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Municipal Foreign Policy

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND GLOBAL POLITICS
AUTUMN 1988, VOL. 2, No. 4




Donna Binder / Impact Visuals

FROM CHARITY TO JUSTICE
European Cities Send Aid Abroad

THE ECONOMIC BURDEN OF THE ARMS RACE
An Interview with Michael Oden

MEET ME IN MANAGUA
U.S. - Nicaraguan Sister Cities Third Annual Conference



Do we want to turn more power over to bureaucrats in Washington in the hope that they will do what is best for all people? Or do we want to return more power to the people and to their state and local governments so that people can decide what is best for themselves? It is time that good decent people stopped letting themselves be bulldozed by anybody who presumes to be the self-righteous moral judge of our society.

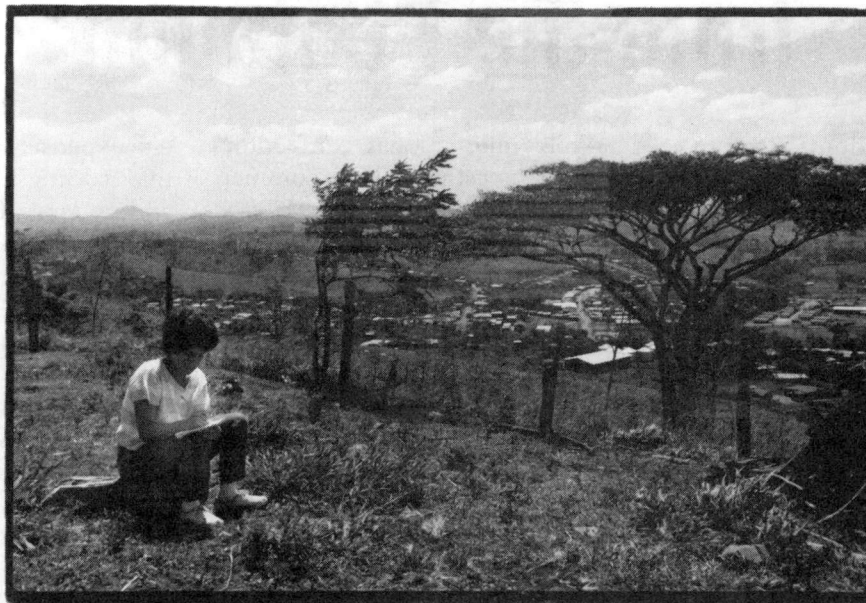
President Richard M. Nixon



C O N T E N T S

BULLETIN OF MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

AUTUMN
1988



VOL. 2,
NO. 4

Rio Blanco, Nicaragua - Official Sister City to Wisconsin Rapids, WI.

Liz Chilsen

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A German Brigadista arrives in Neuvo Guinea, Nicaragua - part of the growing European effort to assist the Third World.

Liberate Your Community from the Pentagon

When President Reagan came to office in 1981, the Pentagon's annual budget was \$143 billion. By the time he leaves office, the budget will be nearly \$300 billion. What have been the economic consequences of the President's \$1.5 trillion "rearmament" program?

In this issue of the *Bulletin*, we feature an interview with Michael Oden of Employment Research Associates, whose research has demonstrated that military spending worsens unemployment, economic growth, and our competitiveness overseas. We may have escaped economic calamity in recent years, but this is because of unprecedented government debt. Between 1982 and 1986, the United States borrowed more than \$400 billion from abroad, transforming itself from the world's largest creditor to the world's largest debtor.

As Representative Pat Schroeder has noted, the spending party is over and it's now the morning after. By 1990, we will be repaying nearly \$100 billion per year to foreign creditors, roughly 2.5 percent of our projected gross national product (GNP).

By paying for our military buildup through extensive borrowing, we have substantially hurt our international competitiveness, especially compared to West Germany and Japan. Throughout the early 1980s, every U.S. manufacturing category experienced a trade deficit except military goods (arms exports tripled between 1980 and 1984).

While international competitors have been investing in their commercial manufacturing sectors, the United States has been supporting military manufacturers through guaranteed purchases, research and development grants, and tax incentives. In 1982 the

ers' expense; the absence of competitive bidding for most contracts; poor and understaffed Pentagon oversight that consistently overlooks \$400 hammers and \$1,000 toilet seats; a long tradition of fraud that, in 1986, put 59 of the nation's top 100 defense contractors under investigation and, by 1988, had become a major national scandal. Pentagon contractors are so rife with inefficiency that *New York Times* military correspondent Richard Halloran estimates that fully a third of the current military budget, about \$100 billion a year, could be saved through efforts to eliminate waste and fraud.

Yale historian Paul Kennedy has pointed out that Reagan's rearmament campaign has left the United States a declining empire. To maintain its military overcommitments, the United States has had to cut deeply into its civilian economy. A "common dilemma facing previous 'number-one' countries," writes Kennedy, is "that even as their relative economic strength is ebbing, the growing foreign challenges to their position

have compelled them to allocate more and more of their resources into the military sector, which in turn squeezes out productive investment and, over time, leads to the downward spiral of slower growth, heavier taxes, deepening domestic splits over spending priorities and a weakening capacity to bear the burden of defense."

The Impacts Come Home

As the U.S. economy sinks, so do America's cities. The decline of



United States spent one-third less of its GNP on nonmilitary research and development than either West Germany or Japan. One result is that the United States now produces only 50 percent of the world's advanced technology, down from 80 percent in 1974.

As former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has conceded, the productivity of defense industries is lower than in other industries. Among the many reasons: cost-plus contracts that encourage manufacturers to maximize costs and profits at taxpay-

America's competitiveness will reverberate in more plant closings, mortgage foreclosures, and business failures — all of which will leave our cities reeling with more unemployment, poverty, crime, and despair.

While the government struggles to pay off the deficit, it will also need to continue cutting vital local programs. According to the American Federation of States, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the Reagan Administration has already effectively cut nearly \$160 billion from domestic programs that help families, children, the elderly, and the sick. Some programs that once benefited cities such as General Revenue Sharing and Urban Development Action Grants have been sacked altogether.

Some cities, of course, prosper from the arms race because of their military contracts. But even these "winners" are hurt by federal budget cuts and a declining U.S. economy. And a study just released by the U.S. Conference of Mayors suggests that even the cities that benefit from the arms race do not benefit by much.

Examining the effects of cutting \$30 billion from the Pentagon's budget and reinvesting that \$30 billion in domestic programs, the study found that, of the four cities analyzed, only one — Irvine, California — would be hurt by the shift, and even there, the damage would be slight (a loss of 72 jobs). The other three cities — Austin, Chicago, and Trenton — would all benefit from the shift in federal priorities. In the case of Chicago, the shift would produce more than 20,000 jobs and expand the regional economy by half a billion dollars.

These kinds of studies are powerful reminders of what life could be like were the United States to begin demilitarizing. We are a rich country that can house our homeless, feed our hungry, and educate our illiterate, if only we stopped throwing our money down the military rathole.

Studies Away!

If you are eager to harness your city to reverse the arms race and revitalize America's economic well-being, one of the best places to begin is to

A SAMPLE ORDINANCE TO STUDY THE LOCAL ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF MILITARY SPENDING

WHEREAS, the city of _____ is entrusted and empowered to promote the health, safety, and well-being of its people;

WHEREAS, a substantial body of evidence suggests that military spending may hurt the nation's economy by destroying jobs, reducing economic growth, and undermining the nation's international competitiveness, all of which may harm the city of _____;

WHEREAS, every federal dollar spent on military spending is a federal dollar unavailable to vitally needed local needs such as housing, education, and health care;

WHEREAS, the city of _____ does not know the extent to which the local economy will be affected by increases or decreases in federal military spending;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT ENACTED, that the city of _____ shall thoroughly study the local impacts of military spending. To facilitate this study, all of the following are ordered:

(1) DATA COLLECTION — All corporations, partnerships, or other entities licensed to do business in the city shall provide annually data on all contracts or subcontracts affiliated with the U.S. Department of Defense or the nuclear-weapons programs of the U.S. Department of Energy.

(a) NATURE OF THE DATA — For each contract or subcontract, these data shall include:

- a precise description of the program with which it is associated;
- its monetary size and duration; and,
- the number of local people employed by it.

(b) SECRECY — If the contract or subcontract is associated with a secret program, the contractor or subcontractor shall nevertheless reveal specific information to the extent permitted under federal law.

(c) EXEMPTION FOR SMALL CONTRACTS — These reporting requirements shall be waived for contracts or subcontracts smaller than \$1,000.

(d) REPORTING PERIOD — Every report shall be due no later than January 1 each year.

(e) PENALTIES — Any corporation, partnership, or other entity that fails to file this report shall be liable for a fine of up to \$10,000 or loss of a license to do business in the community, or both.

(2) ANNUAL REPORT — The City Manager shall prepare an annual report summarizing:

(a) all data provided by contractors and subcontractors for the previous five years;

(b) the types and amounts of federal grants received by the city for the previous five years;

(c) the projected economic impacts of a ten percent decrease in federal military expenditures and a corresponding increase in nonmilitary federal grant programs.

commission a study of your own backyard. How deeply involved is the military in your community? How much do your local businesses receive in military contracts and subcontracts? How much has been lost in other federal grants? If military spending were cut, who would win and who would lose? Once you can answer these questions with some sophistication, you then have a powerful argument for mobilizing your city against the arms race — because most people, in most cities, are big losers from the military pork barrel.

In the box on page 3, we have prepared an ordinance your city might adopt to study your own community. The ordinance has two essential components — data collection and analysis.

First, the ordinance would have every business within your community annually provide information about its military contracts and subcontracts. While the ambitious researcher can now search through federal reports and find the size, duration, and type of each large military contract, no national data are available on how many people are employed by these contracts. Nor are there data on the vast subterranean world of military subcontractors. By attaching a significant fine for inadequate reporting — up to \$10,000 or loss of a local business license — this ordinance contains strong incentives for compliance.

Your businesses may claim that data about their contracts are proprietary. But no one is asking for trade secrets. And that the Pentagon already publishes data about contractors suggests that publication of data about subcontractors would not contravene national security. As long as your request for information is firmly rooted in promoting your community's health and welfare, businesses have no real case for withholding information.

The second feature of the ordinance is that it would instruct the city manager to prepare a report each year that would present as full a view as possible on the local economic impacts of military spending. It would begin with a summary of the data on military contractors and subcontractors to

show the extent of the community's dependency on the Pentagon. It would then list the nonmilitary federal programs benefiting the community, which would help illuminate the local opportunity costs of increased military spending. Finally, it would analyze the local economic impacts of cutting the Pentagon's budget by ten percent and putting the savings into urban programs benefiting the city.

Widely publicized, this report could help convince your community to take a stronger stand against the arms race. If your city were being hurt by future cuts in military spending, you might set up a conversion commission in which city, business, and labor leaders could begin planning on how to diversify the local economy. If you found that your city was already losing money because of military spending, you would have a powerful case for launching a variety of municipal foreign policies to cut military spending to reverse those losses.

Without specific documentation of the economic losses from the arms race, local officials and local organizers are often unable to convince the community of the value of sending a lobbyist to Washington to reverse the arms race or creating a nuclear-free zone. With this documentation, it becomes clear that doing nothing about the arms race is fiscally irresponsible.

As more cities passed this kind of ordinance, analysts would also be able to piece together — for the first time ever — the flow of military dollars to subcontractors across the country. This would improve our general understanding of the national impacts of military spending, while also identifying more clearly those firms with a vested interest in continuing the arms race.

Studies are not free. But most cities commission studies all of the time — on strategies to fight drugs, on new police car purchases, and on alternative trash disposal methods. Another study to determine whether the city's economy is being ravaged by military spending is not only appropriate; it's the only prudent thing for a city to do.

— Michael H. Shuman

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LET'S HEAR IT! What's going on in your city?

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

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Irvine, CA
92714**

NEUTRALITY ACTION

In our last *Bulletin*, we pointed out that right-wing assistance to the Nicaraguan contras and Renamo in Mozambique violated the federal Neutrality Act, but that prosecutions have not proceeded because enforcement power resided in the Meese Justice Department. We then recommended that states step in and do the job for the federal government by passing their own State Neutrality Acts (SNAs).

On July 13, a Federal prosecutor in Florida finally decided to enforce the Neutrality Act by indicting seven men assisting the Nicaraguan contras, including Mario Calero, the brother of contra leader Adolfo Calero. On August 22, the same grand jury issued another set of indictments, this time against six other mercenaries, all Cuban-Americans, who were accused of setting up contra training camps in the Everglades, 70 miles west of Miami, and providing "several hundred thousand dollars" for food and weapons. The principal defendant is Rene Corvo, a former U.S. Army paratrooper who participated in the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

"There is no declared war against Nicaragua," said Assistant U.S. Attorney Mark Schnapp. "People don't have the option to go down there and engage in combat on their own."

While these indictments are good news (and long overdue), several tough questions remain. Why did the Reagan Administration wait until this late date to begin prosecutions on activities that have taken place throughout the past eight years? Was it merely a coincidence that it was not until Ed Meese resigned as Attorney General that the indictments occurred?

Moreover, why did the federal government indict these thirteen people and leave the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of other Americans assisting the contras untouched? Why for that matter indict Mario Calero



while his brother Adolfo continues to roam Miami freely?

Assistant U.S. Attorney Schnapp said that the evidence indicated that the prosecuted contra supply operations "were not sanctioned" by President Reagan. In other words, as one source at the Justice Department put it, the indictments were aimed at hounding out those who were supporting "the wrong contras."

Which all underscores, even more, the need for more consistent enforcement of the Neutrality Act through the states. The Neutrality Act was designed to stop *all* efforts to overthrow a government with which the United States is at peace, not just those the President dislikes. The power to decide whether the country is at war or peace resides in Congress, not with the President.

SOURCE: George Volsky, "Six in Florida Indicted on Charges of Training Anti-Nicaragua Force," *New York Times*, p. A10; Associated Press, "6 Indicted on Charges of Aiding Contras," *Washington Post*, 23 August 1988, p. A3.

DISMANTLING THE COLD WAR

The Canadian group, Operation Dismantle, is doing what is "rarely, rarely done" in that country, says Dismantle's Chief Executive Officer, Pamela Fitzgerald. They're getting local officials involved in Canada's foreign and military policy debate.

In the early 1980s, Operation Dismantle was behind the passage of a "Municipal Disarmament Referendum" in over 200 Canadian cities. More recently, they've persuaded city officials to speak out against the national government's intention to purchase ten nuclear submarines. "We've actually been able to get cities to pass resolutions to spend that money on cities and not on nuclear submarines," Fitzgerald says.

In Canada, Fitzgerald notes, the "'Russians-are-coming' thing doesn't make sense for us. It's a bit outdated."

Operation Dismantle knew its municipal foreign policy strategy was successful when, in late July, the national government appointed a panel of high-level corporate executives, academics and politicians to sell the submarine program to the very cities the group had targeted.

SOURCE: Pamela Fitzgerald, *Operation Dismantle*, P.O. Box 3887, Station "C," Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1Y 4M5 (613-722-6001).

KOCH APOLOGIZES, AGAIN...ALMOST

This hasn't been a good year for Mayor Ed Koch. After inflaming racial tensions during the New York primary by saying Jewish voters would be "crazy" to support Jesse Jackson, and then being exiled from the Democratic Convention, he decided to leave the country for a trip to Ireland — where he immediately ran into even

more trouble.

During Koch's self-described "peace pilgrimage," the mayor proclaimed that the British troops were not an "occupying force" in Northern Ireland, but rather were "safeguarding the peace by preventing what, if these people were Jewish, would be called pogroms."

That was too much for even John O'Connor, the New York Cardinal who accompanied Koch on the trip. The Cardinal said that the continuing presence of British troops will not bring about peace. Koch ultimately apologized for his comments, saying he was not absolving the British of responsibility for previous Irish violence, and reiterating that the British should establish a timetable for leaving Northern Ireland.

"There's a supposition that Ed thinks through everything he says," said David Garth, who has been a political consultant to Koch. "He does not."

Despite the criticism, Koch remains one of the most active mayors in the foreign policy arena. Since becoming mayor in 1978, he has taken 17 trips abroad. *New York Times* writer Richard Levine has commented, "If Mr. Koch is one of the few mayors in the nation with a foreign policy, it may be because his city seems to require one. So many New Yorkers come from somewhere else in the world, or come from those who come from somewhere else, and as a result the city has many voters who care passionately about somewhere else."

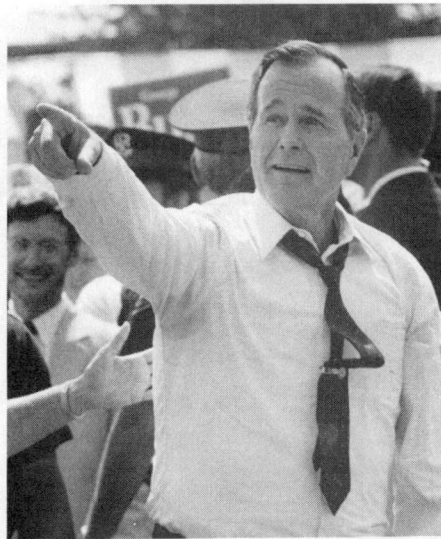
Koch has noted that he's not the first New York mayor to be so outspoken on foreign matters. Fiorello La Guardia criticized Hitler and Mussolini long before the U.S. entered World War II. In 1957, Robert Wagner snubbed Saudi Arabia's King Saud because of his anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic remarks.

SOURCES: Joyce Purnick, "Koch and the Irish," *New York Times*, 29 July 1988, p. 12; Richard Levine, "Koch Asserts He Was Wrong About Ireland," *New York Times*, 30 July 1988, p. 9; Richard Levine, "Why New York's Mayors Pursue A Foreign Policy," *New York Times*, 31 July 1988, p. E6.

BUSH FINGERS DUKAKIS

You may remember "Judge Rips Hole in Dukakis's Suit" (*Bulletin*, Summer 1988) in which we presented the *Wall Street Journal's* attack on Michael Dukakis's legal efforts to block use of his state's National Guard troops in Central America.

Since then, Republican nominee George Bush has joined the fray. A *New York Times* story reported that "in a new avenue of criticism, Mr. Bush as-



Jim West / Impact Visuals

serted that the Massachusetts Governor had tried to file a lawsuit to prevent the President from deploying a state's National Guard troops overseas without the consent of its governor."

Bush claimed Dukakis "was saying that every governor should have a veto over a Presidential decision about deploying a major asset of the armed forces of this country. Thank heavens, the court rejected the case and didn't hamstring the President's ability to defend our nation."

Actually, of course, the heavens had nothing to do with the case. According to Harvard Law Professor Laurence Tribe, the judge in the case "accepted the governor's basic position that the militia clause limits congressional power in this

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

SOURCES: Laurence Tribe, *Wall Street Journal*, 31 May 1988; Gerald M. Boyd, "Bush Denies Charges on Campaign Travel Costs," *New York Times*, 8 July 1988, p. 7.

LOS ANGELES JOINS BAN ON CFCs

In the Summer 1988 issue of the *Bulletin*, we reported that city officials in Suffolk County (NY) and Berkeley (CA) had passed local legislation banning food packaging containing chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), the chemical compound contained in many plastic foam food packages that is now being blamed for the depletion of the Earth's ozone layer. Since then, the Los Angeles City Council has added its name to the list of cities outlawing these atmosphere-destroying plastics.

The Los Angeles ordinance, introduced by Councilmember Zev Yaroslavsky, bans the sale, manufacture and distribution of plastic foam products made with CFCs, effective next July 1st. These items include the containers that keep fast-food hamburgers warm, and the insulated coffee cups used at many restaurants.

"This is not just a local health hazard in Los Angeles," according to Yaroslavsky. "This is a worldwide catastrophe on the verge of occurring."

Yaroslavsky hopes that the Los Angeles ordinance will send a message "to the national government and to governments around the world to get together to do something about the CFC problem. It's really not a matter of choice anymore; it's a matter of survival."

SOURCES: Councilmember Zev Yaroslavsky's Office, City Hall, 200 N. Spring St., Los Angeles, CA (213-485-5013); Citizens' Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes, P.O. Box 926, Arlington, VA 22216 (703-276-7070); "Plastic Foam Product Ban," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 July 1988, II:2; United Press International, "City Council Votes to Ban Foam Fast-Food Containers," *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, 27 July 1988, p. B8; Dana James, "KABC-TV Eyewitness News," 26 July 1988; Elizabeth Anderson, "KNBC-TV News," 26 July 1988.

MILITARY CONTRACTORS PREVAIL IN BUDGET DOG-FIGHT

NO SPENDING CUTS — EXCEPT TO CITIES AND TOWNS

Local officials are often loathe to speak out on U.S. foreign and military policy because these issues seem unconnected to daily life on Main Street. But the plight of this year's federal budget makes their reluctance untenable. Federal programs that once poured billions each year into America's cities and towns have been slashed to support the Pentagon's insatiable appetite for more weapons hardware.

This past June and July, for example, Congress finally killed the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) program, as well as programs which, according to Nation's Cities Weekly's Marvin McGraw, provided funds for homeless programs, low income housing, and EPA municipal waste water construction grants. The programs were killed, not to ease the federal budget, nor to finance the President's heralded war on drugs, nor to boost the nation's feckless educational system.

They were killed instead, writes McGraw, "to pay for massive increases in federal funding for the NASA space program."

This prompted the following editorial by staff writer Frank Shafroth in Nation's Cities Weekly (27 June 1988):

Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) has called the current defense procurement scandal — already dubbed Pentagate — “beyond the wildest imagination.” It involves, potentially, hundreds of millions of taxpayers' dollars lost through corruption and bribery.

The cost to the nation is higher. Not only has all this contributed to unprecedented federal deficits and national debt, but it impacts the quality and integrity of our national defense.

For the nation's cities and towns, the cost is more direct. Eight years of stuffing money into the Pentagon without paying for it has served as an excuse to make extraordinary cuts and eliminations in municipal programs serving

Americans.

This week [27 June 1988] the Congress appears set to terminate the Urban Development Action Grant program — to achieve a savings that is dwarfed by the amounts involved in this latest scandal.

For eight years the nation's municipal elected officials have been told that there is no revenue to share, that federal spending must be cut, and that cities and towns will have to contribute their fair share. But none of these rules has ever applied to defense spending. The federal government has spent nearly \$2 trillion on defense over this period, and, despite the numerous reports, waste, fraud, and abuse have flourished.

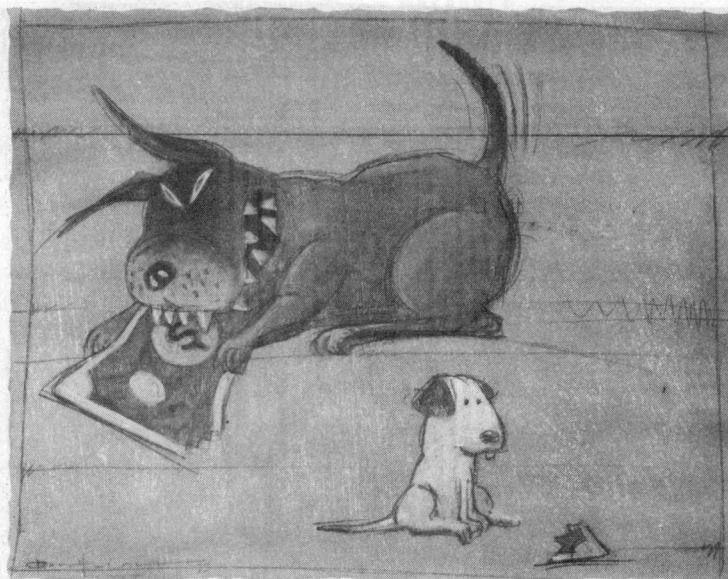
Four years ago, municipal officials were told that “it was morning in America” and that the

federal budget could be balanced simply by eliminating waste, fraud, and abuse.

Like the promise that cutting the federal taxes would balance the budget, the promise of eliminating waste, fraud, and abuse has proven elusive and perhaps misleading. Indeed, ranking Senate Armed Services Republican John Warner, former Secretary of the Navy, has called Pentagate “the most serious case in the history of the Department of Defense.”

The administration never did cut spending — except to cities and towns. Federal spending has increased well over 100 percent and the national debt nearly 300 percent.

What has changed is that the spending has been without vision, regulation, oversight, or restraint. Seemingly no amount of money was too much to lavish on defense. The privatization of our national defense has come at an enormous cost which will encumber our children for years to come as they struggle to pay off a national debt that apparently bought contractors and consultants as much as it bought national security. ■



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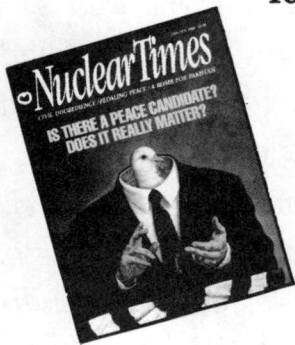
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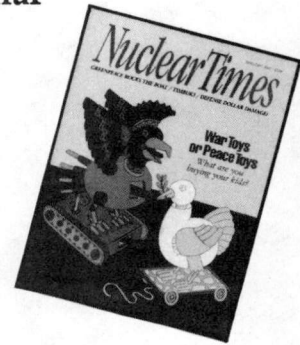
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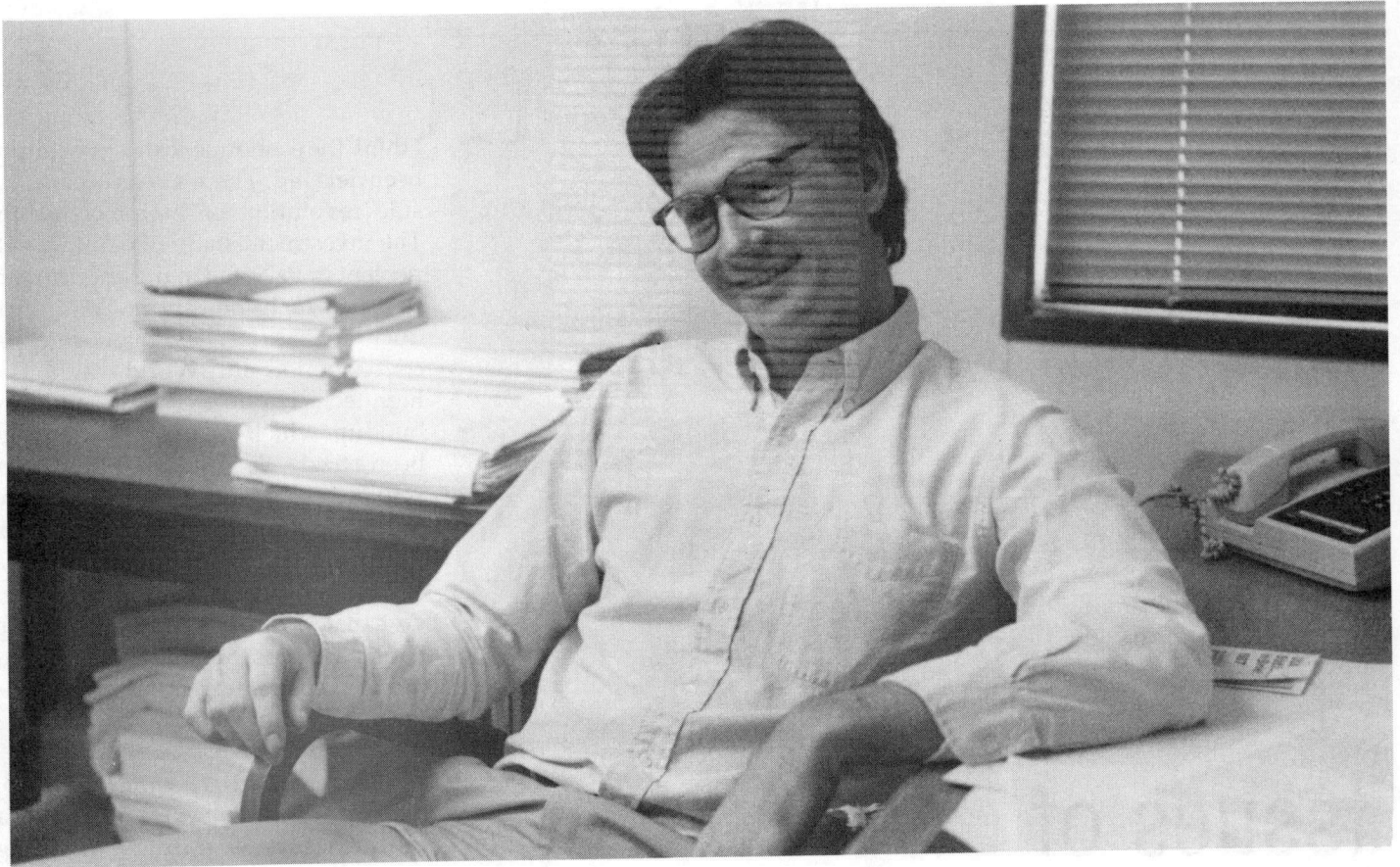
THE ECONOMIC BURDEN OF THE ARMS RACE

An Interview with Michael Oden

Many economists are now arguing — as Adam Smith did two centuries ago — that military spending is disastrous for the economy. Far from making America stronger, these critics contend, military spending is decreasing employment potential, economic growth, and international competitiveness. Among those whose research has supported this thesis are Michael Dee Oden of Employment Research Associates (ERA), an economics think-tank in East Lansing, Michigan, and Gordon Adams, now with the Washington, D.C.-based Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

In 1986, Adams and fellow economist David Gold recanted their earlier views, arguing that the positions of both supporters and critics on the economic impacts of military spending are probably “overstated.” With their credentials as long-standing critics of military spending, Adams and Gold caused many progressive thinkers to rethink their views on Pentagon spending. Until, that is, Michael Oden systematically tore apart their arguments in a recent ERA report, a summary of which was published in the June 1988 issue of The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists. Oden’s recent findings suggest that major Pentagon budget cuts could provide a significant boost to the U.S. economy — a position echoed in Yale history professor Paul Kennedy’s The Rise and Fall of Great Powers.

Oden recently spoke with the Bulletin about his work.



Michael Oden.

Loren Gruner

Military spending has actually slowed over the last few years. Why is that?

Sheer fiscal exhaustion. But that shouldn't obscure the alarming implications of \$300 billion military budgets. Even if the rate of increase has slowed, military spending has been ratcheted up to a new plateau. And although the military spending binge has helped stimulate a debt-induced economic recovery, it hasn't led to any long-lasting gains.

What would you say to those who, like Gordon Adams and David Gold, say that military spending hasn't actually hurt the economy either?

I'd say it's become increasingly clear that military spending has undercut U.S. economic performance. It has drawn skilled personnel out of the civilian sector and has diverted capital into unproductive military activities.

These forces sap innovation, productivity, and international competitiveness and help to trap the economy between the rock of inflation and the hard place of stagnation.

And how do your critics respond?

The view of many mainstream economists — we could call them 'agnostics' — is that the economic effects of a dollar spent on the military are similar to those of a dollar spent on any other government activity.

Some agnostics recognize that military spending affects regions, industries, and occupations unequally, but they argue that these effects cancel out and have little discernible impact on the economy as a whole. In their view, the fact that the current buildup has been accompanied by a relatively stable period of economic expansion calls the critics and their "depletionist" argument into question.

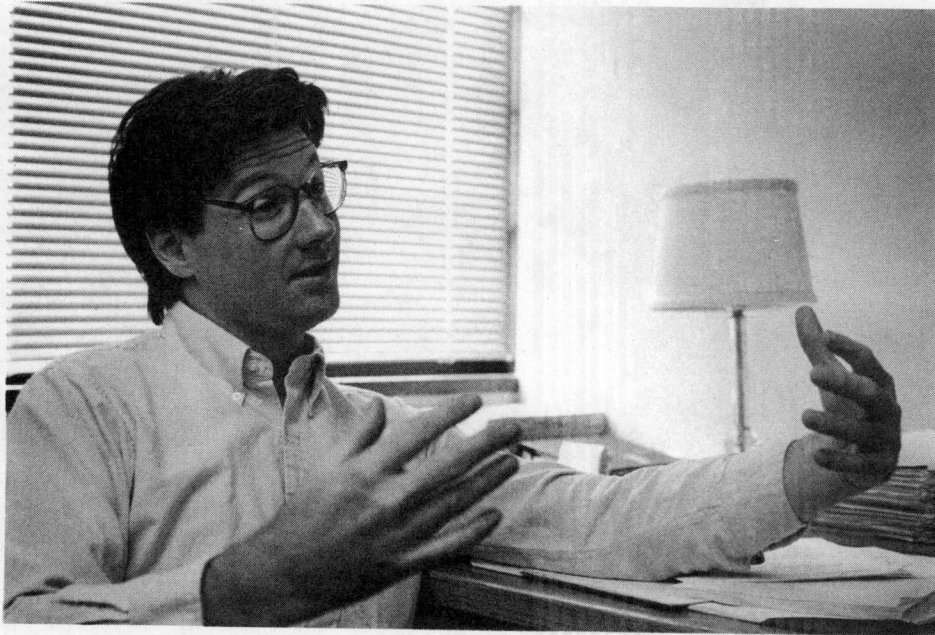
They're right, aren't they? The

United States economy has grown steadily despite the military budget, hasn't it?

No, not really. During the Reagan Administration, the federal government has borrowed more than a trillion dollars. This money has not created new infrastructure, renovated the educational system, initiated civilian research and development, or funded anything else that might support future economic growth. Instead, it has largely financed new submarines, aircraft carriers, and Star Wars research — all of which are irrelevant for our economic future.

But saying that the military money was poorly spent is different from saying that it actually undermined the economy. Can't Reagan — and the agnostics — rightly claim that they carried out the biggest peacetime buildup with no severe economic crises?

continued on next page



Issues of national security have traditionally been separated from issues of economic performance and national economic strength.

I think the economic costs have simply been delayed. There's been no supply-side revolution or high-tech boom. The investment share of GNP was 18 percent in 1979, fell in the interim, and returned to 18 percent in 1986. Productivity has risen less than in any recovery period since World War II. The high-tech boom from the military buildup which many predicted has been a fizzle. By 1986 the United States actually registered a deficit in high-technology trade of \$2.6 billion, in sharp contrast to 1980 when it had a \$27 billion surplus. These signs suggest that, while the military buildup may have helped stimulate a debt-induced economic recovery, the gains have been only temporary.

In your recent article in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* you address four central issues — military spending and its impact on inflation, jobs, investment, and U.S. competitiveness. Let's take inflation first. Adams and Gold have said that *all* federal spending can be inflationary, and that military spending isn't "a specific or unusual cause" of inflation.

That's right. Contrary to the dire pronouncements of the late 1970s and early 1980s, the inflation rate has declined as the defense budget has expanded. The fears that the military buildup would lead to an explosion of inflation rested on some poor assumptions.

But the more pessimistic predictions were made before Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker's high interest/high dollar program was fully implemented in 1981-82. Those policies induced the severest worldwide recession since World War II and throttled the inflationary impact of the military buildup. With high interest rates and a high dollar, we were able to attract money from overseas and finance the deficit without inflation. During the Vietnam War period, in contrast, we printed money to finance the government debt.

Does that mean that military spending usually tends to be inflationary?

Yes. Even if overall inflation depends on many factors, certain unique characteristics of military spending do contribute to inflation. Since World War II, military purchases have constituted 70-80 percent of federal government purchases from the private sector. The exceptional practices of military contracting — routine underestimation of eventual costs, cost-plus contracting, short production runs with changing specifications — all have well-documented inflationary effects. It's therefore not surprising that inflation in the military sector tends to be greater than overall inflation.

There are indirect inflationary effects as well. When the Pentagon hires more soldiers and civilian personnel, and pays out more wages, it stimulates employment and income. This is all well and fine, but in the end, the Pentagon produces no new products that can satisfy these new consumer demands. Demand is created without an increase in supply — and that contributes to inflation.

Nor are there tax increases to absorb the excess demand, if military spending is financed through government borrowing — and this has been the favored mechanism to pay for military buildups.

Since the Vietnam War, politicians have found it very hard to sell voters on tax increases to finance the military budget. Thus, military spending is often associated with wider fiscal and monetary policies that are necessary ingredients of inflation.

Well, isn't this just as true of other forms of government spending?

No, it's less true. State and local government spending is generally paid for by taxes, not borrowing. Social security, medicare, and unemployment compensation are mostly funded from payroll deductions and

don't generate as much demand as military spending. And many other federal programs — highways, for example — create goods or services that are consumed or that contribute to the private sector, satisfying demand and lowering costs.

Does military spending destroy jobs?

Not per se. But relative to other spending choices, military spending generates less employment. The deficit-financed military buildup has clearly

created jobs. But the real question is how many jobs would have been created by other forms of public and private spending?

So you're saying that military spending is a relatively poor way to stimulate employment?

There are a number of studies which suggest that military spending creates significantly less employment than alternative forms of federal spending. In the mid-seventies, for instance,

MILITARY BURDEN AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF SELECTED O.E.C.D. COUNTRIES

1960-1985 (annual averages)

At the core of Oden's argument is evidence suggesting an inverse relationship between military expenditures and economic productivity: In other words, the more a nation spends on its military, the less productive its economy.

	Expenditure (% GDP) ^a	Investment (% GDP) ^b	Growth (%GDP) ^c	Productivity (% GDP) ^d
UNITED STATES	7.1	18.3	2.1	1.3
GREAT BRITAIN	5.3	18.3	1.9	2.2
FRANCE	4.5	22.2	3.1	3.5
WEST GERMANY	3.8	23.0	2.7	3.2
ITALY	2.8	20.4	3.2	3.6
CANADA	2.5	22.4	2.8	1.9
JAPAN	.9	31.7	5.7	5.6

Sources: Sipri Yearbooks, 1981, 1987 (London: Taylor and Francis); OECD Outlook: Historical Statistics, 1960-1985 (Paris: OECD, 1987), Table 3.2, p. 44; Table 3.7, p. 47; Table 6.8, p. 65.

- a. Average percent of gross domestic product devoted to military spending.
- b. Average percent of gross domestic product (GDP) devoted to fixed capital formation.
- c. Average annual growth in per capita GDP.
- d. Average annual rate of change in GDP per employed person.

Roger Bezdek used an economic model developed by the Commerce Department to show that a 30 percent reduction in defense spending over a five year period would reduce aggregate employment by 1.3 percent, while a compensating 30 percent increase in civilian government spending would increase employment by 2.1 percent.

Another study — one by Barry Bluestone and John Havens for the Congressional Joint Economic Committee in 1986 — simulated a \$35 billion decrease in defense procurement, the amount by which military spending had grown by 1985 over the last Carter budget projection. The simulation then spent the \$35 billion instead on construction, transportation, education, health, social services, and space programs. More than 260,000 additional full-time jobs would have been created by the civilian spending.

Our 1986 study at Employment Research Associates suggests that military spending has become even less labor-intensive in the Reagan period. We found that if *increases* in military expenditures made over the 1981-1985 period, about \$190 billion, had been spent instead on civilian activities, about 6,000 additional jobs per billion dollars would have been generated. This hypothetical shift, representing on average about 1.3 percent of GNP, would have reduced average unemployment over the period from 8.38 percent to 8.13 percent.

But all these involve political choices. Are Americans prepared to give up military spending for social spending?

I think so. If they aren't, it may be because issues of national security have traditionally been separated from issues of economic performance and national economic strength. But the 1980s buildup has led to the United States over-relying on military might to maintain its superpower status, and this will only further undercut the country's future economic strength. A

much broader definition of national security is needed, one that considers potential tradeoffs between military spending and economic and social well-being. Polls suggest that people are eager to redefine national security this way.

So, to summarize, military spending adds to inflationary pressures and creates fewer jobs than other forms of federal spending. What about the impact of military spending on investment?

That's at the core of the argument — that military spending has an adverse impact on long-range indicators of economic performance such as investment, innovation, and productivity growth.

The table (page 13) shows the generally inverse relationship between military outlays and important measures of economic performance in the major Western economies. Although no one claims that military spending is the sole cause of lower investment shares, higher military burdens have contributed to lower levels of investment in the postwar period.

Many Americans are concerned that the U.S. may be falling behind its international economic competitors — especially Japan and Germany. Your table suggests that military spending has something to do with that, too.

Absolutely. Although the U.S. spends about the same share of its GDP on research and development (R&D) as do Japan and West Germany, 35-40 percent of U.S. R&D spending is for the military. By contrast, West Germany devotes about four percent of R&D funds to the military and Japan about one percent. Between 20 and 30 percent of U.S. scientists and engineers are involved in military R&D, sapping talent away from our commercial R&D. In a National Science Foundation survey conducted in 1983

— a year of excess economic capacity and high unemployment — 28 percent of the firms surveyed reported shortages of scientists and engineers.

In addition, a substantial body of evidence dating back more than 20 years also indicates that military R&D produces fewer useful innovations per dollar than direct civilian R&D. And as military technology becomes more exotic, spinoffs decline even further. A recent Office of Technology Assessment report said that the technologies for national defense are far too narrow to do much for the nation's commercial industries.

For example, less than one percent of the more than 8,000 patents produced by Navy-sponsored research and available for licensing are actually commercially licensed, while almost 13 percent of Agriculture Department patents are commercially licensed.

Putting so many assets into military R&D is an extremely costly way to stimulate innovation and productivity growth.

In your *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* article, you said that U.S. military spending constitutes a "de facto industrial policy." Is it an effective policy?

One way to judge an industrial policy is whether it is stimulating innovation in growing markets while maintaining a strong, diversified industrial base. It should lead to steady or growing market shares for U.S. firms in civilian growth markets and reasonable trade balances. The ghastly trade figures and the decline in civilian manufacturing indicate that the military-industrial policy of the 1980s is failing this test.

Another product of our military industrial policy is an extremely uneven pattern of regional growth. While the taxes for military spending come equally from all localities, the benefits are distributed to relatively few communities possessing large contractors or military installations.



Most localities suffer a net revenue drain as taxes leave the area, never to return with federal purchases or wage payments. For a local area, this is equivalent to a negative trade balance, which lowers its economic activity and growth. Only a few communities in such areas as southern California, Massachusetts, and northern Virginia experience a large net inflow of military dollars.

What are the chances that U.S. policymakers will redirect the flow of dollars from military spending to other social and infrastructure programs?

Obviously, there is an extremely powerful constellation of interest groups supporting high military budgets. It will take a concerted and sustained

effort by citizen groups and local, state, and federal policy-makers to achieve a significant change in federal budget priorities. Fortunately, the prospects are beginning to brighten. The Soviet Union is eager to escape the economic burdens of the arms race and to move toward serious arms control. And unilateral Soviet or U.S. military intervention in the Third World seems almost completely discredited as a policy option.

We now have a historic opportunity to rechannel a significant share of the \$300 billion military budget into productivity-enhancing investments in education, infrastructure, and civilian research. This new agenda could help reawaken a stagnant economy and, in a real sense, enhance national security. ■

We now have a historic opportunity to rechannel a significant share of the \$300 billion military budget into productivity-enhancing investments in education, infrastructure, and civilian research.

For the third year in a row, Americans gathered to discuss and coordinate their sister relationships with Nicaraguan cities and towns. Despite the \$1,000 cost for air travel and the conference fee, a record number of U.S. cities were represented — by one count, between 100 and 125. All together, about 200 Americans and 100 Nicaraguans (including 60 Nicaraguan mayors) participated.

Lasting three days, the Third U.S.-Nicaragua Sister City Conference provided an unprecedented opportunity for existing sister cities to improve their ties and for unaffiliated cities to find new sisters. Between speeches by such luminaries as Alejandro Bendaña, the secretary-general of the foreign ministry, delegates attended workshops on such diverse topics as shipping material aid, starting new projects, and managing major construction projects. Unlike the two previous conferences, which were consumed in ceremony, this conference facilitated more specific, nuts-and-bolts discussions. Some examples:

ALAN WRIGHT of New Haven, Connecticut, presented "experienced cities" with a number of useful organizing tips. He suggested breaking up the sister city organization into discrete categories — such as doctors, teachers, and lawyers — that could lead to more focused projects. He also urged cities to continue sending delegations to Nicaragua, if only to generate good press attention in the U.S. and help correct distorted American media views about Nicaragua. This explains why New Haven sent ten delegations in 1987.

SARA LEE of Boulder, Colorado, urged the more established cities to send speakers, information packets, and fund-raising tips to the newer cities. She also suggested that repeated city council endorsements help legitimate and publicize a sister city effort.

JOHN WALTON of Providence, Rhode Island, recalled the challenge of building a school in Niquinohomo. "A six week project," he said, "took four months." Among his cautions: Bring your own tools and materials, especially for plumbing and electrical

already delivered 1,300 bikes to Nicaragua. He is now working with Japanese, Dutch and Soviet development groups to help build bicycle paths in the country and import hundreds of thousands of additional bikes.

The keynote speaker was CID President Michael Shuman, who congratulated the sister cities on preventing any further U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua: "We've clearly had an impact on American opinion: Sixty to seventy percent of the American people have continued to oppose contra aid. Cognizant of these public views, Congress refused to support contra aid on February 3rd."

But Shuman warned that, to be effective, the sister cities movement will need to follow a three-part strategy, he denoted with the letters "INS" — "I" for institutionalization, "N" for networking, and "S" for sustainable development. "When the war in Nicaragua ends," he asked, "will we continue our sister relationships with as much enthusiasm as we have now? Are we here only to challenge Reagan's policies, or are we here to help Nicaraguans over the long-term?" Shuman encouraged participants to think of their activities in the broader context of developing a coherent American agenda for

Third World development. (*Copies of Shuman's speech are available from the Bulletin for \$2*).

For many, the high point of the conference came on the third day, when Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega fielded questions from people in the conference for nearly three hours. Ortega spoke about the deteriorating Nicaraguan economy, about his hopes for peace and demilitarization, and about his appreciation for the American people trying to end the war. He repeatedly condemned the U.S. trade embargo but thanked Americans who have been continually trying to help Nicaragua — "you can't



work. Keep the design simple. Work closely with your sister city at all stages — planning, construction, and evaluation. And enjoy the social part of the project (his project resulted in a marriage!).

KARL KURZ of "Bikes, Not Bombs" argued that automotive transportation, which most First World organizations, particularly the World Bank, have tried to promote in Central America, is thoroughly inappropriate. Only about 1-2 percent of the people can afford cars; the rest rely on bicycles. With thirty chapters in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, "Bikes, Not Bombs" has



Meeting in Managua. "You can't put an embargo on conscience."

Liz Chilsen

put an embargo on conscience."

At the end of the press conference, which was broadcast live and unedited throughout the country on Radio Sandino, Liz Chilsen, director of the Wisconsin Coordinating Committee on Nicaragua (WCCN), presented Ortega with a commemorative plaque for peace from the Wisconsin state legislature. Leading Republicans as well as Democrats in Wisconsin voted to present the award.

Whatever energy remained in the participants was exhausted as they engaged in countless conversations propelled by Nicaraguan coffee by day and Nicaraguan rum by night. Other activities included Latin dancing, feasting on spicy chicken, and moonlight swimming.

*Sister cities
have clearly
had an
impact on
American
opinion.*

The conference ended with delegates calling for an end to U.S. support of the contras, a lifting of the embargo, and an increase in cultural and economic exchanges. The next day, participants scattered across the country to visit their cities, some for a few days and others for several weeks.

Perhaps the most compelling evidence of the impact of the conference and the sister city movement occurred several weeks later. When the State Department retaliated against the expulsion of the U.S. ambassador from Nicaragua, it expelled from Washington, D.C., seven Nicaraguans, one of whom was Zelmira Garcia, the Nicaraguan point person for the sister cities movement and the conference. ■

U.S.-NICARAGUAN SISTER CITIES

This list of sister city programs joining U.S. and Nicaraguan communities was compiled by the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua (WCCN), and is one of the directories that appears in WCCN's new book, Friends In Deed: The Story Of U.S. - Nicaraguan Sister Cities. Participants in these programs are asked to help keep the list current by submitting updated information to WCCN (P.O. Box 1534, Madison, WI 53701). Copies of the book, and mailing labels of the list's entries, can be purchased from WCCN.

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Akron, OH 44320
216-867-4542/864-9103

Albany-Chichigalpa
James Power
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Albany, OR 97321
503-967-7595/926-3024

Albuquerque-Estel
Sofia Martinez
1114 7th St. NW
Albuquerque, NM 87102
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Amherst-La Paz Centro
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North Amherst, MA 01059
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Ann Arbor-Juigalpa
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313-663-0655

Arcata-Camoapa
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Athens-Teustepe
Frank Norton
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Athens, OH 45701
614-662-5075/662-5075

Bainbridge & Ometepe Islands
Kim Esterberg, PO Box 4484
Rollingbay, WA 98061
206-842-8148

Baltimore-San Juan de Limay
Dick Ullrick & Rev. Gretchen
Van Utt
St. John's Methodist Church
St. Paul and 27th Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
301-366-7733/547-2689

Beckley-Mina El Limon
Lee Adler, PO Box 1521
Beckley, WV 25802-1521
304-252-2933

Belfast-San Nicolas
Warren Greeley
Plummer Hill
Brooks, ME 40921
207-525-4403

Bergen-Rivas Sister County
Project
Sal Piazza and Dorothy Pita
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Apt. 1721
Cliffside Park, NJ 07010
201-837-7929/224-7750

Berkeley-Leon
Rebecca Cohn-Vargas and Jill
Friedman
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Berkeley, CA 94701
415-549-1387/549-1387

Bloomington-Posoltega
Russell Salmon
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Bloomington, IN 47401
812-336-1319

Boulder-Jalapa
Sara Lee, PO Box 7452
Boulder, CO 80306
303-442-0460/442-0460

Bradford-Cardenas
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Bradford, VT 05033
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Brookline-Quezalguaque
Elizabeth Wyon and Maxine
Shaw
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Brookline, MA 02146
617-277-0069/277-7867

Brooklyn-San Juan del Rio Coco
Susane Lyons and Donna
Mehly
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718-282-0288/768-0953

Bucksport-La Trinidad
Melissa LaLonde
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Burlington-Puerto Cabezas
Jo-Ann Golden & Roger Clapp
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Central Jersey-Masaya
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Plainsfield, NJ 07060
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McLeod and Jane Stein
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Chapel Hill, NC 27516
919-929-1614

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Mary Jean Chilcote and Fran
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Fresno-Talpaneca
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Gainesville-Matagalpa
Harriet Peacock and Susan
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Greeley - Al Frente de Lucha
Elaine Schmidt and Michael J.
Higgins
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Greeley, CO 80631
303-351-1890/352-7765

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203-236-1295/242-8620

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Marin-Condega
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Fairfax, CA 94930
415-456-7433

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Solentiname
Phyllis Vecchia and Wendy
Ward
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Vineyard Haven, MA 02568
617-627-3918

Milford-Esquipula
Mary Malarky and Mrs.
Michael Drummy
40 Hawley Ave.
Milford, CT 06460
203-874-4229

Milwaukee-Ticuantepe
Todd Schlenker
1638 S. 33rd St.
Milwaukee, WI 53215
414-671-4555

Minnesota-Leon
Nancy Trechsel
7455 S. Lake Sarah
Rockford, MN 55373
612-477-6366

Montclair-Pearl Lagoon
Dick Franke
50 Oakwood
Upper Montclair, NJ 07043
201-783-5896/744-4021

Moscow-Villa Carlos Fonseca
Mary Voxman
1118 King Rd.
Moscow, ID 83843
208-882-1009

Muir Beach-San Juan del Sur
Gerald Pearلمان
270 Pacific Way
Box 296
Muir Beach, CA 94111
415-383-5997

New Bedford-Telica
Dawn Blake, Thomas and
Erica Bronstein
c/o Labor Education Center
Southeast Massachusetts
University
North Dartmouth, MA
617-999-8007/994-3050

New Haven-Leon Sister City
Project
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New Haven, CT 06513
203-467-9182

Newark-Nicaragua
Teri Foster and Betsy Granda
P.O. Box 391
Newark, DE 19715
302-368-8250

Newton-San Juan del Sur
Betsy and Rodney Barker
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Newton Highlands, MA 02161
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North Manhattan-Colama
Dave Dubnau
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New York, NY 10032
212-281-1813

Norwalk-Nagarote
Scott Harris
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South Norwalk, CT 06856
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Marijke van Roojen
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Pittsfield-Malpasillo
James Moran
306 West St.
Pittsfield, MA 01201
413-445-5246

Pomona Valley-Quilai
Jeff Johnson
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Pomona, CA 91768
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305-335-0281

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503-233-5181/295-7783

Princeton-Granada
James Laity
#3 Shirley La.
Lawrenceville, NJ 08648
609-896-2441

Providence-Niquinohomo
Martha Bebinger and Paula
Donovan
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Providence, RI 02907
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Richland Center-Santa Teresa
Jane Furchgott and Andrea
Kaiser
c/o Brewer Public Library
325 N. Central Ave.
Richland Center, WI 53581
608-583-2431/583-2628

Rochester-El Sauce
Henrietta Levine
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Rochester, NY 14614
716-325-2560/473-3015

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Oriente
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PO Box 163078
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Norte
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Doug Segur and Renee Smith
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Spokane, WA 99202
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Tacoma, WA 98444

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Rev. Jim Richards
817 Harrison St.
Topeka, KS 66612
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Mark Mayer and Molly Moore
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Tucson, AZ 85719
602-325-5531/623-5371

Upper Westside-Tipitapa
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New York, NY 10025
212-678-6113

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Michael Bagge and Edie
Weintraub
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Utica, NY 13501
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Thomas Lobe
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Vermillion, SD 57069
605-624-9241

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Cleveland Park Station
Washington, DC 20008
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West Redding-San Jose
Benedictine Grange
W. Redding, CT 06896
203-938-3689

Willitz-El Escambray
Janet Brown
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Willitz, CA 95490

Wisconsin Rapids-Rio Blanco
Carolyn Kenney and Joyce
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Wisconsin Rapids, WI 54494
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Yellow Springs-Jicaró
Steve Platt and Hazel Tuleck
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Yellow Springs, OH 45387
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Youngstown-San Isidro
Jim Converse
Peace Council of Youngstown
2615 Market St.
Youngstown, OH 44507
216-788-8848/782-2736

TIME TO CHANGE COURSE

LEOs QUESTION U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The U.S. must change its policy toward Nicaragua and Central America," concluded Jersey City Councilmember Jaime Vazquez after returning from a fact-finding tour to Honduras and Nicaragua in May and June. Vazquez issued a twelve-page report based on his observations and interviews, arguing that "the United States has been undermining its own interest in Central America by following a policy which only prescribes military solutions to political, economic and social problems."

Sponsored by Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility and led by the Center for Global Education, other participants included: Jim Scheibel, Council President of St. Paul, Minnesota; Jesus Garcia, Alderman in Chicago, Illinois; and Mary Perez-Johnson, Commissioner in Orlando, Florida.

In both Honduras and Nicaragua, the delegation met with government officials, as well as representatives from various public, private, and civic sectors, including educators, politicians, priests, and businesspeople. They also met with the U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua.

Vazquez concluded that Nicaragua's economic and political life could stabilize and improve "if the U.S. government would cease military support for the contras and lift the economic embargo against the country. These actions would place the U.S. in a new, much more positive position with the people and government of Nicaragua, who are determined, after 43 years of dictatorial rule, to make the

new government work."

Reflecting on his visit to Nicaragua's Panfilio Campos Farm Cooperative, where nine residents

years, about 150 Hondurans have disappeared," he wrote, adding that the U.S. Congress should "demand an accounting of the 'disappeared' in



Missouri National Guardsman handing out McDonald's "Fun Books" to poor Honduran peasants. Can this be the way to the "hearts and minds of the people"?
Joan Kruckewitt / Impact Visuals

died in a contra attack last February, Vazquez said that the 200 people there "deserve the understanding, cooperation and support of the American people and of the American government, not in the form of military assistance to the opposition or economic embargoes against the country, but in the form of economic aid that will build hospitals, schools, homes and farms. This is the true way to capture the 'hearts and minds' of the people."

Vazquez's report also expressed concern over the increasing incidence of human rights violations against Honduran citizens by military police squads there. "During the past five

Honduras and what actions the government is taking to cease these occurrences."

In a letter in the *New York Post*, the *Bergen Record*, and the *Jersey Journal*, Vazquez explained, "The impact of our policies and actions in Central and Latin America has lost for the U.S. its position of reverence and prestige. It is time to change our course. It is time to recognize that just like [the] first Americans, other countries in Central and Latin America want the freedom of self-determination, to choose their own course."

SOURCE: Jaime Vazquez, Jersey City Council Member, City Hall, Jersey City, NJ 07302 (201-547-5204).

U.S.-NICARAGUAN SISTER CITY BRIEFS



Gregory Tewksbury of the Brooklyn Sister City Project begins work on swing set for children's playground.

Linda Eber / Impact Visuals

BALTIMORE (MD) - SAN JUAN DE LIMAY

In July a dozen Baltimore citizens traveled to San Juan de Limay, where they lived with families, met with government personnel, and visited churches and agricultural co-ops. When they returned to Baltimore, they spoke about their experiences at public forums, churches and schools.

A "sister clinic" relationship is now being formed between a community clinic in the Waverley neighborhood of Baltimore and a clinic in San Juan de Limay. The Baltimore facility will provide its Nicaraguan counterpart with medical supplies and other assistance. This follows a fund-raising effort in Baltimore that collected money to purchase an emergency vehicle for San Juan — an automobile converted into an ambulance.

Baltimore organizers are also raising funds to help build more classrooms for San Juan de Limay's elementary and high school building.

CONTACT: Casa Baltimore, St. John's Methodist Church, St. Paul and 27th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-366-7733).

BOULDER (CO) - JALAPA

A ten-person regional delegation traveled to Managua in June to attend the U.S.-Nicaraguan Sister City

Conference. From there, the Boulder group hand-carried material aid to Jalapa, including medicine, clothing, sewing equipment and rehydration packets.

The Colorado visitors also delivered supplies to the Jalapa preschool that Boulder had helped build, where children honored them with a ceremony and singing.

The program's Infant Nutrition Project is underway with a top priority of developing a potable water system and creating a nutrition education program.

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

BROOKLYN (NY) - SAN JUAN DEL RIO COCO

Brooklyn residents are raising money for a new water system in San Juan del Rio Coco. Their goal — \$40,000 by January. The present water system delivers only polluted water that needs to be boiled before it's consumed.

A delegation from Brooklyn is expected to travel for two weeks to San Juan del Rio Coco in December or January to coincide with the coffee harvest season. Earlier this year, San Juan del Rio Coco Mayor Gabriel Martinez and two other people visited Brooklyn, where

they attended about 50 civic and church events, many in their honor and ranging from cultural programs to educational forums to wine-and-cheese receptions.

CONTACT: Susan Lyons, Brooklyn Sister City Project, P.O. Box 356A, Times Plaza Station, Brooklyn, NY 11217 (718-768-0953).

BURLINGTON (VT) - PUERTO CABEZAS

In late August, Burlington sister city volunteers worked with several other organizations to ship 580 tons of food and other aid to Puerto Cabezas and nearby towns on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua. A similar shipment of 975 tons of goods was sent to the same area in 1987.

After attending the U.S.-Nicaraguan Sister City Conference in Managua, Ken Eardley of the Burlington-Puerto Cabezas steering committee spent four days in the Nicaraguan town. He met with the mayor of Puerto Cabezas and discussed several proposed projects, including radio linkage between the two communities. Weekly ham radio communication between Burlington and the regional government office in Puerto Cabezas was expected to begin in October.

Burlington has also sent to the regional hospital in Puerto Cabezas supplies and medical equipment donated by the Medical Center of Vermont.

CONTACT: Roger Clapp, Burlington-Puerto Cabezas Sister City Program, 113 Church St., Burlington, VT 05401 (802-864-0659).

MADISON (WI) - MANAGUA

A seven-person delegation from Madison visited Managua in June, beginning their visit by meeting with the vice-mayor of the Nicaraguan city. They then were given an overview of city planning efforts in Managua, including updates on its programs for pollution abatement, population control, and transportation. Other stops included the "Bikes, Not Bombs" shop in Managua, where they delivered needed bicycle parts, and the microbiology laboratory at the medical school at National Autonomous University.

In October, two Managua journalists were expected to visit Madison. Arturo Zamora, foreign relations

director of *Barricada*, and Ruth Warner, English language editor of *Barricada International*, were scheduled to make a nationwide tour to increase subscribers of their biweekly newspaper.

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

MINNESOTA - LEON

Minnesota residents are joining with people from Leon's other sister partners—New Haven (CT) and Gettysburg (PA)—to provide seven chlorinators; Leon has not had chlorinated water for six years.

In October, twelve Nicaraguan youths and their chaperons were expected to spend three weeks in Minnesota touring the state.

Minnesota respiratory therapist Juana Mann spent two weeks in August at HEODRA Teaching Hospital in Leon training nurses. Her visit was supported by



A "Bikes, Not Bombs" shop in Managua, part of Madison's sister-city stop. Liz Chilsen

CAMA (Central American Medical Association) in the Twin Cities.

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

continued on next page

NEW HAVEN (CT) - LEON

In July, four day-care providers from New Haven were in Leon for two weeks conducting workshops at child-care centers. They helped deliver \$6,000 of supplies.

Material aid shipments — containing everything from bicycles to hospital equipment — were sent to Leon from New Haven in both August and September. A bike marathon, called "Pedal for Peace," was held in New Haven in September as a fund-raiser for sister city projects. A delegation of about ten New Haven residents is expected to travel to Leon in November.

The sister city program is completing a manuscript for a bilingual poetry book by Nicaraguan and U.S. poets.

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

NEWTON (MA) - SAN JUAN DEL SUR

A teacher from San Juan del Sur has been in Newton since May, where he is learning English at the Boston University language school. When he returns to Nicaragua, he will teach English.

In June, Rodney Barker of the sister city project spent two days in Newton meeting with school officials to discuss future material aid for rural schools in Nicaragua. In the past the program has sent shipments of books, pencils and paper. During the June visit, Barker also delivered sewing machine needles for the town's crafts center.

There are plans to drive a donated school bus to San Juan del Sur this fall.

CONTACT: Rodney Barker, Newton/San Juan del Sur Sister City Project, 54 Lincoln St., Newton Highlands, MA 02161.

PORTLAND (OR) - CORINTO

A twelve-member construction brigade from Portland spent two weeks in June and July in Corinto, where they participated in a renovation of the town's hospital. They repaired the roof, painted the building, and installed a backup electrical generator. Another construction brigade is planning to go to Corinto in January or February.

Seven Portland high-school students and three

teachers spent ten days in Nicaragua in August, staying four nights in Corinto homes.

In September, Portland residents began painting a 30-foot by 15-foot mural that will be displayed on a Portland restaurant wall.

Martha Cranshaw, governor of Nicaragua's Region 2 (Corinto's supervising state government), is expected to visit Portland in November.

CONTACT: Tim Calvert, Portland-Corinto Sister City Association, 3558 S.E. Hawthorne, Portland, OR 97214 (503-233-5181).

SEATTLE (WA) - MANAGUA

During a visit to Managua in June, a ten-person Seattle delegation attended a dinner with Managua Mayor Carlos Carrion that included native salmon and jams brought from the Seattle area.

In Managua, the Seattle group visited Children's Hospital and delivered donated medical equipment to the facility. They also brought toothbrushes and toothpaste for preschool children and sports equipment for youngsters in the Managua barrios.

Groups of 15 to 20 Seattle residents who have not yet visited Nicaragua were expected to take trips to Managua this fall — one scheduled for September, the other for November.

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

WISCONSIN - MANAGUA

Under the slogan "Our Eyes Don't Lie," the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua (WCCN) has joined a campaign to encourage sister city participants throughout the country to talk publicly about their experiences in Nicaragua.

In October, a group of health-care professionals from Wisconsin traveled to Managua as part of an exchange program between the University of Wisconsin and the National Autonomous University medical school. While in Nicaragua, the Wisconsin group attended a health colloquium.

Friends In Deed: The Story of U.S.-Nicaragua Sister Cities, a book by Sheldon Rampton and Liz Chilsen of WCCN, was published in October. Priced at \$19.95, the authors hope that sister city activists purchase the book for holiday gift-giving.

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

AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE APPEALS FOR MORE NICARAGUAN LINKS

The first European Conference on City-Linking with Nicaragua has issued a call for a broadening of municipal ties between communities in Western Europe and the war-torn Central American country. The delegates to the conference also urged cities already tied to Nicaragua to "strengthen their support for the Nicaraguan struggle for independence and peace, and to use whatever influence they have at their disposal to encourage national governments, the European Community and other bodies, to support this aim."

This inaugural European conference was held in late May at the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam.

There were about 350 delegates from 14 Western European countries, Australia, the United States, and Nicaragua. The event was organized by the Amsterdam City Council, the United Towns Organization and several other groups.

The conference discussed a proposal of establishing a council that would facilitate closer cooperation and information exchange between cities with ties to Nicaragua. It also voted to send a message to President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, urging them to "strive for a promotion of peace and development in the Central American region." Delegates called upon na-

tional governments in Western Europe to give their full support, including financial assistance, to the establishment and strengthening of European city ties with Nicaragua.

In the Netherlands, the site of the conference, 14 cities presently have links with Nicaragua, 7 of which have been formally ratified by their city councils. These include the 7 largest cities in the Netherlands, among which are Amstersdam, Rotterdam and The Hague.

CONTACT: Ronald van der Hijden, van Speykstraat 21, 3572 XB Utrecht, The Netherlands (Tel. 30-718163).

BEYOND REAGAN

THE FUTURE OF ARMS CONTROL

MONDAY,
OCTOBER 24
10:05 PM EST

FRIDAY
NOVEMBER 4
10:20 PM EST

Broadcast on superstation WTBS

An innovative, pre-election prime time television special. Produced by the Union of Concerned Scientists and the Better World Society.

BEYOND REAGAN follows a representative group of Americans as they struggle with the difficult questions of nuclear arms control and national security. This one hour documentary examines, through the eyes of this group, the metamorphosis of Ronald Reagan on US-Soviet relations, and looks to the possible directions the next administration could take to achieve deep reductions in nuclear weapons and the restructuring of our national security spending.

"This show is a 'must see' for everyone who cares about the future of our towns and cities. BEYOND REAGAN opened my eyes to the national security issues that Americans really care about and what they think the next president should do about them."

-Larry Agran, Mayor
Irvine, California

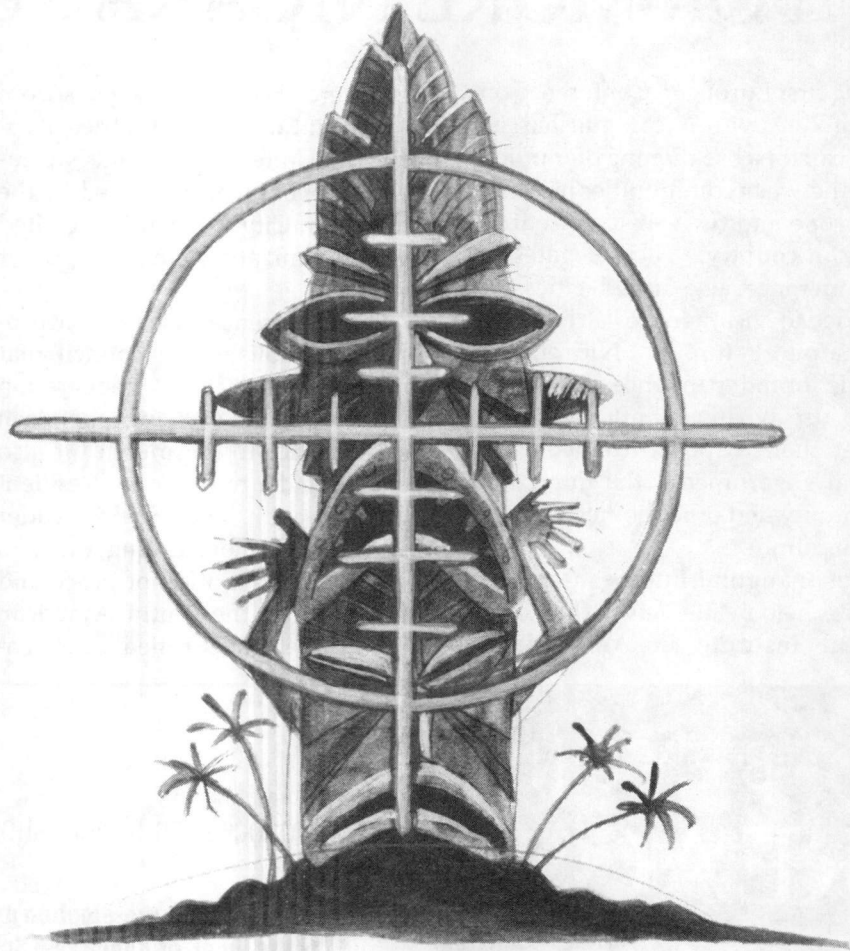
Moderated by Charles Nesson, with commentary by Ambassador Max Kampelman, Suzanne Massie, General David C. Jones, William Colby, and Dr. Paul Kennedy.

T

he postcards sold in Hawaiian gift shops paint a serene and stunningly beautiful picture of the 50th state. Immaculate beaches. Steaming volcanoes. Verdant mountains. It's a scene that tourists travel thousands of miles to see, and few are disappointed.

But there's another side to Hawaii, too. Amid all the beauty, a major controversy is brewing around Kaho'olawe, the smallest of Hawaii's eight main islands, located south of Maui. Since World War II, the military forces of the U.S. and its allies have used this uninhabited island for target practice. And after more than four decades, Hawaiians are finally rising up to stop it.

Earlier in this century, Kaho'olawe was the home of cattle ranchers before they were moved out to allow Navy planes to drop their bombs and destroy large sections of



No More BOMBING

by Richard Trubo

the 11-mile-long island. But Kaho'olawe also contains hundreds of archaeological sites — some dating back nearly 1,000 years — including one of the state's major petroglyph fields, the second largest adze quarry on the islands, and many shrines, temples and burial sites.

Not surprisingly, these rich archaeological resources have earned Kaho'olawe a place on the National Register of Historical Places. But with the continued bombing, not much history will be left before long. The navy argues that its target zone is in the middle of the island, away from archaeological treasures along the coast. But as recently as this year a bomb landed in the middle of one historic site, raising the controversy to a fever pitch in Hawaii.

As well as voicing their concerns about the destruction of Kaho'olawe's cultural landmarks, many Hawaiians insist that the bombings may be harmful to humpback whales, as well as disturbing the human population of Maui. Since the 1970's efforts to save the island have been more aggressive, with some activists trying to illegally occupy the island in hopes of halting the military maneuvers. In the process some of the protestors have lost their lives at sea.

The Maui County Council has already called for a cessation of the bombing. And more recently, the Honolulu City Council passed a resolution saying, in essence, enough is enough. By a 7-0 vote, the Honolulu lawmakers voted to "request that the United States and all foreign governments once and for all time stop the destructive bombing of the island of Kaho'olawe." The measure, authored by Councilmember Gary Gill, urged that the island "be returned to the people of Hawaii for peaceful and productive use."

The resolution noted that every two years, the U.S. Department of the Navy invites other nations to participate in the bombing of Kaho'olawe,

part of the biennial RIMPAC [Rim of the Pacific] exercises. Although Japan, Australia, New Zealand and England have done their share of bombing during training missions in past years, Canada is now the only foreign country whose Navy continues to accept the U.S. invitation to shell the Hawaiian beaches.

As a result, the Council resolution singled out Canada for special attention. Honolulu will soon be awarding contracts for construction of a fixed rail system, and since Canadian transit systems, particularly the one in Vancouver, have received high marks from Hawaiian officials, there is some sentiment for turning to Canada for help — providing it stops participating in the bombing. In a thinly veiled threat, the resolution stated, "Local sentiment against Canada's shelling of Kaho'olawe may result in public protest that may complicate the city and county's selection process to award the Honolulu Mass Transit construction contract."

Since the resolution was passed in June, the Canadian press has covered the story and left some Canadians jittery. Even so, at press time, neither the U.S. nor the Canadian Navy had responded to requests to halt the bombing. Copies of the Honolulu resolution have been sent to President Reagan, members of Congress, and all RIMPAC participants.

Meanwhile, an organization called Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana ["Ohana" is the Hawaiian word for "extended family"] is actively working to protect the island. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs, a quasi-state entity that oversees programs for native Hawaiian people, is discussing the possibility of a boycott of Canadian goods. According to Councilmember Gill, Kaho'olawe has become very important among native Hawaiians in their struggle to preserve their culture.

SOURCE: Gary Gill, Honolulu Councilmember, City Hall, Honolulu, HI 96813 (808-523-4045).

Since World War II, the military forces of the U.S. and its allies have used Kaho'olawe, Hawaii for target practice.

GWEN Towers melt and fold in face of public protest

Air Force will go ahead with 40 more, but activists can still claim victory

GWEN towers have brought the nuclear arms race right into America's backyards.

Many people may feel powerless to influence decisions at the superpower summits, but a growing number of them — from local officials to ordinary citizens — have wielded their influence to keep the 300-foot-high spires out of their communities and skylines.

As we discussed in earlier issues of the *Bulletin* (most recently, Spring 1988), the GWEN (Ground Wave Emergency Network) towers are part of the Air Force's plans to construct a nationwide radio network of relay towers to help fight a protracted nuclear war. But the Pentagon didn't reckon it would encounter this much opposition.

The complaints of Judith Conrad, a nuclear weapons freeze activist in Fall River (MA), are typical: "In an all-out nuclear war, these towers would melt and fold like straws in the wind. Nothing would remain of civilization as we know it."

While the Air Force's original goal was a series of 240 towers, it has scaled that back considerably. In fact, the military is still struggling to complete the first 56 towers — the minimum number required for the so-called "Thin Line" to make the system operational. To date, 52 towers have been completed, but in trying to find locales for the remainder, the welcome mat has been conspicuously absent.

Earlier this year, the Air Force searched for three new tower sites in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and it ran into resistance at almost every turn. The GWEN Project, which has coordinated the campaign against the communications network, rallied opposition to the towers at town meetings and public forums. As a result, three Massachusetts communities have gone on record in 1988 against GWEN — Hubbardston, Princeton and New Braintree. That brings to 15 the number of towns in Maine, Rhode Island and Massachusetts that have voiced their opposition through their local governments or in town meetings since 1985. The state legislature in Rhode Island has also cast its vote against GWEN. Meanwhile, the GWEN towers became something of a Presidential campaign issue. In an open letter in *Time* magazine, former Secretary of Defense and CIA Director James Schlesinger scolded Governor Michael Dukakis, the Democratic Presidential nominee:

"You have steadily prevented Massachusetts' participation in the Ground Wave Emergency Network, a communications system designed to transmit warnings or presidential orders to the Strategic Air Command and the North American Aerospace Defense Command if the nation were under nuclear attack. . . . Only your state and Rhode Island continue as holdouts."

Schlesinger continued, "In your 1986 letter to the Air Force objecting to the placement of GWEN in Massachusetts, you suggested that having such a communications system might encourage the 'mistaken belief that nuclear war can be kept under control once it begins' and thereby 'make national leaders more inclined to let one begin.' Governor, what deters war is the completeness and integrity of the U.S. deterrent, and secure communications enhance our deterrent. Yet you seem to suggest that the way to deter war is to be unprepared to respond."

In the aftermath of Schlesinger's essay, Vice-President George Bush

picked up the ball, attacking Dukakis for his antagonism to GWEN. At the Republican National Convention in August, the party platform criticized the Democratic Presidential nominee for blocking Massachusetts from participating in GWEN.

James Steinberg, an aide to Dukakis, says that the governor's opposition to GWEN is based on both environmental and strategic grounds. "When the administration began to sell GWEN to the Congress they repeatedly called it a system for protracted nuclear war fighting," according to Steinberg. "Dukakis believes we need survivable communications and that an appropriate system to let us retaliate is something we need to have. But his objection — in addition to environmental concerns — is that the administration was developing a strategy to mount and survive multiple nuclear strikes."

Nancy Foster of the GWEN Project agrees. Foster says "retaliation is already assured" through existing nuclear weapons arrangements. "The reason we went after the GWEN towers was because it was for protracted war and we object to that. You can't fight a protracted nuclear war."

Despite Republican pot-shots, public opposition to GWEN is hardly waning. "The partial victory for the GWEN opponents in this," says the GWEN Project's Foster, "is that they [Congress] have curtailed this system." Foster points out that Congress slashed the 1988 Air Force budget for tower construction from \$52 million to \$36 million, and reduced the number of towers from 240 to 126 and, more recently, to 96. And while the Air Force will build 40 more towers, they're understandably hesitant to announce proposed sites. In New England, apparently, the towers are as desirable as scrofula.

SOURCES: Rene Theberge, GWEN Project, P.O. Box 135, Amherst, MA 01004 (413-549-1576); Judith Conrad, 106 Warburton St., Fall River, MA 02720; James Schlesinger, "Your Record is Not Reassuring," *Time*, 1 August 1988, p. 22; Henry Weinstein, "Final GOP Planks Call Democrats' Soviet Views 'Naive'," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 August 1988, p. 1:16; "Veterans Give Bush, Quayle Warm Support," *Wall Street Journal*, 23 August 1988, p. 48.

Ground Wave
Emergency
Network
towers are
part of the
Air Force's
plans to
construct a
nationwide
radio network
of relay towers
to help fight a
protracted
nuclear war.

AS IT LAY DYING

State Report Concludes California Economy Is At Risk

If a report by California's Commission on State Finance is correct, several California counties — especially Santa Clara, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego — have become so dependent upon military contracts that their regional economies risk "serious depressions" if defense spending falls.

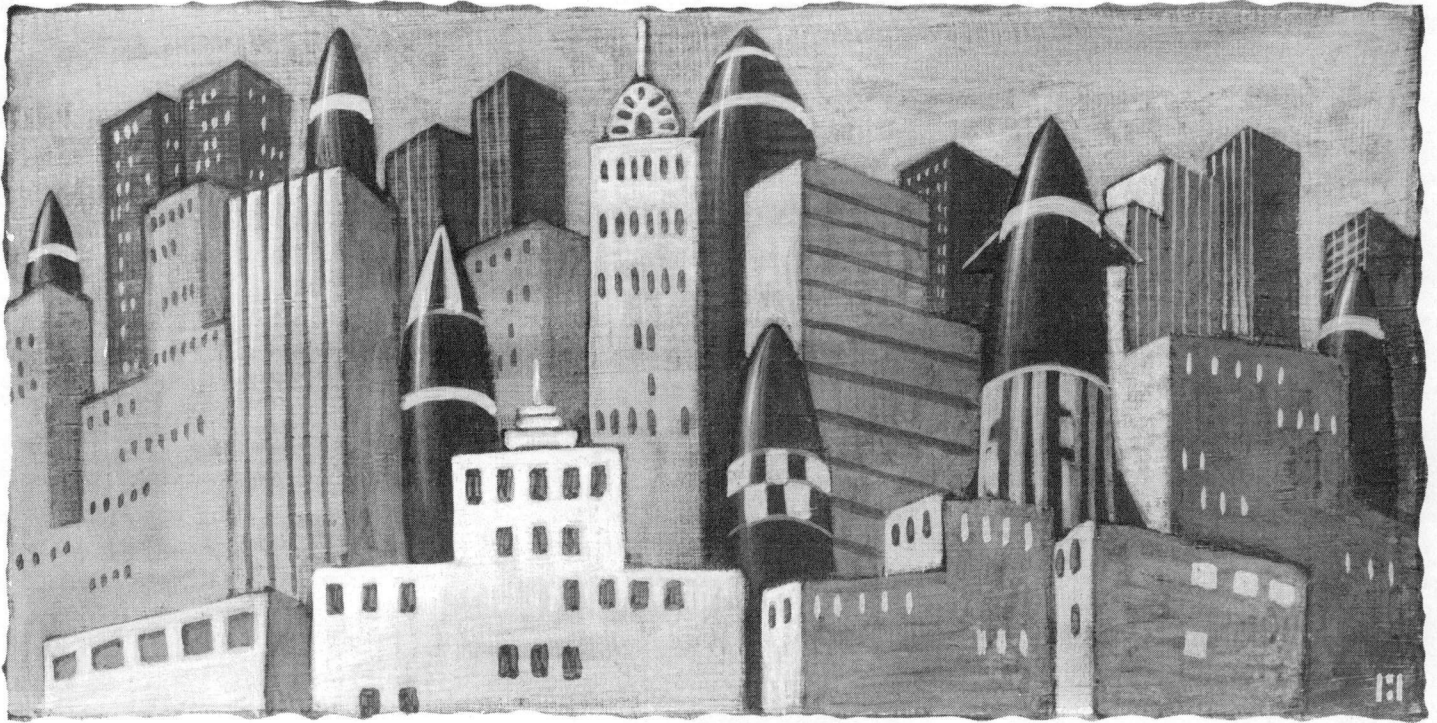
The report, *Impact of Federal Spending on California*, is hardly the stuff of leisure reading, but its message is clear: Without an economic conversion plan, the state of California may well find itself permanently shackled to the war industry.

Timothy Masanz, senior consultant on the state's report, told the *Bulletin* that the state of California is actually rather independent of federal spending in general. "I think everyone was surprised at how low federal spending is in California," Masanz said. "We were expecting federal spending to account for something like 25-30 percent in the state," Masanz said. "In fact, it's lower than 10 percent — like eight or nine percent."

But the same cannot be said of California's defense industries. According to Masanz, "If you look at specific industries — aerospace and electronics, for example — the facts suggest we're more vulnerable [to changes in federal spending] than the eight or ten percent suggests."

While Masanz believes California's military-dependent counties might be at risk of "serious depression" in the wake of military spending cuts, the Center for Economic Conversion's Michael Closson argues that "it's unlikely their economies would be seriously disrupted."

see *CALIFORNIA*, page 30



Chicago Forum Tackles Military Dependence

Last year, corporations in Chicago received more than \$230 million in defense contracts. That was one of the findings of a Chicago Peace Conversion Commission survey released during landmark public hearings held in the city last August. Another was that eight Chicago companies had nuclear-related contracts, though the Commission suspected there might still be others.

The August forum was the first municipally-sponsored hearing on economic and military conversion held in the United States. It came more than two years after Chicago voters passed a nuclear-free zone ordinance, and more than a year after the City Council appointed the seven-person commission to help implement the ordinance.

The Commission heard testimony from nationally known experts on economic conversion, as well as local business, labor and community leaders. It provided the Commission with background and information for a report it will submit on the economic impact of the ordinance, and suggested plans for alternative product development for affected companies. The report will be submitted to the City Council and the mayor by next spring.

Michael Closson, executive director of the Center for Economic Conversion, testified that, while the federal government "must be pressured" to address the impact of military spending cutbacks, "conversion planning at the local and regional levels can tangibly ameliorate the problem and serve as a catalyst for federal action."

Closson warned that companies accustomed to receiving Pentagon contracts often find it difficult to adapt to the cost competitive pressures of the commercial marketplace. "When you are used to functioning in an environment that all too often tolerates cost overruns and shoddy products, it is like a plunge into Lake Michigan in January to enter into the real business world where such practices are not acceptable." Defense-oriented companies, he added, can benefit from city programs that provide job retraining assistance

see *CHICAGO*, page 30

CALIFORNIA from page 28

Closson points to a Southern California Area Government report that found only minor disruption in the Los Angeles County economy following a theoretical one-third cut in defense spending. "Individual cities could get clobbered," Closson says, "but, overall, counties have pretty diversified economies."

While Closson does not believe counties or regions of the state will be wiped out by the cuts, he does believe "the make-up in jobs will be significantly transformed." And that could mean trouble for Californians.

"People tend to think that a job is a job, and it isn't," Closson explains. "If defense spending falls, we'll see a significant decline in highly-skilled, high-paying blue-collar jobs."

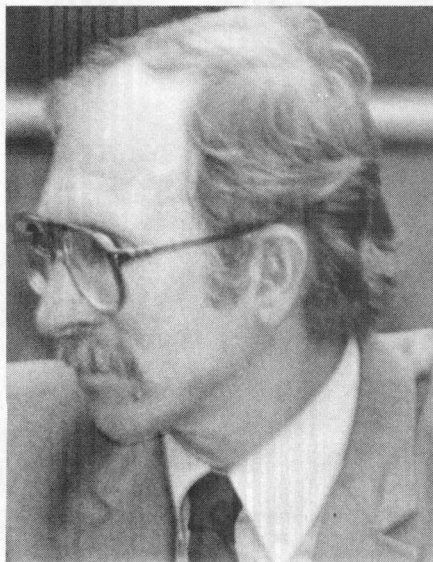
Closson notes that "one-third of all jobs in the U.S. labor market pay less than \$11,000 a year. We're moving toward a two-tier society — with even employed people unable to make it in the economy . . . and the military budget can have a tremendous impact on that trend."

The California report predicts that defense-dependent regions of the state will see some signs of economic slowing in the wake of the completion of the procurement phase of the B-1 bomber program this year. And Closson says cities like Palmdale, California — an hour's drive north of Los Angeles — are already in "bad shape because the B-1 has finished production."

One option in the face of "slackening defense spending," the report says, is for California's aerospace industry to turn to the international nonmilitary marketplace.

Closson believes the report underscores a need for the state "to do some real planning" before the federal budget ax goes not only California's defense industries but the state's entire economy.

SOURCES: Timothy Masanz, *Assembly Committee on Economic Development and New Technologies*; *California Commission on State Finance*, *Impact of Federal Expenditures on California*, (*Assembly Committee on Economic Development and New Technologies*, State Capitol, P.O. Box 942849, Sacramento, CA 94249-0001), Spring 1988; Michael Closson, *Center for Economic Conversion*, 222 C View Street, Mountain View, CA 94041 (415-968-8798).



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-Michael Closson

CHICAGO from page 29

and offer matching grants and other financial incentives to help develop and market new commercial products.

Jeff Dumas, a University of Texas (Dallas) political economist, testified that "economic conversion is not an empty-headed, blue-skies type of policy. It is a down-to-earth, realistic business strategy."

Timothy Wright, Chicago's economic development commissioner, recommended that rather than lobbying for a bigger share of federal military dollars, Chicago should urge Congress to channel federal funds instead toward reinvigorating industry to produce low-cost housing and rebuild urban sewer and road systems.

But David Morrison, President of IIT Research Institute, a military contractor, warned, "Many skills in defense don't transition easily to the civilian world. The city's job training wouldn't have much effect; these workers would need the equivalent of four years in a graduate-level university."

Prior to the hearing, the Commission contacted more than 200 Chicago companies from the Department of Defense prime contract list to determine their compliance with the ban on business tied to nuclear weapons production. Nearly 50 firms did not respond and, of the remainder that did reply, 57 denied having contracts related to nuclear weapons and a few said they were unsure.

Ron Freund, co-chair of the Commission, said attempts are now being made to reconcile the discrepancies between contract data published by the Department of Defense and the Department of Energy, and the denials from some firms that they are working under such contracts. The eight companies identified early as being involved in nuclear-associated work include those that have been awarded contracts linked with nuclear-related aircraft.

SOURCES: Ron Freund, *Peace Conversion Commission*, 20 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60602 (312-869-2424); *Center for Economic Conversion*, 222 C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041 (415-968-8798); Cheryl Devall, "Seeking a Nuclear-Free Economy," *Chicago Tribune*, 10 August 1988, p. 1.



Jim Jacobson

OFF THEIR BACKS

Some San Diegans Are Uncomfortable with Military Boom or Bust Economy

For decades, San Diego has been the consummate "Navy town." With its harbors brimming with ships and its sidewalks crowded with sailors, mere mention of the term "economic conversion" has been enough to fluster city officials.

Even so, as San Diego voters prepare to vote on at least four "slow-growth" and "quality of life" ballot measures this November, conversion supporters have tried to focus the community's attention on the city's heavy reliance on military dollars. Since May, the San Diego Economic Conversion Council (SDECC) has been trying to educate voters by testifying before the City Council, the Planning Commission, and the Citizen's Advisory Committee on Growth and Development. While the mass media has defined the growth controversy as a debate between environmentalists and developers, SDECC has begun to focus public attention on the city's growing dependence on military spending.

In testimony in July before the San Diego City Council, SDECC co-chair Marcia Boruta spelled out two reasons for concern about military expenditures: "San Diego's unquestioning accommodation of cyclical military spending has resulted in chronic boom-and-bust growth in San Diego, and it is likely that the recent increase in military spending in San Diego has reached its peak and is now on the decline."

Boruta told the Council, "We recognize your reluctance to confront the issue of reducing San Diego's reliance on military spending. No one wants to 'kill the goose who lays the golden egg.' However, ignoring the situation holds the risk of additional crisis down the road."

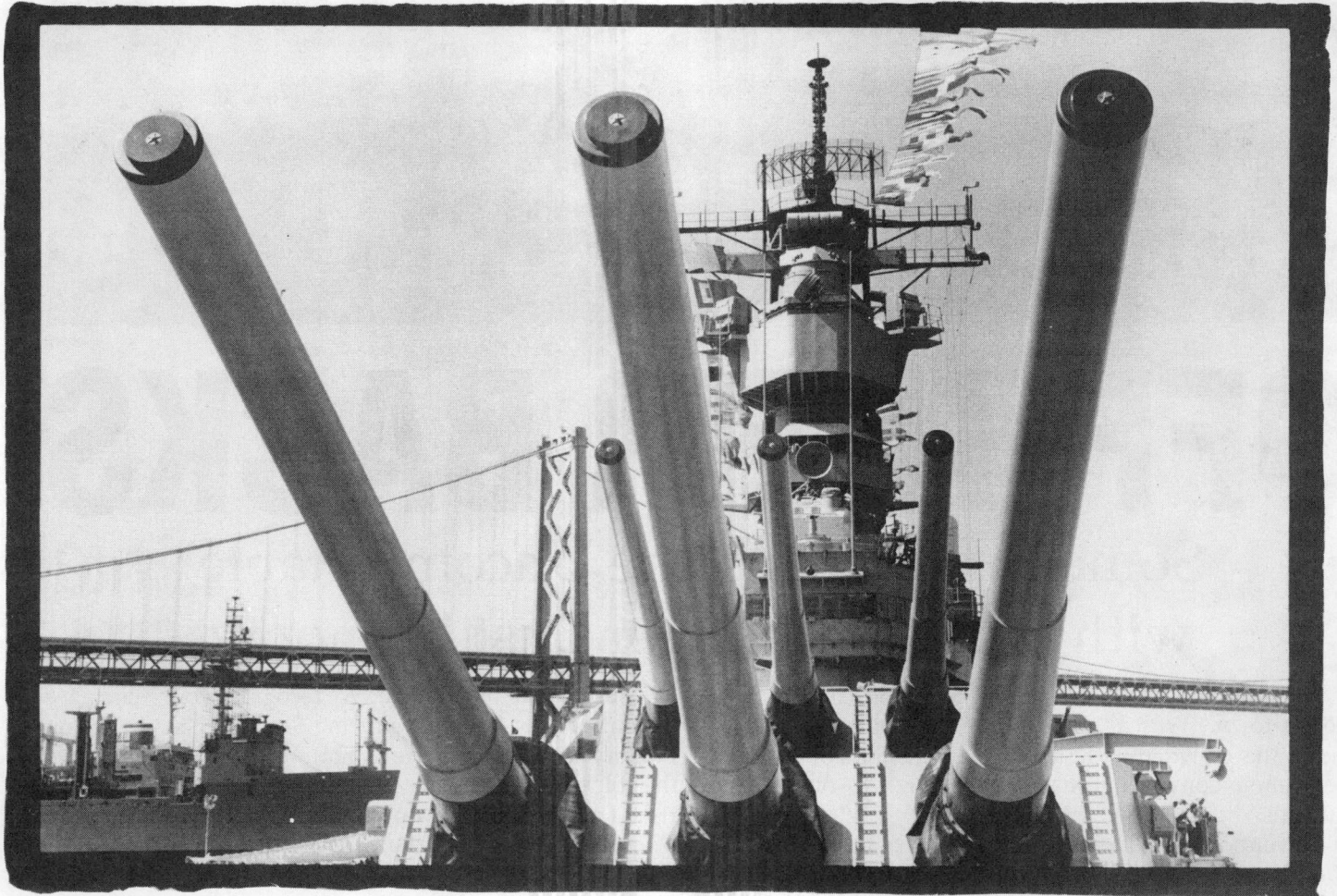
SDECC has urged the City Council to create an Economic Conversion Assistance Program that "provides targeted assistance to local companies and workers who are vulnerable to near-term cutbacks or who express a strong interest in conversion or diversification to non-military production."

Until recently, newcomers were arriving in San Diego at the staggering rate of 1,000 per week. The San Diego Association of Governments issued a report last year estimating that "local military operations combined with increases in defense spending in the region have directly or indirectly accounted for nearly 15% of total population growth since 1980."

None of November's "slow-growth" ballot initiatives directly addresses military spending. But if one or more pass, conversion advocates predict that conversion planning will have to be addressed.

SOURCES: Marcia Boruta, San Diego Economic Conversion Council, 405 W. Washington St., Suite 143, San Diego, CA 92103 (619-299-5315); William Trombley, "Slow-Growth Sentiment Builds Fast," Los Angeles Times, 31 July 1988, p. 1.

THE CONTINUING SAGA OF THE MISSOURI



Rachel Johnson / Impact Visuals

In our last episode (Summer 1988) it seemed as if the nuclear weapons equipped U.S.S. Missouri had turned its stern on San Francisco Bay and sailed into the sunset. Fat chance.

Mayor Art Agnos had lent his considerable political support to opponents of the Navy's selection of San Francisco's Hunters Point Shipyard as the home of the battleship Missouri and its ten-ship flotilla.

As both Agnos and his adversaries cite their own studies supporting their respective viewpoints that homeporting will either (a) cost the city millions of dollars or (b) enhance the economy with many new jobs, some neighboring mayors have joined the debate as well. True, San Francisco remains the Navy's first choice for porting the Missouri. But the Pentagon has already hinted that if negotiations with the city fall through, it will look elsewhere. And Chuck Corica, mayor of neighboring Alameda, has asked Navy Secretary William Ball to put his city at the top of that list.

Why Alameda? Well, Mayor Corica says that his city's Alameda Naval Ship Yard has the most modern piers in the Bay Area and requires no dredging to accommodate the Missouri. A number of other mayors seem to agree with him. When the Alameda County Mayors Conference met in July, it passed an emergency measure (by an 11-2 vote) supporting the berthing of the battleship in Alameda. The resolution was sent to Secretary Ball along with a letter asking him to consider basing the Missouri in Alameda.

"We're just trying to get the Navy to take a close look at us because we're ready," said Mayor Corica.

Mayor Corica was supported by ten of his colleagues — the mayors of Dublin, Emeryville, Fremont, Hayward, Newark, Oakland, Piedmont, Pleasanton, San Leandro and Union City.

But not everyone is ready. The mayors of Berkeley and Albany accused their fellow mayors who supported the resolution of secretly lobbying the Navy without first obtaining public support for the move.

"This is a call for open public discussion of an absolutely monumental issue facing the Bay Area," said Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock. "The fact that the mayor's conference with-

out notification voted to invite the Missouri to the city of Alameda impacts every city in the Bay Area." Albany Mayor Ed McManus concurred, saying that passage of the resolution was a "flagrant violation" of the Brown Act which prevents officials from making decisions before a public hearing is conducted.

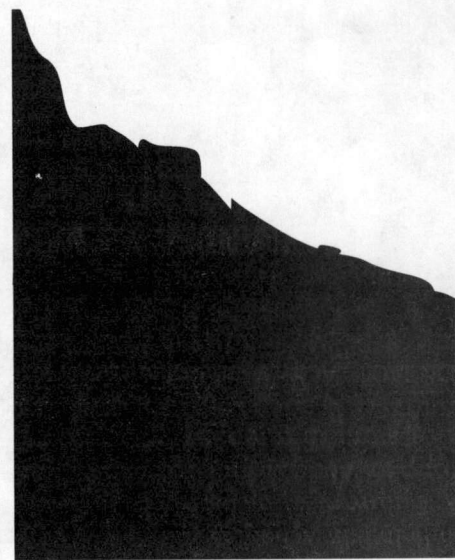
Meanwhile, the Alameda County Board of Supervisors added fuel to the controversy by taking up the issue about two weeks later, with the majority declaring their opposition to basing the Missouri in the city of Alameda. Several of the supervisors said the position of the mayors does not reflect the views of the residents of the East Bay. Even so, before voting on a formal resolution opposing the berthing of the Missouri in Alameda, the supervisors decided to wait until a task force issues its report and makes recommendations.

Mayor Corica remains baffled by the Board of Supervisors' involvement in the issue. "Why the big fuss?" he asked. "When has a Board of Supervisors ever gotten involved in the homeporting of a Navy ship?"

Both sides on the San Francisco homeporting issue spent much of the summer gearing up for the November election in which the local electorate will finally have the opportunity to express their opinions on the matter at the polling booth. Two measures will be voted upon. One measure, put on the ballot by supporters of homeporting (including six members of the city Board of Supervisors), calls for San Francisco funds to be used to dredge the harbor. The other measure, sponsored by Mayor Agnos (but weaker than homeporting opponents would have liked), bars the use of city funds to help pay for the Missouri homeporting, and mandates that the Navy guarantee 351 new civilian jobs for the project.

SOURCES: Saul Bloom, Arms Control Research Center (ARC), 942 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415-397-1452); Debra Levi, "Alameda County Mayors Ask Navy for Battleship," San Francisco Chronicle, 8 July 1988, p. A4; Sharon McCormick, "2 Mayors Dispute Battleship Request," San Francisco Chronicle, 12 July 1988, p. A4; Marc Sandalow, "Alameda Supervisors Don't Want Missouri," San Francisco Chronicle, 20 July 1988, p. A2.

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the Bay Area





Maggie Miller / Impact Visuals

IF MINNEAPOLIS HAD A CHAT WITH THE QUEEN

Minneapolis Council Member Walt Dziedzic knows what he'd say to Queen Elizabeth should he ever be granted an audience: "I'd say, 'What the hell are you doing in Northern Ireland?' And I'd say it in a little more Northeast [Minneapolis] term than that."

In the meantime, Dziejdzic and his fellow councilmembers have settled for a resolution. This past June the Minneapolis City Council ordered the divestment of city funds from those companies doing business in Northern Ireland that have yet to adopt the MacBride Principles.

Like the Sullivan Principles, which call for fair treatment of South African blacks at work in American companies, the MacBride Principles bind American firms to offer equal opportunities to Northern Ireland's Roman Catholic minority. Minneapolis has now joined eight other cities and seven states, including the state of Minnesota, urging U.S. firms to support the MacBride Principles.

Councilmember Brian Coyle says the city's Northern Ireland resolution was a year in the making and contains "a lot of *whereas's* about Catholic unemployment and the conditions under which Catholics work in Northern Ireland."

Councilmember Kathy O'Brien, who authored the city's resolution on South African divestment in 1985, says the Northern Ireland divestment resolution at the statehouse encouraged her to proceed with a divestment resolution in Minneapolis.

"There was quite a bit of opposition at the state level," O'Brien says. "But in Minneapolis there were only two councilmembers who opposed the resolution, and they ended up abstaining."

O'Brien says one of these two routinely opposes any city involvement in international affairs, while the other was concerned about the economic impact a divestment policy might have on the city's fiscal welfare. But O'Brien's position as chair of the city budget committee, as well as a study by the city's finance department, convinced her that the resolution would have little fiscal fallout.

Fellow Councilmember Coyle says the Northern Ireland issue was less controversial than it might have been a few years ago. "There was a lot of debate on the South African divestment because that involved really taking a look at the city's investment policies," Coyle says. "Now we know we're not going to bust the bank, and we're a lot more comfortable with these things."

The resolution "is our way to make sure we are trying to invest in countries that are not a part of the world's problems." That kind of activism may be easier in Minneapolis than elsewhere since, Coyle claims, the Council is dominated by "progressives" who are "into thinking globally and acting locally. They're generally open to discussing matters beyond the city's borders because there's a recognition that those things often affect the city."

O'Brien agrees. While there was some opposition when the state considered its divestment resolution, the Minneapolis hearing was fairly routine. "Myself and the majority of the Council are community leaders," O'Brien says. "And we believe it's our responsibility to lead the community on these kinds of issues — issues beyond picking up the trash and delivering clean water."



Councilmember Brian Coyle

Minneapolis Star Tribune

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problems.

— Minneapolis Councilmember
Brian Coyle

SOURCES: Councilmember Brian Coyle (612-348-2206); Councilmember Kathy O'Brien (612-348-2202); "Council will stop investing in companies linked with Northern Ireland," Minneapolis Star Tribune, 18 June 1988, p. 3B.

An ongoing political battle between the Marin County, California, Board of Supervisors and supporters of the region's Nuclear Free Zone ordinance erupted into a donnybrook in August, resulting in a significant weakening of the law — and the immediate resignation of four members of the Peace

supervisors were undermining the law, and we weren't going to sit around and pretend they weren't."

Voters in Marin had passed the original ordinance in 1986 by a 64% majority, making the county the first nuclear-free county west of the Mississippi,

*Dealing out
the back
door.*

MARIN COUNTY SUPERVISORS SUBVERT NFZ ORDINANCE

Conversion Commission appointed to implement it.

By a 3-to-2 vote in August, the supervisors stripped away a supplemental ordinance that had prevented the county from purchasing products made by nuclear-weapons manufacturers through third-party intermediaries. After three hours of heated public testimony, the supervisors approved the rescission, pulling most of the teeth out of the NFZ measure. In response, four of the five members of the Peace Conversion Commission immediately held a press conference in the hallway outside the meeting room, announcing that they were leaving the panel.

"The supervisors had rendered the Commission essentially powerless," Richard Raznikov, who had been Commission Chair, told the *Bulletin*. "We needed to make a strong public statement that the

and barring county purchases from nuclear weapons manufacturers. However, after the initiative was approved, the county continued to do business with independent distributors who were selling products made by nuclear weapons manufacturers (such as General Electric, Westinghouse, IBM and the Ford Motor Company).

"We initially didn't realize the county was making these backdoor purchases," recalls Brady Bevis, another former commissioner. "They were not giving us copies of the purchase orders, and it took us four months to uncover what they were doing."

Since there was debate over whether the wording of the voter-approved ordinance really prohibited these third-party-vendor purchases, the supervisors — in the face of considerable public and media pres-

Marin Doesn't Know, But The Nuclear Weapons Manufacturers Understand.

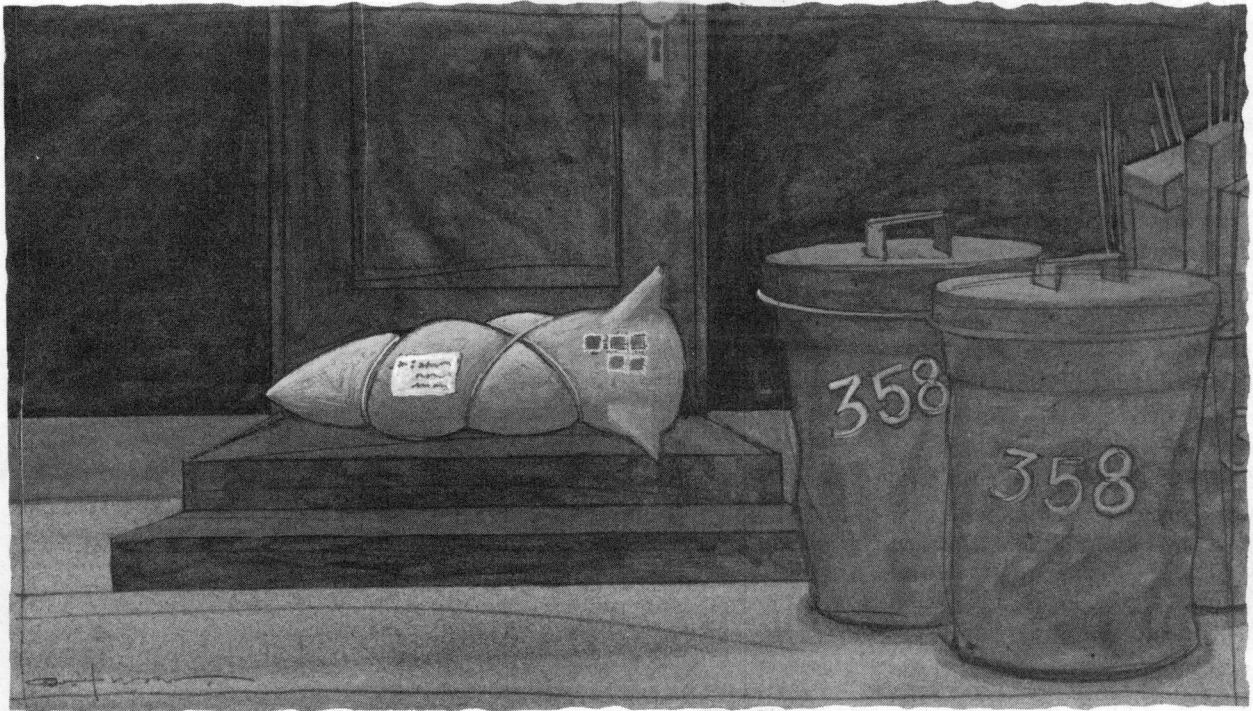
sure — agreed to implement a supplementary ordinance banning transactions through intermediaries.

Even so, after approving that measure last December, the supervisors complained bitterly about the county's hands being tied by the NFZ measure. When he was prohibited from leasing a Ford sedan at

tors.

"So there's nothing to the fact that we slowed down the process," says Bevis. "They claimed that purchasing a product could potentially take 28 weeks longer. But that never happened."

Some supervisors had also insisted that the ordi-



taxpayers' expenses, Supervisor Robert Roumiguere fumed, "A Ford is like motherhood and apple pie. What is America coming to when you can't drive a Ford?"

Supervisor Al Aramburu, considered a swing vote on the matter, announced in July that he had decided that the ordinance was a mistake. That precipitated the showdown vote.

Some supervisors complained that the Commission had unnecessarily delayed county purchases of needed equipment. But Raznikov and Bevis deny that charge, pointing to the following statistics: On 59 occasions, county officials requested an override of the ordinance, and of these, 50 were approved, 48 of them within ten days and the other two within 14 days. With all other purchases, department heads found alternatives to products manufactured by companies identified as nuclear weapons contrac-

nance was harming local business. But that argument overlooked a policy adopted by the Commission in June 1987, stating that whenever discretion was involved, local and American companies would have a priority.

Meanwhile, the resigned commissioners don't plan to drop out of sight. "We expect to go to court, asking for a decision on the question of whether the original ordinance implicitly prohibits third-party purchases, because I think it does," says Raznikov. "We'll also go back to the ballot with a much stronger initiative that will make it very difficult for the supervisors to avoid the law. And I think we'll win that initiative."

SOURCES: Brady Bevis, 8 Commercial Blvd., Novato, CA (415-883-0441); Richard Raznikov (415-453-8400); Catherine Bowman, "War Brewing in Marin Over Peace Panel," San Francisco Chronicle, 2 August 1988, p. A6; Erik Ingram, "Marin Supervisor Tries to Run Over Ford Boycott," San Francisco Chronicle, 25 February 1988, p. A5.

EUGENE AND THE WORLD

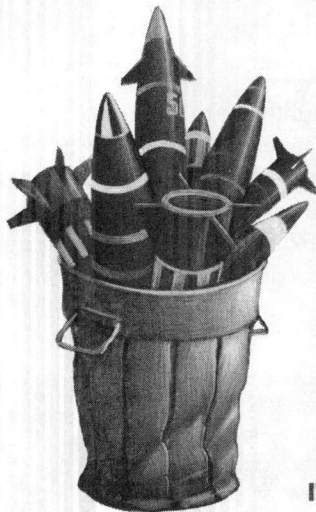
There were almost certainly some skeptics when a group of academics, activists and local officials from Eugene, Oregon, asked the International Secretariat of Nuclear-Free Zone Local Authorities to hold its fourth international conference in the Pacific Northwest rather than in New York City.

But the word is now official — the gathering of some 600-800 activists and officials will indeed take place in Eugene this coming February 8-11. "The costs in New York City were simply too high and the logistics too difficult," says local conference organizer Barbara Keller.

Eugene's citizens were especially eager to bring the international conference to their town because, "when we applied," Keller says, "we were in the midst of a debate over our own nuclear-free zone." Eugene residents voted not once, but twice — and then overwhelmingly — to make Eugene nuclear-free, despite the objections of some city councilmembers. Keller believes the conference will ease the concerns of the council's conservatives.

"We wanted to bring the conference here because of our own interest in nuclear-free zones and because of what we felt it would do locally," Keller says. "It's such an exciting opportunity for the U.S. to organize local authorities in a way similar to other countries so that local government might become a moving force in disarmament."

The four-day conference — open to "delegates" (local officials representing nuclear-free zones) and "observers" (activists and others interested in supporting the movement) — will provide "local elected officials and experts with an opportunity to discuss strategies" and to attend workshops directed by themselves and by the observers. Featured speakers include the director of the Soviet Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies, Georgi Arbatov, and U.S. Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder (D-CO).



By the conference's end, Keller says, the Secretariat will have synthesized the conference's conclusions in a single policy statement, one that will guide the international movement for the next two years.

Conference registration is \$300 until October 31, and \$350 until February 8.

SOURCE: Barbara Keller, P.O. Box 3197, Eugene, OR, 97403 (503-683-1802).

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONING

There are now 151 nuclear free zones in the United States, spread over 24 states and representing 16 million people. Nuclear Free America reported the following developments in nuclear-free zoning in the June 1988 issue of its publication, *The New Abolitionist*:

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA

The City Council unanimously passed a resolution declaring Charlottesville to be a "non-nuclear weapons area: a community where the manufacture and storage of nuclear weapons that can be used to destroy, rather than to nurture, life will not be permitted." The vote came five months after the Council was first asked to declare the city nuclear-free and had decided not take a stand.

SPRINGFIELD, UT

The small town of Springfield (population 315), located just inside the entrance to Zion National Park, has become Utah's first NFZ by a unanimous vote of its town council. The non-binding declaration states the town's opposition to the storage and transportation of nuclear waste and other radioactive substances within the town. The Council voiced its concern that "accidental or intentional contamination by radioactive substances would interfere with the tourist and residential character of the town and would have an adverse effect on residents, visitors, businesses and wildlife in the area."

JAPANESE MAYOR SOUNDS THE CALL: "NO MORE HIROSHIMAS"

It was a blazing holocaust that took place 43 years ago. Yet the bombing of Hiroshima has not been forgotten, particularly by the people of that city.

Last August, on the anniversary of that nuclear nightmare, Hiroshima Mayor Takeshi Araki delivered a moving address, in which he proclaimed that his city's name "is symbolic of mankind's fervent quest for the abolition of nuclear weapons and the attainment of lasting peace."

Mayor Araki spoke of Hiroshima's determination "to continue to sound the alarm and to arouse world opinion in the cause of world peace." He appealed to present and future world leaders to visit Hiroshima to "see for themselves the devastating horror of nuclear war." He added that the "anguished cry" of the people of the world—subjected constantly to the nuclear threat—is "No more Hiroshimas!"

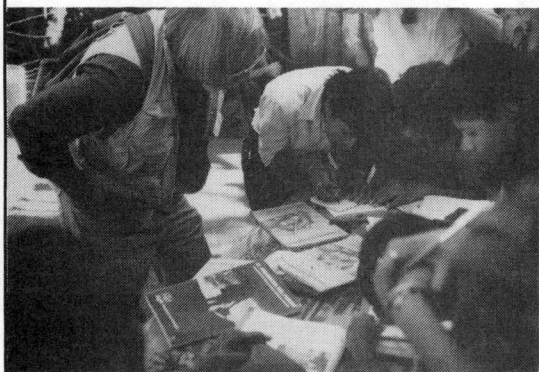
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David and Elizabeth Linder
 parents of Benjamin Linder,
 U.S. volunteer murdered by contras



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Anthony Earl
 Governor of Wisconsin

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Dr. Charlie Clements
 author, Vietnam veteran, human rights activist



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ST. PAUL TO THE RESCUE

PUBLIC PRESSURE HELPS SAVE TOWNSHIP OF LAWAAIKAMP

Residents took out a half-page advertisement in a weekly South African newspaper, protesting the threatened removal of Lawaaikamp's residents.

Living conditions in the South African black township of Lawaaikamp leave a lot to be desired. The homes are run down. Only four water faucets exist for the town's 1,800 residents. Garbage removal is minimal, and electricity is nonexistent. There are no shops, and few job opportunities. In a campaign speech, President P.W. Botha referred to the settlement as an "animal shelter."

But Lawaaikamp's residents don't agree. If there are unhealthy conditions in their township, they say, it is because of government neglect. Many of the townspeople have lived there all their lives, some for 40 years or more. And while they'd like to see improvements, they don't want to leave, either. Thus, when the government announced that it would evict everyone in the town by May 31, the people resisted — with a little help from their friends in St. Paul, Minnesota.

As we reported in previous issues of the *Bulletin*, Lawaaikamp-St. Paul is one of two linkings by the United States-South Africa Sister Community Project (the other is Berkeley-Oukasie). And when Lawaaikamp residents asked for emergency assistance, St. Paul didn't let them down:

■ A delegation of St. Paul residents, led by City Councilmember Bill Wilson, traveled to Washington, D.C., to complain to the South African ambassador in person. They brought with them 1,200 letters of support from

St. Paul residents.

■ During that same trip to Washington, the St. Paul delegation urged their Congressional representatives to put some pressure on the State Department, which in turn prompted Secretary of State George Shultz to instruct the U.S. embassy in South Africa to monitor developments in Lawaaikamp. A U.S. embassy attache traveled to the township on a fact-finding mission.

■ St. Paul residents took out a half-page advertisement in a weekly South African newspaper, protesting the threatened removal of Lawaaikamp's residents.

■ On Sunday, May 29 — two days before the eviction was scheduled to take place — a church service was held in St. Paul to demonstrate unity with Lawaaikamp. A similar service was held simultaneously at a church in the South African township. Taped messages were exchanged between residents of each city.

■ On May 31, one hundred St.



Weenan Emergency Camp, Natal, South Africa, March 1988. Mrs. Judith Nchunu outside her house which was destroyed just before she and other tenant farmers were served with eviction notices.

Cedric Nunn / Impact Visuals

Paul schoolchildren attended a downtown rally, during which they talked by telephone to Lawaaikamp children for about 90 minutes. A 13-year-old St. Paul girl told her counterparts in Lawaaikamp, "I think apartheid and the bulldozing of your town is cruel and unjust, and should not be done." Over a speakerphone, the Minnesota youngsters asked what the Lawaaikamp schools are like, and how it feels to live under apartheid.

The publicity and the public pressure apparently had some effect. May 31 came and went without any evictions, and the people of Lawaaikamp are now fighting the eviction orders in the Supreme Court in Capetown instead of the streets. They believe that St. Paul made the critical difference. At the same time, the sister-community supporters in St. Paul have become convinced that if they can stop the government from moving the resi-

dents of Lawaaikamp, other Americans can help prevent threatened removals of other black townships in South Africa.

Take the case of Oukasie. Because it is "too close" to the white city of Britts, the government wants to move Oukasie's residents 20 miles away. So far, however, the efforts haven't been successful, in part because of the assistance from its sister community, Berkeley, California. When 17 community leaders in Oukasie were jailed without reason, Berkeley protested. In June, after four months in detention, these leaders were released — in the aftermath of strong protests from Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock and other Berkeley residents (see *Bulletin*, Summer 1988 issue).

More recently, Berkeley was asked by Oukasie to help again. In August, the government announced that it would double the rents of

Oukasie residents. The probable reason for the rent hikes? To intimidate residents into moving out.

But Berkeley cried "foul." City officials wrote letters and local newspapers published articles. With this kind of help, the government relented, at least temporarily. It issued a moratorium on the rent increases, and at press time, representatives of the government and the township were meeting to negotiate about the proposed hikes.

The Sister Community Project is presently working to establish additional ties between U.S. cities and South African black townships. If you are interested in involving your own community, contact the United States-South Africa Sister Community Project, 2601 Mission St., Suite 400, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415-824-2938).

SOURCES: Sue Hurley, Mayor's Office, 347 City Hall, St. Paul, MN (612-228-3208).

Fear & Loathing in the South

OUTLAW HOLDS UP SOVIET VISITORS

It was an event that some Mobile residents had waited months for: A delegation from the Soviet city of Rostov-on-Don, headed up by the town's mayor, had traveled to Alabama with hopes of finalizing a sister-city agreement with Mobile.

But the pact was scuttled by a cool reaction from Mobile Mayor Arthur Outlaw. To make matters worse, in the midst of the six-day visit by the Soviets, a Congressional attorney publicly warned against formalizing the relationship.

Quentin Cromelin, Jr., chief Republican counsel of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, insisted that the sister city bond would give the Soviets dangerous opportunities to spy on U.S. Navy installations in Mobile, and he claimed that some of the four visiting Soviets from Rostov-on-Don were probably KGB agents.

"It is well known to be standard operating procedure for all Soviet delegations, of whatever type, to have at least one-third KGB or GRU agents as members, both to prevent defection and to gather intelligence," Cromelin proclaimed on the front page of the *Mobile Press Register*. He added, "With Mobile becoming a new homeport for the ships of the U.S. Navy surface action group, it is easy to understand at least one reason why the Russians would want Mobile as a sister city."

The still-unsigned sister-city agreement contains a number of provisions that hardly would threaten U.S. national security. For example, it proposes friendly ties to "further the process of detente and help the cause of peace throughout the world." It also urges exchanges in such fields risky fields as culture, art, sports and youth groups.

When the Rostov-on-Don delegation finally visited Mobile last April, Mayor Outlaw attended a reception to honor the Soviets but refused to sign the "sinister" agree-

See OUTLAW page 44

FLORIDA LAWMAKERS REJECT SISTER CITY EFFORTS

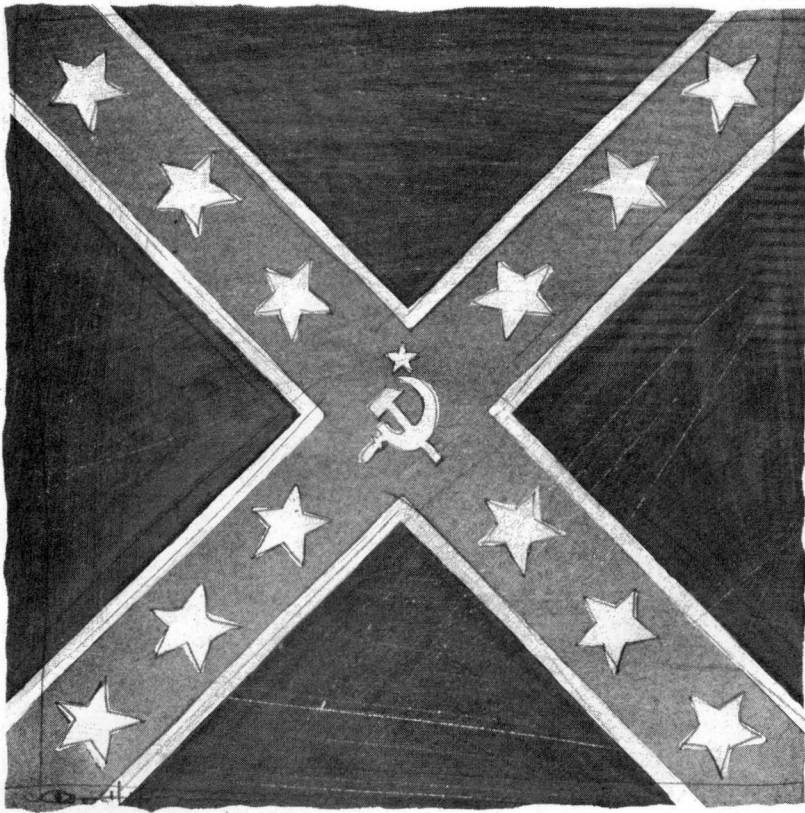
Florida may be well-known as a tourist mecca, but as far as the state legislature is concerned, some foreign visitors had best keep out. In a recent bill, the state lawmakers voted to disassociate Florida's name with any sister cities in nations such as the Soviet Union, East Germany, and Nicaragua. China and South Africa are also on the "taboo" list.

State Representative Daniel Webster, a Republican from Orlando, inserted a little-noticed amendment into an economic development and international trade bill that was approved by both state houses in June and signed by Governor Bob Martinez in July. It mandates that Florida's "Department of State shall not participate in and shall not encourage any sister-city relationship with any country or nation" that the U.S. government blacklisted for foreign assistance in 1961. Four additional nations not included in the 1961 law — Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, South Africa — were also named in the Florida amendment, raising the total number of boycotted nations to 22.

Webster's concerns? "I just had the thought that we didn't want to do this with cities that didn't recognize human rights," he said. "The state should discourage use of its seal, flag or the name of Florida, its official letterhead and other things in dealings with communist countries."

Bob Broedel, who heads up the Tallahassee-Krasnodor (Soviet Union) Sister City Program, thinks Webster is out of step with the times. "It's very unfortunate that somebody would try something like this," he told the *Bulletin*. "And it's an indication that they may try something else."

An aide to Webster concedes that the new law "doesn't prohibit Florida's cities from pursuing a sister city relationship, but we're hoping they don't anyway." In any event, she adds, "The state will not become involved." Although the law singles out Florida's Secretary of State's office as the



Florida State
Representative
Daniel Webster
contended that there
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alleged KGB infiltration
of Soviet sister-city
delegations.

entity specifically banned from sister-city participation, Webster intends the statute to apply to all state agencies. Webster's staff concedes, however, that the statute is ambiguous on the point.

Webster contended that there have been "problems in other cities" with alleged KGB infiltration of Soviet sister-city delegations, noting recent objections from some municipal officials in Mobile, Alabama about formalizing a sisterly relationship with Rostov-on-Don in the Soviet Union. According to Webster, the Soviets "like port cities and cities near military bases."

Webster's amendment did encounter opposition from some Florida legislators. For example, Representative Hurley Rudd, a Democrat from Tallahassee, said, "I'm no lover of communism, but I have no objection to groups of their people coming here to see how we live."

Meanwhile, Broedel does not think the new statute will have much effect on programs like the Tallahassee-Krasnodor link. "We're an independent group," he noted, "and we're not supported by city, county, state or federal funds." Nevertheless, in 1986, an \$11,000 international cultural exchange grant from Florida helped send several musicians to four Soviet cities as part of a sister-city delegation. Those kinds of grants will no longer be available.

Steven Kalishman of the Gainesville - Novorossiisk sister city program believes that Webster's law was a concession to the large number of Cuban and Latin America refugees in Florida who are strongly anti-communist. He notes that this is not the first time that sister city programs have

run into trouble in the state; Sister Cities International moved a conference out of Florida to avoid a controversy that was starting to brew there.

In contrast to the state politicians, city officials in Florida remain supportive of their sororal ties. Broedel points out that Frank Visconti and Kent Spriggs, present and past mayors of Tallahassee, traveled to that city's sister community, Krasnodar, in September. Kalishman says that Gainesville Mayor David Coffey headed up a recent sisters delegation to Novorossiisk the same month. And Karen-Jean Munoz of the Jacksonville-Murmansk sister city program adds that three Jacksonville City Councilmembers visited Murmansk last March and April.

"I think it's a matter of education," says Munoz. "We need to let people know what these programs are all about, and that they don't represent a takeover by the Communist party."

Under the new Florida statute, cities in the following countries are "blacklisted": Czechoslovakia, North Korea, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Albania, Bulgaria, China, Poland, East Germany, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Romania, Vietnam, Tibet, the Soviet Union, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua and South Africa.

SOURCES: Bob Broedel, Tallahassee-Krasnodar Sister City Program, P.O. Box 20049, Tallahassee, FL 32316 (904-576-4906); Karen-Jean Munoz, Florida Community College at Jacksonville, 3939 Roosevelt Blvd., Jacksonville, FL 32205 (904-268-7149); Steven Kalishman, 9421 S.W. 61st St., Gainesville, FL 32608 (904-376-0341); Rep. Daniel Webster's office, State Capitol, Tallahassee, FL (904-488-0256); Sister Cities International, 120 S. Payne St., Alexandria, VA 22314 (703-836-3535); Bill Cotterell, "Legislation May Leave Soviet Sister City in the Cold," Tallahassee Democrat, 5 June 1988, p. 2A; "Amendment Would Discourage Sister-City Ties," Gainesville Sun, 6 June 1988; Cathy Chestnut, "Lawmaker Targets Sister City Links with Soviet Union," Florida Flambeau, 7 June 1988, p. 1.

MOST SOVIET SISTER RELATIONSHIPS ENCOUNTER LITTLE OPPOSITION

While right-wing forces in Mobile, Alabama, and Florida have mounted campaigns against legitimizing Soviet-American sister city programs, these appear to be exceptions to the rule. Leaders of these programs elsewhere generally receive strong support within their communities and report only isolated resistance.

"Our mayor has been solidly behind the program," says David Hunt of the Salem (OR)-Simferopol Sister City Committee. "The press was neutral up until 1987, and now is really behind us since a newspaper photographer went to the Soviet Union and came back to put on a slide show in the community. Everyone feels it's a 'safe' project to get involved in, and we have a broad base of support from educators, business people, governmental people, and the religious community."

Even so, Hunt recalls an incident in 1986 that coincided with the Soviet arrest of Nicholas Daniloff, Moscow correspondent for *U.S. News and World Report*. As Daniloff was being charged with espionage, Congressman Denny Smith (who represents Salem) tried to revoke the visas of a delegation from Simferopol on its way to Oregon. This frontal assault, however, failed, thanks in part to the Simferopol visitors being warmly greeted and supported by Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield and other notable state leaders. Smith finally just dropped his effort.

This past June, when Soviet runners ran in Grandma's Marathon in Duluth, Minnesota, conservative City Councilmember Mark L. Steen criticized the Du-

luth-Petrozavodsk sister city relationship in a letter-to-the-editor published in the *Duluth News Tribune* in which he argued that the city should not be dealing with communist nations. Steen wrote, "The Soviet sister city project is just another means of diverting our attention from the facts of continued Soviet aggression and expansionism to the unrealistic, wishful dreams of the liberals." The community responded to that letter with an outpouring of support for the sisterly bond, says Councilmember Joyce Benson.

In Modesto, California, some voices from the Jewish community raised concerns when the City Council discussed formally approving its sisterly relationship with Khmel'nitsky. The general public, however, remained behind the link.

Bonnie Hamlin of the Oakland-Nakhodka Sister City Association recalls "little rumblings of concern from a couple of city council members who expressed misgivings about the civil rights of Jews in the U.S.S.R. But these council members haven't stood in our way."

In some U.S. cities, newspapers have resisted attempts by the Soviet's Novosti Press Agency to establish article exchanges between the papers in the American and Soviet sister cities. Bob Broedel of the Tallahassee-Krasnodor Sister City Program, who is helping to coordinate this so-called Press Bridge, says that in smaller towns such as Cleveland Heights, Ohio, editors have tended to react very positively to the idea. "But in the big cities such as Detroit, the exchanges are not working out."

OUTLAW from page 42

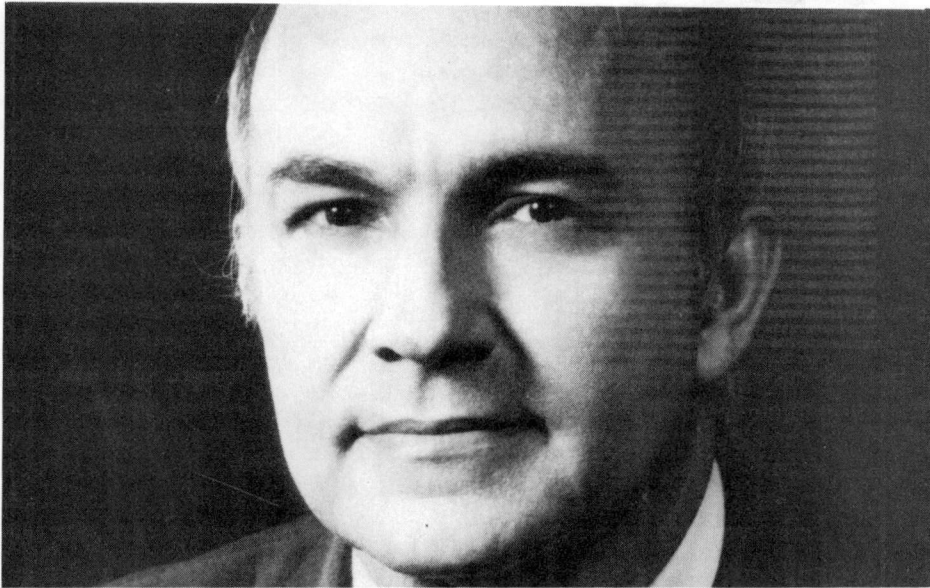
ment, citing his objections to communism. "I don't see what can be gained by relations between an appointed government and an elected government," he said.

Debbie Jones, an aide to Mayor Outlaw, says that the mayor has been to the Soviet Union in the past, and "he knows that its government is not responsive to the people. Until it becomes responsive to its citizenry and not an appointed authority, we want no part of it."

Jay Higginbotham, chair of the advisory board for Society Mobile-Rostov-on-Don, was disappointed by the reaction of the city fathers. In an op-ed article in the *Mobile Press*, he noted, "What could have been a joyous celebration was ruined by arrogance and lack of communication. What an opportunity we lost to present ourselves as a progressive municipality, as a center for conventions, as an international port and mecca of Deep South hospitality."

Despite the disappointment, a six-person delegation from Mobile traveled to Rostov-on-Don in August — the third such journey in the past thirteen months. That delegation included some of Mobile's most prominent business leaders, including the president of the Chamber of Commerce and the dean of the business school at the University of South Alabama.

Advocates of the sister city relationship had hoped that the City Council would vote on the matter again on the day the Mobile delegation departed for the Soviet Union. However, Council opponents of the measure stood fast, despite fierce lobbying. Councilmember Charles Tunstall, a black minister, received phone calls from Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and the Alabama attorney-general, but refused to budge from his opposition to the plan. Four of Mobile's seven city councilmembers



support the sister-city tie, but under municipal law, five votes are necessary to formalize the relationship.

As for the charges that sister city delegations are a vehicle for Soviet spying, Higginbotham calls the idea "patently absurd." Sister Cities International (SSI) agrees. "If the Russians wanted intelligence, they don't have to do it through sister-city programs," said Dewey Crowder, SSI regional vice president. "We've found no direct evidence that the program has been used specifically to gain military information in the 35 years it has been in existence."

In spite of the problems in Mobile, Rostov-on-Don Mayor Gennady Zorenko remains hopeful. In an article written for the *Mobile Press Register* by Soviet journalist Alexander Sokolov, Zorenko was quoted as saying, "Our visit [to Mobile] reflected new positive tendencies and at the same time old practices still complicating Soviet-American relations. And yet, however difficult the Soviet-American dialogue may be, it continues and this means we've made one more step toward a mutually-advantageous partnership."

Mayor Zorenko added, "Of course, we were upset that our meeting with Mayor Arthur Outlaw had not taken a constructive and matter-of-fact turn that could help us tackle problems the way our leaders [Reagan

and Gorbachev] do. I think if both sides show good will there will be no unsolvable problems. Obviously, good will has not yet triumphed in relations between our cities. It is quite understandable: Our dialogue is just beginning."

Higginbotham says that even though some city officials reacted coolly to the Soviet visitors last April, the community by and large responded "warmly on every occasion." Except, that is, for the press. The papers often quoted people like Rusty Johnston, chair of the Mobile County Republican executive committee, who said, "Mobile has nothing to gain by establishing a sister-city relationship with probably the most murderous regime that has existed in the history of the world."

Higginbotham believes that what happened in Mobile is a "microcosm of U.S.-Soviet relations during the past 40 years. It illustrates sharply how two of the world's great peoples are kept apart by a continual barrage of bigotry, distrust and misunderstanding, which squanders our best talents and energies on a conflict which thrives only because of willful men who conspire for their own purposes to keep it going."

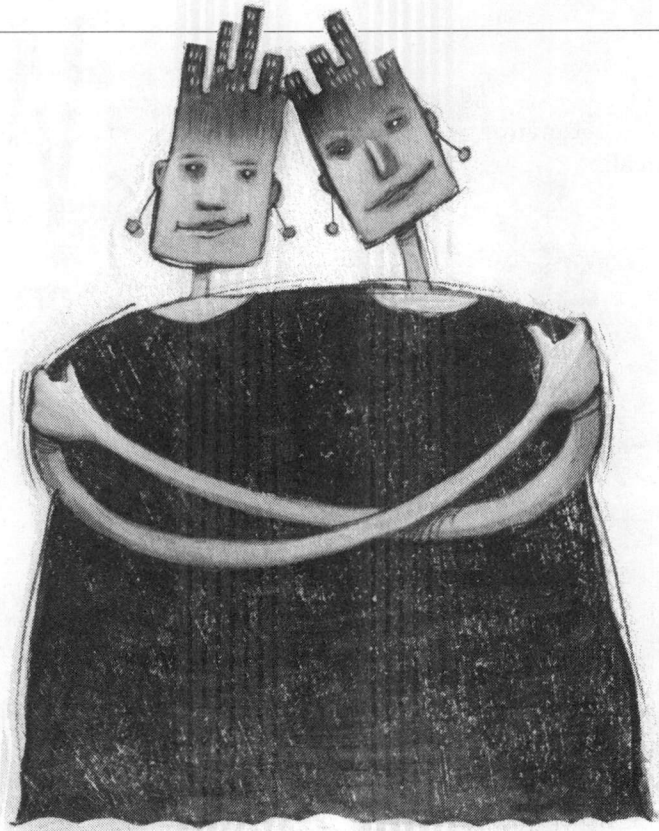
SOURCES: Jay Higginbotham, P.O. Box 1827, Mobile, AL 36633; Mayor Arthur Outlaw's office, City Hall, Mobile, AL (205-434-7395); Gilbert Nicholson, "Sister City Espionage Stratagem?", *Mobile Press Register*, 26 April 1988, p. 1.

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— Jay Higginbotham

Chair of Advisory Board for Society

Mobile-Rostov-on-Don



U.S.-SOVIET SISTER CITY BRIEFS

BALTIMORE (MD) - ODESSA

Twelve Baltimore high-school students representing eleven public and private schools spent two weeks in Odessa in September visiting schools and staying at a camp. In another educational exchange, a group of students from Johns Hopkins University and Goucher College spent a month during the summer attending classes at Odessa State University. An Odessa delegation of university students traveled to Baltimore in mid-September to study at Goucher College.

As part of a physicians' exchange program, three doctors from the Filatov Institute in Odessa were scheduled to spend several days in October at the Wilmer Eye Institute of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, sharing information on ophthalmological care.

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

CAMBRIDGE (MA) - YEREVAN

In June, Vice-Mayor Alice Wolf led a delegation of 16 Cambridge residents to their sister city of Yerevan. The group also included the assistant superintendent of Cambridge schools, a scientist and a business professor.

Representatives from the cities negotiated a three-year program of exchanges that will involve future delegations of educators, businessmen and environmentalists.

While in the Soviet Union, Wolf did more than attend formal receptions and follow the official itinerary. In an effort to learn more about the plight of Soviet refusniks — the thousands of Jews who have requested to leave the Soviet Union and who have been refused — Wolf met for about two hours in Moscow with a representative of JEWAr, Jewish Women Against Refusal.

JEWAr is a group of women refusniks who have banded together to support one another and call attention to the emigration issue in visible ways. In recent years it has staged three hunger strikes.

At the meeting, Wolf was told that thousands of individuals and families still have no opportunity to emigrate as they would like. While some "famous" cases have been resolved and some emigration requests have been honored, the status of many refusnik families has not changed.

According to Wolf, JEWAr welcomes support from American groups, and more information can be obtained from her office.

In September, ten trade representatives from Yerevan attended seminars in Cambridge on U.S. management techniques. They were hosted by the Cambridge Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club, and discussed joint business ventures.

Also in September, a conference was conducted in Yerevan in which Cambridge and Soviet environmentalists discussed ways to cooperate in dealing with their respective pollution problems.

CONTACT: Jeb Brugmann, Cambridge-Yerevan Sister City Association, 57 Inman St., City Hall Annex, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617-498-9000); Vice-Mayor Alice K. Wolf, City Hall, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617-498-9094).

DAVIS (CA) - UMAN

As a five-person delegation from Uman visited Davis in July, Uman Mayor Grigori Povzun and Davis Mayor Pro Tempore Jerry Adler made their sister-city agreement official. In an exchange of gifts between the two communities, Davis representatives received a plaque bearing the symbol of Uman, and the Uman delegates were presented with Davis T-shirts and two books: *A Day in the Life of America* and *A Day in the Life of the Soviet Union*.

During their visit the Uman residents stopped at Old Sacramento and the California state Capitol, and met with the Jewish Fellowship of Davis. Reflecting one of the common ties between both cities — agriculture — the Soviet delegation that visited Davis included Alexander Gerkiyal, an instructor at the agronomy institute in Uman. The Soviets toured the University of California campus at Davis, which is renowned for its agricultural programs.

CONTACT: Ilana Davis, Davis-Uman Sister City Project (916-753-8999).

DULUTH (MN) - PETROZAVODSK

Duluth City Councilmember Joyce Benson represented the mayor while traveling to Petrozavodsk, Leningrad, and Moscow in August. She was joined by David Cordeau, president of the Chamber of Commerce, Ron Soberg, administrative assistant to the superintendent of schools, and Ron Caple, a professor at the University of Minnesota.

While in Petrozavodsk, the Duluth delegation met with local industrial leaders and visited a plant that constructs paper mills. The Soviets expressed interest in establishing a joint venture with a U.S. firm to manufacture and sell water meters, an item much needed in Petrozavodsk. Soviets and Americans also discussed the possibility of publishing a joint magazine and exchanging high school students next year.

In June, two Soviets — Oleg Kotyarlevski and Nina Koloskova — ran in Grandma's Marathon in Duluth. A delegation of educators from Duluth spent about a week in Petrozavodsk in October.

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

GAINESVILLE (FL) - NOVOROSSIISK

David Coffey, mayor of Gainesville, led a five-person delegation from the Florida city on a two-week trip in September to Novorossiisk and other Soviet cities (Moscow, Krasnodar). Other members of the Gainesville group included Steven Kalishman, of the Gainesville-Novorossiisk Sister City program, and a TV journalist with the local PBS affiliate station.

Novorossiisk Mayor Valeri Prokhorenko invited the Florida visitors as a way of helping his city celebrate the 150th anniversary of its founding. The Gainesville delegates also were in Novorossiisk when that city commemorated the 45th anniversary of its liberation from the Nazis (Novorossiisk, which was decimated during World War II, has been designated as one of the Soviet Union's "hero cities").

During the visit, the mayors of Gainesville and Novorossiisk completed the signing of their sister-city agreement; in January, when a Soviet delegation visited Florida, an initial signing took place.

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

JACKSONVILLE (FL) - MURMANSK

In October, 20 Murmansk college students spent a week in Jacksonville, where they lived with local families and visited college campuses. They were officially hosted by the Jacksonville Sister Cities program, Florida Community College, the University of North Florida and Jacksonville University. The Peace with Justice Committee of Jacksonville presented the students with a peace quilt and a peace pole to take back to the Soviet Union.

In June, a collection of 100 photographs taken by 16 Murmansk photographers went on display in Jacksonville at the Moon & Star Gallery. Several hundred Jacksonville residents attended opening night of the show. The exhibit later moved on to Florida Community College and several other sites. At the same time, 50 photos taken by Jacksonville photographers were exhibited in Murmansk.

Six city leaders from Murmansk are expected to visit Jacksonville early next year.

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

continued on next page

MODESTO (CA) - KHMELNITSKY

Angie Wiinikka, city staff liaison to Modesto's International Friendship Committee, and her husband spent a week in Khmel'nitsky in June. They visited day care centers, schools, pioneer camps and hospitals, and they were interviewed by Tass. They also met with Khmel'nitsky's city councilmembers and presented the mayor with the flag of Modesto. In return, they were given the Soviet and Ukrainian flags.

A Khmel'nitsky teacher is now teaching Russian language courses at Modesto Junior College, where she will remain until next summer; she is also occasionally speaking at local elementary and high schools. Next year, a Modesto teacher will travel to the Soviet Union to teach English in Khmel'nitsky schools.

Future plans include bringing a Ukrainian folk dancing group to Modesto and exchanging children to attend both cities' summer camps.

CONTACT: Angie Wiinikka, International Friendship Committee, 801 11th St., Modesto, CA 95353 (209-577-5323).

OAKLAND (CA) - NAKHODKA

In early 1989, a group of Nakhodka students will be the guests of Head-Royce School in Oakland. This is the second part of an exchange that began in August, when Oakland high-school students spent twelve days in Nakhodka, primarily visiting schools that offer English-language classes.

Twenty-nine Oakland students and teachers went to the Soviet Union in July to attend computer camp, accompanied by the superintendent of the Oakland public schools, and the president and vice-president of the Oakland Board of Education. The group was invited by Soviet educator Natalia Velikhova and her husband, Evgeny Velikhov, vice-president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and science advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev. Agreements are being ironed out to "twin" Oakland schools with counterparts in Nakhodka. Plans for pen-pal programs are also being made.

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

SALEM (OR) - SIMFEROPOL

A delegation of four Simferopol citizens — the mayor's assistant, a physician who heads up the Crimean Medical Institute, a factory manager and a worker — spent a week in Salem in October.

The head of the English department and an under-

graduate student from Simferopol State University will spend the spring term of 1989 at Willamette University. This is part of a five-year exchange program between the two universities that was signed last November.

Next spring, 17 high-school soccer players from Simferopol will travel to Salem for about a week. This completes an exchange that began last August, when 17 Salem soccer players and their chaperons visited Simferopol. The Salem athletes, who came from five high schools, competed against Soviet teams in the first half of each game; in the second half, American and Soviet athletes were mixed on each side.

Oregon Governor Neil Goldschmidt praised these exchanges, saying, "This part of the Sister City relationship with the city of Simferopol is especially exciting because it includes both adults and young people, and allows Soviet and American youth to play together on teams, as well as compete with each other."

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

SANTA CRUZ (CA) - ALUSHTA

A four-person delegation from Alushta visited Santa Cruz in July. The group was composed of Alushta Vice-Mayor Stanislav Kolot, Victor Kostenko (chair of the Alushta Friendship Society), a nurse, and an Alushta public information officer. During their week-long stay, the Santa Cruz City Council greeted them in a public reception. They also toured agricultural sites and public works facilities.

Two Santa Cruz college students were in Alushta for three weeks in July, during which they toured local businesses and visited tourist attractions.

In October, five Santa Cruz residents traveled to Alushta. The president of the Santa Cruz County Farm Bureau was part of that delegation, as was the past president of the Santa Cruz convention and visitors' bureau.

CONTACT: Peter Klotz-Chamberlain, Santa Cruz Sister City Committee, City Hall, 809 Center St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060 (408-429-3543/425-4833).

SEATTLE (WA) - TASHKENT

This spring and summer, about 200 Americans — primarily from Seattle and the Northwest — constructed a Peace Park in Tashkent. The formal dedication ceremonies on September 11 were attended by a dozen Seattle residents and Soviet officials from Tashkent and Moscow. A simultaneous ceremony, held at the International Flag Plaza in the Seattle Center, was linked to the Tashkent event by telephone.

The two-acre Peace Park includes a large relief map of

the world made of tile and granite, and a "friendship grove" of trees. The park also contains many of the "Ten Thousand Tiles for Tashkent," a project in which Seattle residents carved messages of peace into six-inch ceramic tiles. To help construct the park, Seattle shipped Douglas fir wood to the Soviet Union.

Sister schools in Seattle and Tashkent have exchanged packages with pen-pal letters, art work, and school scrapbooks. Next spring 60 to 70 Seattle students are expected to travel to Tashkent.

Physician exchanges are being planned for the upcoming months, concentrating on mutual areas of concern such as hepatitis B infections and emergency medicine.

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

SONOMA (CA) - KANEV

Four residents of Kanev visited Sonoma in July. They were led by Kanev Mayor Nicolai Zharko. Sonoma Mayor Larry Murphy and city council members participated in the welcoming ceremonies, as did local Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Boys and Girls Club members, and 170 children from Altimira Intermediate School. The greeting included a presentation of the key to the city and a tree-planting ceremony.

The Kanev visitors toured Sonoma Valley Hospital, had dinner with Sonoma families, and stopped at local schools and factories. They also spent a day at Jack London Ranch, acknowledging the literary ties that first brought the cities together: Sonoma with its Jack London heritage and Kanev as the home of Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko.

Sonoma (population: 7,000) is the smallest American city to establish a formal sister-city relationship with a Soviet city. The link became official in September 1987.

CONTACT: Sonoma Sister Cities Association, No. 1 The Plaza, Sonoma, CA 95476 (707-938-4626).

TALLAHASSEE (FL) - KRASNODAR

Tallahassee Mayor Frank Visconti and former mayor Kent Spriggs headed up a 17-person delegation that visited Krasnodar in September—the fifth such tour of Tallahassee residents to its Soviet sister city. Their hosts included members of "Tallahassee's Friends," a group of Krasnodar citizens who support the sisterly relationship.

The Florida visitors presented a public slide show about Tallahassee in Krasnodar's largest auditorium, followed by a question-and-answer session. As the group toured Krasnodar, Leningrad, Moscow and Vilnius, a television news crew from Tallahassee's CBS affiliate (Channel 6) filmed their activities to produce a one-hour television program.

Nineteen elementary schools and seven high schools are participating in pen pal programs with Krasnodar schools.

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

THIRD ANNUAL U.S. - SOVIET SISTER CITIES CONFERENCE



**November 18-20
Gainesville, Florida**

The Third Annual U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference has been scheduled for November 18-20 in Gainesville, FL. The meeting will bring together representatives from the 23 official sisterly relationships between the two countries, as well as from the 30 to 40 other sororal bonds presently awaiting formal sanctioning.

The agenda of the event will include a review of the movement, a discussion of using sister cities as a means of stimulating U.S.-Soviet trade, and an exploration of joint cultural exchanges. The delegates will also begin making plans for the fourth annual conference, which will be held next May in Tashkent, U.S.S.R.

For information contact:
Steven Kalishman (904-376-0341)
or representatives of other
U.S.-Soviet sister city programs.

FROM CHARITY TO JUSTICE

by Michael Shuman

EUROPEAN
CITIES
SEND
AID
ABROAD
AND
BRING
POWERFUL
LESSONS
HOME

To many Europeans, assistance to the poor in the Third World means more than expanded national aid programs or an improved World Bank or International Monetary Fund. Thanks to an organization called Towns and Development, more than 500 European cities are helping towns and villages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America by providing schools, medicine, tools, technology, and training.

Why use cities? One reason is that development problems are extremely complex and require thousands of diverse, practical solutions that can only come about from thousands of small, specially tailored city-to-city projects.

The International Union of Local Authorities (IULA), a consortium of local governments in 70 countries that has been active for almost 75 years, argues that municipalities in the North have a "special responsibility" to address the poverty of the South: "Of all administrative levels, [cities] are the ones with the closest contacts with the population. They are more able than others to meet the individual needs and wishes of the citizens in their decision-making."

This is of course equally true in the South. An introductory booklet from Towns and Development begins with the following observation: "Development that is oriented towards the basic needs of people and which moreover, proceeds from the assumption that the participation of those people in planning and implementation is absolutely indispensable, must be organized at a decentralized level."

Initial discussion on city-to-city development began in Florence, Italy, in 1983, and was followed by a major conference on "Towns and Development," held two years later in Cologne, West Germany. More than 100 delegates came from nine European countries, 30 repre-



Liz Chilsen

senting local governments, to discuss ways of better organizing and coordinating North-South cooperation. They ultimately adopted a statement of principles that became known as the Cologne Appeal (reprinted on page 58), which remains the rallying cry for the movement.

European Cologne-ization

Subtitled "From Charity to Justice," the Cologne Appeal urges development assistance to begin with the self-reliance and self-esteem of Third World peoples. To accomplish this, people in more developed countries must go beyond simply sending food and money: "[W]hile aid is welcome and necessary for those who suffer from injustice, aid is insufficient for achieving a genuine solution. All too often aid can be used as an alibi to ease the conscience of the North....Change

requires the active participation of people in both South and North, learning from each other."

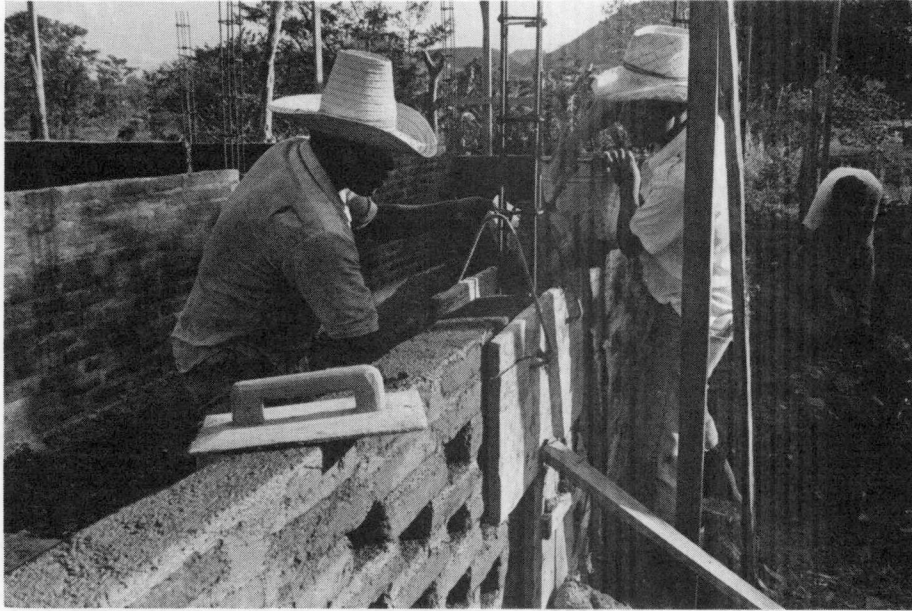
One interesting feature of the Cologne Appeal is the elaboration of nine specific guidelines for acceptable North-South development projects. Of greatest importance is that the relationships be based on "equality, reciprocity, absence of paternalism." Other criteria are that development projects focus on the poorest countries, actively involve women, respect cultural diversity, and remain sensitive to environmental preservation.

The Cologne Appeal points out that Third World poverty is not only the cause of misery for billions of people, but also is damaging the Earth's fragile ecosystems and sowing the seeds for future wars. Assistance from the North to the South is therefore not just a matter of altruism, it is essential for preventing conflict and

ensuring human survival.

The Appeal views the decentralized, city-based approach as an especially promising way to heighten public awareness in the North and mobilize assistance for the South. It calls on "development groups and local authorities to initiate and sustain nongovernmental organization (NGO) and local community joint action for North-South co-operation based on justice...." Among the joint actions recommended:

- raising the consciousness of citizens in cities of the North about global poverty through information and education;
- establishing city-to-city cultural links to build "friendship, solidarity and partnership";
- lobbying national leaders in the North to reduce their role in oppressing the peoples of the South; and,
- launching joint development



Liz Chilsen

Towns and Development has successfully convinced hundreds of cities to involve themselves in development. The Cologne Appeal has been translated into eight languages — English, German, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, Dutch, and Swedish — and reached millions of people. In country after country, the progress made has been impressive:

■ **UNITED KINGDOM** — By early 1985 roughly 50 communities had links with the Third World. Since then, several conferences on the Cologne Appeal have taken place and 50 more groups have formed in other British, Scottish and Welsh cities. "It is ironic to observe," says a report by Towns and Development, "how, especially in the United Kingdom, the alarming [1979 report on North-South relations by former German Chancellor Willy Brandt], aimed as it was at international reconstruction, provoked initiatives at the local level." While most development activities have been initiated by Labor-controlled city councils, the conservative-controlled council in Warwick organized a day-long seminar on development and sponsored a One World Week exhibition. The United Kingdom One World Linking Association has also produced and distributed a handbook on linking.

■ **WEST GERMANY** — Under the leadership of the German Association of Towns, many Landern (states) and 140 cities are promoting Third World development. Despite legal challenges mounted by conservatives against links with cities in Vietnam and Nicaragua, the national government has agreed that under certain conditions, local authorities can now draw money from their budgets to stimulate development education and fund small projects in the Third World. One of their education tools has been to show the local employment impacts of underdevelopment. In the town of Wuppertal, an industrial museum opened an ex-

Change requires the active participation of people in both South and North, learning from each other.

projects that "involve the full participation of NGOs and local communities, both North and South."

While the Cologne Appeal says that "the principal aim of this type of co-operation is not primarily the demand for [financing] of NGO activities by local authorities, minimum budgets need to be debated and established...."

After the conference in Cologne, five NGOs formed a steering committee to promote the Appeal: the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA); the German-based Welthungerhilfe and Terre des Hommes; the Brussels-based International Coalition for Development Action (ICDA); and the Dutch National Committee for Information on Development Cooperation (NCO). Since 1985, the Steering Committee has been enlarged with representatives from Oxfam (United Kingdom), NCOS (Belgium), and IEPALA (Spain). Together, these organizations have established a network of development assistance programs that would astound most Americans.

Track Record in Europe

Throughout Western Europe,

hibit comparing child labor practices in early German history with those now in the Third World.

■ **HOLLAND** — More than 250 towns, roughly one-third of all the towns in Holland, are now actively involved in development. These activities sparked a parliamentary debate that resulted in local authorities being given relatively wide authority to spend money on Third World projects. About 150 cities now spend a total of \$1.5 million annually on their linking projects. Tilburg, a town with 153,000 residents, spends over \$200,000 each year: \$28,000 for a development "center" that provides information, sponsors courses, and supports local NGOs (20 Dutch cities have these kinds of centers); \$17,000 to subsidize local NGOs dealing with the Third World; \$100,000 for projects in Nicaragua and Tanzania; \$12,500 for education on peace and "racism/fascism"; and \$50,000 for a municipal servant engaged full-time with development. About 150 towns also have integrated into their official "policy-plans" their involvement in development activities.

■ **BELGIUM (NCOS)** — Nearly nine out of ten of Belgium's 308 municipalities are involved in Third World Development and, in a recent survey, nearly all viewed their involvement as effective. Over 200 have a city official whose responsibilities include Third World cooperation. A brochure entitled "The Third World in the City Hall" has been distributed throughout the country to make development a focus for the 1988 municipal elections.

■ **FRANCE** — While France has begun working with Towns and Development only recently, the Paris-based United Towns Organization has been linking French communities with Third World villages since 1957. There are now more than 100 such links, mostly with French-speaking African

countries, following the slogan "From Humanitarianism to Development!"

■ **SPAIN** — Some 5,000 copies of the Cologne Appeal were distributed to the largest cities in Spain by the Spanish Federation of Municipalities. Representatives from of these cities then participated in a Hunger Conference in Madrid, which resolved to lobby for more cities to adhere to the Cologne Appeal. Letters have already been sent to 550 municipalities.

■ **PORTUGAL** — In October 1987, Towns and Development sponsored a conference in Lisbon that was attended by representatives of 75 Portuguese cities. A national committee is now being formed.

one of the movement's leaders, Paul van Tongeren, Associate Director of the Dutch National Committee for Information on Development Cooperation, "[S]ome municipalities concentrate mainly on overseas projects, others on information services at home. Some are fervently opposed to exchange schemes while others regard them as essential. Some view development cooperation as an apolitical form of intervention, while for others, political considerations are the *raison d'être* for their links. Some envisage a total and integrated Third World policy, encompassing issues such as the position of political refugees and migrant workers, armaments and representation by trade missions in countries where human rights are violated, while others adhere strictly to a policy of development aid."



Liz Chilsen

■ **BANGLADESH** — The Bangladesh NGO Development Forum has adopted the Cologne Appeal and organized a conference on the subject that attracted 500 participants, two-thirds from local governments.

Generalizations about these hundreds of Third World relationships are, of course, difficult. According to

The extent of municipal involvement also varies. While some cities are involved only symbolically, others are making major municipal investments. In the city-state of Bremen, West Germany (population 689,000), for example, five percent of its budget is allocated to its foreign aid programs

See **TOWNS & DEVELOPMENT** Page 55

a View from the SOUTH

Momodu Koroma, professor at Njala University College in Sierra Leone, recently offered the following perspective on Towns and Development.

The novelty of this idea is that it forms a basis for the participation of a greater number of people in the task of North-South cooperation. Such mass participation of ordinary people and NGOs may signal the beginning of a process whereby the demands of people are translated into official policies.

The Third World, no doubt, stands to benefit tremendously from such an organized appeal. First, because one of the major constraints on Third World countries is their lack of effective institutions and human resources necessary to convert their precious and most urgent needs into action programs. The government-to-government and UN-to-government cooperations, which have relied on the integrity of Third World govern-



Liz Chilsen

ments to carry through aid programs, have had a dismal record of failure

Any group of people, therefore, hoping to share in solving the Third World's problems through international cooperation, must try to have a feel for the needs of people and the nature of the access institutions (which have nowadays become barriers) that are supposed to translate needs into action programs. This is where the Cologne Appeal and the nature of its decentralized approach to establishing contact between North and South offers a new approach to the the issues of internationalism.

The second reason one would advance for the Cologne Appeal is the nature of its set of objectives for cooperation. Most of the objectives — linking, information exchange, education and campaigning activities — share the common perspective of *educating* the parties concerned in the Appeal. Such a perspective would improve on the knowledge of those who have manifested ignorance in the past, even in cases where genuine interest has been demonstrated in forging friendships. Linking, especially, has proved over the years (and in Britain) to be a very important component of the education exercise...

My philosophy of the importance of North-South cooperation boils down to a simple story: It is like having a ship that has every conceivable wealth on Earth — culture, peoples, gold, land, knowledge, etc. But the ship has been torpedoed and is sinking slowly, and nobody so far claimed responsibility for the act. If the ship is allowed to sink then its wealth will be of no use either to those on the ship or to those watching it. But the wealth is, of course, for all to share if the ship is salvaged in time. The Cologne Appeal may just be a long rope tied to such a ship, ready to be pulled.

TOWNS & DEVELOPMENT

from page 53

in, among many other places, India, Mali and Rwanda (see page 56). The town of Angers in France has earmarked half a percent of its budget to its twin community, Bamako, the capital of Mali. Even some small communities have made major financial commitments. In the Dutch resort town of Noordwijk, its 23,000 inhabitants have allocated \$25,000 per year since 1976 to various development projects in Burkina Faso.

Next Steps

Not all of the linking experiences have been happy ones. Recipients in the South have frequently criticized them for being paternalistic, amateurish, erratic, or disorganized. Organizers in the North have also been hampered by inadequate city or citizen support. But to Towns and Development, these problems are inevitable and invaluable parts of the learning process, and point to how cities can create better, more ambitious programs for the future.

One lesson, van Tongeren observes, "has been a trend away from universal ideologies such as the pursuit of a new international economic order. Efforts now focus more closely on seeking practical solutions to development problems."

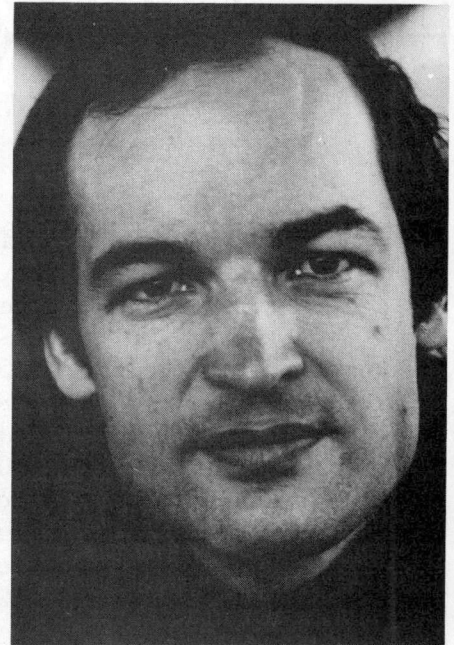
Another lesson has been the importance of establishing a working partnership between both municipalities and development-oriented NGOs, particularly those in the South. Says van Tongeren, "Both need each other. If there is no support of local [NGOs], nothing will happen, there will be no activities at all. On the other side, local [NGOs], especially Third World groups, can gain a lot from support (morally and financially) from local authorities."

Towns and Development's achievements have earned it financial support from the European Commis-

sion (the civil service of the European Economic Community (EEC)), as well as from Bremen, IULA, and several NGOs. It has also been applauded by politicians throughout Europe. In 1984, the EEC's Council of Ministers of the Environment passed a resolution supporting its work. So did the European NGO General Assembly in April 1986. In 1985, the World Bank published a booklet discussing municipal linking. And in March 1988, a "round table" involving 300 local officials at the Council of Europe's Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe resolved to launch a campaign entitled "North-South: A United Future or No Future." This will be followed by a major conference on the same subject at the European Parliament.

According to a recent brochure, Towns and Development has a number of ambitious plans for the years ahead. It plans to distribute the Cologne Appeal to municipalities in Canada, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. It will increasingly coordinate its efforts with the World Bank and the European Economic Community. It will hold more North-South conferences to evaluate how its programs have fared. It will create an annual award for the best campaign. And it will increasingly use museums to display development assistance information.

The feelings of many involved in Towns and Development are perhaps best summarized by Hans Koschnick, the Mayor of Bremen, "Problems must be made comprehensible, connections must be shown, discouragement must be opposed on the level of the towns and communities....If this work does not gain ground, we will talk about the North-South dialogue without achieving it. Development must come from below. This catchword can be heard more and more, the catchword for change in the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia. But it holds good for us, too, and makes clear that there is neither a First nor a Third World; there is only One World."



"There has been a trend away from universal ideologies such as the pursuit of a new international economic order. Efforts now focus more closely on seeking practical solutions to development problems."

— Paul van Tongeren

THE BREMEN EXPERIENCE

There are two ways Third World countries can make fertilizer. The first is to build a large Western-style factory that processes imported chemicals. The second is to produce — for the same cost — biogas digesters for 26,000 villages that transform cow dung and agricultural wastes into natural fertilizer. The first method consumes vast quantities of energy and requires expensive imports from the West. The second produces energy for cooking, requires no imports, and produces 130 times as many jobs. The first method has long been promoted by national development programs and international organizations like the World Bank. The second has been the centerpiece of Bremen's development programs with China, Mali, and Rwanda.

Since 1978, the city-state of Bremen in West Germany has made a major commitment to Third World development by spreading what's known as *appropriate technology*. The Bremen City-State Parliament, representing 689,000 citizens, began the program with a resolution "that development must no longer be regarded as a mere economical-technical growth process appointed from above. On the contrary, it is a self-supporting liberation process, including those concerned and originating from their needs, which is directed against poverty and not against the poor, as is often the case. It is a question...of increasing understanding of the fact

that a balance between North and South, a new international economic order, and improved and more concentrated state development aid, are the prerequisites for the keeping of peace."

A year later, Bremen set up a special department dealing with Third World development and trade, and launched a variety of development projects, including those involving

Africa who are living in camps provisionally run by the African National Congress.

One of Bremen's most ambitious projects has been to revitalize the district of Adviasi Nagar in the city of Nagpur, India. Like so many other Third World cities, Nagpur has 1.3 million inhabitants, more than half living in the city's 300 slums. Some 300,000 are unemployed. Working

alongside local non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Bremen sent members of its city to help build roads, a health center, schools, a community center, drainage systems, water systems, and dwellings. Adhering to the principle of providing "help for self-help," Bremen's program leaders ensured that Nagpur residents did their own planning. They also secured an agreement from the local government to give the people ownership of their new dwellings on easy financial terms.

Five percent of Bremen's development budget is devoted to educating its own citizens through booklets, exhibitions, and workshops. The city also supports the educational programs of local churches, schools, corporations, trade unions, and NGOs. One recent achievement was the publication of new teaching materials about Namibia.

Bremen has supported these programs with a budget of nearly \$1.2 million each year. While this budget is high, its per capita level expenditure



Fund raising for West African refugees in Bremen.

biogas generators. In the Sahel Zone of Mali it set up small-scale, run-of-the-river irrigation pumps to help stop desertification and create more usable farmland. In the West Sahara it has offered aid for refugees (much to the chagrin of Morocco, whose military campaigns dislocated the refugees in the first place). In Nicaragua it has provided agricultural and medical assistance. And in Tanzania it has provided food, education, tractors, job training, and biogas equipment to the more than 10,000 refugees from South

lies in the middle of German states. Hamburg spends nearly twice as much per capita.

Bremen's development budget was cut in 1984 after a large shipbuilding yard was closed and thousands were unemployed. But the cut was only modest, after a successful campaign by the Social Democratic Party. Hans Koschnik, the Mayor of Bremen, argued that "the permanent strengthening of the purchasing power of wide sections of the population in developing countries is useful to the interests of the workers in the industrial nations." Gunther Hilliges, one of the program's principal architects,

seconds his opinion, "The unemployed in the West and the poor in the South are the common victims of the same structure. Although Bremen has its own, very severe problems, we find support even among the unemployed."

At a World Food Day symposium in 1984, Mayor Koschnik noted, "If we don't soon learn that there is no 'Global 2000' without a 'Local 2000'; if we still believe that things happening two or three flight hours away do not concern us, we will throw away the remaining action margin and soon become victims of developing tendencies that move past us."

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Key Booklets

Nico Kussendrager, *Towns and Development*, 2nd Ed., 1988, available from the Dutch National Committee for Information on Development Cooperation (NCO), Postbus 186, 100 AD Amsterdam, Netherlands (Tel: 0031-20-24-84-87).

Vernon Smith, *Local Authority Cooperation with Developing Countries*, available from the IULA, British Sections, 35 Great Smith St., London SW1P 3BJ (Tel: 01-222-1636).

Key Organizers

PETER BASTOGI, Mani Tese, Via Cavenaghi 4, I-20149, Milan, Italy (Tel: 02-469-71-88).

M. CORREIA, IDL, Instituto Amaro da Costa, Rue de S. Marcal 77/79, 1200 Lisbon, Portugal (Tel: 01-36-05-54).

BERND DREESMAN, Deutsche Welthungerhilfe, Adenaur allee 134, 5300 Bonn 1, West Germany (Tel: 0228-22-88-0).

GUNTHER HILLIGES, Terres des Hommes, In der Poggenkuhle 37, 2800 Bremen 33, West Germany (Tel: 0421-361-21-94).

MRS. F. JUNCKER, Radhusgt 51, 4614 Kristiansand, Norward (Tel: 047-422-36-07).

RON KINGHAM, ICDA, Rue des Bollandistes 22, 1040 Brussels, Belgium (Tel: 0032-2-734-23-32).

JANE KNIGHT, Oxfam, 231 High St., Erdington, Birmingham, B23 6SS, UK (Tel: 021-373-57-89).

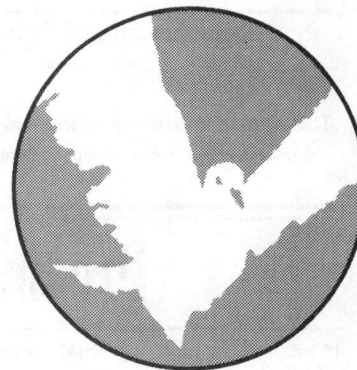
MME. M.J. LAFONT, UTO, 2 Rue de Logelbach, 75017 Paris, France (Tel: 01-47-66-75-10).

LEO LEYS, NCOS, Lakensestraat, 76, B-1000 Brussels, Belgium (Tel: 02-218-31-67).

XAVIER PAEZ, IEPALA, Calle Hermanos Garcia Noblejas, 41, Madrid-28037 (Tel: 01-408-41-12/01-408-42-12).

PETER SLITS, IULA, P.O. Box 90646, 2509 LD, The Hague, Netherlands (Tel: 070-24-40-32).

PAUL VAN TONGEREN, NCO, Postbus 186, 1000 AD Amsterdam, Netherlands (Tel: 0031/70/24-84-87).



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This major international event will focus on the concerns of local nuclear free zones worldwide and develop strategies for effecting national nuclear policies.

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For more information or a registration form contact: Eugene International Nuclear Free Zone Conference Organizing Committee

P.O. Box 3197
Eugene, Oregon 97403
Phone 503-683-1802

Deadline for early registration is October 31.

COLOGNE APPEAL

Joint Action of NGOs and Local Communities for North-South Development Co-operation

“FROM CHARITY TO JUSTICE”

This appeal is addressed to local authorities, non-governmental organisations and community groups throughout Europe

(Adopted by the First European Conference on Towns and Development, Cologne, 19th September 1985 by representatives of NGOs and local authorities from nine European countries)

Preamble

In view of the existing situation between North and South in which there is:

- a growing disparity in basic human needs;
- the non-existence of a meaningful North-South dialogue;
- the inability of existing structures to cope with the magnitude and urgency of a grave situation which results in hunger, starvation, famine, population problems and environmental destruction, all being the consequence of poverty related to the existing world economic order;
- the escalating problem of the loss of dignity, and even of life, for millions of people.

For moral reasons and international solidarity, as well as the mutual interest of removing threats to peace, a higher political priority must be given to the search for urgent and sustainable solutions to these problems. The conference is fully aware that, without structural change in many fields of policy related to the North-South problem the intolerable situation will escalate. It also recognises that, while aid is welcome and necessary for those who suffer from injustice, aid is insufficient for achieving a genuine solution. All too often aid can be used as an alibi to ease the conscience of the North. Nevertheless, the quantity and quality of aid must be improved. In any event, money by itself is not enough. Change requires the active participation of people in both South and North, learning from each other.

The conference further recognizes that the interrelations of the problems of environment, development and disarmament must

also be taken into account in any analysis of the North-South relationship.

Therefore, the conference welcomes the recommendations of the Florence Conference on Towns and Co-operation for Development of October 1983 appealing to and encouraging local authorities to stimulate and support local North-South activities together with non-government organisations (NGOs). This process of decentralisation is seen as the starting-point and challenge for raising public awareness leading to a more comprehensive understanding of North-South problems (including the problems in

the North), extending beyond the concept of aid and mobilising people in direct action for change and partnership.

This new approach of decentralising the North-South co-operation, which focuses on co-operation between NGOs and towns, includes an important role for the rural communities, North and South, in the processes of development and social change. NGOs are fully aware that this is a supplement to and not a substitute for governmental action at the national and international level.

In the light of these considerations this conference calls upon development groups and local authorities to initiate and sustain NGO and local community joint action for North-South co-operation based on justice instead of charity.

Objectives

Such joint action may take a variety of forms including information, education, linking, campaigning and project activities.

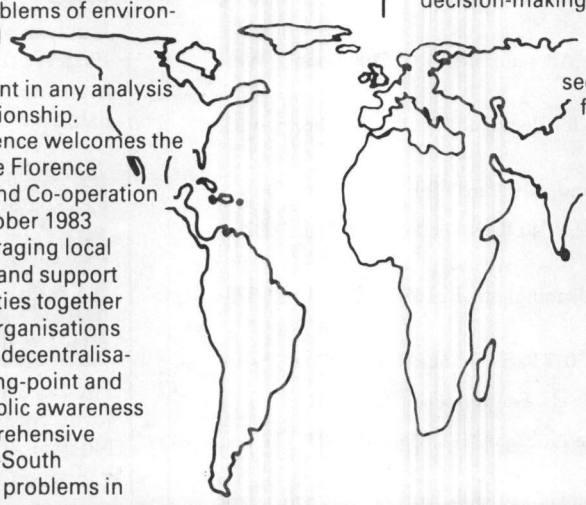
— **Information activities** embrace materials, events, courses, etc. designed to increase public awareness of North-South issues. Specifically, support should be given to the establishment of local and regional information, documentation and service centres to enable individuals and groups to learn more about the developing world;

— **Education activities** include both formal and informal learning which creates a critical understanding to spur direct action for change.

Development education in the North is essential for decision-making with a global perspective;

— **Linking activities** can involve all sectors of local communities in establishing friendship, solidarity and partnership with towns and rural areas in the South on a community-to-community basis. Such increased mutual understanding leads to co-operative ventures, including inter-municipal co-operation based on an informed and realistic appreciation of each other's society;

— **Campaigning activities** call for policy changes to secure greater equity in international relationships in areas such as the right of developing countries to build up their society. Campaigns also need to recognize the need for structural



“FROM CHARITY TO JUSTICE”

change in the international economic and social order with implications for our own societies.

— **Project activities** should be subject to clearly defined criteria and involve the full participation of NGOs and local communities, both North and South. Local authorities in the North wishing to support development projects or linking are encouraged to consult and involve experienced NGOs and local linking committees.

Process

Survey. Municipal governments, together with NGOs, are advised to survey the existing North-South links — political, economic, social, cultural and educational — in their communities and assess the need to and possibilities for expanding these links.

Policy plan. NGO — local authority action in this field can be based on a policy plan jointly formulated and officially adopted by the town council in order to stimulate public discussion. Initial co-operative actions may precede the establishment of such policy plans.

Linking. Effective linking implies the full participation of all sectors of both communities such as schools, workers' organisations, political parties, women's groups, youth, church, professional and employer organisations, and the media. In effective city to city twinning the NGOs and the local community must also be involved.

Minorities. Joint action in this field should also recognize and address the problems and contributions of foreign minorities living in our societies. The need for development education and action is related to the need to combat discrimination, racism and poverty in industrialised countries.

Funding. While the principal aim of this type of co-operation is not primarily the demand for finance of NGO activities by local authorities, minimum budgets need to be debated and established for both development information/education and for implementation of sustainable development projects. Given the trend towards the increased commercialisation of aid and the tendency to freeze or reduce development assistance, especially to the poorest countries, there is a danger that NGO projects are arrested before reaching fruition. Further study is needed to determine what are the most effective forms of local, regional, national and European co-financing plans.

Project Guidelines. Many Northern based NGOs, together with their partners in the South have elaborated important criteria for supporting development projects based on such broad principles as the following:

- equality, reciprocity, absence of paternalism;
- initiation and approval of projects by the partner communities;
- focus on the poorest in the developing countries and the poorest countries;
- recognition of the significance of women in the development process and ensurance that projects benefit and enhance the status of women;

- the need to take account of the environmental impact of projects in advance;
- integration of projects into the overall development plans of the partner community;
- establishing and maintaining communications;
- the need to respect and maintain cultural diversity;
- the need for joint evaluation.

The Partnership

Joint action between NGOs and local authorities in this field requires a genuine partnership to assure a competent and accountable use of resources.

It is recommended that NGOs join and establish platforms and networks, especially at the local level. NGOs should allocate resources to co-ordinate their activities and put forward joint views more effectively. Similarly, local authorities should also raise and promote these issues in their regional and national associations.

Local NGO platforms are to be as broad as possible with groups concerned with peace, economic and environmental questions invited to join. The platform can stimulate discussions with local councils and regional assemblies.

Where possible, local authorities should appoint persons responsible for North-South relations and persons to liaise with NGOs and implement joint actions.

Follow-up

This appeal is addressed to local authorities, NGOs and community groups throughout Europe. It is intended to invigorate the process of promoting NGO — local community joint action. The results of the conference can serve as a basis for NGO approaches to local authorities to call for active campaigns and initiatives such as community-to-community linking for North-South co-operation.

The conference asks the organising committee to stand ready to assist NGOs and local authorities wishing to follow up the conference at the regional and national levels, but the initiative for such follow-up must come from the local level. In particular, local NGOs should approach their communities with proposals for joint action.

The European Community and the Council of Europe should be encouraged to lend their support to these efforts.

The conference participants stress that in undertaking this type of North-South co-operation it is of vital importance to discuss fully the implications with their counterparts in the South at all stages.

In all of the foregoing the conference is acutely aware that in the end it is people working together who will demand and bring about change for sustainable development and a just and equitable society. Thus, any machinery developed to implement the resolutions above will fail unless it is based on the potential and participation of the individual.

LAISSEZ LES BONS TEMPS ROULEZ

Movies and tourism go hand in hand in New Orleans

When Paul Hardy campaigned around Louisiana last year to become Lieutenant Governor, he promised voters that the state would no longer lose out in the competition for international tourists. "We could be getting a lot more foreign visitors," now-Lt. Gov. Hardy says. "The growth potential is tremendous."

Potential is one thing. Attracting more than the 300,000 foreign tourists who came to Louisiana in 1986 is another.

So Louisiana's legislators — facing declining world oil prices, slumping farm prices, and an unemployment rate nearly twice the national average — stole a page from grocery store marketing. They slashed prices for foreign tourists. Sort of.

Under a bill signed into law in early July, Louisiana will offer international tourists a sales tax rebate, a device State Senator Bill McLeod likens to the "loss leaders" grocery stores use to attract customers. Under the new law, McLeod says, Louisiana's foreign tourists "will save a pittance, and [they will] leave a lot."

Indeed they will. Foreign visitors to French Quarter bars and southern Louisiana's Cajun country will get small rebates on their retail purchases, but still pay the full tax at hotels, bars, rental cars, and restaurants.

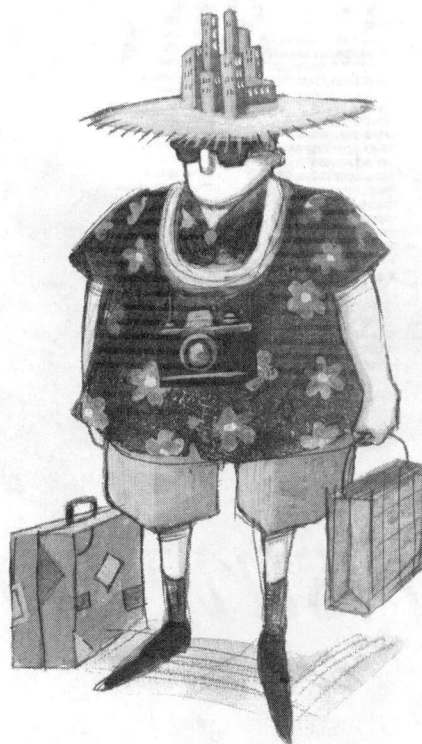
While Hardy did not introduce the legislation, he was an active supporter. "I think it is a fantastic concept for us in that we are the first in the nation to do it," he says.

The "tax-free shopping" offers Louisiana something more than the prestige of being first, of course. "While we're rebating only the tax on shopping, we will get more (tourists) paying the sales tax on everything else," says the New Orleans World Trade Center's Managing Director, Eugene Schreiber.

Schreiber points out that, once tourism increases by 12 percent, tax revenues on non-rebate sales will cover the sales tax rebates. And Schreiber's office believes tourism will increase by 26 percent — a jump that would produce 1,200 new jobs and add \$2.2 million to the state's coffers.

"You have a tremendous influx of tourists coming into the United States," Schreiber said. "This is the perfect time to do this."

Perfect or not, luring tourists from California, New York, and Florida will not be easy. As part of his effort to publicize the state's virtues among



In creating
world peace
there's clearly
a spin-off
here of
world trade,
international
good will and
fun.

likely international visitors, Hardy is working to bring the film industry to Louisiana. Paul Dugas, Hardy's aide, says, "Movies and tourism go hand in hand. Look at what *Crocodile Dundee* did for tourism in Australia."

So far, that strategy has brought the crews, and their immense expense accounts, for two film projects — a remake of the 1950s horror film, *The Blob*, and a new feature, *Steel Magnolias*. Whether *The Blob* is precisely the image that will draw millions of Europeans and Japanese to Cajun country remains to be seen. But the film crews have, in the meantime, brought prosperity to the rural towns of Abbeville and Natchitoches.

Dugas says there is no criticism of Hardy's projects "that we know of." But can a people whose fathers worked the region's farmlands and pumped crude oil from its wells satisfy itself pumping gas, flipping burgers and changing hotel beds?

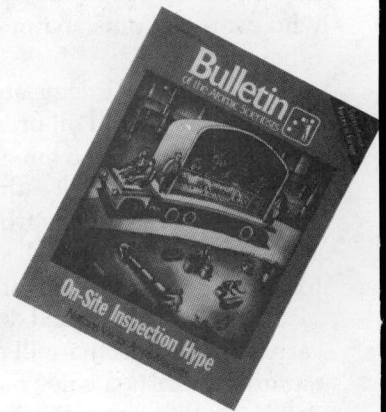
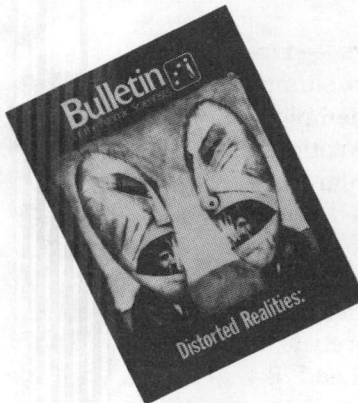
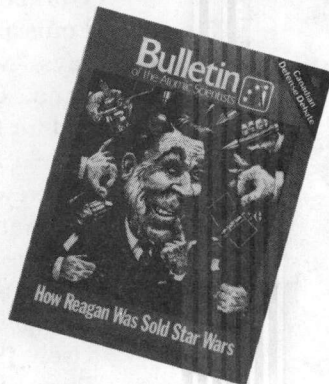
"The key is this," says the World Trade Center's Schreiber. "Oil and gas is a much more lucrative industry than tourism — at least when oil is at \$40 a barrel. Well, (a) that isn't happening. Oil prices are down. And (b) tourism has always been good in Louisiana. This drive for international tourists isn't being driven by declining oil prices. With or without oil, there's a terrific tourist industry here."

Schreiber also believes that "getting a lot of foreign tourists . . . is good for attracting business investment. Given our strategic location to world trade," he says, "it's not beyond the realm of possibility that those tourists will want to move their businesses here."

And that, Schreiber concludes, is good for international peace. While the World Trade Center did not support tax-free shopping "to create world peace," he says, "there's clearly a spin-off here of world trade, international good will and, well, fun."

SOURCES: Alan Sayre, "Foreign Tourists Will Be Given Sales Tax Rebates in Louisiana," St. Paul Pioneer Express Dispatch, 9 July 1988, p. 11A; Paul Dugas, Lt. Governor's Office, (504-342-7009); Eugene Schreiber, Suite 2900, World Trade Center, #2 Canal Street, New Orleans, LA 70130 (504-529-1601).

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“[Robert] McFarlane and Keyworth discussed the possibility that lasers might even be used to assassinate leaders like Muammar Qaddafi, a scheme that the science adviser said he dismissed as impractical, though not fanciful: ‘My God, if you want to do that, send a bullet,’ he told McFarlane.”

—“The Earthly Origins of Star Wars,” Gregg Herken, October 1987

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—“Slick’ems, Glick’ems, Christmas Trees, and Cookie Cutters: Nuclear Language and How We Learned to Pat the Bomb,” Carol Cohn, June 1987

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A TIME FOR NEW PRIORITIES

by John Nelson
 Vice Chair, Town Council
 Freeport, Maine

In my fifteen years of public service, I've seen Freeport, Maine, make a lot of progress. Freeport's citizens rightly feel proud of these community accomplishments. But our sense of civic spirit — our feeling that we're doing so much with so little to make our community and, by extension, the world better places to live — is sometimes overwhelmed by the realization that the federal government's priorities do not at all reflect real national security needs.

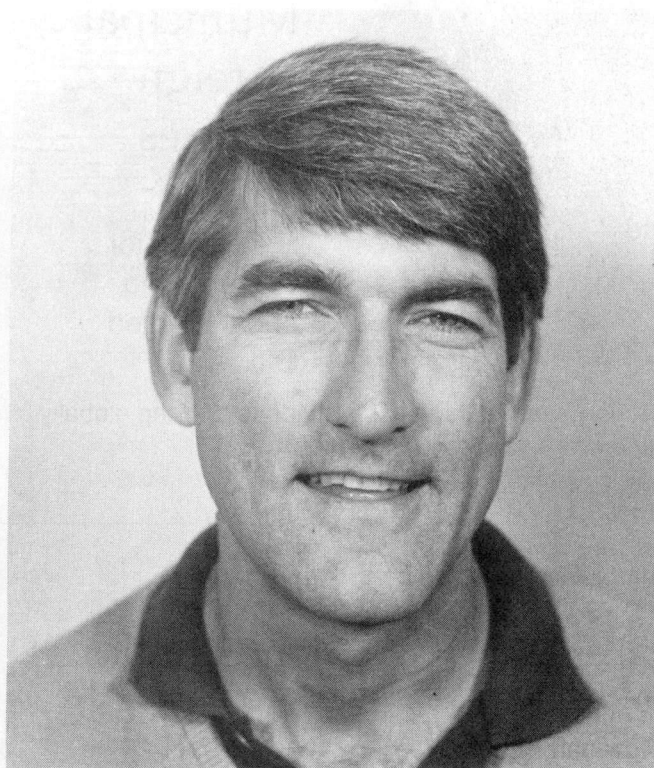
Let me give you an example. One of our most successful projects was the replacement of an old and inefficient school with a new middle school. It wasn't easy. For eight years, our community was faced with competing, equally-worthy budget responsibilities. In some cases, important community programs had to be cut back. But with help from local, state, federal and private sources, we completed work on that school.

At the same time, I witnessed contractors paint and repaint a new Navy office building near Freeport three times. Each time they put brush to building, the federal government cut another \$10,000 check — simply because new officers didn't like the color scheme. While the military was spending thousands beautifying its main gate, Freeport struggled to find a few hundred dollars for landscaping. It didn't make our work any easier knowing that the cost of one B-1 bomber could have built one new school in every town in the state of Maine.

Please understand, I support a strong national defense. I spent twenty years in the Navy and I am still an officer in the Naval Reserve. But military strength will mean nothing if we mortgage our future to get it. Only healthy and thriving local communities can ensure true national security.

There are others within the military establishment, some still in uniform, who have injected themselves into the political process of this country and who see no problem with their involvement. If this trend continues unabated, I fear for our constitutional democracy. One only has to count the number of military men on the staffs of the White House, State Department and Defense Department — staffs traditionally dominated by civilians. This infatuation with the military mindset in policy-making positions is positively chilling.

It's chilling because it locks our nation — and so our cities — into a policy straitjacket. Military men quite often think only in terms of military responses. To protect our

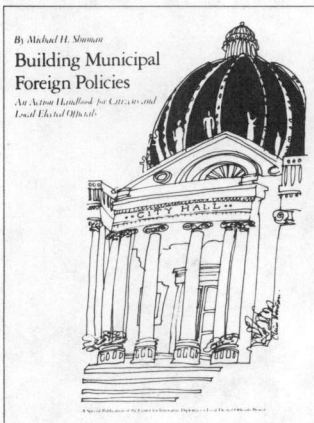


“vital interests” in the Persian Gulf, for example, our nation has developed a multi-billion dollar Rapid Deployment Force. Military men aren't likely to see a simple fact: If the cost of the RDF were, for one year, redirected to America's cities, those cities could carry out simple, low-technology energy conservation measures. Those measures could, in a single year, make us independent of Persian Gulf oil. The savings to our nation and to the world — in resources, budgetary demands, and lives — would be phenomenal.

A group of military veterans is now working to help educate our community about the high costs of military action and war to solve international disputes. Veterans for Peace is an organization dedicated in its opposition to this country's intervention in the internal affairs of other nations. It is doing all it can to halt the misplaced allocation of resources to the arms race, and has worked with us on a municipal level to abolish war as an instrument of national policy.

With the help of such organizations, and in spite of our present budgetary difficulties, Freeporters will continue to work on foreign policy issues through City Hall. And as their representative — and as their friend and neighbor — I'll work with them. Whether we're building a school here in town or educating ourselves about events in Central America, we've seen the impact of foreign affairs on our day-to-day lives. And we need a place where our voices can be heard. In Freeport, Maine, that place is City Hall.

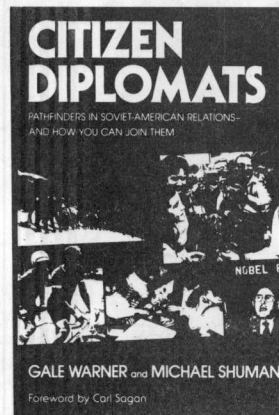
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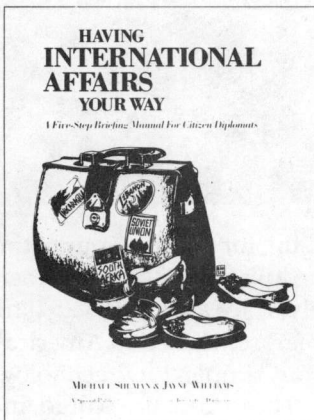


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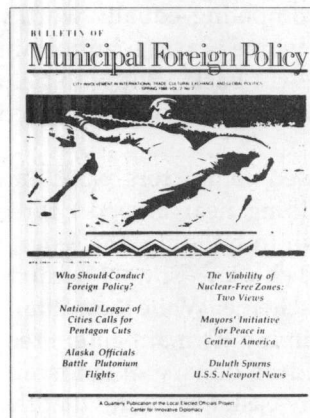
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