifting national priorities

The study found that three Southern California counties — Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego — are tightly intertwined with Pentagon spending, but times are changing. Military aircraft orders have declined 61 percent over the last two years alone. McDonnell Douglas has forced 5,000 Los Angeles employees to tender their resignations; Hughes and Northrop have let 9,000 employees go.

But the commercial aircraft industry is booming, thanks to the need for the world's airlines to replace most of their fleets over the next two decades. Sixty different manufacturing industries within the greater Los Angeles area are expected to produce much of

the nation's goods in the 1990s. And according to Bradford Crowe, the city's director of economic development, large military-oriented layoffs could encourage the state to revive the Emergency Employment Act, and put

In the realignment ahead, the brain drain that has drawn so many Illinois engineers to California and Massachusetts could end, giving a boost to the manufacturing centers of the Midwestern state.

displaced engineers to work on public projects, designing bridges and roads.

Nassau and Suffolk counties on Long Island have enjoyed an economic boom because of the large military expenditures of the 1980s. But with contracts ending, Grumman, Eaton and Harris now employ 9,000 fewer workers than in 1987. However, the area has responded with growth in the service, financial and retail sectors. High-tech firms in fields like medical technology and software are doing particularly well in the region.

All 22 of Illinois' Congressional districts pay out more in tax dollars than are returned in defense spending. But that could change as less federal funds go to the Pentagon, and more are spent on social, environmental and economic needs. In the realignment ahead, the brain drain that has drawn so many Illinois engineers to California and Massachusetts could end, giving a boost to the manufacturing centers of the Midwestern state.

The CEP study, conducted by

Eugene Chollick and Rosy Nimroody, reported that "in the two defense-dependent regions, we did find apprehension about the unknown, but also strong evidence that local authorities were marshaling their energies creatively."

SOURCE: Rep. Jim Bates (619-287-8851); Marcia Boruta, San Diego Economic Conversion Council, 405 W. Washington St., Suite 143, San Diego, CA 92103; Center for Economic Conversion, 222-C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041; "Peaceful Times May Mean Tailspin in Local Economy, Say Officials," *San Diego Union*, November 14, 1989, p. E-1; Eugene Chollick and Rosy Nimroody, "Regional Responses to Defense Cuts," *CEP Research Report*, October 1989; Council on Economic Priorities, 30 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003 (212-420-1133).

WHAT MILITARY BUDGET CUTS MEAN ON MAIN STREET

WHILE MILITARY BUDGET CUTS MAY BE EXCITING NEWS FOR SOME LOCAL officials, there are others who are less thrilled by the news from Eastern Europe. For them, the future is one of economic decline, perhaps even deep recession.

But Gordon Adams, director of the Defense Budget Project, says military spending cuts need not spell economic disaster, if they are "properly anticipated and prepared for." And in the few areas where the problems will be most difficult — Long Island, Seattle, Los Angeles, and Dallas-Fort Worth — local officials will have models for successful conversion to a peacetime economy.

"Base closings at other times, according to a Defense Department survey, have been smoothed by cooperation between local authorities and the services, with a net increase in post-closing employment on the sites," Adams recently wrote in the *New York Times*.

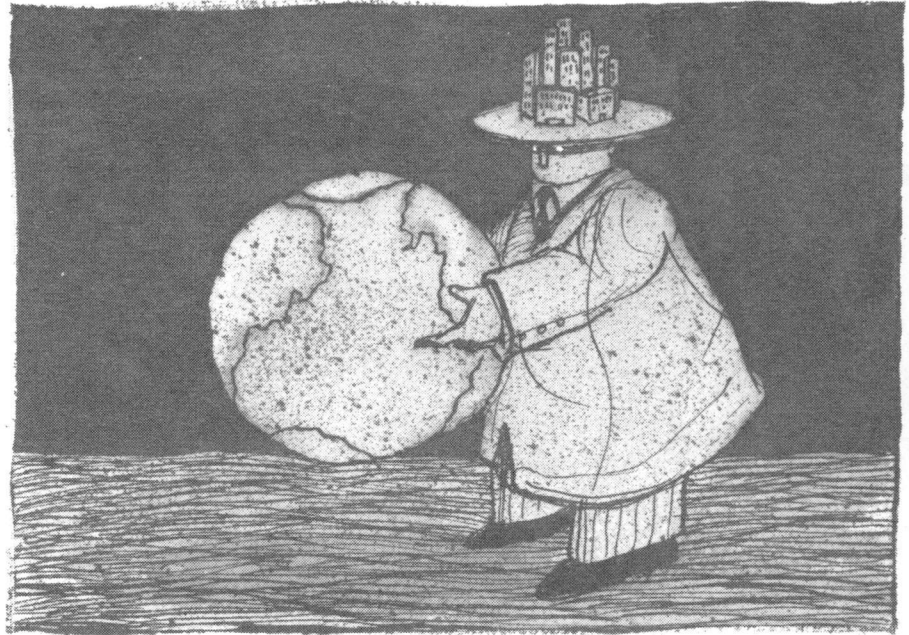
When it comes to conversion, local officials have always been a bit braver than their federal counterparts. Louise McNeilly, program associate at the Center for Economic Conversion, says they've had to be: Federal officials have shown little interest in local economic decline because they have little to lose.

So from "Maine and Massachusetts and Connecticut, through the midwest, in Minnesota and in Washington state," McNeilly says, it is local officials who bear the brunt of economic conversion planning. As a result, they've become the nation's leading experts.

There are, of course, many local officials who fear that military budget cuts will destroy their economies. But McNeilly says the advantages are far more compelling. "If they [local officials] move on it right now, there are opportunities for commercial production we haven't seen in this country in years," she says.

Nor should the Feds stand by with their hands in their pockets, McNeilly says: "We need kind of a new Marshall plan for this country."

SOURCES: Gordon Adams, "Defense Cuts: Little Pain, Modest Gain," *New York Times*, December 4, 1989, p. A23; Louise McNeilly, Program Associate, Center for Economic Conversion, 222 C View Street, Mountain View, CA 94041 (415-968-8798), n. 222 C View

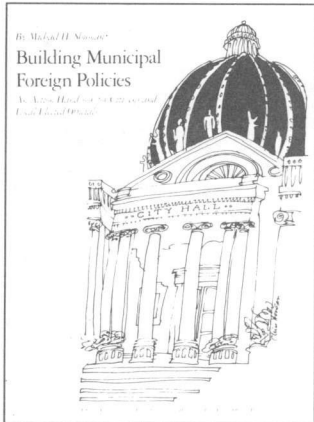


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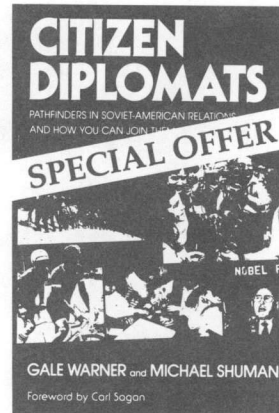
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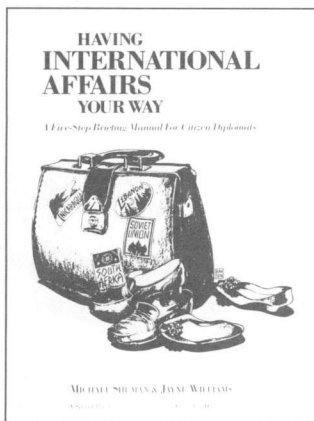
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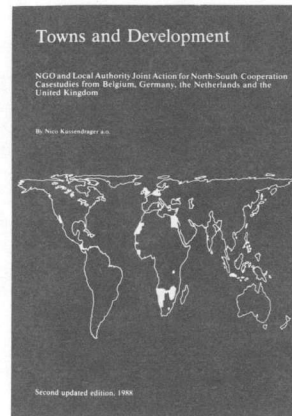
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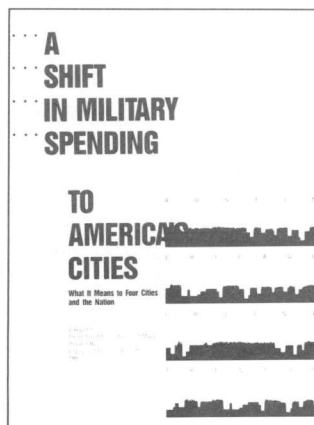
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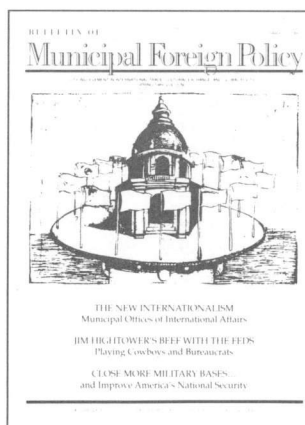
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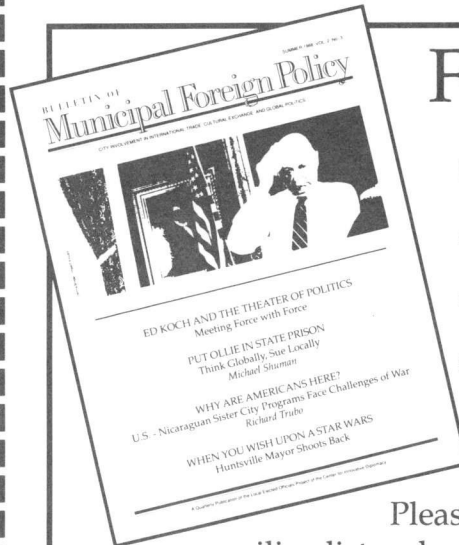
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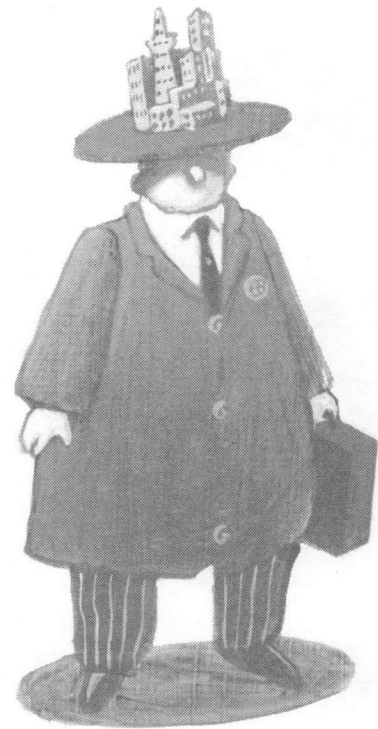
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GOODBYE TO THE WALL

Before the Berlin Wall crumbled, sister city ties were pulling it apart a brick at a time.

IT WAS A MOMENT MANY THOUSANDS of Germans never believed would happen. But last November, Mayor Walter Momper of West Berlin watched patiently as military crane operators hitched a large hook to a concrete panel of the Berlin Wall — and in one forceful movement, yanked it out, lifting it skyward. Five more panels followed, and with the wall's opening now wide enough for two lanes of traffic, Momper strode across the open border to shake hands with Erhard Krack, the mayor of East Berlin. Thousands of Berliners watched and cheered as the two men chatted at Potsdamer Platz, the busiest street in Europe before the wall became the pre-eminent symbol of the Cold War.

A day later, as Berliners themselves flowed through Checkpoint Charlie, Mayor Momper stood on the steps of the West Berlin City Hall and proclaimed, "The whole city and all its citizens will never forget November 9, 1989. For 28 years since the wall was built, we have yearned for this day.... We Germans are the happiest people in the world."

Maybe Germans shouldn't have been so surprised. In recent years, there were indications of political change in Germany, some of it taking place in cities and towns on both sides of the border. And one of the signs of the thawing of relations — and clear evidence that the people were ready for the wall to come tumbling down —

was the recent emergence of sister city relationships between towns in the east and the west.

Consider the people of Lubeck, West Germany where a 300-yard-wide plowed field separates their city from East Germany. For years, residents who live on the eastern edge of Lubeck could look out their back windows and see the imposing fences, concrete watchtowers and border guards standing watch over the two Germanys.

But in Lubeck's 13th-century town hall, local officials had organized a series of cultural exchanges between their community and their sister city of Wismar, located 30 miles across the border in East Germany. According to Michael Bouteiller, Lubeck's mayor, more Lubeck residents had shown interest in participating in the exchanges "than we could ever accommodate."

Lubeck, a city of over 200,000 people, has been undergoing other kinds of transitions, too. Located on the Trave River near the Baltic Sea, it has lost much of its economic clout as a shipping and manufacturing center. Unemployment rates are high (about 15 percent), and city leaders are looking to attract new industry, trade and tourism.

Liberalized travel rules had allowed 3 million East Germans to visit the west in 1988 — compared to 60,000 in 1986. And the link with Wismar was perceived as one way for Lubeck to lure some tourists and help revive its sagging economy.

Bob Scott, who oversees the sister city ties for Spokane (WA) — including its 12-year-old link with Lubeck — says he's not surprised that Lubeck's



city officials extended a hand to Wismar. "It makes sense," says Scott. "People in the East and the West used to be friends. Their cities are very close to one another. But they've been separated by a scar running down the center of their country."

The Lubeck-Wismar tie was formed more than two years ago and, says Mayor Bouteiller, it reinforces peace and paves the way for cooperation in many fields. For instance, Lubeck health officials spent time in Wismar in 1989 to offer expertise on the organization of medical services.

Several months ago, Hansludwig Gerlach, a spokesperson for Lubeck, described the sister city link as a "way we can stop the two sides from drifting even further apart." But now with the dramatic lowering of barriers between east and west, many Germans pinch themselves, and wonder how much farther the changes can go.

Even former West German Chancellor Brandt cannot guess. Speaking from the steps of the West Berlin City Hall, Brandt told a huge crowd of joyous Berliners that, as mayor of Berlin 28 years ago, he had watched East German police unwind the rolls of barbed wire and that became the foundation for the wall. But with the wall finally on its way down, Brandt choked back tears and said, "One thing is certain. Nothing will be the same again."

SOURCES: Sister Cities International, 120 S. Payne St., Alexandria, VA 22314 (703-836-3535); Bob Scott, City Hall, West 808 Spokane Falls Blvd., Spokane, WA 99201 (509-456-4350); Timothy Aepfel, "Living with a Divided Germany," *Christian Science Monitor*, February 13, 1989, p. 6; Serge Schmemmann, "Wall Opened at Old Center of Berlin, and Mayors Meet; Communists Call Congress," *New York Times*, November 13, 1989, p. 1.

BILL BIGGART / IMPACT VISUALS

SOVIETS GET A JOLT FROM THE CALIFORNIA QUAKE

A sister city delegation found itself on a bridge over troubled water when the October temblor rocked Santa Cruz County

NIKOLAI SHESHUKOV, THE mayor of the the Soviet city of Alushta, spent eight memorable days in his sister city of Santa Cruz, California, in October. But the most unforgettable moment of that visit occurred on a bridge as he crossed the San Lorenzo River.

Sheshukov and the three other members of the Alushta delegation had just visited a local farm. They were traveling by car, along with Lucille Vega (one of their Santa Cruz hosts), to their bed-and-breakfast hotel room to freshen up for a formal dinner that evening at the Chez Renee, perhaps the area's finest restaurant.

But at 5:04 p.m., with Vega's car about midway across the San Lorenzo River, the earth — and the bridge — began shaking violently. In the first few seconds, Sheshukov and his companions thought their car had a flat tire; by the time the shaking had stopped, they realized that they had ridden out an earthquake. And although their thoughts immediately turned to getting off the bridge as quickly as possible, traffic was at a standstill, and it took several minutes to get to more solid ground.

The major earthquake that struck on October 17 certainly wasn't part of the red carpet treatment that the Santa Cruz Sister Cities Committee had planned for their Soviet guests. But Sheshukov and his companions suffered no physical injuries (although

one of them, an Alushta school administrator, conceded that she didn't sleep well the remainder of the visit). And because of the quake, the last few days of the trip were quickly reorganized as Santa Cruz itself struggled to regain a sense of normalcy.

At the Chez Renee, where chefs had toiled for two days in preparation

Back home, Alushtans raised money for Santa Cruz.

for the dinner honoring the Soviet guests, the chimney toppled into the restaurant during the shaking — and the restaurant was forced to shut down and the dinner had to be canceled. The night after the quake, a Mayor's Dinner went on as scheduled, but Santa Cruz Mayor Mardi Wormhoudt was unable to attend, having to direct her energies to the more immediate needs of getting her city back on

its feet. City Councilmember John Laird hosted the evening — which was "highlighted" by an aftershock that found everyone gripping their tables for security.

Several other events on the itinerary were canceled — including a meeting with local elected women officials, during which Mayor Wormhoudt and County Supervisor Robley Levy were expected to host the foreign dignitaries. In lieu of receptions like these, the Soviets got first-hand glimpses of the severe damage at Santa Cruz's Pacific Garden Mall and other parts of the city.

"While they were here, the mayor and his colleagues expressed their sympathy and support for Santa Cruz," says Peter Klotz-Chamberlain, co-chair of the Sister Cities Committee. "And after the delegation returned home, the people of Alushta came to the City Hall there and donated money to be sent to Santa Cruz. We're trying to think of something lasting to spend that money on, so people can point to it for years to come" as a gesture of Alushta's friendship.

Ironically, when the California quake hit, people in Oakland were planning ways to help residents of their sister community, Nakhodka — a town that had suffered severe typhoon damage during the summer. They were trying to arrange for city funds from Oakland to be sent to Nakhodka to help the relief efforts.

"But we withdrew that request after the quake," says Bonnie Hamlin, president of the Oakland-Nakhodka



TOM CHARGIN / IMPACT VISUALS

HISTORIC AREA IN RUINS.

Instead of formal receptions, visiting Soviets toured the quake-damaged Pacific Garden Mall, parts of which may be closed until 1991.

Sister City Association. Committee members not only felt that Oakland might need those same funds to assist residents of its own city, says Hamlin, but there also was concern that if money were sent to Nakhodka, the Soviets might have felt an obligation to reciprocate with funds of its own to assist in the California-recovery efforts.

Less than a year earlier, in December 1988, a major quake had devastated parts of Soviet Armenia, and many U.S. sister cities — from Seattle to Cambridge — rallied to help by donating money and sending physicians and other personnel who could assist in the immediate rescue efforts. In turn, shortly after the California quake struck, Cambridge was hosting the David Azarian Trio, one of the Soviet Union's top jazz bands, who expressed a desire to perform at a

benefit concert to raise money for quake recovery in San Francisco and Santa Cruz.

In the year since the Armenian quake, the Cambridge sister city committee has made a conscious effort not to inundate Yerevan, its sister city in Soviet Armenia, with exchanges and delegations. "The tourist hotels there have many families living in them from the earthquake region," says Jeb Brugmann of the Cambridge-Yerevan Sister City Association.

At the same time, however, Cambridge has hosted a flurry of groups from Yerevan. "We've hosted a business delegation, groups of teachers, musicians and students, and a delegation attending our first Armenian film festival," says Brugmann.

Meanwhile, in the days immediately after the California quake, a telex was received from the Soviet Union

via the Novosti Press Agency, addressed to the residents of Santa Cruz, Oakland and Sonoma — the three Northern California cities with sisterly ties in the U.S.S.R. That message read:

"Dear Friends:

"We are shocked by the tragic news of a devastating earthquake, which has brought pain to our hearts.

"We extend our deepest sympathy for the families and friends of the earthquake victims. Our thoughts and concerns are with you.

"During such tragic times the world seems to be extremely tiny and fragile. We want you to know about our compassion and our friendship, which can help us through sorrow and perils.

"Residents of your Soviet sister cities of Alushta, Nakhodka and Kanev convey their warmest sympathy to all of you."

THE SLEPAK PRINCIPLES HEAD FOR CITY HALL

A corporate code of conduct aims at protecting human rights in the U.S.S.R.

WHEN ALEXANDER SLEPAK tracks human rights violations, it is more than just an academic exercise. His father, Vladimir, is a former Soviet scientist and activist who was exiled to Siberia for five years for his beliefs. The elder Slepak became a symbol for the struggle for democracy, and was a founder of the Helsinki Monitoring Group for human rights in Moscow, and a nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1987, he and his wife finally received permission to emigrate to Israel.

Alexander, a Philadelphia physician who lived in the Soviet Union for the first 25 years of his life, has inherited his father's commitment to the rights of the oppressed. He recently founded the Slepak Foundation, dedicated to making human rights a priority that must be placed at the forefront of U.S.-Soviet contacts. In turn, the foundation has created the Slepak Principles, a "code of conduct" for corporations trading with the U.S.S.R., intended to promote human, religious and civil rights.

The principles urge U.S. firms dealing with the Soviet Union to avoid goods or products they have reason to believe were produced with forced labor. It asks them not to permit the hiring and firing of people based on religion, ethnic affiliation, or political beliefs. It requests that companies meet international standards of worker safety, and use production methods that protect the environment.

With the creation of the principles,

Alexander Slepak is promoting them on a number of fronts. He is approaching companies and urging them to sign the guidelines. He is developing strategies for shareholder initiatives to encourage corporate adherence to the principles. And he is moving toward



ALEXANDER SLEPAK.

Public support for the Principles is high, but "the business community won't sign."

cities interested in using their pension fund investments as leverage in rallying support for the code.

The Slepak Foundation does not seek divestment or arbitrary pullout, Slepak emphasizes. "We do not want to intervene in any business transaction, because we support business as a tool to improve relations, since the benefactor will be the Soviet people. But we also feel strongly that businessmen have to pay attention to the social responsibilities associated with trade, and to do business in an ethical way. We want American corporations to go into the U.S.S.R. and bring the notion

of democracy with them."

Slepak hopes that Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode, a member of the foundation's advisory board (along with more than a dozen U.S. Senators and Representatives, including Barbara Mikulski, Arlen Specter and Dennis DeConcini), will help carry the torch toward broad commitment by cities to the principles. Through city council resolutions, he says, communities could endorse the principles and encourage corporations to adhere to them.

Eric Wollman, a director of the New York City Comptroller's Division of Investment Responsibility, says that with a newly-elected New York comptroller scheduled to assume office this January, his division chose not to make a decision on formally supporting the Slepak code until that new administration comes aboard. "It would be appropriate for the next comptroller to make that decision," he says.

Slepak, president of the foundation, has been particularly distressed by much of the reaction of the corporate community. In October 1988, when a meeting was convened in Washington to announce the Slepak Principles, 30 business leaders were invited to attend — but none showed up. "With some exceptions, the business community is saying that though it doesn't object to the Slepak Principles, it won't come forward and voluntarily sign them," says Slepak. "Essentially, businessmen are refusing comment on the issue."

But the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of

Manufacturers have spoken aloud about — and against — the code. William T. Archey, chamber vice-president, insists that “while trade is an important component of our relationship with the Soviet Union, it is not an effective tool for influencing Soviet domestic or external behavior outside the economic sector. Until we understand this, trade will continue in its present rudimentary form.”

Even the State Department has joined the chorus against the Slepak Principles, insisting that the code could interfere with the warming of relations between the Cold War adversaries. Last September, at hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee considering legislation supporting the Slepak Principles, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Curtis W. Kamman asserted, “This is not the right context or the right time for extraordinary and highly symbolic legislation that would single out U.S. firms.”

That viewpoint angered Slepak: “Since when do we have seasons on human rights? Would the State Department feel comfortable telling the four million imprisoned slaves in the Soviet labor camps — ‘This is not the season to speak on your behalf?’”

The Slepak Foundation’s statement of purpose adds, “The present political atmosphere of enhanced commercial and cultural ties between the United States and the Soviet Union has made vigilance on human rights issues more important than ever. Silence on this concern is tantamount to active support of policies and actions

that violate an individual’s most basic civic liberties.”

The Slepak Principles Act was introduced in the U.S. Senate by Senators John Heinz (R-PA) and Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) and in the House by Representatives John R. Miller (R-WA) and Larry Smith (D-FL). The legislation asks American businesses “to conduct their activities [in the Soviet Union and Baltic states] in a way that is consistent

with internationally recognized norms regarding respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, occupational safety standards, and protection of the environment.” It makes no provisions for penalties or sanctions in the case of violations. The bill has been endorsed by the AFL-CIO, the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, the Environmental Policy Institute, the International League for Human Rights, and the Rev. Leon Sullivan (creator of the “Sullivan Principles” applied to South Africa), among others.

Nevertheless, Alexander Slepak notes the irony of having fought for human dignity and basic freedoms when he lived in the Soviet Union, and now, “after finally reaching this democratic society, I find myself again defending human rights as an American. However, this time the resistance and an attempt to defeat my efforts comes from the Department of State.”

SOURCES: Slepak Foundation, 230 S. 15th St., Suite 300, Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215-545-1098); David B. Ottaway, “Code of Business Conduct in Soviet Dealings Sought,” *Washington Post*, May 17, 1989.

Business groups and federal officials say the code is badly timed.

THE SLEPAK PRINCIPLES

AMERICAN COMPANIES ENGAGED IN COMMERCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION:

- 1** WILL NOT PRODUCE OR PROVIDE services that replenish the Soviet military.
- 2** WILL NOT USE GOODS OR PRODUCTS manufactured by forced labor in the Soviet Union.
- 3** WILL SAFEGUARD SOVIET employees prone to dismissal based upon politics, religion or ethnic background.
- 4** WILL DECLINE TO PARTICIPATE IN a commercial transaction if the place of work is a Soviet-confiscated religious edifice.
- 5** WILL ENSURE THAT METHODS OF production do not pose an irresponsible physical danger to Soviet workers, neighboring populations and property.
- 6** WILL REFRAIN FROM MAKING untied loans to the Soviet government — loans which may be used to subsidize non-peaceful Soviet activities.
- 7** WILL ATTEMPT TO ENGAGE IN joint ventures with private cooperatives rather than institutions connected directly to the Soviet state.

TIME FOR PERESTROIKA

Soviet journalist Nikolai Vishnevsky says U.S.-Soviet sister cities are dominated by bureaucrats and plodding institutions. Without broader public participation, he says, sister cities will become Cold War museum pieces.

By Nikolai Vishnevsky

LIKE A PURIFYING WIND, THE word *perestroika* has blown its way into international lexicons. *Perestroika* embodies deep changes occurring in the Soviet Union, of course. But, in a broad sense, Soviet *perestroika* is invading new spheres of domestic and international life, including U.S.-Soviet sister city ties — an area seemingly distant from domestic reforms.

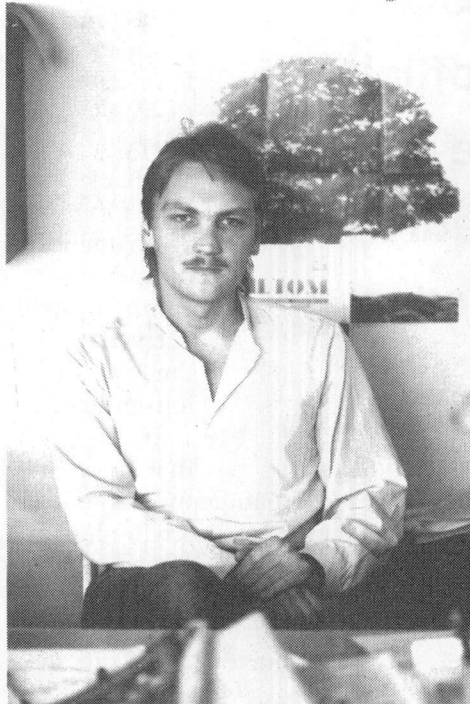
U.S.-Soviet sister city relations have traveled a long road in 16 years. Only a few years ago, not many people could imagine that the first five sister cities — existing inconspicuously since the early 1970s — would have grown into the cooperation of 50 pairs of cities and territories in the two countries. In early 1989, Sergei V. Paramonov, until recently a long-time executive vice-president of the Soviet Sister Cities Association (known by its Russian acronym as APG), called the growth of sister cities “explosive.”

But growth is not without its difficulties. Born of the antiwar struggles of the early 1980s, the sister cities movement now ironically finds itself contending with normalized superpower relations. The fear of nuclear war has ebbed, and calls for peace and friendship with former enemies no longer seems so urgent.

“To many activists the downswing of grassroots movements is nearly a tragedy,” says Victor I. Borisiuk, head of the Internal Policy Department of the Moscow-based Institute of U.S. and Canada Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. “But looking deeper into things, a downswing is a positive phenomenon which shows that the goals for which these movements were created has been reached.”

As for the most promising movements, Borisiuk says, “they should switch to new...goals. This goes above all for the multi-structural sister-city movement...”

Many cities may boast of having braved the rarely trod-



NIKOLAI VISHNEVSKY.

If sister cities remain top-down, they're likely to go legs up.

den path through the Cold War. But the sister cities movement will only continue to be productive on one condition: Sister city participants — activists and officials — must renovate sister city ties long characterized by top-down initiatives. Without the active, democratic participation of all social groups — professionals, enterprises, co-ops, and individuals involved together with official circles and local authorities — the movement will rightly wither.

This new goal, described by former Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young as a “victory of democracy in both our countries,” still awaits implementation in sister city projects. It must be implemented so that “we can make a better world where each citizen is free to try out his own ideas and to share them with his brothers and sisters,”

Young said at the sister city meeting in Tashkent last May.

But in both countries people cling to the entirely doomed model of overly bureaucratic ties. Last summer, Krasnodar Mayor Valentin Samoilenko told reporters he would like his city's relations with Tallahassee to focus on three sorts of contacts. First, Samoilenko said, “personal contacts between the mayors; second, exchanges of official delegations; and third, other contacts.”

Samoilenko's desire to gloss over “other contacts” is telling. And the U.S.-Soviet sister cities meeting in Tashkent last May showed the ends to which such ideas lead. Large, national conference organizers — like APG and its American counterpart, Sister Cities International (SCI) — held so tight a grip on the meeting, that official functions and banquets snatched much time from more valuable roundtable discussions.

The conference's crucial final documents were only narrowly adopted, and then with practically no coordination between the participants — few of whom were promi-

ALEXANDER KURBATOV / NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY

nent movement activists.

There is a way out — when “people’s diplomacy actively helps and is complementary to official diplomacy,” as Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has said. The role of the former in this process is to break the monopoly over friendship and cooperation exercised by the latter.

There are models of this new way. Kharkov City Communist Party Committee First Secretary Konstantin V. Khirny found harmony between people and officials when, in September 1989, he included in his delegation to Cincinnati many non-officials and even controversial figures, like the Orthodox Church Archbishop and the colorful chairman of a local Jewish community.

“Our party organization, following Mikhail Gorbachev’s line, seeks cooperation and unity with all public forces and groups which support perestroika,” Khirny said. “We will also follow this constructive course in relations with Cincinnati.”

Friends of Tallahassee, an informal society of 1,000 people in Krasnodar which has now won recognition from local authorities, is setting up a public diplomacy association in Kuban — a vast southern Russian region — which it seeks to pair with northern and central Florida.

“Our initiative is an offspring of perestroika,” says the group’s president, Yuri V. Zenyuk, a journalist. “We back democratization in our country and are for democratization in sister city contacts. We want our cooperation to expand and become numerically greater.”

On its own initiative, Magadan Region authorities are developing broad partnership contacts with Alaska. In the beginning, this somewhat confused the APG which, together with SCI, was developing its own sister city plans. Valentin F. Kuli, mayor of The Krasnaya Polyana Town on the Black Sea, followed the Magadan authorities when he approached Black Mountain, North Carolina.

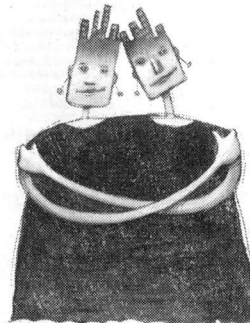
In the Soviet Union, many people are prepared to actively join in the regeneration of the sister city movement. Activity will rise, especially in connection with upcoming local elections — elections which seem certain to bring to the fore a new type of leader.

These local governments will themselves receive far more authority and independence, which will make it easier for cities and regions to develop a variety of direct contacts — including trade and economic exchanges — with their American partners.

Despite existing difficulties, contradictions and teething troubles, the sister city movement is passing from word to deed.

Nikolai Vishnevsky is editor of the Novosti Press Agency’s North American department. Vishnevsky co-chaired the roundtable on information exchange at the meeting of Soviet and U.S. sister cities in Tashkent, May 1989.

SOVIET SISTER CITY BRIEFS



PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH

THE SPORTS COMMITTEES of the **Spokane-Makhachkala and Seattle-Tashkent** sister city programs, along with their Soviet counterparts, are co-sponsoring the 1990 Friendship Games in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The games will bring together athletes, coaches and officials from Soviet and American cities for athletic competition and people-to-people meetings.

All U.S. cities which have Soviet sister cities have been invited to send high school aged (16-18) teams in girls’ volleyball and boys’ soccer. Tashkent, as the Soviet coordinator, has invited Soviet sister cities officials to participate with their athletes. As U.S. sister cities’ confirm teams, their Soviet counterparts will be invited to participate. Besides the players, coaches and officials, non-playing participants are also being invited to attend.

In addition to the

Games, athletic activities will be held in Moscow, Tashkent and Leningrad. The U.S. coordinator for the Friendship Games is Bernard Wissink, sports exchange coordinator for the Spokane-Makhachkala Friendship Cities Project. The U.S.S.R. coordinator for the Friendship Games is Azimov Akhror, chief of the International Department, Uzbekistan State Committee on Physical Culture and Sport.

The U.S. participants will travel together to the Soviet Union on August 1, and return to the United States on August 16. The 1990 Friendship Games are the inaugural event of an annual sports and cultural festival.

CONTACT: Bernard Wissink, 1990 Friendship Games, P.O. Box 2571, Spokane, WA 99220 (509-838-0312; fax 459-0396).

BUSINESS AND PLEASURE

EVER SINCE ITS founding six years ago, a goal of the **Boulder-Dushanbe** Sister Cities Program has been to conduct a high school student exchange. The dream became a reality this year when 32 Boulder Valley students spent six days living with Dushanbe families during a two-week trip to the Soviet Union. While in Dushanbe, the group

presented to Mayor Ikramov a fax machine donated by the Minolta Corporation.

The newspaper *Evening Dushanbe* described the visit as follows: "American high school students from our sister city Boulder are guests in Dushanbe. Each of them is staying with the family of a Dushanbe high school student who knows English. All the families and the kids themselves are trying to bring variety to their guests' leisure time. The Boulderites went to Vocational and Technical School No. 33, where they were shown the electric sewing machine class. They worked together with pleasure at the machines along with the students in the vo-tech school. Apparently, the language of sewing machines is universal, and people can manage without a translator. The same with dance, in which, when the vo-tech pupils threw themselves into it, the American kids quickly joined.

"The guests and participating Dushanbe students went to Nurek, looked at the unique dam of the hydroelectric station, organized a picnic at Varzob Gorge, took part in an evening of international friendship, and participated in sports events on the tennis and basketball courts."

A Tadjhik teahouse, first proposed as a gift from Dushanbe in May 1987, moved one step

closer to its permanent home in Boulder when the Boulder City Council granted formal acceptance earlier this year. The priceless structure will be used as a pavilion rather than a functioning teahouse. Fourteen artists worked for two years constructing the wooden teahouse to be shipped to Boulder. Boulder City Councilmember Sally Martin said, "The beauty, the artistic expression, the bright colors of the paint, the carving, the love and caring of the artists are beyond comprehension."

In August, Izatullo Khoshmukhamedov, the Tadjhik trade representative to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and his family spent four days in Boulder exploring possible business opportunities, joint ventures and U.S. technology during a series of meetings with local and state officials, business and professional people.

In September, dedication ceremonies for a sister cities Peace Garden were conducted on the banks of Boulder Creek. The garden will feature plantings from Dushanbe and Boulder's other sister cities, Jalapa, Nicaragua; Lhasa, Tibet; and Meppel, the Netherlands. Tulips for which Holland is so famous actually originated in Central Asia around Dushanbe.

Over the Halloween weekend, Dushanbe Deputy Mayor Tatiana Holmatov and filmmaker Zaur Dahte spent four

days in Boulder.

In December, four Dushanbe physicians are scheduled to arrive in Boulder as the first segment of a medical exchange program. The physicians were invited by a group of Boulder doctors interested in creating an active medical exchange between the two sister cities. The Dushanbe doctors will live in the homes of Boulder physicians, and will accompany them on their rounds and to their offices. They will also tour various medical facilities in the area. A reciprocal delegation of Boulder physicians will visit Dushanbe in 1990.

The St. Cecilia Singers, a secular chamber choir from Boulder, has been invited to participate in Dushanbe's "Boulder Days" in May 1990, by Mayor Ikramov. The group was among those who welcomed the Dushanbe delegation by singing for them when they first visited Boulder in May 1989. The Dushanbe minister of culture is arranging concerts, including a joint performance with a local group. Performances are also being planned for Moscow, Leningrad and Tallinn.

University of Boulder-Colorado Chancellor James Corbridge recently approved a student exchange with Tadjhik State University in Dushanbe. There are plans for six undergraduate students to travel each

direction for a two-week visit beginning in the fall of 1990.

CONTACT: Mary Axe, President, Boulder-Dushanbe Sister Cities, P.O. Box 4864, Boulder, CO 80306 (303-441-9004).

BACK TO SCHOOL

A FIVE-MEMBER delegation from **Simferopol**, including the deputy mayor and a member of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, spent a week in **Salem** in October exploring educational exchanges between proposed "sister school systems."

Salem-Keizer Public Schools Superintendent Homer Kearns and School Board Chair Robert Krohn signed a "Proposal for Cooperation" with the delegates that will significantly increase activities between school systems in both cities. The proposal includes pen pals, sister schools, exchanges of students, faculty and curriculum materials, and sharing administrative expertise on how to manage schools. Deputy Superintendent Robert Ellsperman said the proposal will "encourage the growth of positive relations and cooperation between our two nations."

Delegate Alexander P. Volchenko, an associate professor at the Crimean Medical Institute in Simferopol, said, "We can take many ideas from you and we can share our experiences with you."

Simferopol, population 350,000, is the governmental and transportation

center of the Crimea Oblast of the Ukraine, and is home to three universities and other institutes of higher education.

CONTACT: Mike Murray, Salem - Simferopol Sister City Committee, 690 Winding Way SE, Salem, OR 97302 (503-364-0175)

ATLANTIC HIGH

THE SMALLEST SOVIET sailing yacht ever to cross the Atlantic arrived in **Jacksonville** in September after a four-month voyage from **Murmansk**.

The 30-foot fiberglass sloop "Golfstream" left Murmansk with a crew of five on May 27, when there was still snow on the ground in Murmansk, the largest city in the Arctic Circle. The harbor in Murmansk stays open year round due to the warming influence of the Gulfstream, which originates near Jacksonville.

While in Jacksonville, the crew enjoyed visits to museums and colleges, and a public picnic in Metropolitan Park in their honor, sponsored by the Jacksonville Sister Cities Association.

The voyage marked the 50th anniversary of the Murmansk Shipping Company, owner of the Golfstream and sponsor of the trip. According to the skipper, it was one of the icebreakers owned by the Company that freed the California gray whales trapped in the ice off the coast of Alaska last October.

CONTACT: Ivan Clare, Office of the Mayor, 220 East Bay Street, Jacksonville, FL 32202 (904-630-1690).

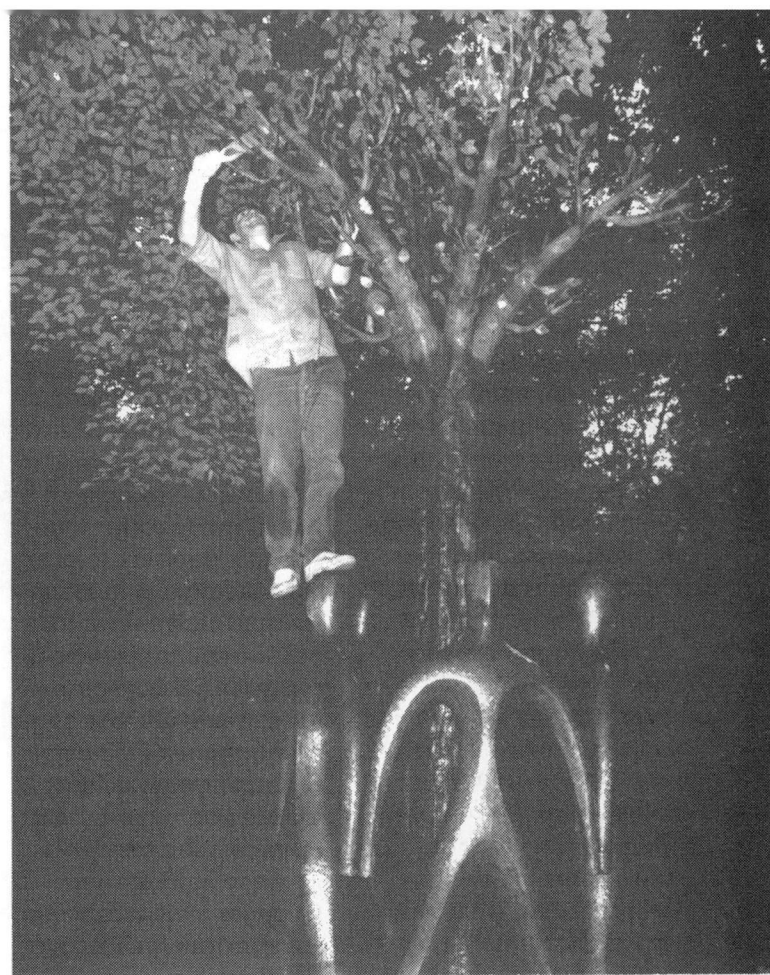
PEACE GARDEN

ATLANTA MAYOR Andrew Young and **Tbilisi** Mayor Irakli Andriadze have dedicated a "Garden for Peace" in Tbilisi with the unveiling of a sculpture created by Atlanta artist Sergio Dolfi. The ceremony was held during an Atlanta Chamber of Commerce business delegation led by Mayor Young and Ronald Allen, chairman and chief executive officer of Delta Air Lines, Inc. The garden site is along one of Tbilisi's main streets, in the heart of the city.

During the ceremony, Mayor Andriadze greeted the members of the delegation, as well as Tbilisi citizens and a group of school children, expressing his enthusiastic support for further ties between Tbilisi and Atlanta. Mayor Young acknowledged Tbilisi artist Georgi Dzaparidze, whose sculpture arrived in Atlanta for installation and a dedication ceremony this fall.

Mayor Young said, "It is clear that the sculpture exchange is an important link in the bond between Tbilisi and Atlanta, and that it holds more significance than [just] works of art being transferred from one city to another."

The event was sponsored by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, Art Installation Services, the Heath Gallery, Sergio Dolfi, Delta Air Lines, Inc., the Atlanta-Tbilisi Sister City Committee, and



ONE STEP AHEAD OF PERESTROIKA.

Soviet artist Georgi Dzaparidze puts the finishing touches on "Peace Tree," Tbilisi's gift to the Atlanta Peace Garden.

Gardens for Peace, an international network of gardens to promote world peace.

CONTACT: George Brown, Atlanta-Tbilisi Sister City Program, Office of the Mayor, City of Atlanta, Atlanta, GA 30335 (404-371-6228)

ALLIGATORS, WORKERS, WHALES

THE *FLORIDA ALLIGATOR* and the **Novorossisk Worker** have started a regular exchange of newspaper articles as part of Novosti Press Agency's "Press Bridges" project linking newspapers in U.S. and Soviet sister cities.

The *Alligator*, circulation 40,000, is the largest independent student newspaper in the country. Two articles from *Alligator* writers have already been

published by the *Worker* one about **Gainesville** and another about the operations of a student-run daily paper. Those articles, along with a series of editorials written by a Gainesville journalist living in Novorossiisk for a month last summer, have made Gainesville a household word in Novorossiisk.

"Press Bridges" is the brainchild of Nikolai Vishnevsky, an editor with the North American Department of Novosti Press Agency in Moscow. (See page 36 for an article by Vishnevsky). Vishnevsky has offered to translate into Russian articles sent to him by telex from U.S. cities, and then forward them to Soviet sister cities. He will also translate into English

articles sent by Soviet cities, and telex them to their U.S. counterparts. A telex can be sent with a personal computer and a modem.

Next spring, the first tourist group from Novorossiisk will spend a week in Gainesville at their own expense.

The 30 Novorossiisk residents are expected to spend up to \$50,000 during their stay. The Gainesville-Novorossiisk Sister City Committee has applied for a tourist development grant to promote further tourism to Gainesville from the Novorossiisk region.

The following month, a reciprocal tourist group from Gainesville will visit Novorossiisk. Most of the group will consist of families who hosted students from Novorossiisk in Gainesville for two months last summer. The student exchange was so successful that officials in Novorossiisk asked that it be continued on an annual basis.

CONTACT: Steven Kalishman, 321 SE 3rd Street, #G-10, Gainesville, FL 32601-6578; (904-376-9251; Peacenet: skalishman; Telex: 3123223MCI UW, Fax: 904-372-3464). Nikolai Vishnevsky can be reached through Kalishman, or by telex (411101 APN SU; the code for the Soviet Union is 871).

**NO GANGSTERS,
NO WILD
AMERICANS**

IN AUGUST, 18 TEEN-agers and six adults from **Novosibirsk** spent three weeks living with **Minneapolis** and **St. Paul** families, and took a week-long bike trek along the Mississippi

River with 20 Minnesota youths. The "Mississippi '89 Expedition" completed an exchange which began last August when 20 Minnesota teenagers traveled to Novosibirsk for a rafting trip on the Ob River.

Community celebrations along the route highlighted the bicycle trip and gave the Soviets a taste of down-home Midwestern hospitality. Before the cyclists' arrival, a Wabasha radio station broadcast Russian language lessons so the townspeople could greet the guests in their native language.

In Prescott, the visitors were treated to a community picnic and boat ride on the St. Croix River. A tour of the Red Wing Shoe Company, intense discussions with reform school residents and visits to the YMCA and a movie theater kept them busy in Red Wing.

The finale of the trip was in Winona, where the trekkers were honored with a mayoral proclamation and treated to dances by members of the Native American Center of Southeast Minnesota, music by a bluegrass band, and a special appearance by actors playing Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn.

The trek dispelled some stereotypes of America held by the Soviet youth. "In the past, we heard a lot about the 'wild' Americans," said 17-year-old Oksana Shvid. "We were afraid a little — a lot

of people, a lot of cars, a lot of gangsters."

The Soviets said they were also surprised by the warm welcomes they received everywhere they went.

In other exchanges, a Minneapolis artist traveled to Novosibirsk in September for a month-long artistic residency. Kevin Adams took 40 of his panoramic watercolor paintings of the lakes and trees of the northern Minnesota wilderness to be displayed in a Novosibirsk museum and community center during his stay. Adams spent a year working on the paintings, and paid the \$7,000 cost of the trip himself. "It is worth it," he said.

Two Twin City youth soccer teams which had hosted Novosibirsk teams for the USA Cup tournament this summer completed the soccer exchange by traveling to Novosibirsk in August. The Novosibirsk teams were the first Soviet soccer players ever to compete in the USA Cup.

Sixteen Twin City high school students spent September in Novosibirsk attending classes with Soviet students and living with families. Next spring, 16 Novosibirsk high school students will attend four schools in the Twin Cities. The sister city student exchange is in its second year, with 30 students from seven Twin Cities high schools participating this year. The students are raising money for their

trips by selling long underwear with "Spring Break in Siberia" printed in English and Russian.

A delegation from St. Mary's Chemical Dependency Services of Minneapolis visited Novosibirsk in September to begin a joint alcoholism research and education program.

A Minneapolis obstetrician/gynecologist worked with health care specialists in Novosibirsk on contraception and pregnancy issues for the months of September and October.

In December, 15 Minnesota youths plan to take part in an international "Russian Winter" festival in Novosibirsk. Participants will travel to Siberian villages by troika, dog sled and on skis.

In February, two Minnesotans will undertake a joint Soviet-American snowmobile expedition from the Twin Cities to Novosibirsk.

The venture is being sponsored by a snowmobile manufacturer. Also in February, Gennadi Radaev, assistant to the mayor of Novosibirsk, will be the keynote speaker at the Augsburg College conference "Citizen Cooperation: Minnesota, the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe."

Novosibirsk, which means "New Siberia," is the largest city in Siberia, with a population of 1.5 million.

CONTACT: Paula DeCosse, Connect/U.S.-U.S.S.R., 4835 Penn Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55409 (602-922-4032; Telex: 402966 Cy DeCosse UD; Fax 612-922-3531).

CLEAR TO LAND, COMRADE

TRAVEL BETWEEN SISTER cities in the Soviet Far Eastern and Central Asian regions and the American West Coast will become much easier when direct air routes between **Portland, Anchorage** and their shared sister city of **Khabarovsk** become reality.

It now takes about three days to fly from Anchorage to Khabarovsk, taking into account the 15 time zones, three plane changes and hours spent waiting in airports. A direct flight would take about five hours.

"U.S. businessmen, officials and tourists are streaming into the Soviet Far East," said Yevgeni Bugayenko, a correspondent for the Novosti Press Agency in Khabarovsk. The Khabarovsk Territory is also paired with the state of Alaska, which has trade relations with the nearby Magadan Region.

The local press of Magadan, South Sakhalinsk, Khabarovsk, Nakhodka and Vladivostok recently offered lengthy accounts of the Far Eastern tours by Alaska Governor Steve Cowper, and Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, who visited a number of cities previously closed to foreigners. They both said U.S. links with the Soviet Far East are of mutual interest, and that business contacts are quite promising. Local Soviet factory managers,

scientists and government officials agreed.

A group of Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) officials recently visited the Soviet Far East at the invitation of the Soviet Ministry of Civil Aviation to assess the possibilities of cooperation in flight control and air traffic security.

Frank Cunningham,

Magadan Region speak English well enough to work productively with U.S. officials. Shelkovnikov said he was prepared to help by sending specialists to study English in the United States.

Shelkovnikov said the second obstacle was getting local authorities to cooperate in refurbishing their airports and building

and boating, Konovalov said.

"We would certainly like to establish closer ties with U.S. travel companies, particularly those in Alaska and Oregon. I am sure no party will be a loser. These plans can be translated into reality with the help of the Khabarovsk-Anchorage and Khabarovsk-Portland air routes," Konovalov said.

CONTACT: Catherine Hay, Portland-Khabarovsk Sister City Association, 1220 SW 5th Avenue, Room 303, Portland, OR 97204 (503-248-4572).



head of the FAA Alaska region and leader of the U.S. delegation, said he saw no serious obstacles to the opening of the Anchorage-Khabarovsk route in the near future. "The revival of flights between Anchorage and Khabarovsk is a question of time, not of principle," he said. "It's difficult to say precisely when the line will be opened, because there are still some problems to solve."

Perhaps the foremost problem is the language barrier. According to Valery Shelkovnikov, head of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Civil Aviation, few civil aviation officials in the

hotels, restaurants and apartments for specialists. "We have been working with the Americans in a variety of businesslike and comradely ways," he said. "I am sure that our cooperation will continue to develop."

The Khabarovsk-Anchorage and Khabarovsk-Portland routes could operate profitably, according to Valery Konovalov, chief of the Khabarovsk branch of Intourist, the Soviet state travel agency. Khabarovsk already receives direct flights from Japan, North Korea and China.

New tourist itineraries include angling, hunting

THE BUSINESS OF PEACE

ALTHOUGH NO OFFICIAL agreement has been signed, **Dallas and Riga** are pursuing a variety of active exchanges through the Dallas-Riga Partner Cities Program.

With corporate support from Occidental Chemical, Mary Kay Cosmetics, British Airways, and Texas Instruments, a four-member delegation traveled to Riga, the capital of Latvia, earlier this year to explore a partner city relationship. Meetings were held with a number of organizations and individuals to discuss exchanges projects.

The delegation met for two hours with Riga Mayor Alfreds Rubiks and the foreign affairs editor of the "Riga Voice" newspaper. Mayor Rubiks said he had encountered no opposition to the partner city proposal from the Riga City Council or from the public during his

recent re-election campaign.

As a result of the visit, Dallas and Riga are conducting educational exchanges between secondary, kindergarten and elementary schools; medical exchanges with hospitals, medical schools and physicians' societies; a legal exchange between Dallas law firms and members of the Latvian Lawyers' Association; media exchanges between the *Riga Voice* and Dallas newspapers and journalists; sports exchanges of soccer teams; religious exchanges between the Jewish Cultural Heritage Society of Riga and Dallas Jewish groups; cultural exchanges of Latvian and Texas music, conductors and art works; and business and trade exchanges.

Dallas-Riga Partner Cities Program has already completed a successful exchange between students of Russian at Sam Houston High School in Arlington and a Riga high school. Earlier this year, 10 students and their principal from Riga High School No. 40 spent three weeks living and going to school with Dallas students.

The following week, 10 Sam Houston students and a teacher went to Riga to live with Latvian students and to attend School No. 40. The exchange is planned for a minimum of three consecutive years.

While in Dallas, the Riga students were treated

to Six Flags Over Texas, International Wildlife Park, and an official welcome at City Hall. The students, who had studied English since age seven,

GETTING FORMAL

THE FIRST DELEGATION from the Ukrainian city of **Kharkov** spent a week in **Cincinnati** in September to "renew and strengthen



had little trouble with the language.

One member of the group said they were "overwhelmed at the friendliness and warmth of the Texas people. We are being treated as part of the family."

The host families reported that they had come to love their Soviet "children," and felt a tremendous loss when they left.

CONTACT: Chip Hider, P.O. Box 29728, Dallas, TX, 75229-0728 (214-696-9811).

ties" established by Cincinnati delegates who visited Kharkov in March, and to formalize a sister city relationship.

The delegates — 12 government, business and religious leaders — were greeted by a reception at the Greater Cincinnati Airport, including a brass band, flowers and school-children waving hand-colored pictures of the city flag of Kharkov.

A Cincinnati businessman welcomed the group

with a speech in Ukrainian, and greetings were extended by Cincinnati Vice Mayor Peter Strauss, who led a Cincinnati delegation to Kharkov in March.

That group also included the superintendent of Cincinnati schools, a Proctor and Gamble executive, a federal judge and the editor of the *Cincinnati Post*.

"Thank you for this most hearty welcome," said Konstantin Khirnyl, the delegation's leader. "We're just overwhelmed with emotions."

Other members of the delegation included the archbishop of Kharkov, the editor of the city newspaper, the head of a textile factory, and the 75-year-old president of the Kharkov Council of the Jewish Community.

On their way to Cincinnati, the group stopped for sightseeing in Washington, D.C., where they toured the White House, the Capitol, the Supreme Court and the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum.

A formal agreement linking the two communities and pledging future cultural and business exchanges was signed during the visit.

Kharkov, like Cincinnati, is a river city and an industrial center. With a population of 2.5 million, it is the sixth largest Soviet city.

CONTACT: Joseph J. Dehner, Cincinnati-Kharkov Sister City Project, Suite 906, Fifth and Race Tower, Cincinnati, OH 45202 (513-241-8800).

NUCLEAR FREE ZONES

WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN

Quake Points to Necessity
of Nuclear Free Zone,
City Officials Say.

WHEN THE CITY OF OAKLAND trembled fiercely for 15 seconds last October, bringing down a section of the double-deck Nimitz Freeway, the tragedy struck more than the people directly involved and their families. The earthquake also instilled a heightened sense of urgency among nuclear free zone supporters in Oakland and throughout the rest of the country, who now more than ever recognize some of the perils associated with nuclear materials.

The Nimitz Freeway is one of Oakland's main routes for the transport of radioactive materials, as they move from one military facility to another in the area (including the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, one of the nation's two nuclear weapons design labs). Court documents filed by the federal government revealed for the first time that Oakland is the hub of the Bay Area's nuclear weapons distribution network — and that the Nimitz had been approved for the movement of hazardous materials.

"It is chilling to think what would have happened if a vehicle carrying nuclear materials had been traveling along the Cypress Street section of the Nimitz when the quake hit," says Oakland Councilmember Wilson Riles, Jr. The earthquake points to the necessity for a nuclear free zone ordinance for the area, Riles says.

Nearly a year before the quake, 57 percent of Oakland's voters approved

NUCLEAR DISASTER?

Recently filed federal documents reveal that the Nimitz Freeway had been approved for the movement of nuclear weapons.

an NFZ ordinance. Soon after, the city found itself under legal attack by two separate suits — first by the conservative Pacific Legal Foundation, which filed on behalf of several individuals and private businesses, claiming their businesses would suffer as a result of the NFZ ordinance, and that "national security" would be threatened.

In September, the U.S. Department of Justice filed its own suit against the city of Oakland. In its complaint, the federal government asserted that the Oakland NFZ unconstitutionally "interferes with federal... activities relating to nuclear weapons, nuclear energy and the transportation of radioactive materials."

Barely two months after the Justice Department filed its suit, and only a month after the quake, local officials from across the country came together at the National League of Cities meeting in Atlanta to formally create an organization they believe will give the NFZ movement more clout. Susan DeFrancesco, organizer of the founding workshop, says the new U.S. Nuclear Free Zone Association (USNFZA) will focus on producing educational materials for local authorities and the public, sponsoring conferences and workshops, commissioning studies on economic conversion, and providing local authorities with the strength and numbers necessary to promote the NFZ movement.

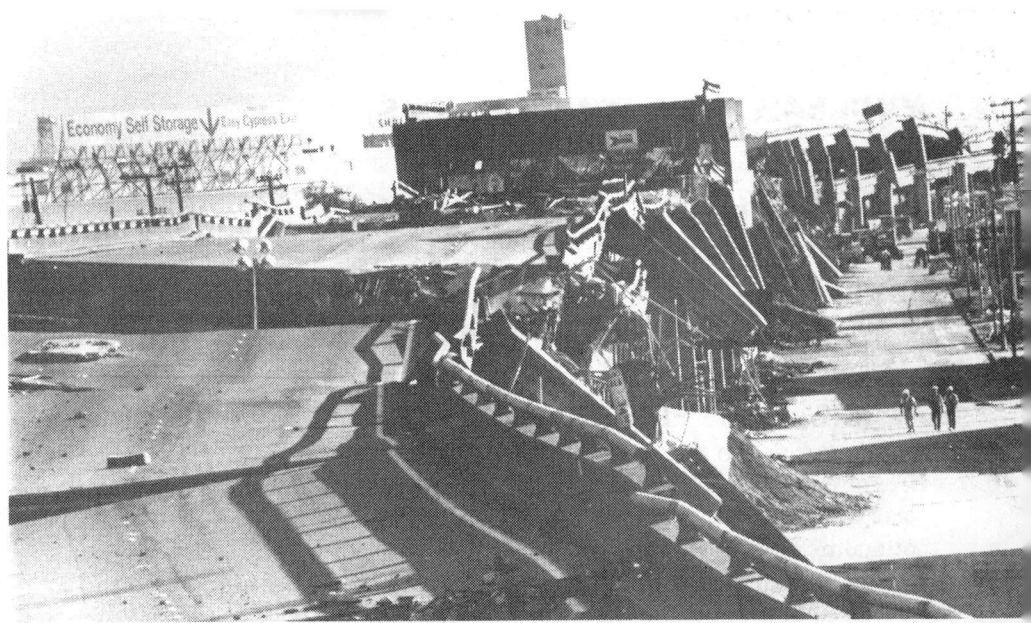
Riles says the new association will

"bring together the 168 U.S. nuclear free zone cities to aggressively advocate for local government's right to make policy on this critical public safety issue." Through the organization, he also expects NFZ cities to help one another in their selective purchasing efforts, sharing information on where to find products manufactured by non-nuclear-related corporations.

Right now, however, Riles will ask each member of the USNFZA to file "friend of the court" briefs in support of Oakland's legal defense of its ordinance. "We may also be requesting financial assistance as the case progresses because we feel it could become very expensive and go all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court."

"There's a public safety issue when you're talking about transporting nuclear materials," says Jaime Vasquez, a Jersey City (NJ) Councilmember and a founding member of the USNFZA organizing committee. "In Jersey City, just like in Oakland, we have many miles of railroad tracks where all kinds of materials, nuclear and otherwise, are transported. And we don't need to have attention brought to this issue only by a tragedy where, God forbid, 1000 or 2000 people may become contaminated."

SOURCES: U.S. Nuclear Free Zone Association, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-5457); Wilson Riles, Jr., Oakland City Councilmember, One City Hall Plaza, Oakland, CA 94612; Jaime Vasquez, Jersey City Councilmember, City Hall, Jersey City, NJ 07302 (201-547-5204); Roland De Wolk, "Oakland Is Area's Nuclear Transport Hub," *Oakland Tribune*, 6 November 1989, p. 1.



CITIES WITHOUT NUKES

In this issue: Santa Cruz tells the Feds it won't study war no more, Alaska and San Diego get their first looks at life without nukes, and much more.

ALASKA GETS FIRST NFZ

NO ONE HAS TO EXPLAIN TO HARRY Gregoire just how devastating a nuclear war can be. Gregoire, a city councilmember in Homer (AK), still vividly recalls the destruction he witnessed at ground zero in Hiroshima more than 44 years ago. He was one of the first American servicemen sent to what remained of the Japanese city immediately after the end of the World War II.

On the outskirts of Hiroshima, some buildings were only mildly wind-damaged. But, as he recently recalled, "Then as you got closer in, the destruction was total. It was eerie. Dead."

Those horrifying memories are still a part of Gregoire, and explain his support for turning Homer into Alaska's first nuclear free zone. And last October, a majority of the voters in Homer demonstrated that they shared his belief. When the townspeople had a chance to vote on an NFZ measure, they approved it by a 52 to 48 percent margin.

The Homer ordinance bans the design, production, deployment, launching, maintenance or storage of nuclear weapons within Homer's city limits. Proponents conceded that the measure was largely symbolic. During the campaign, Rose Specht, an organizer of the pro-NFZ forces, wrote, "Admittedly, the chances of Homer becoming a military planning or industrial center are remote. But there is no place too remote to be affected by the accidental or intentional release of nuclear energy. We have every right to join with the 16 million people already living in nuclear free zones in the United States."

The measure was also endorsed by the city's newspaper, *The Homer News*. In its editorial, the newspaper

explained, "It may be only a gesture, but this proposition is a chance to go on record against the insanity of proliferation."

The pro-NFZ campaign was more than a year-long effort by the Committee for a Nuclear Free Homer. In September 1988, supporters collected 500 signatures and published them in a full-page advertisement in the local paper. Smaller ads appeared in subsequent weeks, and at a city council hearing on the issue, 53 residents testified, only two of whom opposed the ordinance. Although the city council initially declined to place the measure on the ballot, a later vote (4-to-1) reversed that decision.

SOURCES: Alaskans for Peace, P.O. Box 363, Homer, AK 99603; Hal Spence, "Anti-Nuclear Measure Squeaks By," *Homer News*, October 5, 1989, p. 1; Tom Kizzia, "Homer Creates a Nuclear-Free Zone," *Anchorage Daily News*, October 4, 1989, p. C-1; "Our Choices," *Homer News*, September 28, 1989, p. 4; Hal Spence, "Harry Gregoire Recalls Hiroshima," *Homer News*, August 3, 1989, p. 1.

NO DUMPING IN WARWICK

WARWICK (POP. 650) BECAME Massachusetts' twenty-ninth nuclear free zone on May 8, 1989. Over 170 people at the annual Town Meeting voted unanimously in favor of a tough bylaw banning both nuclear weapons and nuclear waste. The main purpose of the law, according to its proponents, is to protect the town from being chosen by the state (which owns nearly half the local land) as the site for a nuclear waste dump.

Violations of the NFZ law are subject to a fine of \$300 per day, with all collected fines to be budgeted "for environmental protection and rehabilitation."

SOURCE: Mickey Williamson, Chair, Selectboard, Town Hall, Warwick, MA 01364 (508-544-7010); *The New Abolitionist*, Volume 7, Number 3 & 4, the quarterly newsletter of Nuclear Free America, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore MD 21218 (301-235-3575, fax 301-235-5457).

A MORAL STAND

DEL MAR (POP. 5,017) IS NOW California's 25th nuclear free zone, thanks to a virtual one-woman campaign organized by local resident Martha Kaye. At Kaye's urging, the city council voted unanimously on August 14, 1989 to direct the city manager and city attorney to prepare an NFZ ordinance. The final ordinance was then adopted, also by unanimous vote, on October 2, 1989.

This is the first successful NFZ campaign in the San Diego area, and Kaye says it was inspired by New Zealand's example. "By making the decision to remain free of nuclear weapons, we not only draw a line of peace around our own city, but we join other communities in this country and around the world who have taken this common stand against the proliferation of nuclear weapons in a shared concern for life on this planet," Kaye says.

Mayor Brooke Eisenberg was one of those won over by Kaye's arguments. "The city is taking a moral stand," Eisenberg says, "and I'm proud that we're doing it."

SOURCE: Martha Kaye, 240 Ocean View Ave, Del Mar CA 92014; *The New Abolitionist*, Volume 7, Number 3 & 4, the quarterly newsletter of Nuclear Free America, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore MD 21218 (301-235-3575, fax 301-235-5457).

NUCLEAR FREE COUNCIL

ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1989, THE Shaker Heights city council unanimously passed an ordinance declaring the city a nuclear free zone. The council passed the ordinance at the request of the Committee For A Nuclear Free Shaker Heights.

Initially, the committee had worked to place an NFZ initiative on the ballot for November, but after the council passed the ordinance, they decided to remove it from the ballot.

"The committee removed the

issue from the ballot because we were concerned that our issue would not get the attention it deserved due to three other local issues also on the ballot," explained committee member Lilian Levine. "We have accomplished our goals. The council passed the ordinance and we have been able to increase public awareness over the past year."

The committee was confident that the initiative would have passed. Over 1,600 voters signed the petition to place it on the ballot. In addition, the city council had unanimously endorsed the initiative in June. Other endorsements came from many religious and political leaders, including Congressman Louis Stokes, State Senator Lee Fisher, and State Representatives Jane Campbell and Judy Sheerer.

SOURCE: Polly Silverman, 3446 Old Green Rd., Beachwood OH 44122; *The New Abolitionist*, Volume 7, Number 3 & 4, the quarterly newsletter of Nuclear Free America, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore MD 21218 (301-235-3575, fax 301-235-5457).

PURCHASING POWER

THE CITY COUNCIL OF ARCATA, California, voted unanimously on August 2, 1989 to add a nuclear-free purchasing policy to the NFZ legislation it adopted in November 1986. The tougher ordinance directs the city purchasing agent not to buy products or services over \$500 from nuclear weapons contractors as long as a reasonable non-nuclear alternative is available and the added cost (if any) is not more than five percent. About 30 companies will be affected by the boycott, including such major suppliers as General Electric, General Motors, and AT&T.

The majority of the councilmembers, who voted 3-2 against the nuclear-free purchasing policy at a hearing in July, admit to changing their minds this time because of overwhelming public support. They may have also remembered that 72

percent of city voters supported the Humboldt County NFZ initiative passed last November.

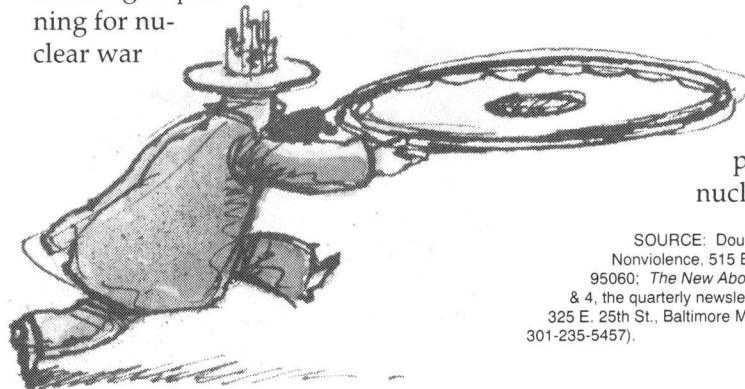
The ordinance was drafted by Arcata's Economic Conversion Task Force, which worked for over two years on the project with local administrators and elected officials. With the adoption of the ordinance, the Task Force is disbanding and will be replaced by a seven-member NFZ Commission appointed by the city council.

One of the commission's first tasks (stipulated in the new ordinance) will be to develop a proposal for the complete divestment of public funds from nuclear weapons contractors.

SOURCE: Louise Becking, 1415 Virginia Way, Arcata, CA 95501 (707-822-1649); *ECONEWS*, September 1989; *The New Abolitionist*, Volume 7, Number 3 & 4, the quarterly newsletter of Nuclear Free America, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore MD 21218 (301-235-3575, fax 301-235-5457).

NO WAR PLANS

THE SANTA CRUZ COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, Board of Supervisors voted 4-1 on September 26, 1989 to delete all references to national defense and civil defense planning for nuclear war from the county's "radiological protection plan" required by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). The vote reaffirms the Board's long-standing policy, first adopted by resolution in 1982, that no meaningful planning for nuclear war



survival or recovery is possible.

"The only truly effective way to plan" said Board Chairman Gary Patton, "is to plan for the elimination of the weapons themselves."

According to David Wold, an official with California's Office of Emergency Services (which administers FEMA funds), the board's decision will result in the county's almost immediate suspension from a FEMA program that helps underwrite the operational costs of local emergency services. The county faces the loss of at least \$14,500 in its next budget and might even have to repay \$40,000 in allocations from the last three years.

"[FEMA's] position is quite simply this," says Wold. "War in our world is a possibility that can take place either because we or some other country could decide at any time to start throwing bombs around." Planning for nuclear war is still a national priority, he insists. The federal government "won't help with salaries and benefits [for local emergency services] if Santa Cruz County doesn't share federal priorities."

In deciding to say no to FEMA, the board of supervisors also took the extraordinary step of appealing to every other county in California to do likewise. They also wrote to Senator Alan Cranston and their Congressman, Leon Panetta, asking them to do whatever they can to ensure that neither Santa Cruz County nor any other jurisdiction loses federal funding for emergency services simply because they refuse to participate in "illusory planning" for nuclear war.

SOURCE: Doug Rand, Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz CA 95060; *The New Abolitionist*, Volume 7, Number 3 & 4, the quarterly newsletter of Nuclear Free America, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore MD 21218 (301-235-3575, fax 301-235-5457).



A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

Other U.S. cities are struggling for foreign investment dollars, but Honolulu Mayor Frank Fasi says foreign ownership hurts.

GREG SOKOLOWSKI

NO YEN FOR FOREIGN INVESTORS

Honolulu Mayor Frank Fasi Comes Out Swinging

There's a joke making the rounds in Waikiki, that goes like this: "What's the difference between a Japanese hotel owner and a terrorist?" "You can negotiate with a terrorist."

The joke, however unfriendly, underscores the growing sentiment in the 50th state that Japanese investors are playing hardball on the islands, often at the expense of Hawaii's residents.

As the Bulletin has reported in the

past, Frank F. Fasi, Honolulu's outspoken mayor, has frequently gone to bat against Japanese investments. He has waged a vocal, often abrasive, campaign against Japanese purchases in the Hawaiian housing market, which he claims are sending housing values and property taxes soaring in the state. He also sharply criticized the Roman Catholic Church when it announced its intention to sell St. Augustine Catholic Church — just across the street from Waikiki Beach — to Japanese investors, who planned to build a luxury, high-rise condominium complex on the site.

These days, Mayor Fasi still reacts bitterly to would-be foreign investors in his city's housing market. Last October, he refused to meet with Japanese developer Gensiro Kawamoto, who in 1987, bought more than 170 single-family homes, condominiums and vacant lots in a single buying spree in Hawaii.

Last fall, with Kawamoto seeking to talk to Fasi about his plans to build 250 apartments and two "affordable" subdivisions, the mayor angrily declined, explaining, "He thinks that millions of dollars can buy anybody. He thinks that because he's a billionaire, all he has to do is have one of his lawyers . . . call my office and say, 'I want in.'"

Mayor Fasi and his supporters in Hawaii concede that they're faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, foreign dollars help fuel the state's tourist-oriented economy. But on the other, they fear losing control over their own present and future as foreigners control an increasing share of the islands.

The average single-family home in Honolulu now costs \$265,000, and Mayor Fasi blames Japanese real estate investors for forcing prices far beyond what most local residents can afford. In some of the more exclusive neighborhoods in and around Honolulu, housing prices have soared 800 percent since 1984. The Japanese own half of Hawaii's hotel rooms, and 19 of the state's 36 private golf courses.

The Republican mayor complains about the way Hawaiian real estate is marketed in sales offices set up in Japanese department stores. According to Fasi, salesmen "in effect tell the Japanese, 'You were stupid to bomb Pearl Harbor. All you had to do was buy us out!'" Fasi is still pushing strongly for one of his earliest initiatives — trying to convince the state legislature to ban foreign ownership of residential property (except for personal occupancy), and a limit on foreign ownership of business, industrial and resort properties.

But the state legislature has not been responsive to Fasi in the past, and there are plenty of opponents who have taken him to task. Nevertheless, Democratic Governor John Waihee has expressed support for some eco-

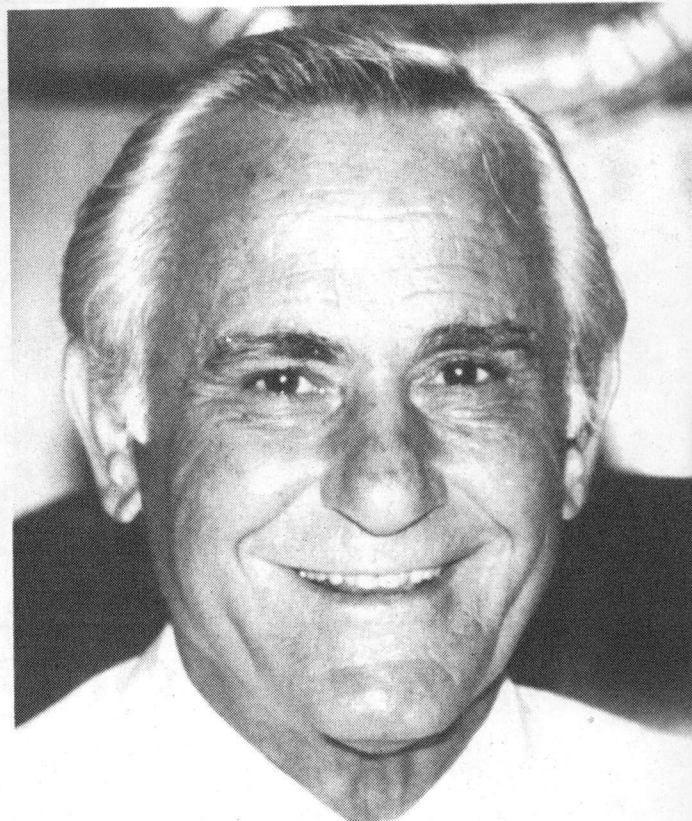
nomics incentives that would move foreign investors away from real estate speculation, without driving them away as a major source of Hawaii's capital. Harold Masumoto, Hawaii's director of state planning, argues that the state "has always been dependent on foreign capital. We're interdependent, not only with the U.S., but with the world. . . . Seventy percent of all our major development is now being financed by offshore sources. We need leeway to direct that investment, not just to forbid it or to allow it to come in like a tidal wave."

The Honolulu city council has implemented a one-year moratorium on new golf-course construction, and similar measures are being debated by the county governments on some of the other islands, including Maui and Kauai.

"What we really need on Maui is a moratorium on all non-residential development," says state Sen. Rick Reed. "What we need is affordable housing. But what we get is more hotels, golf courses and homes for millionaires."

When Mayor Fasi refused to meet with Kawamoto, the men exchanged undiplomatic accusations in the press. When that was over, an angry Kawamoto said he was contemplating taking his investment plans and dollars from Honolulu to somewhere else. Perhaps, he conjectured, he'll take them to Maui.

SOURCES: Abe Poe-Poe, Mayor Frank Fasi's office, City Hall, Honolulu, HI 96813 (808-523-4141); Hawaii Office of State Planning (808-548-4025); Paul Nussbaum, "Hawaii Seeks to Stem Tide of Japanese Investment," *The Register*, October 8, 1989, p. N13.



According to Fasi, Hawaiian salesmen tell the Japanese, "You were stupid to bomb Pearl Harbor. All you had to do was buy us out."



RICK REINHARD / IMPACT VISUALS

PRESIDENT FOR LIFE.

The City of Minneapolis cut its ties to O'Connor & Hannan, the law firm polishing the image of ARENA's President-for-Life, Roberto d'Aubuisson.

MINNEAPOLIS LAW

This week on "Minneapolis Law": The firm's dealings with a shadowy, neo-Nazi political party become the subject of City Council debate.

The Minneapolis City Council has terminated its contract with a prestigious Twin Cities law firm because the firm also represents ties to a right-wing Salvadoran political party implicated in death squad activities.

The Council's 10-2 mid-December decision struck a serious financial blow to O'Connor & Hannan, a law firm which represented the Salvadoran political party ARENA until last spring, when a grassroots campaign grew up around the firm's offices in Washington, D.C., and Minneapolis. In the wake of those protests, the name on the firm's client list was changed from ARENA to the party's successful

candidate for president in last year's Salvadoran elections, Alfredo Cristiani.

But the legal legerdemain didn't quell protest. Activists seized upon O'Connor & Hannan's \$500,000 per year contract with the city of Minneapolis as a pressure point, persuading councilmembers to consider severing the city's ties with the firm.

Councilmember Brian Coyle, who with Councilmember Carol Johnson, introduced the resolution to end the relationship, said the city has a responsibility to "to raise an ethical question about doing business with a law firm that represents someone like Cristiani, just as we would with a law firm that represents a Colombian drug lord."

Cristiani's ARENA party has, throughout the decade, been linked to

death squad activities in El Salvador. Robert White, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, called ARENA's President-for-Life, Alberto d'Aubuisson, a "pathological killer" and accused d'Aubuisson of modeling ARENA after the German Nazi party.

But O'Connor & Hannan representatives argue that ARENA remains innocent until proven guilty. One of the firm's lawyers, D.C.-based Joseph Blatchford, designs public relations campaigns for foreign clients who hope to avail themselves of the largess of the U.S. Treasury. Blatchford designed the ARENA campaign and says he's convinced, "as a lawyer and a fair-minded person, that these people [ARENA] have absolutely no ties, links, associations, or anything you say, to any kind of violence."

Apparently, Blatchford's enthusiasm for ARENA is contagious — at least around Capitol Hill. In April 1989, Blatchford arranged for meetings between the Georgetown-educated Cristiani and *Washington Post* editor Ben Bradlee, and with 55 Congressional representatives, Senators, and administration officials. He pushed the affable Cristiani before ABC, CBS and NBC television cameras. Cristiani's name appeared on an opinion piece in the *New York Times*.

The result has been fortuitous for the financially strapped government of El Salvador. Cristiani's inauguration plea — that his administration be given at least a chance to resolve his nation's bone-grinding, decade-long civil war — was taken up by a chorus of federal officials in both parties. And U.S. aid to El Salvador, much of it in the form of military aid, continues to flow into the country at rates once thought politically impossible if ARENA gained power.

City officials first questioned Minneapolis' relationship to the law firm last spring. At a demonstration outside the D.C. offices of O'Connor & Hannan, protesters read a letter signed by four Minneapolis councilmembers decrying the firm's ARENA connection. The letter expressed disbelief that a firm representing Minneapolis was also "spearheading the effort to sell the ARENA party to Congress and the American people."

Blatchford says his firm shouldn't have to choose between ARENA and Minneapolis. "I think [Cristiani and ARENA] deserve a hearing, and they deserve to get their thoughts across just as much as anybody else," Blatchford says.

But supporters of the move to sever ties between the city and the law firm note that O'Connor & Hannan does not represent ARENA or Cristiani in the court of law, but in the court of public opinion.

Another resolution supporter, Twin Cities writer Mary Tuck, wrote, "If O'Connor & Hannan were defend-



THE POWER BEHIND THE THRONE.

The sign says "Cristiani is the President We All Want." But the crowd at this rally wants former O'Connor & Hannan client d'Aubuisson, center. Cristiani applauds at right, with his wife.

ing d'Aubuisson on charges of planning and directing the assassination of Archbishop [Oscar] Romero or for any of the other death-squad murders, the firm's activities might be understandable. But that's not what the firm is doing. Instead it is acting as a public relations agency. It is lobbying the U.S. Congress and propagandizing the U.S. public on behalf of terrorists."

The Minneapolis City Council apparently agrees. Councilmembers Coyle and Carol Johnson introduced a resolution, approved on December 15, terminating the city's relationship with O'Connor & Hannan. The same resolution calls on the city's "Congressional delegation to reconsider and terminate its \$1.5 million per day funding support of the ARENA or any other entity involved in the repression of the people of El Salvador.

One councilmember who originally opposed the resolution, Walt Dziedzic, had said O'Connor & Hannan's clients are none of the city's business: "I'm not real knowledgeable about politics in South America [sic], but O'Connor & Hannan's relationship with El Salvador has nothing to do with the city of Minneapolis."

But Dziedzic changed his mind in the wake of the killings last November in El Salvador of six Jesuit priests. Most observers attribute those killings to the Salvadoran military.

In a hearing on the resolution,

Dziedzic said he had always opposed council action on foreign policy issues. But his work as a policeman in a working-class district of Minneapolis brought him into contact with nuns like the church workers murdered in El Salvador by right-wing military death squads. "Now," he said, "I've gone full circle — from cop to protestor. I'm not proud of myself for sitting silent on El Salvador. I sat silent till the Jesuits were murdered, and I'm not going to sit silent anymore."

Dziedzic's approval was a surprise victory for activists who, days before the council vote, already counted enough votes for passage of the resolution and had figured on Dziedzic's undying opposition.

Trouble has only started for O'Connor & Hannan. The day before Council passage of the resolution, five lawyers left the firm. And around the nation, Twin Cities activists say, the O'Connor & Hannan campaign has engulfed offices in Alaska, California, Colorado, Michigan, Washington, D.C. and, abroad, offices in London and Madrid.

SOURCES: Mary Swenson, Central American Resource Center, 1407 Cleveland Avenue North, St. Paul, MN 55108 (612-644-8030); Maura Lerner, "Law firm criticized for El Salvador clients' politics," *Star Tribune*, April 7, 1989, p. 3B; Mary C. Tuck, "Local firm lobbies for Salvadoran right wing," *Star Tribune*, May 28, 1989, p. 17A; Karen Branan, "Flak Catcher," *Corporate Report Minnesota*, November 1989, p. 35; Gregor W. Pinney, "El Salvador lobbyists under fire at City Hall," *Star Tribune*, October 13, 1989; O'Connor & Hannan (612-341-3800). Alexander Cockburn, "Lights! Cameras! for East European Protests, Darkness at Home," *The Wall Street Journal*, December 7, 1989, p. A15.

THE TIES THAT BIND

British and Nicaraguan towns continue to form "twinning" relationships, despite Prime Minister Thatcher's opposition to the Sandinistas.

When Hazel Smith, formerly an elected councilor in the London borough of Lambeth, first approached the Nicaraguan ambassador in London about the possibility of twinning Lambeth with the Nicaraguan village of Bluefields in a sister-city link, he appeared bemused. "What the hell's twinning?" he asked.

Today, that question isn't asked very often. Not only did Lambeth eventually form the first British twinning with a Nicaraguan town in 1984, but the entire twinning movement has taken off.

There are now at least 15 official civic links between Nicaraguan and British municipalities, all blessed by a formal resolution of the local elected council or municipality.

Oxford has been linked with Leon, Liverpool with Corinto, Sheffield with Esteli, Manchester with Puerto Cabezas. And in all of these British cities, community residents have been brought into the sister city movement through an array of "link groups," which support people-to-people contacts within the twinning relationships. These groups have served as avenues for participation by trade unions, schools, churches and women's groups. For example, the Lambeth-Bluefields Ecumenical Council has grown out of the ties of the two communities, supporting various

projects and arranging for visiting Nicaraguan clergy to preach in Lambeth.

The twinned towns have sponsored a variety of projects over the years. Leicester has sent a building brigade to Masaya, and supports a sewing cooperative by providing it with materials. Sheffield is pursuing a development project that will bring a

given Daniel Ortega even the frosty welcome that she did in early 1989, were it not for the cumulative and active political effort in Britain at the local level over the last five years to insist on political and diplomatic recognition for the FSLN as a party and government," says Smith.

Some conservative politicians still attack twinning as "left-wing lunacy,"

insisting that local councils should be dealing with problems at home rather than those in Nicaragua. But Smith points out that the local elected representatives "who are active on Nicaragua are exactly those who are concerned about poverty, discrimination, and poor housing in their own communities."

Local officials active on Nicaragua are exactly those concerned about poverty, discrimination, and poor housing in their own communities.

sewage system to Esteli.

Without doubt, Nicaragua is a safer political issue in England than in the U.S., largely because there are no ongoing debates over contra funding. Even so, the twinning movement has encountered its share of controversies and obstacles along the way. When a delegation from Lambeth traveled to Bluefields in 1985, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher condemned both Lambeth and the Sandinistas.

But supporters credit the project with curbing Thatcher's anti-Sandinista instincts. "In my opinion, it is unlikely that Mrs. Thatcher would have

Smith herself was an elected councilor for the Labour Party from 1979 to 1986. In 1986, along with 30 colleagues, she was disqualified from office for five years for refusing to implement conservative government directives to cut jobs and services in Lambeth, an inner-city area with high unemployment. In 1989, she was a visiting scholar to the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.

Some of the controversy surrounding the British-Nicaraguan twinings have been defused by a lot of advance planning when these ties are being developed. Officials and



THE REAL VICTIMS.

Tories attack twinning as a left-wing initiative. But supporters say the sister city relationships aim to help people, like the war orphans at this child-care center supported by twinning proponents in Wisconsin.

citizens with objections are given a chance to air their views; local journalists are encouraged to visit Nicaragua to report on what is happening there.

"A journalist from Lambeth's local newspaper who visited Nicaragua 'to see for himself' was in Nicaragua at the time of the hurricane," says Smith. "When he spoke to me, he said that he had visited Nicaragua intending to be cynical, but he had been taken aback by the openness of the people he had met throughout the country. He had witnessed some of the destruction to the Atlantic Coast, and this was what he reported in the British press."

On occasion, the sister city ties still blow up in embarrassing ways. In 1988, when Bristol linked itself with the village of Puerto Morazan, the Nicaraguan ambassador spoke before the Bristol council. But during that visit, the ambassador was publicly attacked by the Tory opposition, who

denounced Nicaragua's alleged "human rights violations."

For the most part, however, the city relationships are proceeding smoothly. Nicaraguan flags have flown over British town halls, marking the official recognition of the FSLN. Nicaraguan leaders like Ray Hooker, a Bluefields resident and chair of the Nicaraguan National Assembly's foreign relations commission, has visited Britain several times, and has met with Labour members of Parliament. Proponents say that the movement's biggest successes have been political, providing a platform for leaders like Hooker to be heard by members of the House of Commons.

According to Smith, several principles guide the links between British and Nicaraguan cities, including a commitment to never make a promise that might not be kept. "Councils in Britain are tied by restrictive local

government legislation which forbids them to divert council resources out of the municipality", she says. It is possible to be inventive within these constraints, but it is unlikely that British local authorities under a conservative government will have the scope of their continental counterparts."

A large part of the objectives of these sisterly ties is education. In 1986, Smith wrote, "Our twinning movement must engage the wider community in explaining the truth about Nicaragua."

By working with Nicaragua we at the same time diminish support for the Reagan/Thatcher view of the world which not only seeks to destroy the liberation movements of the poor countries of the world but also the independent struggles of the working class and disadvantaged within their own nations. We have a common struggle." ||

LOBBYING FOR NICARAGUA IN TUCSON

Things have changed in Tucson. But in Tucson's new Nicaraguan sister city, things are pretty much the way they've always been: Rough.

Sheldon Rampton

OH, BROTHER, NOT ANOTHER sister city," groused an editorial in the October 4, 1989 *Tucson Citizen*, two days after the Tucson City Council voted 6-1 to adopt the Nicaraguan town of Santo Domingo as Tucson's seventh sister city.

"The way the Communist-backed Sandinistas have wrecked Nicaragua and made poverty an epidemic, aid is the least their staunch U.S. supporters can offer," the editorial continued. "But lending Tucson's name to the cause is irresponsible."

The council's official endorsement of the sister-city project reflected a year and a half effort by project supporters in Tucson, whose activities included collecting 2,267 signatures on a petition and hundreds of phone calls to the city council.

"I don't know if we would have committed so much time and energy to getting official sponsorship if we'd known ahead of time how much work it was going to be," commented Tucson-Santo Domingo Sister City Project founder Mark Mayer. "Of course, if the sister-city relationship turns out to be a long-term and sustainable one, then it was all worth it."

The lone vote against the sister-city relationship came from Roy B. Laos III, the only Republican on the city council. Laos argued that the "cultural, educational, material and personal exchanges" specified in the sister-city bill directly violate the economic boycott against Nicaragua in effect since it was imposed by Presi-

dent Reagan on May 1, 1985.

Other city officials, including Mayor Thomas J. Volgy, had previously expressed reservations but were swayed by the level of community support during the project's campaign for recognition. "I don't see what business government has to say no to its citizens," commented Councilmember Bruce Wheeler, who authored the sister-city resolution.

"We assisted Santo Domingo before official recognition and would have continued even if the council had refused to grant recognition," said project participant William Scanlon in response to the *Citizen* editorial. But Mayer, who as chairperson of the Santo Domingo project will now sit on the sister-city steering committee, expressed optimism that official recognition will help organizers "to reach into the broadest and most diverse segments of the community and involve them in programs with their Nicaraguan counterparts based on peace, friendship and mutual respect."

Tucson's people-to-people relationship with Santo Domingo got its start in the spring of 1987, when Mayer attended a sister cities conference in Seattle, Washington. He had heard about Santo Domingo's desire to establish a sister-city relationship with a North American community through another Tucson resident familiar with the town, and through his volunteer work with Witness for Peace, a church-based organization that monitors the contra war.

At the Seattle conference, Mayer became interested in several similarities between Tucson and Santo Dom-

ingo, a town of 6500 in the central department of Chontales. Culturally, "Santo Domingo is like the Wild West," he said. "It really has the flavor of old Tucson: unpaved streets, covered boardwalks, horses everywhere, and even a rodeo." Santo Domingo is also located in the heart of cattle country — 25 percent of the country's beef comes from Chontales — and a relatively modern mining facility operates in nearby La Libertad, sister city to East Lansing, Michigan.

Perhaps the most significant parallel between Tucson and Santo Domingo is the political conservatism that Mayer said creates "a difficult milieu" for community organizations in both cities. "Chontales is the most conservative area in all of Nicaragua," Mayer says. "There are plenty of Somocistas [supporters of ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza] still living in Santo Domingo and the surrounding area. Arizona is the home of Barry Goldwater and was one of the last states to recognize Martin Luther King Day."

Tucson has undergone significant political change since 1987, when several Democrats were elected to the city council and Volgy, also a Democrat, replaced a 16-year, 4-term Republican mayor. Though Volgy expressed support for the sister-city program in his electoral platform, he began to hedge after taking office, saying the relationship would not bring trade benefits comparable to those that Tucson enjoys in its sister relationships with cities in Taiwan, Italy and the Soviet Union. "We were sitting with only three votes in support of the bill for a long time," Mayer said.

Despite the council's initial recal-

citance, grassroots support for the project is impressive and includes visits to Santo Domingo by 24 Tucsonians and 15 other Arizonans since December 1988. The project's most impressive achievement has been repairing Santo Domingo's water system following a comprehensive survey carried out by an engineer who joined the first Tucson delegation.

The conclusions of that 57-page study were dismal: 80 percent of the water was being lost due to leaks. Low pressure meant that higher elevation neighborhoods had no water. Only 40 percent of the homes in Santo Domingo even had connections. Much of the water finally spilling from the tap was contaminated by bacteria.

In January 1989, Tucson plumber Darry Dolan spent several months in Santo Domingo locating the main line which brings water from the source, through heavily jungled area, to the storage tank in town. He found major leaks and conducted a door-to-door survey of homes with water service to discover their most urgent needs. Based on this information, the Tucson Sister City Project raised \$2,500 in plumbing supplies between April and August, which has enabled Dolan to make over 400 repairs in the Santo Domingo water system.

The Project's other material aid has also been substantial, including a donated school bus loaded with four tons of relief and development aid that six Tucson residents drove to Santo Domingo after Hurricane Joan hit Nicaragua in October 1988. The bus became the first municipal transportation in Santo Domingo's history.

"All of us who have worked in Santo Domingo have gained far more than we have given," said William Scanlon, one of drivers of the bus. "We have seen how a small, remote, Third World community — in spite of poverty, a trade embargo, and an 8-year-old war — can cope with its problems and merit any encouragement we can bring. ... In spite of the tragic history of

invasion and occupation of Nicaragua, the people of that small country harbor no bitterness toward the people of the United States and receive all who come in peace with love and sacrificial hospitality."

For the future, Mayer says the project hopes to establish on-going exchanges of staff and materials with Santo Domingo's health center. Three Tucson health care professionals who attended an annual international health colloquium in Managua in November spent time afterward in Santo Domingo to lay the groundwork for future exchanges and to make preparations for the first delegation of Santo Domingans to visit Tucson.

Mayer's advice to other sister city programs is straightforward: "If you're thinking of undertaking technical projects like our water project, don't bite off more than you can chew." He notes that Tucson's effort has required six to seven months of volunteer time on the part of the plumber, plus the time involved in the engineer's initial survey, a full-time organizer back in Tucson, and an active membership to raise funds and local awareness.

"Really assess what you think you can do and then commit to it," counsels Mayer. "It's better to do a smaller project and do it right than to take on something you can't handle, given your resources and expertise."

As for Tucson's experience, Mayer says project members are "proud of having been able to do so much. The program has really meant a lot to the people involved in it. There is something very fulfilling about having an ongoing relationship with a community in Nicaragua, and being able to see changes and progress in a single town in the course of the relationship."

CONTACT: Mark Mayer, Tucson-Santo Domingo Sister City Project, P.O. Box 40043, Tucson, AZ 85717 (602-326-4522).

One parallel between the two cities is the political conservatism that creates a difficult milieu for community organizations.

THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

In this issue: Sacramento carries water, Amherst tugs at the leash, the contras shoot the wrong American, and much more.

TAKING UP THE CHALLENGE

Last January, when the first delegation of citizens from **Sacramento**, California, visited their new sister city of **San Juan de Oriente**, Nicaragua, they were appalled.

They were shocked to find 96 families sharing

two water faucets among them, and no electricity whatsoever. They were shocked to see the state of disrepair and lack of materials at the local elementary school. They were also dismayed at seeing the effects of the trade embargo on the town's two ceramic cooperatives — the main source of livelihood of the community — which are forced to use antiquated equipment for lack of spare parts and materials.

After meeting with Mayor Carlos Lopez and other community leaders, the Sacramento delegation, organized by the newly formed Friends of San Juan (FSJ), commented that "the people ... seemed to have very clear ideas of what is needed to improve their community, and in fact provided detailed lists of materials needed for each project."

On the return of the delegation, FSJ, a joint project of the Sacramento Religious Community for Peace and the Sacramento Central America Action Committee, which has about 35 active members, decided to give priority to three projects: reconstruction and expansion of the school; construction of a children's playground; and

electrification of the zone which the delegation had visited. The school project alone will cost about \$7,000, but FSJ is committed to raising the necessary funds and materials and delivering them with a future delegation.

Group members say they have "accepted the challenge to establish people-to-people diplomacy in regard to Nicaragua." They chose this form of solidarity over others because, "so long as we dissipate our energy in demonstrations and letter writing campaigns opposing U.S. military intervention in Central America, Washington can claim that people are exercising their democratic rights of free expression — and then turn around and continue whatever foreign policy it wishes."

CONTACT: Peter Feeley, P.O. Box 163078, Sacramento, CA 95816 (916-456-2616).

HOPEFUL BUT HOBbled

OFFICIAL STATUS AS A town committee has drawbacks as well as advantages, according to an organizer with the sister-city project linking **Amherst**, Massachusetts, to **La Paz Centro** in Nicaragua.

Among the advantages, says Page Bancroft, is "a certain legitimacy that helps our fundraising and publicity, and gives the people a feeling of town-wide participation."

On the other hand, delays in establishing a trust fund for the project have meant that "all our finances have to be handled by and through the Town Treasurer. While we have good relations with the treasurer, there are sometimes overloads in that office that cause delays in some of our transactions."

Furthermore, the city resolution formalizing Amherst's sister-city program restricts the project's activities to La Paz Centro, excluding projects in other parts of Nicaragua. After Hurricane Joan hit Nicaragua in November 1988, that restriction forced some Amherst residents to establish a separate relief committee to respond to the needs of other communities in Nicaragua that took the brunt of the hurricane's damage.

A similar technicality limits participation in the project to people in the Amherst area. "Amherst is the center of a region of small towns," Bancroft explains. "If a committee member shifts residence to

STEVE CAGAN

The Global Village is compiled by Sheldon Rampton and Beth Katz of the Wisconsin Coordinating Committee on Nicaragua, PO Box 1534, Madison WI 53701 (608-257-7230). With this issue of the Bulletin, WCCN's Beth Katz leaves for a research trip to Guatemala. We wish her good luck.

another of the towns, he/she can no longer serve on this town committee."

Despite these hurdles, the Amherst-La Paz Centro Sister City Project has managed to carry out a steady series of activities. The project's current priority is raising money to purchase an ambulance for the sister city, which is located 20 miles from the nearest hospital.

The project has set up an Ambulance Fund Dollar Drive, where volunteers canvass door-to-door in their own neighborhoods, asking for contributions of one dollar or more.

Under the terms of its charter as an official town committee, the project is obliged to donate 25 percent of everything it raises for the poor of Amherst, making the fundraising goal even more ambitious.

Bancroft says the project is also working to get tractor parts "to reactivate ten or so of the 'dead' tractors lined up in the field on account of the U.S. trade embargo."

The project also promotes pen-pal relationships between Amherst high school students and students in La Paz Centro, and is working on a film and a video about life in both cities so that people in each community can learn about the other.

CONTACT: Page Bancroft, The Town of Amherst-La Paz Centro Nicaragua Sister City Project, P.O. Box 363, North Amherst, MA 01059 (413-549-1258).

VIVA SEATTLE

BETWEEN NOVEMBER 27 and December 4, the mayor's office in Managua, Nicaragua hosted "La Semana de Seattle" (Seattle Week) at the Managua Civic Center.

The Seattle-Managua Sister City Association celebrated by sending its 26th consecutive delegation. Events included displays of food and other products from the Seattle area, which were later presented as gifts to Managua residents.

The exhibit also featured a photo show and poster display produced by Seattle photographer Richard Lewis.

CONTACT: Roy Wilson, Seattle-Managua Sister City Association, P.O. Box 24883, Seattle, WA 98124 (206) 329-2974.

ONE STEP AT A TIME

RICHLAND CENTER, A town of about 5,000 in the heart of southwestern Wisconsin, has found its virtual twin in Santa Teresa (population 5,000), on the *carzo* plateau of southwestern Nicaragua.

Since its founding in January 1987, the Richland Center-Santa Teresa Sister City project has been building a solid relationship between the people of the two areas, based on their common lifestyles and shared desire for peace between the U.S. and Nicaragua. Richland Center residents have sent several shipments of

school supplies and clothing to Santa Teresa, as well as monetary contributions to help purchase new high school classrooms, a child care center, a new motor for the city's only garbage truck and for the sacristy of the local Catholic church.

In February, Richland Center's town librarian is planning a visit to observe the elections in Santa Teresa as part of a 20-member "citizen diplomats election observers tour" with participants from throughout Wisconsin.

Although the project has not yet won official sister-city status, project organizer Jane Furchgott reports that early this year "the mayor of Richland Center sent a friendly letter to the mayor of Santa Teresa and is getting one back," which she hopes "will be a step toward an official relationship between our towns."

Furchgott, who traveled to Santa Teresa late last year to deliver several contributions, hopes to establish pairing relationships between churches and other community organizations in the two towns. Meanwhile, Richland Center gardeners got a taste of Nicaraguan farming this spring when they planted corn and beans (the staple foods in the Nicaraguan diet) donated by the mayor of Santa Teresa.

CONTACT: Jane Furchgott, c/o Brewer Public Library, 325 N. Central Ave., Richland Center, WI 53581 (608-583-2431).

THE WAR COMES HOME

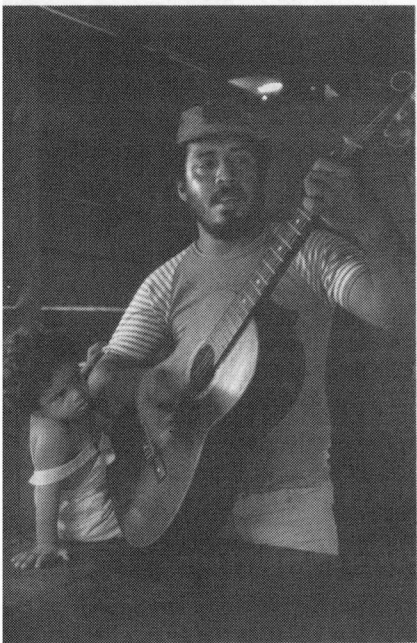
"IT'S QUITE AN EXPERIENCE to be shot at by bullets which you have paid for," commented Rev. Lucius Walker at a fundraiser earlier this year for the sister-city project between Bluefields, Nicaragua and New York's Lower East Side.

Walker shared the story of his experience as a passenger on a civilian boat that was attacked by contras, whose activities are funded with U.S. tax dollars, as it traveled along the Rama River in August 1988. Walker and nine other members of the the Interfaith Task Force for Community Organization (IFCO) were aboard the



boat when it was hit by a RPG-2 rocket. Amid machine-gun fire the 200 passengers threw themselves to the deck, scrambling on top of one another

in search of cover. Then the contras fired three more rockets. The captain left the helm to his assistant and returned the fire



with his rifle, as did a group of newly-recruited soldiers and a lieutenant headed for their training camp who were riding on the roof of the boat. The contras, however, concentrated their fire on the lower decks packed with unarmed civilians. The "Mission of Peace" boat remained under fire for 10 minutes. "As we were barely inches from death," Walker said, "I saw more clearly than ever that Reagan is a murderer."

The Lower East Side is paired with "Barrio Nueva York," a neighborhood in Bluefields. Recently the sister-city project merged with the Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action (LEMPA), an organization with 25 years of experience in community organizing. Members

feel the merger will strengthen the sister-city project's commitment to fostering ties between the multi-ethnic neighborhoods of the Lower East Side and Barrio Nueva York.

The project's activities include rebuilding Bluefields, which was almost entirely destroyed by Hurricane Joan in 1988. It has been working to raise money for "CINVARAM" brick-making machines, a person-powered "appropriate technology" that can be used by Bluefields residents to pave streets and build houses.

A black minister, Walker heads IFCO, which has actively organized on behalf of minority communities in the U.S., in addition to sponsoring numerous "Central America Education Weeks" in states throughout America. He said a primary impetus for founding the sister-city project was the need to connect domestic problems of poverty and disenfranchisement with the militarization of the U.S. economy.

This summer, IFCO's second annual "Pastors for Peace Caravan" drove 29 trucks filled with material aid from communities throughout the U.S., converging on El Paso, Texas, before traveling as a group to Nicaragua. Participants included U.S.-Nicaragua sister-city projects in Boulder, Colorado; Montana; and Port Townsend, Washington. Their donations included 150

boxes of school, medical and office supplies, toys, food, bicycles, sports equipment, sewing machines, a 1982 Mazda pickup truck, a \$13,000 Mercedes-Benz truck, and two hand-crafted carousels for playgrounds that the Port Townsend project plans to build this year in its sister city of Jalapa.

CONTACT: Chris Idzik, LEMPA Sister City Project, P.O. Box 320, New York, NY 10009 (212-673-9174).

NICARAGUA'S ELECTIONS

FORMER WISCONSIN governor Anthony Earl will lead a delegation of Wisconsin citizens to observe the upcoming national elections in Nicaragua, Wisconsin's sister state for 25 years. The delegation is being organized by the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua (WCCN) and will meet with candidates and representatives of Nicaragua's political parties. They will observe not only voting procedures, but also processes leading up to the elections which influence candidates' ability to campaign, access to media, and citizens' access to voting information.

Wisconsin and Nicaragua have been official sister states since 1964, as part of a program begun under President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress.

"Nicaragua's elections, scheduled for February 25, 1990, promise to be a pivotal event in the history

of U.S. relations with our sister state, and I am pleased to be participating," said Earl. "As governor I recognized the critical importance of citizen involvement in the sister state relationship.

"Peace is still very fragile in Nicaragua, and could deteriorate into war again if the U.S. renews hostilities," Earl said. "Not only would this inflict further misery on people who have already suffered enormously, it would further damage our own national prestige. The goal for this tour, therefore, is to provide an alternative and objective source of information."

Community leaders and local elected officials from around the state will also participate in the fact-finding delegation.

"As governor, Tony Earl's support for peace was always an inspiration for the sister cities movement," said Liz Chilsen, WCCN's executive director. "With his leadership, citizens of Wisconsin played an instrumental role in changing the course of U.S. policy toward Nicaragua. We made it impossible for the Reagan Administration to invade Nicaragua, and now we can promote normalized relations between our countries."

The Wisconsin delegation is one of nearly 30 sister-city delegations planning to observe the Nicaraguan elections in February. Through a coordinated effort led by the Ann Arbor-Juigalpa sister city pro-

gram, the election observer delegations hope to carry out activities including:

■ A national media campaign preceding the election to publicize the sister-city delegations, many of which will be led by local elected officials and other citizens prominent in their communities.

■ A joint meeting between the sister-city delegations, and meetings with other election observers including the official delegations of the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

■ Press conferences in Nicaragua.

■ Publishing a report summarizing the observations of each of the sister-city delegations for presentation before the U.S. Congress, the news media, and the United Nations.

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

FUNDRAISING PLAN

BROOKS SMITH OF THE Central Jersey-Masaya Friendship Cities Project says he knows of an easier way to raise money than bake sales and rice and beans dinners.

Smith, a Presbyterian minister, recently obtained a \$10,000 grant from the Presbyterian Hunger Fund for the pump of Masaya's new sewer treatment plant. He is currently developing training materials and a directory in both Spanish and English to help other grassroots development

STEVE CAGAN

projects obtain similar funding through mainline church denominations and other U.S. sources.

Smith said funding for development projects in Nicaragua is easier to obtain if there is someone in the United States who can serve as an intermediary between the Nicaraguan projects and U.S. funding sources, providing the kind of very specific sorts of information that open the door to grant support. "The mayor of Masaya wouldn't have known how" to apply for the \$10,000 grant obtained through Central Jersey-Masaya, he said.

The granting agency required three separate delegations to collect all the necessary information, including the degree of Nicaraguan community support and involvement in the project, and technical and economic documentation.

The Central Jersey-Masaya Friendship Cities Project was born out of the experience of several area residents who traveled to Nicaragua five years ago. Although the project is not officially sponsored by a local government, Smith says the group considers this somewhat of a blessing, since members come from several different cities and their activities are not constrained by the obligations that often accompany official sister-city status.

When they first considered forming a people-to-people organization, Central Jersey activists

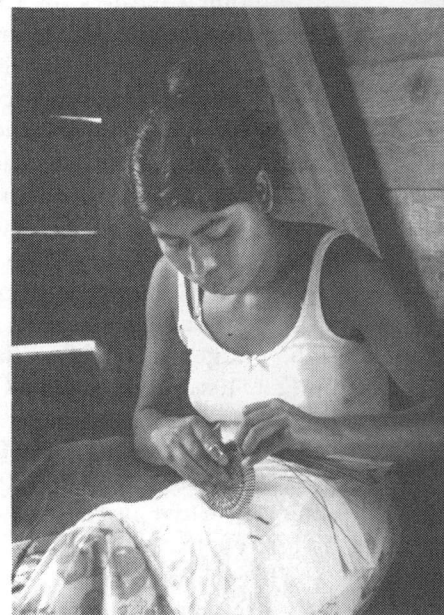
were offered a choice between Rama, in the eastern part of the country, and Masaya, a 30-minute drive south of Managua. They chose Masaya largely because they wanted to be able to travel safely to their sister community, to deliver material aid, accompany delegations and to help out with community development projects. The group, which is organized entirely by volunteers, has a mailing list of 600 and operates out of church offices in the Central Jersey area.

The Central Jersey project is part of a larger network of Northeast sister-city organizations including the Princeton-Granada Sister Cities Committee and the Morristown-Monimbo Sister Cities Project. (Monimbo is a neighborhood within Masaya.) The Project recently held what Rev. Smith described as an "inspirational" planning retreat with New Haven-Leon sister-city organizer Alan Wright. One of the ideas that came out of the retreat was to join other Masaya area sister-city projects in hiring a full-time staff person to live in Masaya and coordinate sister-city activities.

Since its founding, the project has participated in eight shipments of material aid: five in the last two years alone, with Central Jersey filling half of each container and other area projects accounting for the rest. The group also sends two delegations to Nicaragua per year, providing

Central Jersey residents an opportunity to learn about Masaya and to relay information back to project members about ongoing work and the most urgent needs of their sister community. In addition, the group has provided funding for school desks that are produced in Masaya, a city known for its furniture and handicrafts.

The project is sending a delegation to observe and report on the upcoming February election, and plans to do media work upon its return. However, Rev. Smith emphasizes that the group is "assuming the continued barbarism of U.S. foreign policy in Nicaragua," and will



therefore also use the delegation as an opportunity to further strengthen person-to-person ties between the two communities.

CONTACT: Brooks Smith, 525 East Front Street, Plainsfield, NJ 07060 (201-756-2666 or 201-755-2781).

GOVERNOR WITH A CAUSE

At Yale, Ohio's Richard Celeste was chosen the student most likely to commit his life to peace. As governor, he has fulfilled the prophecy.

Mary Beth Lane

ON THE FIRST DATE RICHARD CELESTE HAD WITH DAGMAR Braun, he served tea at his apartment and gave her a lecture on the challenge of peace. The young Austrian who would become his wife listened so raptly that Celeste thought he was really wowing her.

"I realized [later] she had a hard time understanding my English," Celeste recalled, laughing.

As governor and first lady, the Celestes are still talking about peace, using their positions and Ohio tax dollars to do it. Some critics have a hard time understanding what they're talking about and why.

Some are bewildered, others joke about a Celestial foreign policy, and others are irritated.

Among Celeste's sharpest critics are conservative Republicans in the legislature who served in the military and are quick to point out that Celeste did not. They say Celeste, a former Peace Corps director, has a naive peace-and-love world view, and they ask what business an Ohio governor has planning a peace strategy.

Even some Democrats in the administration say they are uncertain of what Celeste's peace initiative programs are all about.

Celeste is the first governor to have a peace initiative and a peace office to carry it out. He has a peace commission, budgeted for \$1 million in the current two-year budget. It's called the Ohio Commission on Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management. A Statehouse irreverent called it a "Peace, Love and Dove Commission."

Celeste reserved \$100,000 in the budget to conduct a conference to help defense-dependent Ohio businesses diversify into civilian work.

He established a peace pavilion at the Ohio State Fair. He battled the Pentagon over training National Guard troops in Central America. He barred the Marines from staging a mock invasion at Edgewater Park in Cleveland and criticized President Harry S. Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb.

"I think he's a weirdo. And I think his wife is just as bad," said State Rep. Rodney Hughes, Republican of Huntsville. Hughes cranks out a press release against the man he calls "the peacenik governor" every time Celeste opens his mouth about one peace issue or another.

State Rep. William Batchelder, Republican of Medina, said Celeste was "a Neville Chamberlain type — peace at any price," and questioned why a peace initiative should be part of state government.

"It's kind of wild. It's almost a total waste of the taxpayers' money," Batchelder said.

Even some Democrats in the administration, who are closer philosophically to Celeste than the conservative Batchelder, were puzzled when Celeste named "peace education" among four top goals for his second term. It was up there with jobs, education and community-based human services.

"People kind of giggled at the time and said, 'Peace education? What the hell is he talking about?'" a Democrat recalled of Celeste's 1987 State of the State address.

Critics suggest the peace initiative is nothing more than public relations blather from a lame-duck governor interested in national exposure for himself. Or the foreign policy "fantasies" of a man who decided against running for president but still thinks of what he would do if he were president, as State Rep. Lynn Watchmann, Republican of Napoleon, suggested. Still others say Celeste is acting at the behest of the first lady, who counts peace issues among her prime concerns.

"Surely Dagmar identifies strongly with those causes," said State Sen. Eugene Watts, Republican of Galloway. "She is a woman of strong will, strong beliefs and eagerness to express them. Doubtless, she has influence."

The job description for the governor's special assistant for the peace initiative says the assistant will "develop events, projects and appearances which provide the governor opportunities to pursue his philosophy and vision of peace, especially at the national and international levels."

The assistant is also supposed to help with speeches and briefings for the governor and first lady "as they participate in national and international peace events," according to the job description.

Celeste said he wasn't familiar with the job description and denied he established the peace initiative to promote himself or to please his wife. He appeared mildly offended by the suggestion that he is not his own man.

"There are a lot of people who say, 'Well, that's Dagmar's thing,'" he said. "But that is to ignore all that Dick Celeste has been for all of his adult life. It would be unfair to her and me to suggest that this is something I'm doing for Dagmar's sake."

He noted that he won a prize at Yale University for

being the undergraduate most likely to commit his life to peace and said he was interested in peace issues long before he met his wife.

Celeste, who directed the Peace Corps under President Jimmy Carter, cited the Peace Corps credo to explain his goal for the peace initiative in Ohio. "Ordinary people can contribute to building a peaceful world," he said.

He argued that peace-making belonged on everybody's plate, from a governor on down, and said it was ironic that his critics appeared to think peace is a bad word.

"Peace isn't some abstract, mushy notion that we talk about on marches or that we negotiate at tables that only involve heads of state," he said. "Rather, everyone has a responsibility, at work and in community activities, to help create a more peaceful environment," he said.

The commission is to be the heart of the peace initiative. It was called the Governor's Peace and Conflict Management Commission when Celeste established it by executive order last year. It was renamed the Ohio Commission on Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management this year when the legislature approved it. Legislative approval made permanent the governor's executive order.

The legislature approved it by overwhelming margins, and Ohio Supreme Court Justice Thomas Moyer also lent his approval.

The 12-member commission, which will have a paid staff to direct it, is charged with coordinating programs statewide that teach conflict management and dispute resolution skills. The idea is to promote programs that would resolve disputes between labor and management, plaintiffs and defendants, family members and in schools without litigation or violence.

Watts, who voted for the commission, said its goals sounded fine as long as the commission doesn't get into "kooky and cockamamie" schemes for international peace.

Dennis Carely, Celeste's executive assistant for the peace initiative, said he removed "peace" from the commission's title in preparing to send the measure through the legislature because it sounds too warm and fuzzy. Carey, who has a doctorate in psychology, is on leave from his job as director of the Center for Peaceful Change at Kent State University (KSU).

"The word itself [peace] needs to be translated into something people can understand," Carey said. "I'm not interested in warm and fuzzy. We need to do something

concrete."

The governor's office splits Carey's \$41,000 salary with KSU. Another peace initiative staffer, Gus Comstock, a former Navy officer whose salary is \$33,342, is planning the governor's defense procurement diversification conference scheduled for January. The conference is supposed to help defense-dependent companies cope with a shrinking Pentagon budget by exploring options for changing their products to civilian use.

Republican Sen. Charles Horn, of Kettering, said defense suppliers around Wright-Patterson Air Force Base had expressed concern about Celeste's intent in holding the conference. State Rep. Robert Netzley, Republican of Laura, was the lone State Controlling Board member who voted against a \$56,840 no-bid contract with Marketel Info-Systems Inc. of Columbus to provide research for the conference.

"I just wonder if this is part of the governor's strat-

egy to get rid of Wright-Patterson," Netzley said.

Although the conference originated in the governor's peace initiative office, Celeste said it was not anti-military. Rather, it's an economic development strategy.

Celeste defended spending tax dollars on the conference as a wise investment for Ohio's economy. Likewise, spending tax dollars on the dispute resolution commission is wise, he said.

"Most of what the state does, on its services side, is deal with the adverse consequences of conflict," he said, noting the huge sums spent on the departments of Youth Services and Rehabilitation and Correction, and on child abuse, child welfare, counseling and mental health programs. The need for those agencies stems precisely from the inability to manage conflict in a peaceful way, he said.

Peace is too complex and elusive to honor only in rhetoric. It should be pursued in practical ways, Celeste said. He noted, in a wry tone, that he and Dagmar dealt with conflict management all the time.

"We agree on the importance of peace-making because we deal with a tremendous level of — I won't call it conflict, exactly — but differences of perspective. Often [there is] argument and debate on any specific issue," he said.

This article first appeared in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* where Mary Beth Lane is a staff writer. Reprinted with permission.



OHIO GOVERNOR CELESTE.

"Peace isn't some abstract, mushy notion. Everyone has a responsibility to create a more peaceful environment."

THE PLAIN DEALER, Cleveland Ohio

A CITY HALL GUIDE TO THE FUTURE

CITIES IN A GLOBAL SOCIETY.

Richard V. Knight and Gary Gappert, eds. (2111 West Hillcrest Drive, Newbury Park, California 91320: Sage Publications, 1989). 339 pp.

Globalization" is nothing new. For 500 years, Western Europeans especially have done their best — through commerce and war — to tie together previously isolated regions of the world. "A few large cities have had for centuries extended networks of relations with distant areas, that is, with other cities located far away," writes Jean Gottmann in his contribution to the collection of essays in *Cities in a Global Society*.

But until quite recently, few cities had what the authors describe as a "global consciousness." In the face of tidal waves of immigration, global economic competition, environmental disaster, and war, local governments sheltered themselves in the lee of national governments. No more.

Over the last few decades the process of globalization has accelerated. The world is changed, writes Richard V. Knight, and now "there is very little nations can do to shield cities from global forces." And, suddenly, Knight says, "Global consciousness and a global ethic is being forced upon this generation by new technological, ecological, and political realities."

That's a prospect both terrifying

and exhilarating. For as local governments hid behind the skirts of national governments, an unnatural dependency developed. "[M]any cities lost control of any sense of their own destiny as human settlements," Knight writes. In such communities, the newly risen global society — "multipolar, multicultural, self-governing, and competitive" — is likely to produce symptoms of social and political agoraphobia.

But in other cities, this collection's 25 essayists argue, the future is met with enthusiasm. "[T]heir numbers will, no doubt, increase as more cities become aware of the opportunities," Knight writes.

Opportunities indeed. Jobs, rising public and private revenue, and cultural advantages will accrue to cities that accept the global challenge. But, in the eyes of many, there will be horrors, as well, and these are generally underplayed in the essays. Cities which open themselves to the opportunities of the global marketplace will, at the same time, open themselves to forces well beyond the control of the city. We see some of them today — in highly mobile corporations and labor forces, pandemics like AIDS, and global environmental disasters. These forces will, no doubt, intensify in their power and scope. And, in the face of immigrants, pandemics and a disintegrating environment, some cities will turn inward — toward "autarky, isolation, self-sufficiency, and independence" and away from globalism. They may pay the price in constrained development, as the authors say; but to many Ameri-

cans, such a price will seem far more desirable than Knight's vision of rising immigration, highly mobile transnational corporations, and heightened economic competition. Local officials seeking the blessings of globalization will have to struggle with the forces of provincialism at work in their own communities.

"What cities need," Knight and co-editor Gary Gappert write in the

Local officials seeking the blessings of globalization will have to struggle with the forces of provincialism at work in their own communities.

book's preface, "are policies and programs that enable them to be more responsive to opportunities that are being created as national barriers and market regulations are removed." And when they say "cities," they seem to mean city governments. Don't look to locally-based international businesses for help on this one. "Governed by market forces," manufacturing firms "are becoming increasingly foot-loose — that is moved around the global factory as markets dictate." "Knowledge-intensive activities" like high-tech design firms will stick around only "as long as that environment remains conducive to their enhancement."

And that's where local officials come in. Their job in this new world order is to create the conditions under

which international firms may operate with relative ease — not handing over control to corporations and real estate developers, but designing an urban environment in which the new order's workers will feel at home. And in this, Knight argues, city officials should take their lessons from the world's oldest communities, where "cities were treated more as works of art than as machines for living" providing residents with "a distinct sense of place, permanence and continuity." "Nurturing a civic culture" and building a "world-class residential core" — New York without crime and poverty, perhaps — is priority number one for local officials.

Given current budget constraints, such a project is daunting, indeed. Beyond public works, Knight says, cities of the future will "have to be rebuilt psychologically and politically as well as physically." And that means creating a new civic culture in which residents of the city see themselves as global citizens.

Had enough? Wait. Cities have to accomplish all this — in addition to developing the political infrastructure to oversee it all — "in a decade or two....Cities have to establish a civic identity and a civic process to control their development so they can position themselves in the global society."

This is one of the most significant public policy books to appear since Jonathan Schell's *Fate of the Earth* or Amory Lovins' *Soft Energy Paths*. For too long, cities have been seen — and have seen themselves — as hermetically sealed. They are not. And the authors of the essays in *Cities in a Global Society* recognize this.

In essay after essay, this important volume makes clear a simple idea: That the culture, environment and economy of cities are increasingly influenced by forces well beyond the end of Main Street. Local officials who recognize this truth will find their communities at the forefront of the emerging international order; those who don't, won't. (WS)

RED,
from page 64

conomic statistics which today bedevil Marxist governments worldwide, but an oft-repeated saying heard in Moscow makes the point very well: "The government pretends to pay us and we pretend to work." Pretending to work doesn't create either an infrastructure or consumer goods — which pretty well explains the problems apparent today in Marxist economies.

Finally, it is clear that strength works. The *London Times* said it best when it noted, "It is important to realize why these changes in the East have come about. The West needs to remember, though many like to forget, that it was the defence build-up of the Reagan Administration which forced the Soviet Union to realize that its own economy could not afford the military superiority it had achieved."

We live in a world that is sometimes dangerous, where there are real threats to the freedom and stability so many of us enjoy. And, just as so many academicians have been wrong in predicting the fall of capitalism and the rise of socialist economies, so have many others downplayed the stability which a strong American military presence guaranteed in Europe for 40 years.

John Kennedy put it well when he explained that "We arm to parley," while Ronald Reagan showed that a strengthened American military could bring the Soviets to the bargaining table to negotiate real military cuts.

Fascism was put to the sword after 12 years, and Communism is expiring at the ripe old age of 70. As President Bush said, "For the first time in perhaps all history, we don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better." We now know.

State Senator Bill Owens (R-CO) is on the Rocky Mountain board of the Institute for International Education which sponsors the Fulbright program.

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RED AND DEAD

Colorado State Senator Bill Owens says Marx was wrong, Reagan was right — and travel broadens the mind.

Bill Owens

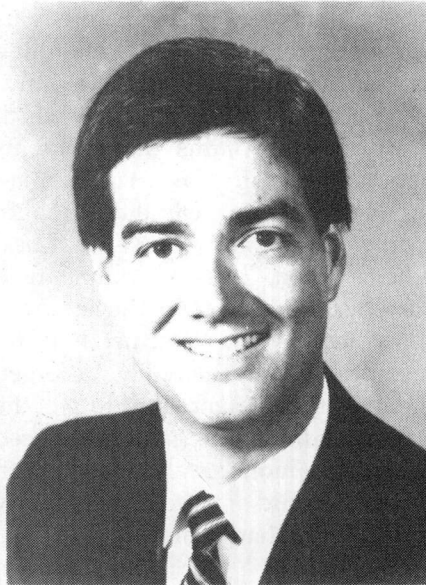
I returned from my second visit to the Soviet Union in late October just as the explosion of freedom at the Berlin Wall changed forever the relationship between the governors and the governed in East Germany. If Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were alive today they would be forced to change the famous opening lines of the *Communist Manifesto* to "A spectre is haunting Europe: the spectre of the breakup of Communism."

For the breakup of Communism is exactly what we are witnessing today, except that it is happening all across the world — and not just in Europe. While the changes occurring in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and now East Germany have been reported extensively in the Western press, what has not been as well reported are the similar changes in Marxist regimes virtually wherever the names of Marx and his disciple Lenin are invoked.

I was fortunate enough to chair a 50-member delegation of legislators, mayors and judges who visited and compared notes with our Soviet counterparts in Moscow, Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent and Leningrad for two weeks in October 1989. An earlier trip to the Soviet Union in 1985 took me to Moscow and Leningrad as well as to the republic capitals of Minsk and Kiev. To round out my experiences in Eastern Europe, I visited East Germany twice, in 1984 and 1987.

What have I learned from these visits? At its simplest I learned that Americans active at the state and local levels can gain important insights from travel to nations with systems as alien to ours as are the government of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

There are other, more complex lessons, local officials can learn during international travel. For example, it is clear that market capitalism works better than socialism in providing for the real needs of a nation's people. While this may appear self-evident to some, my learned economics professors in graduate school in the 1970s sure didn't see it that way. I'll let them debate the relative merits of capitalism and socialism with the Soviet Foreign Ministry official



who recently declared, "The majority of developing countries suffer not so much from capitalism as from a lack of it."

It is also clear to me that government control of prices or rents merely creates shortages which quickly prove unfair to the producer and landlord as well as to the consumer and tenant. The price of virtually every item in the Soviet Union is set by the state. Thus rents are kept ridiculously low — except that there are no apartments available to rent. Similarly, cars might be relatively cheap — except that there is an 11-year wait to buy a car. Similarly, simple household furniture can be purchased now — for delivery in 1992.

And meat which costs the state four dollars per pound sells for 80 cents — except the meat isn't available.

But wait. Didn't economist John Kenneth Galbraith teach us that these "consumer" shortages in socialist economies were simply due to the fact that planned economies directed investment into infrastructure and other socially useful investments rather than frittering it away on personal goods? That was Galbraith's explanation. And it was the Soviet goal, but things haven't worked out that way. In fact, the Soviets lack *both* consumer goods and an adequate infrastructure, as is easily apparent to visitors and economists alike. It is unfortunate that about all the Soviets have that meets world-class standards is the Red Army.

My journeys proved to me that private ownership works, while in many cases public ownership — be it of the "means of production" or of housing, hotels, or shops — means in fact that no one is really responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of the physical plant. The absence of individual ownership means that upper-income housing in the much sought-after center of Moscow resembles the worst public housing projects in the U.S., while new hotels quickly become rundown and decrepit due to a lack of the simplest maintenance and upkeep.

It is clear, in other words, that incentives work, and that a society without incentives to succeed is a society which will fail.

Space does not permit a recitation of the gloomy eco-

see RED, page 63

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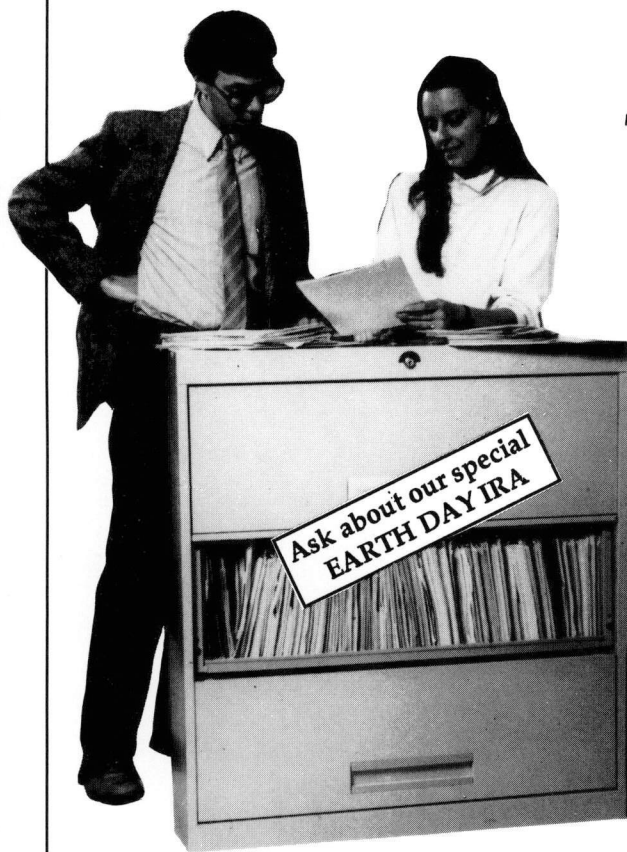
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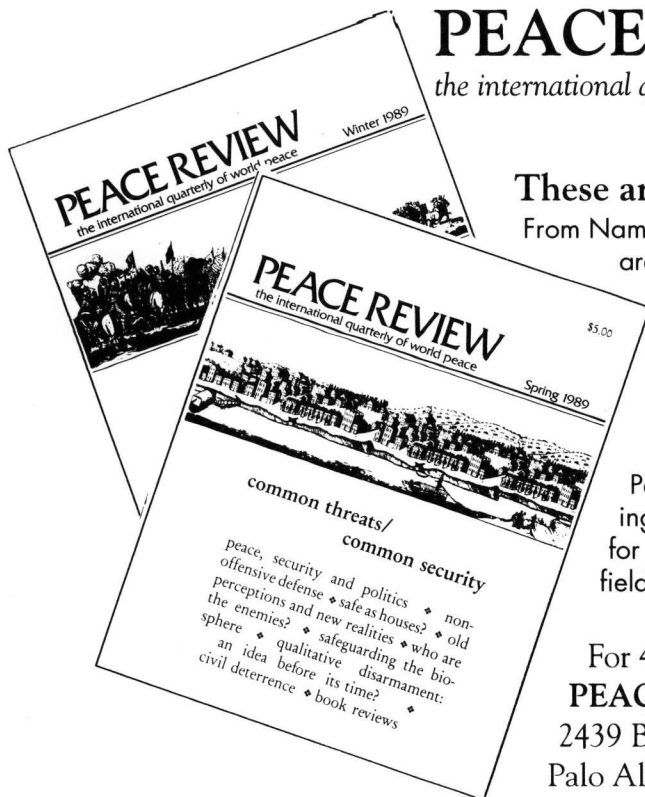
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