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Title

Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy - Spring 1987

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Journal

Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy, 1(2)

Author

Center for Innovative Diplomacy

Publication Date

1987-04-01

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Contracting

Municipal Foreign Policy

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND GLOBAL POLITICS SPRING 1987, VOL.1, No.2

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A MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to the second quarterly issue of *The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*. We are delighted to report that reaction to the first issue has been -- in a word -- overwhelming. Our editorial board has expanded from 9 to 14, and our city correspondents have expanded from 63 to 110. All of these new recruits mean more and better news

for you, our readers.

The Bulletin now reaches more than 1,000 local elected officials. Its information has also begun influencing the mainstream national media. The first issue caught the eye of two Public Broadcasting System (PBS) producers, who have since prepared nationally-distributed television shows on municipal foreign policies. It also led the Associated Press, United Press International, and Insight magazine to write feature articles on

the subject.

This increasing national interest in municipal foreign policy-making may well be related to the growing skepticism about the amateurish "Iranamok" policies emanating from the White House basement. In the last three months, Americans have been startled to learn that their highest officials have been sending arms to "moderate" Iranians, putting the proceeds in secret Swiss bank accounts, and laundering the money back to "freedom fighters" in Central America with a strong disposition toward terrorizing and torturing civilians. All of this took place with the permission of the President, who claims no longer to the president of the president.

The Founding Fathers knew that centralizing power in the President was a recipe for disaster. Consequently, they erected an elaborate system of checks and balances over the executive that included Congress, the courts, and state governments. But for some reason, when it came to foreign policy, the Founding Fathers were more confident that national security could best be protected with a powerful President. Wise foreign policy-making, Alexander Hamilton wrote in *The Federalist No. 75*, requires "accurate and comprehensive knowledge of foreign politics; a steady and systematic adherence to the same views; a nice and uniform sensibility to national character, decision, secrecy, and dispatch..."

THE DANGERS OF A U.S. POLITBUREAUCRACY

The abuses of the twentieth century have suggested the need to rethink the traditional

wisdom about giving the executive a monopoly over foreign affairs. In four different ways, our centralized foreign policy-making apparatus is now increasingly threatening our security.

First, our centralized foreign policy is endangering the very democracy we are trying to protect. It's one thing when Americans speak in one voice, as we did when we declared war against Japan and Nazi Germany. But it's quite another when we "speak in one voice" because the majority of Americans have been silenced. Numerous opinion polls have shown that most Americans adamantly reject policies of selling Iranians arms for hostages or shipping arms to the Nicaraguan Contras. And yet the central authorities launched these policies with utter indifference to the views of

the American people.

Second, a foreign policy run with Politburo centralization is guaranteed to be inefficient. International affairs have become too complicated for top-down oversight. A staggering number of transactions now take place between the United States and other nations in such areas as communication, tourism, trade, investment, and cultural exchange. The Clearing House Interbank Payments System (CHIPS), for example, which is operated by 140 U.S. banks specializing in international finance, conducts several billion international transactions daily. Attempts by the national government to rigorously control these transactions not only will inevitably fail but also will inadvertently scare off international trade and

stifle domestic economic growth.

Third, a highly centralized foreign policy is also an unaccountable one. The secrecy and dispatch that the Founding Fathers once thought were so necessary for protecting U.S. national security have been increasingly used to undermine democratic decision-making through executive fiat. One telling example is the U.S. Navy's policy of refusing "to confirm or deny" the presence of nuclear bombs on its ships. Since Soviet intelligence probably knows a great deal about the status of the ships it tracks, this policy simply results in the American people knowing less about American policy than the Soviet military does. As Edmund Muskie commented at the Tower Commission's press conference, "Every time that you are overconcerned with secrecy, you tend to abandon process."

Finally, a top-down foreign policy is often an uncreative one, hamstrung by hundreds of layers of bureaucracy. Imagine the disastrous impacts if

every trade transaction, every hunger-relief project, every cultural exchange, or every human rights initiative had to be reviewed by the State Department.

REVITALIZING BACKYARD DEMOCRACY

Municipal foreign policies offer precisely the kinds of checks and balances that will be necessary to preserve the strength and integrity of our two-hundred-year-old democracy. Indeed, they address each of the four problems of overcentralization.

Municipal foreign policies give expression to public opinions otherwise silenced by national foreign policies. Through municipal divestment, Americans have voiced their outrage over national support of apartheid; and through sanctuary declarations, Americans have spoken out against federal immigration policies. Our friends and adversaries alike should know that we are a nation of diverse views -- and that our diversity is our strength, not our weakness.

Municipal trade policies ensure that the real experts on local economics will manage their own affairs. National officials may still wish to set some broad guidelines for the ways in which ideas, people, capital, and goods cross borders, but the details should be left to local officials, as well as to private corporations and citizens.

Municipal foreign policies also add accountability to our foreign policy. Unlike national officials, local officials cannot hide their foreign policy activities in a cloak of secrecy. They must operate in open public hearings, closely scrutinized by the local press.

Most importantly, municipal foreign policies open new possibilities for international problemsolving. Imagine if the federal government's policy toward Nicaragua consisted of encouraging every one of America's 36,000 municipal governments to promote democracy, human rights, and economic development through city-to-city relationships. Rather than funding an unpopular resistance that has murdered thousands of innocent civilians and has led Nicaragua to suspend certain civil liberties and turn to the Soviet Union for military support, the United States would be supporting the constructive political and economic development of the Nicaraguan people.

As the New York Times wrote about the Iran-Contra scandals: "There is no place in our democracy for personal secret operations and private foreign policies. Wisdom dictates reliance on experienced officials responsive to rules, written and unwritten." If our Founding Fathers were alive today and reading some of the municipal

foreign policy success stories contained in this issue of *The Bulletin*, they might well conclude that the most experienced officials in foreign policy -- those most accountable to the people and with the most creative visions for the future -- are America's local elected officials.

THE BULLETIN OF MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

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I. GENERAL NEWS

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INSIGHT MAGAZINE WARNS OF CITIES' "LEFT" TILT ON FOREIGN POLICY

On April 6, 1986, *Insight* magazine published "Municipal Hue and Cry Makes Foreign Policy Waves," one of the first nationally distributed articles about municipal foreign policies. Considering that *Insight* is a subsidiary of *The Washington Times* newspaper, an ultraconservative daily owned by the Reverend Moon, the article is remarkably detailed and informative. Nevertheless, its basic slant, punctuated by such pictures as Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega visiting one of his nation's sister cities in New York, is that municipal foreign policies are "tilting [U.S. foreign policy] to the left" and that "legal tests are sure to follow."

DIVERSE MOTIVATIONS

The article begins by reviewing the dozens of ways more than 1,000 U.S. local governments are involving themselves in foreign affairs (information it gleaned largely from the first issue of *The Bulletin*). It then describes the diverse motivations

behind city involvement:

"Says Virginia Mayer of the National League of Cities, 'Cities are moving into the international arena for a simple reason: They can't afford not to.'

"But most of the new city activity is not aimed at making money. Disinvestment policies, nuclear-free zoning, sister city relationships and sanctuary declaration -- far more controversial at the local level because they are expressly political -- seek to change U.S. foreign policy, tilting it to the left.

"'What we are seeing is a totally new phenomenon,' says John M. Kline, professor of international business diplomacy at Georgetown University. 'Cities are using their economic levers to exert influence internationally. With more than \$200 billion in investments and \$300 billion in annual expenditures, U.S. cities have considerable power to wield. Some are in it from an economic angle,' Kline says, 'but most hope to affect foreign policy as well.'

"People fail to see all of these initiatives as part of a larger issue,' says Larry Agran, mayor of Irvine, California, . . . 'We want to take back foreign policy from the federal government.'

"Some worry that this usurpation of federal

Syracuse, NY

authority over foreign policy may endanger U.S. security. 'This is sexy stuff for the local guys, and mostly they are no-lose issues. The cost as far as they can see is none,' says Peter Spiro, an editor of the Viginia Law Review and former member of the State Department's legal staff. 'But is the mayor of Los Angeles going to think about the loss of strategic minerals if the U.S. imposes sanctions on South Africa? Mayors have transcended their competence to become would-be secretaries of states, and I think it is a dangerous trend.'

"Says Mitch Hughes, head of a Seattle-based group that opposed many of these new city laws: 'Basically you have a small group of local leftists committed to an agenda which no one else in the city shares. But they are the active and organized ones. They get their laws through by taking advantage of apathy. And they are smarter than they used to be. They're using the power of the

local purse."

"LEFTIST" TAKEOVER

Insight goes on to sound the warning bells about how "leftist" municipal foreign policies are changing national policies. "The most stunning example has been disinvestment from South Africa." But it then notes two non-leftist examples: "Massachussets recently banned pension fund investments in banks making loans to companies that sell armaments to Britain for use in Northern Ireland. Michigan has taken steps to restrict university holdings in corporations doing business with the Soviet Union." Municipal foreign policies have also, it warns, forced the United States to abandon its civil defense programs and pursue arms control more seriously.

The municipal foreign policies *Insight* reserves its harhest criticirms for are the sanctuaries for Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees: "Twenty-two cities provide sanctuary for refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala to protest U.S Immigration policy. Portrayed by local politicians as humanitarian measures to help Central American refugees, sanctuary is also a political movement in opposition to U.S. policy in the region. The focus is almost exclusively on refugees from U.S.-supported countries; 350,000 Nicaraguan exiles are virtually ignored. U.S. government documents have alluded to the movement's Marxist leanings and the possibility that movement workers have transported leftist terrorists into the United

"The political tone that many sister city relationships have taken lately is not quite what President President Dwight D. Eisenhower had in mind when he began the people-to-people project

in the late 1950s. More than 700 U.S. communities have 1,200 sister relationships with cities abroad, but pairings with cities in adversary countries such as the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and Nicaragua are growing fastest."

TIME FOR MORE FEDERAL CONTROL

Insight concedes that "municipal foreign policies have rarely been invalidated by the courts, but that may be because few have been challenged." Insight asserts, "Most legal scholars believe that many of the policies would not withstand legal scrutiny. The exclusive federal domain over foreign affairs is firmly grounded in the Constitution and in Supreme Court precedent. The court, in a 1968 case, prohibited municipal foreign policies with a 'direct impact upon foreign relations that may adversely affect the power of the central government.'

Municipal foreign policies have forced the United States to pursue arms control more seriously

"Spiro of the Virginia Law Review applies this to local anti-apartheid laws, which run counter to federal law....'Local governments have, in effect, implemented a national policy encouraging full divestiture,' says Spiro. 'They have bypassed federal decision-making on an issue which only the federal government is empowered to decide.' He believes the laws would likely be struck down as unconstitutional if challenged. 'But to do so would be seen as identifying with South Africa, so I think it is quite unlikely,' he says."

Insight concludes that "the main legal question, on nuclear-free zones and other city laws, will come down to how much impact the initiatives have on U.S. foreign policy. Thus the move by cities to exert such influence may ultimately mean the undoing of many of their policies. 'The courts have upheld local laws on health and safety, and they have allowed cities to choose companies they hire as contractors or invest in,' says Kathleen Pierce, city attorney in Eugene, Oregon 'But at some point these policies will begin to have a direct effect on foreign policy. Let's say half the cities in America want to ban nuclear weapons production within their boundaries. Then you'll see them being challenged. And I think successfully."

CID CRITIQUES INSIGHT'S ANALYSIS

The Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID) wrote the following letter to the editor of Insight, responding to the preceding article.

Dear Editor:

As delighted as we at the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID) were that *Insight* detailed the broad, growing impact of municipal initiatives on U.S. foreign policy, your article drew three highly misleading inferences about the politics, scope, and

legality of municipal foreign policies.

First, there is nothing inherently "leftist" about municipal foreign policy activism. Indeed, 25 years ago, nearly all municipal activism was quite conservative, ranging from "Buy American" ordinances to anti-communist reciprocal inheritance statutes (prohibiting Communist aliens from inheriting U.S. property if American citizens could not inherit property from their country). In the future, it is hardly far-fetched to imagine city councils beginning to assist "freedom fighters" in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Cuba.

If today's municipal foreign policies seem slanted left, it is because the U.S. government's foreign policy is slanted so far right. It was not until the Reagan administration that pro-arms control and anti-apartheid positions were deemed "extremist". As national foreign policy shifts back to the center, so will their municipal analogs.

Second, Mitch Hughes' complaint that municipal foreign policies have sprung from "a small group of local leftists" is contradicted by the hundreds of existing municipal foreign policies implemented by popular referendum or initiative. Indeed, even the Seattle Central American policies Hughes helped overturn were implemented by an initiative in 1983, and a turnabout of two or three percent of Seattle's voters in 1986 would have turned Hughes' victory into a defeat. The facts hardly indicate that these policies do not enjoy broad popular support.

Finally, by quoting only legal analysts opposing municipal foreign policies, you have created the misleading impression that "most legal scholars" deem them unconstitutional. In fact, those few scholars and city attorneys who have considered the issue seem split right down the

middle.

As our analysis in the Winter 1986-87 issue of *Foreign Policy* details, the legal case against municipal foreign policies is actually a rather weak one.

The First Amendment guarantees the rights of cities to undertake any education, research, lobbying, or litigation they please, regardless of foreign policy content. The Fifth Amendment gives local officials a privilege to travel freely abroad to promote their community's views.

In the name of states' rights and the Tenth Amendment, U.S. courts have given local governments more power to police and zone their jurisdictions as they see fit, even if foreign policy criteria are added. The Massachusetts Supreme Court, for example, recently upheld a Cambridge ordinance banning the testing or storing of chemical warfare agents.

Munipal foreign policies are here to stay.

The U.S. Supreme Court has said that state and local governments have a broad right to choose companies they hire as contractors or invest in, a principle that should apply to divestment ordinances. Your assertions that these ordinances "run counter to federal law" is incorrect. When the U.S. Congress passed economic sanctions against South Africa, it explicitly stated that local and state divestment laws were not to be preempted.

Many city attorneys would dispute the skepticism of Eugene, Oregon's Kathleen Pierce's regarding the legality of nuclear free zones, Including nearby Portland's city attorney,

Christopher Thomas.

Finally, the Compact Clause gives cities the right to enter agreements with jurisdictions abroad, providing Congress approves. The absence of explicit Congressional disapproval throughout U.S. history, despite thousands of such agreements, suggests that Congressional silence

can be construed as approval.

The bottom line is that, unless America becomes a police state, municipal foreign policies are here to stay. Even if Kathleen Pierce is right and the federal government cuts off all municipal efforts to use their powers of zoning, investing, or contracting to influence foreign affairs, local governments will still have broad powers of education, research, lobbying, and litigation. And with these powers, city initiatives are, for all intents and purposes, unstoppable.

"THE STATES MAKE A COMEBACK"

To celebrate the 200th Birthday of the U.S. Constitution, the Christian Science Monitor prepared a special series of articles on the question of "Can America Govern Itself?" In Part 5, which we excerpt below, staff writer Charlotte Saikowski traced the emerging power of state governments in both domestic and foreign affairs. The implications for foreign policy-making are profound.

The states are bouncing back.

From Massachusetts and New Jersey in the East to Washington and California in the West, state governments are experiencing a surge of vitality and self-reliance. The trend is breathing new life into America's federal system. Industrial development, foreign investment, public schools, welfare reform -- these are the nuts-and-bolts issues on the agendas of state and local communities.

Governors across the country capture the mood:

Thomas Kean of New Jersey: "The most important thing now is going on in the states, not in Washington. You have a debating society in Washington, so a great deal of power is devolving on the states because they are the units that can solve problems and are closet to the people."

Bruce Babbitt, former Governor of Arizona: "Centrifugal, decentralizing forces are at work, and political and economic power has begun to spread outward in new forms. The action is now in state capitals."

Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts:

"There clearly is a recognition that a good deal of what the country needs has to take place at the state and local level."

The trend would gladden the hearts of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and other Founding Fathers who sought to forge a strong national union without emasculating the states as political entities.

The new vigor of the states is much in evidence. A meeting of the National Governors' Association in South Carolina last fall reflected the states' robust efforts, not only to deal with problems within their own boundaries, but to cooperate with one another -- and with the federal government. Governors debated issues from education and environment to law enforcement and

the use of National Guardsmen in Central America.

"The tide is turning toward more responsibility and a greater role for the states," observes Richard Thornburgh, former Governor of Pennsylvania.

"The reasons are a recognition that our resources are finite and that you can no longer provide the enormous sum of federal support for a lot of programs. Also, there is a sense of alienation from a government that has become remote and Washington-centered." "The devolution is not faddish, it'll be sustained," says former Governor of Florida Bob Graham, now a U.S. senator. "And

it's possible that government is best that's closest

to the people's desires and to the problem that government is intended to impact."

States are becoming aggressive in promoting private business at home and economic ties abroad. Today governors fly off to Africa, Asia, and other corners of the globe to forge trade links. When he was in office, Governor Thornburgh traveled to China, Japan, Africa, Israel, and Egypt to "plant the flag of Pennsylvania so people will think not only of dealing with the federal government but with the states."

States have even established overseas offices to attract foreign investment and tourism. "A governor could be pretty laid back 15 years ago," says John Carlin, former governor of Kansas. "But come 1990, because of world competition, a governor will be judged on whether he has followed through on economic development."

Today's urgent problems at home and abroad appear to demand not only a heightened role for the states but greater cooperation between the states

and Washington.

The federal system, in short, is alive and well in 1987. There will continue to be a shifting back and forth of responsibilities between the states and the national government as times and demands change. Each American generation will sort out for itself the trade-offs of federal and state functions.

Governor [Lamar] Alexander [of Tennessee] capsules the thinking of many politicians of this generation when he says: "The best job in the United States has to be the governor of his or her state."

SOURCE: "The States Make A Comeback," Christian Science Monitor, February 12, 1987, pp. 18-20.

II. LOCAL ACTIONS

ARMS RACE INITIATIVES

Note: The Bulletin also discusses initiatives to reverse the arms race in its specific sections dealing with GRITT (pages 16-18), Homeporting (pages 18-20), Nuclear-Free Investing and Contracting (pages 22-24), and Nuclear-Free Zoning (pages 24-26).

TACOMA REJECTS "NO FIRST USE"

Last November, voters in Tacoma, Washington, rejected by a narrow (51.4% to 48.6%) margin an initiative supporting a policy of "no first use" of nuclear weapons. Since the 1950s, the United States and NATO have declared that they are prepared to respond to any Soviet aggression in Western Europe, even conventional aggression, with the first use of nuclear weapons. A number of strategic analysts have argued, however, that this policy is non-credible, destabilizing, and dangerous.

SOURCE: Initiative Resource Center, P.O. Box 65023, Washington, D.C. 20035 (202-387-8030).

"JOBS WITH PEACE" SHOWS MIXED RESULTS

In Los Angeles last November, 63% of the voters rejected a "Jobs with Peace" initiative that would have set up a special commission to encourage non-military investment and economic development. Two years earlier, the city had voted overwhelmingly to support a "Jobs with Peace" initiative mandating that the city produce and publish an annual study on the economic impacts of military spending and the potential economic benefits of reinvesting military money in non-military projects within the city. Proponents believe that their recent defeat reflected a heavily financed "Vote No" campaign and negative endorsements by both the local Democratic Party mailing slate and *The Los Angeles Times*.

In Baltimore and Delaware County, Pennsylvania, which are both big losers in the arms race economy, the "Jobs with Peace" initiatives passed by large margins -- 59% to 41%, and 80% to 20%, respectively.

SOURCE: Initiative Resource Center, P.O. Box 65023, Washington, D.C. 20035 (202-387-8030).

CENTRAL AMERICA INITIATIVES

SISTER CITY PROJECTS AID NICARAGUA

In a recent article for the *New York Times*, reporter Lydia Chavez documents the growing number of American sister cities aiding Nicaraguan cities. Her article begins by describing how "in 1985 the Lower East Side, a neighborhood that encompasses the Bowery's skid row, the cutting edge of avant-garde art and large Puerto Rican and Asian populations, became a sister city to barrio Nueva York, a community of 1,000 in Bluefields, Nicaragua.

"Since then, residents of the Lower East Side have sent 2.4 tons of medical supplies and clothing to Nicaragua. All told, since the 1979 revolution that brought the Sandinistas to power, private groups and sister city projects in more than

30 cities have sent more than \$20 million in aid to the government the Reagan Administration is trying to topple."

The motivations for establishing these ties, Chavez reports, have typically been to help the Nicaraguan people resist U.S. intervention. Joanne Schultz, one of the founders of the Lower East Side Project, says that "we wanted to tell people in our community that people in Nicaragua are just people -- that there are people in some neighborhoods there that have the same concerns as we do."

Chavez then quotes Miriam Thompson, who helped pair Jamaica, Queens with a day-care center and church in Nicaragua, as stating that her objective is "to assist our sisters in Nicaragua, and [to make] a definite statement against the Reagan Administration's policy in Nicaragua."

"Americans in New York and elsewhere," writes Chavez, "are continuing to form alliances with Nicaraguan cities. [Sister Cities International] recognizes about 20 such pairings. Most...were established long before the 1979 revolution that

ended the Government of General Anastasio Samoza.

"Wisconsin has had a state-to-state relationship with Nicaragua since 1965. 'I think it's fair to say most Wisconsin citizens involved in this are outraged by Reagan's policies,' said Mirette Seireg, executive director of Wisconsin's project. which is run through an independent, nonprofit organization. Ms. Seireg said Wisconsin residents supply \$1 million worth of medical supplies to Nicaragua annually."

SOURCE: Lydia Chavez, "Nicaragua is Aided by Sister City Projects", The New York Times, February 1, 1987, p. E6.

NICARAGUA REPORTS 42 PAIRINGS WITH U.S. CITIES

The Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, D.C., reports 42 pairings between local governments in the United States and Nicaraguan jurisdictions, as well as three pairings with U.S. states:

State Pairings

New Jersey (central) South Dakota Wisconsin

Masaya, Masaya Yali, Jinotega Managua, Managua

Municipal Pairings

Albany, Oregon Ann Arbor, Michigan Arcata, California Baltimore, Maryland Belfast, Maine Bergen County,

New Jersey Berkeley, California Boulder, Colorado Bradford, Vermont Brookline, Massachusetts Brooklyn, New York

Burlington, Vermont Chelsea, New York Claremont, California Concord, Massachusetts Fairfax, California Gaineville, Florida Greeley, Colorado Hartford, Connecticut

Chichigalpa, Chinandega Juigalpa, Chontales Comoapa, Chontales San Juan de Limay, Esteli Bocana de Paiwas

Rivas, Rivas Leon, Leon Jalapa, Nueva Segovia Cardenas, Rivas Quezalguaque, Leon San Juan del Rio Coco, Nueva Segovia

Puerto Cabezas, Bluefields El Jicaral, Leon Quilali, Nueva Segovia Malpaisillo, Leon Condega, Esteli Matagalpa, Matagalpa Barrio William Diaz R. Ocotal, Nueva Segovia

Highland Park, New Jersey Lower East Side Barrio, New York Manhattan, Kansas Minneapolis, Minnesota Missoula, Montana Mont Clair, New Jersey

Moscow, Idaho New Haven, Connecticut Norwalk, Connecticut Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Pittsfield, Massachusetts Port Townsend,

Washington Portland, Oregon Providence, Rhode Island Niquinohomo, Masaya Rochester, New York San Rafael, California Santa Cruz, California Seattle, Washington Spokane, Washington Topeka, Kansas Yellow Spring, Ohio Washington, D.C.

Worcester, Massachusetts Comalapa, Chontales

Esteli, Esteli

New York Barrio, Bluefields

Nindiri, Masaya Leon, Leon Rivas, Rivas Laguna de Perlas, Zelaya

Villa Carlos Fonseca, Managua Leon, Leon Nagarote, Leon

San Isidro, Matagalpa Malpaisillo, Leon

Jalapa, Neuva Segovia Corinto, Chinandega El Sauce, Leon San Rafael del Norte Masaya, Masaya Managua, Managua Tipitapa, Managua Matagalpa, Matagalpa El Jicaro, Leon Bluefields, Zelaya

ANN ARBOR FIRMLY ESTABLISHES SISTER CITY IN JUIGALPA, NICARAGUA

In the last issue of The Bulletin, we reported that an official delegation from Ann Arbor, Michigan. including Mayor Ed Pierce, traveled to its sister city in Nicaragua -- Juigalpa. Below is a follow-up report written by Gregory Fox in the January 1987 issue of Agenda, a local Ann Arbor newspaper.

In March, former Nixon Attorney General Elliot Richardson....was quoted in *The Ann Arbor* News (3/19/86) as saying that individuals can have an impact on national issues, rather than handing them over to a group of faceless bureaucrats: "...participation is our opportunity to be heard, have an impact and make a difference." Well, we had a message [about Central America] and writing letters and waving signs wasn't getting more than a token response from Washington.... A part of the [April 7, 1986] ballot proposal [on Central America] was to "send a message to Washington" of our disapproval of the military pursuits of our government. Such messages are easily ignored, and so the other part was more concrete: the creation of sister city relationships. Sister cities would be an ongoing, locally directed program, a direct connection between Ann Arbor and Central American communities.

A Central American Sister City Task Force was appointed by Mayor Pierce, which started weekly meetings in May. Various possibilities for relationships in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala were discussed. It proved most practical to proceed first with a Nicaraguan sister city. Contacts were established with the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington, and a meeting was set up with Nicaraguan representatives at a Nicaraguan Friendship conference in Madison at the end of June. The Nicaraguans suggested Juigalpa....

After considerable debate, the Task Force decided to accept the Juigalpa suggestion. By September a group of Ann Arborites living in Managua went to Juigalpa to make preliminary contacts. Slides of Juigalpa were received just in time for a presentation to city council, which then voted unanimously to confirm the sister city relationship....At that same council meeting, Mayor Pierce announced his intention to visit Juigalpa with the first delegation which was then

being formed....

The initial plan for the delegation had been to send about ten people for two weeks. Ultimately, seventeen delegates plus two Ann Arbor News staffers went for ten days. We were able to get the services of a well-recommended couple in Managua... to manage the logistics of the visit. We gave them an impossibly long list of delegation interests, such as opposition parties, newspapers, health, education, economics, land reform, co-ops, etc.... It was clear that the most useful help the delegation could render Juigalpa would be to assist in stopping the U.S. aggression against Nicaragua. Beyond that, public sanitation is a major problem, an immediate need being a truck to collect and remove solid waste from the city. The Task Force has committed itself to help Juigalpa get a garbage truck, estimated to cost about \$35,000. Thus far about \$5,000 has been raised.

More delegations are envisioned, eventually to be organized around interest groups, i.e. labor, health, women, arts, education. We hope to have delegates not usually considered sympathetic to Nicaragua, such as moderate Republicans. We hope also to bring some people from Juigalpa to

Ann Arbor.

Since their return, delegates have spoken before many groups, and there continues to be strong interest from people in Ann Arbor. As more and more Ann Arborites visit Juigalpa and talk to their friends and colleagues here, we can counteract the ongoing lies coming out of Washington....

MADISON LINKS UP WITH ARCATAO, EL SALVADOR

A year ago, during April 1986, the City Council of Madison, Wisconsin, resolved to create a sister city relationship with Arcatao, a city in wartorn northern El Salvador. Its purposes included "establishing a dialogue between the people of El Salvador and the people of Madison, increasing local awareness of the situation in that country, and facilitating efforts of Madison groups to provide material aid to Salvadorans suffering from the

ravages of war."

The council resolution noted the suffering of the people of El Salvador: "[S]ocio-economic conditions in rural El Salvador are such that half of the children die before their fifth birthday, a large percent of the population lacks access to basic health care, the illiteracy rate is 40%, and malnutrition is a leading cause of death." It also noted the misery of the ongoing civil war: "[T]he Salvadoran military regularly bomb and strafe civilians with sophisticated weapons, a practice recently condemned by the Archbishop of El Salvador." Finally, it applauded the fact that "Madisonians have already raised \$2,700 for agricultural projects and have sent over 100 tons of medical supplies to war damaged areas of rural El Salvador." But it recognized that much more needed to be done.

In the town of Arcatao, most residents fled the town in 1983, after government bombing had leveled it. Gradually, more than 1,000 of the townspeople have returned, though they have had to cope with repeated incursions by the Salvadoran

army and devastating air strikes.

The Madison/Arcatao Sister City Project has tried to help Arcatao by raising funds in the community for projects in health care, agriculture, and literacy, as well as for clothes and shoes. The Project has also tried to focus local attention on the plight of citizens generally in El Salvador. Finally, the Project has dedicated itself to help strengthen the independent repopulation movement in northern El Salvador to counter the army's plan for "repopulating the countryside through a network of Vietnamese-style strategic hamlets."

A recent editorial in the Madison-based *Capital Times* commented: "War is hell, as a Civil War general once said. In El Salvador, the hell has been brought to the doorsteps of civilians trying to scratch out an existence in a poor land. Some folks in Madison, to their credit, are trying to ease that

hell."

SOURCE: Alderperson Nicole Gotthelf, City-County Building, Room 107B Martin Luther King, Jr., Blvd., Madison, WI 53710 (608-266-4071)

SANTA CRUZ SUPPORTS VETERANS' "FAST FOR LIFE"

In mid-October, the Santa Cruz city council passed a resolution supporting the fast of four U.S. war veterans -- Charles Litkey, Brian Willson, Duncan Murphy, and George Mizo -- who were protesting U.S. aid to the "terrorist Contras." "These four heroic individuals," the resolution said, "are making the supreme sacrifice to bring the attention of Congress and the American people to the immorality of U.S. foreign policy in Central America."

The resolution also thanked the local Santa Cruz Fast-for-Life support group and the Santa Cruz post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars for their efforts to educate the public on Central America.

Copies of the resolution were sent to President Reagan, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to California's Senators, and to the area's Congressman.

SOURCE: Mayor Jane Weed, City Hall, 809 Center St., Room 10, Santa Cruz, CA 95060 (408-429-3550).

ECONOMIC CONVERSION

SUMMARY OF CONVERSION ACTIVITIES AROUND THE COUNTRY

Louise McNeilly of the Center for Economic Conversion (CEC) filed the following update on state and local efforts to "convert" military production into more socially beneficial types of production. Source: CEC, 222C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041 (415-968-8798).

State Efforts

ARIZONA -- The Center to Reverse the Arms Race (CRAR) recently completed a study of military spending in the state and is now attempting to work with state government to set up a conversion task force.

Contact: CRAR, 1210 East Virginia St., Phoenix, AZ 8500 (602-266-8378).

CONNECTICUT -- The Economic Conversion Task Force, a local conversion organziation, recently assisted the Connecticut Department of Economic Development and the Connecticut Product Development Corporation in sending out a questionnaire to state manufacturers to obtain corporate profiles and to identify which might need assistance to diversify. The response rate to the survey was high, and the state is now doing follow-up work.

The Task Force is also working on numerous state legislative efforts including an act (HB 7607) creating a task force on manufacturing in Connecticut to examine "unstable industries" such as defense contracting. As of April, the bill made it out of the legislature's Planning and Development Committee with a unanimous vote.

Contact: Kevin Bean, Economic Conversion Task Force, St. Luke's, Box 3128, Darien, CT 06820-0650 (203-655-1456).

MINNESOTA -- In early 1986, the state launched an Economic Conversion Task Force to encourage Minnesota businesses that either are heavily dependent upon military contracts or are involved with dependent industries to apply for a joint public-and-private package of conversion assistance. The program requires that applying businesses develop alternative production plans with the involvement of management, labor, and the affected communities. Over the next year, the Task Force plans to develop one to three pilot projects. An eligible project could receive below market rate loans for machine retooling, job training assistance, business and labor consultation, technology transfer, and other forms of technical assistance.

Initially the program was affiliated with the Department of Energy and Economic Development (DEED). But in December, DEED director Mark Dayton was replaced by David Speer, who immediately cancelled the Task Force because Honeywell and other corporate leaders were "deeply offended" by economic conversion. Speer went on to explain that he would be chasing every military contract he could for Minnesota. Conversion proponents scrambled to save the program and succeeded in moving it to the state Department of Jobs and Training. Even though the Task Force will still have to work with DEED to get low-interest loans and to cover the costs of its

consultations with labor and business groups, the consensus is, according to Task Force member Mel Duncan, that the Department of Jobs and Training will actually be a more hospitable home. In mid-April, the Department of Jobs and Training helped the Task Force plan a retreat with labor leaders and city officials to discuss new strategies for conversion.

Contact: Mel Duncan, State Economic Conversion Task Force, 1929 S. 5th St., Minneapolis, MN 55454 (612-338-7955).

OREGON -- The statewide nuclear free zone initiative on the ballot in November, which would have given tax credits to firms converting from nuclear weapons work to other forms of production, was soundly defeated. Since then, conversion proponents have begun to develop a similiar ballot initiative for Portland.

Contact: Jeff Liddicoat, 633 S.W. Montgomery, Portland, OR 97201 (503-226-7807 or 503-371-8002).

Municipal Efforts

CAMBRIDGE, MA -- The Cambridge Research Project of the Bay State Center for Economic Conversion has been working with the Cambridge Peace Commission to contact local firms for a citywide alternative-use-planning project. The Economic Security Committee of the City's Peace Commission recently released a report on diversification planning for Cambridge.

Contact: Bay State Center for Economic Conversion, 639 Massachusetts Ave., Room 316, Cambridge, MA (617-497-0605 or 497-7784); Cambridge Peace Commission, 57 Inman St., City Hall Annex, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617-498-9000, ext. 9535).

CHICAGO, IL -- Representatives are now being selected to serve on the city's Economic Conversion Commission, which was created with the 1986 adoption of Chicago's Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance.

Contact: Clergy and Laity Concerned, 17 North State St., Chicago, IL 60602 (312-899-1800). LOS ANGELES, CA -- An initiative to establish a Jobs with Peace Development Council, which would have sought to diversify the local economy and divest city pension funds out of military corporations and into community development projects was defeated in November (see related story on page 8). On May 9, organizers will be meeting again to see how they can revive conversion efforts within the city.

Contact: Larry Frank, Unions for Jobs with Peace, 426 S.Alexandria, Los Angeles, CA 90405 (213-734-3165/387-0846).

MERCED COUNTY, CA -- In September, the Merced Interfaith Center for Peace and Justice attempted to block United Technologies Corporation from building a \$250 million rocket fuel plant. Despite evidence of serious safety and environmental problems posed by the plant, the Merced County Planning Commission approved the siting. After significant public opposition, however, the Board of Supervisors referred it back to the Planning Commission. Local activists are now gearing up for another attempt by United Technologies Corporation to gain approval of the plant.

Contact: John Holmes, 2281 Westwood Dr., Merced, CA 95340 (209-384-1777).

PALO ALTO, CA -- Petitions are now circulating to put a Nuclear Free Zone initiative with a strong conversion planning component before Palo Alto voters in November. The initiative calls for the conversion of companies involved exclusively in nuclear weapons production, which represents less than ten percent of the local military contractors and fewer than 500 jobs. Proponents need 2,400 signatures by June 1st to make the ballot, and they have already collected 2,000.

Contact: Nuclear Free Palo Alto, 555 Waverly St., Palo Alto, CA 94301 (415-327-4569)

PHILADELPHIA, PA -- The Shipyard Job Security Project, which grew out of the local Jobs with Peace organization, formed an Industrial Development Corporation and is identifying job-creating alternatives for the shipyard. With substantial support from neighborhood groups and labor, the Project started to work with prospective developers. Conversion proponents hope next to convince the city to take over the shipyard.

Contact: John Brandow, League Island Development Corporation,924 Cherry St., 2nd Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215-929-0770). PORTLAND, OR -- See "Oregon", page 12.

QUINCY, MA -- The South Shore Conversion Committee is working alongside unions and state officials in developing plans for converting the closed Quincy Shipyard, south of Boston.

Contact: Elizabeth Sherman, 22 Pond St., Hingham, MA 0204 (617-749-5068)

SAN DIEGO, CA -- The San Diego Economic Conversion Council, a local coalition, is moving ahead with outreach activities on conversion, focusing on local shipyards. The Council, in collaboration with the northern California-based Center for Economic Conversion (CEC), will sponsor a workshop in May 1987 on "Economic Stability through Economic Conversion: Strategies for Action." Local government officials, as well as business, community and labor leaders, have been invited to attend.

Contact: Marcia Boruta, 405 West Washington #143, San Diego, CA 92103 (619-299-5315).

SAN JOSE, CA -- Since May 1986, the San Jose Jobs with Peace Conversion Task Force has been trying to enact a conversion ordinance in this heavily military-dependent community. Designed with the assistance of CEC, the ordinance calls for

the establishment of an Economic Stability Commission which would collect information on the city's level of military dependency, establish local programs to assist workers and companies hurt by defense contract terminations, and develop incentives and plans for healthy non-military economic development. In August, the San Jose City Council was asked to place a model conversion ordinance developed by CEC on the November ballot (see following section). After hearing testimony by both activist proponents and corporate opponents, the City Council turned down the effort. The Task Force is now planning to try again to gain passage of the ordinance, this time through a ballot initiative in June 1988.

Contact: San Jose Jobs with Peace Conversion Task Force, 425 E. Santa Clara #200, San Jose, CA 95113 (408-289-1769).

SONOMA COUNTY, CA -- After a nuclear component was defeated in November, organizers have continued researching the local economic and environmental impacts of military spending, with an eye toward another ballot initiative in November 1988.

Contact: Toni Novak, 2240 Calistoga Rd., Santa Rosa, CA 95404, (707-538-3810).

CEC PROPOSES NEW MODEL ORDINANCE

The Center for Economic Conversion has drafted the following model ordinance for cities interested in reducing the adverse economic impacts of military spending.

Ordinance of the City of ______, Amending the Municipal Code of ______, Title _____, Chapter _____, to Establish an Economic Conversion Commission to Facilitate the Conversion from a Military-Dependent Economy to a Diversified, Full-Employment Local Economy.

Section 1. TITLE.

This ordinance shall be known as "The Planning for Economic Stability Ordinance of 1987."

Section 2. PURPOSE.

The purpose of this ordinance is to promote economic stability in ______, hereinafter referred to as "City," by building a healthy, diversified, and full-employment local economy.

Section 3. FINDINGS.

- (a) Hundreds of cities in the United States, including City, are heavily dependent upon Pentagon spending for their economic prosperity. This dependency makes these communities highly vulnerable to military contract terminations and inhibits the objective evaluation of military spending.
- (b) Pentagon contracts are unpredictable due to pressures to reduce the federal deficit and due to the decline of public support for continuing the military buildup.
- (c) The arms race diverts resources away from non-military activities and thereby distorts the foundations of the local economy and government,

weakening traditions of local self-reliance. Capital, personnel, and other resources committed to military contract work lessen the ability to provide services, such as higher quality health care, education, and environmental protection and cleanup, and to develop more competitive commercial products.

- (d) The prevalence of companies with military contracts in City makes it difficult for defense workers and people seeking employment to find work unrelated to these contracts. The defense industry employs a disproportionate number of highly skilled professonal workers, and does not require the skills of most unemployed workers. Military work also creates fewer jobs per dollar than non-military work.
- (e) The security requirements accompanying the defense industry restrict the freedom of information necessary to make decisions concerning the future of the community.
- (f) At present, City is not adequately prepared to adjust rapidly to major military cutbacks in terms of job relocation, job retraining, alternative use plans for defense plants, and other means of economic diversification.
- (g) Preparation for a diversified, full-employment local economy requires orderly planning at the local level, involving leadership from both the public and the private sectors. A well-designed municipal program providing high-quality, technical assistance in economic adjustment and conversion planning can help City overcome its military dependency and strengthen the local economy.

Section 4. DEFINITIONS

- (a) "Defense agency" means the Department of Defense, the Nuclear Weapons Division of the Department of Energy, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Coast Guard, the Central Intelligence Agency, and any other government agency that conducts military or other defense-related operations.
- (b) "Military contract" means any contract entered into between a defense agency and a person or entity, including but not limited to subcontractors, component manufacturers, suppliers, service contractors and service suppliers.
- (c) "Local contract" means a contract under which work is performed in City. It does not include contracts signed in City covering work elsewhere, but it does include contracts signed elsewhere covering work

performed in City.

Section 5. ESTABLISHMENT OF ECONOMIC CONVERSION COMMISSION

- (a) Within 60 days of adoption of this ordinance, the City shall establish an Economic Conversion Commission, which shall carry out the purpose as stated in Section 2 above. The Commission shall consist of seven members, appointed by the City Council for a term of two years, and shall meet the following requirements:
 - 1. all members shall be residents of the City:
- 2. 2 members shall represent the labor force, preferably including one from the defense industry;
- 3. 2 members shall represent the business community, preferably including one from the defense industry;
- 4. 1 member shall represent an organization supporting the goals of economic conversion;
- 5. 1 member shall represent local social services; and,
- 6. 1 member shall be a member of the City Council.
- (b) The Commission members shall serve without compensation but shall be reimbursed for reasonable and necessary expenses, as approved by the City Council.
- (c) The minimum annual budget of the Commission shall be \$50,000, or fifty cents per capita, whichever is less. Additional funds may be appropriated by the City Council in accordance with established budget procedures.
- (d) The City Council shall provide adequate staffing for the Commission. The Commission shall meet at least once monthly. In all other respects, the City Council shall determine the manner of appointment, officers, meetings and procedures of the Commission.

Section 6. DUTIES AND POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

(a) The Commission shall collect information on the extent to which the local economy is dependent upon military contracts, and shall assess the impact of military spending upon the local economy and upon the functioning of public agencies and services in City. With this data, the Commission shall develop an "Economic Stability Plan" (see Section 7 below). The Commission shall issue an interim report on its progress with the Plan within one year of the adoption of this ordinance and shall complete the Plan within two years of its adoption. Following adoption of the

Plan by the City Council, the Commission shall continue to meet regularly to monitor and aid in implementation of the Plan, and to continue to promote the development of a diversified, full-employment economy.

- (b) In carrying out the above duties, the Commission shall solicit information in any way it deems appropriate, using all powers available to the City Council itself. The Commission shall make recommendations to the City Council on programs suitable for accomplishing these duties and on any other actions it deems appropriate for accomplishing the purpose of this ordinance.
- (c) The Commission shall have the power to impose a tax on local military contracts based on dollar volume of local contracts from the previous year (e.g. 0.3%) to pay for implementation of this ordinance. In the event such tax is not approved, the other duties of the Commission shall be unaffected, and the City Council shall appropriate funds by alternate means.

Section 7. ECONOMIC STABILITY PLAN

- (a) The Plan shall include:
- 1. strategies to achieve long-term economic health in City;
- 2. incentives for attracting and expanding nonmilitary, socially useful work and eliminating incentives directed toward expanding or attracting military contract work;
- mechanisms for assisting any workers in City who are adversely impacted by the termination of military contracts; and

4. programs to assist companies having military contracts to develop alternative non-military plans for the use of their workforces and facilities.

Section 8. SEVERABILITY

If any portion of this ordinance is hereafter declared invalid, all remaining portions shall remain in full force and effect, and to this extent the provisions of this ordinance are severed.

Section 9. ENFORCEMENT

Any local resident is authorized to bring suit to enjoin full compliance with this ordinance. A prevailing plaintiff shall be awarded reasonable costs of suit and attorney's fees. This remedy shall be in addition to any other remedy otherwise available.

Section 10. EFFECTIVE DATE

This ordinance shall become effective thirty days after its passage.

Section 11. AMENDMENTS

This ordinance may be amended only through passage of another ordinance, unless the City Council finds, after a public hearing on the proposed amendment(s), that the amendment(s) is consistent with the purpose and findings of this ordinance as stated herein and is solely for clarification or implementation of the ordinance's operative provisions.

GLOBAL ORGANIZATION OF CITIES

HIROSHIMA INTER-CITY SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE BECOMES PERMANENT INSTITUTION

At the First World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity, held in Hiroshima and Nagasaki during August 1985, several dozen participants lobbied to institutionalize the conference into a permanent United Nations of Cities working for global peace. The Japanese sponsors, however, saw the gathering primarily as commemorating the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombings in their cities and resisted the idea. Nevertheless, they took note of the strong feelings

of participants and publicly committed themselves to study it further.

On December 11, the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki wrote to the conference's 200 participants, and included a "Covenant of the World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-city Solidarity." If followed this "Covenant" may well provide the basis for a new, powerful global organization of cities.

Article 1 commits the organization not only to "the total abolition of nuclear weapons" but also to "striving to solve vital problems for the human race such as starvation and poverty."

Article 3 describes a full program of activities for the conference, including: recruiting other

cities as members, lobbying national governments and the United Nations, sponsoring workshops, producing educational materials, preparing exhibits, and organizing public events.

The remainder of the Covenant creates an Executive Body representing the broad regional mix of participants, with a coordinating Secretariat in Hiroshima. What is most significant -- and welcome -- about this design is that is moves the locus of power outside Japan to mayors spread throughout the world.

If the Covenant's commitment to a conference every four years is followed, the next World Conference of Mayors should occur in August

1989.

To help implement the Covenant and prepare for the next conference, members of the Executive Body are now being chosen. Serving as U.S. representative will be Sacramento Mayor Anne Rudin.

SOURCE: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Hall, Office of the Mayor, Hiroshima City Office, 1-2 Nakajima-cho, Naka-ku Hiroshima, 730 Japan.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONE (NFZ) AUTHORITIES MEETS IN ITALY

Nuclear Free America filed the following report about the Third International Conference of Nuclear Free Zone Authorities, which was held in Perugia, Italy, from October 9 to 12, 1986.

The conference was attended by over 400 delegates and observers from 14 countries (25% of whom were women). The U.S. was represented by four local elected officials (from Chicago, IL; Jersey City, NJ; Middletown, PA; and Los Angeles, CA) as well as activists from New York City, Hoboken, NJ, the Unitarian Universalists,

and Nuclear Free America.

Because of the considerable time and expense involved in preparing such a major conference every year, the delegates decided to meet again only in 1988 (and every two years thereafter). A newly created International Secretariat Committee (to be made up of representatives of national NFZ coordinating bodies) will try to convene regional NFZ conferences in intervening years. According to the "constitution" adopted at the close of the conference, the NFZ office in Manchester (UK) is to serve as President of this committee and Perugia as Vice-President. The conference also directed the International NFZ Secretariat to apply to the United Nations for Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) status.

The only major disagreements concerned a resolution calling for all NFZ's to oppose uranium mining and nuclear power (defeated) and Nuclear Free America's request that the International Conference Committee expand the definition of NFZs in its constitution to include those adopted by popular referendum and not just those voted on by local elected officials. This was rejected, although, in a compromise, the Committee did agree to recognize NFZs adopted by legally binding referendum "where appropriate." (The U.S. is also still the only country in which cities and counties have been able to adopt legally binding NFZ legislation -- rather than just non-binding resolutions.)

NOTE: The Manchester office will serve as a clearinghouse for all global information about nuclear free zones. Please send your information to R.M.W. Taylor, Esq., Town Clerk and Chief Executive, P.O. Box No. 532, Town Hall, Manchester, M60 2LA.

SOURCE: The New Abolitionist, November/December 1986, p. 7.

GRITT INITIATIVES

GRITT WINS 72% APPROVAL IN 5 MASSACHUSETTS DISTRICTS

Last November, a new initiative known as GRITT -- Graduated Reciprocation In Tension-Reduction -- won voter approval in four Massachusetts state representative districts and one state senate district, with over 84,000 people voting. The initiative calls upon the U.S. government to take the initiative to reverse the arms

race by halting nuclear testing, reducing its nuclear weapons stockpile by 1%, and challenging the Soviet Union to do likewise in a verifiable way within one year. Were the Soviets to reciprocate, the United States would then reduce another 1%, and so on, until at least 99% of all weapons were disassembled.

The GRITT proposal was first advanced by psychologist Charles E. Osgood in 1960 and has periodically been discussed by policy-makers since then. This, however, is the first time it has been

voted on, although a 1984 Montana ballot proposal called for the United States to initiate mutual reductions by dismantling a single nuclear weapon.

Whether other jurisdictions adopt GRITT remains to be seen, but the early success in western Massachusetts is significant. It was in western Massachusetts that the Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign scored its first voter victories in 1980.

SOURCE: Initiative Resource Center, P.O. Box 65033, Washington, D.C. 20035 (202-387-8030)

THE INITIATIVE RESOURCE CENTER PROPOSES A GRITT WITH TEETH

The Initiative Resource Center of Washington, D.C., after consulting with numerous peace organizations around the country, has put together a model GRITT proposal, which unlike the GRITT initiatives already passed, would have binding force. Specially, it would direct jurisdictions to set up a state or local peace commission to spearhead local peace education and national GRITT lobbying. The text of the ordinance is reprinted below:

SUGGESTED BALLOT TITLE: Nuclear Weapons Test Ban and Reduction

Be it enacted by the people of (your city or state):

Section 1: FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS

The people of (your city and state), recognizing that our national security is endangered by the continuing nuclear arms race, do hereby call upon the United States Government to: (1) immediately halt nuclear bomb testing and reduce nuclear weapons stockpiles by at least 1 percent; (2) challenge the Soviet Union to do the same with verification within one year; and. (3)

initiate mutual, verifiable reductions in nuclear weapons stockpiles with a goal of eliminating 99 percent of nuclear weapons worldwide by the year 2000.

Section 2: STATE (OR LOCAL) POLICY

The Governor (or local elected official) shall conduct the affairs of this State (or city) and carry out State (or city) programs in conformity with these goals.

Section 3: ESTABLISHMENT, FUNCTION, AND PURPOSE OF PEACE COMMISSION

There shall be a (your city or state) Commission on Nuclear Weapons Reduction and Peace Education. It shall be the function of the Commission to:

- (a) Work to implement the mandate of the voters for a worldwide nuclear bomb test ban and nuclear weapons reduction, as stated in Section 1;
- (b) Work with the (state or city) government and its departments, education institutions, private and public agencies, and other interested organizations toward worldwide nuclear weapons reduction and world peace, through dissemination of relevant information and through educational programs for the schools and citizens of (state or city).

Section 4: POWERS AND DUTIES OF PEACE COMMISSION

The powers and duties of the Commission shall include the following:

- (a) To advance the enactment of legislation which promotes worldwide nuclear weapons reduction at the federal level, and to monitor the implementation of such legislation;
- (b) To determine the extent of nuclear weaponsrelated industry within (state or city), and to study, advocate, and assist in the conversion of such industries to non-nuclear weapons-related activities, including the retraining of workers employed in those nuclear weapons-related industries;
- (c) To assist the (state or city) public schools and private schools in (city or state) in developing curricula on the history of nuclear weapons technology and nuclear arms control, the causes of war, conflict resolution through non-violent means, and current nuclear disarmament proposals;
- (d) To design and disseminate educational materials relevant to the purposes mentioned above, and to support and assist instructors initiating such curricula;
- (e) To initiate public exhibits and events in (state capitol or city hall), public libraries, schools and other locations within (state or city), consistent with the stated purposes and functions of this (law, charter amendment, or ordinance);
- (f) To cooperate with public agencies and private groups in other jurisdictions in programs for nuclear weapons reduction and peace education;
- (g) To promote mutual understanding with people in other nations consistent with the functions of this (law, charter amendment, or ordinance);
- (h) To raise funds for the use of the Commission and its staff, and to accept money, gifts, and services for its exclusive use, and to expend or use the same, and employ an Executive Director and/or clerical and

technical assistants or consultants;

(i) To receive an annual appropriation from the (state or city) general fund equal to at least \$0.25 per resident of (state or city), and to expend or use the same for the purposes mentioned in Section 2a through 4h above.

Section 4: PEACE COMMISSION MEMBERSHIP, APPOINTMENT, TERM, REMOVAL

- (a) The Commission shall consist of at least nine members, four of whom shall be appointed by the (Governor, Mayor, or other chief elected officer), and five of whom shall be appointed by the (Legislature or city council). The term shall be two years. The Commission shall not consist of more than 21 members.
- (b) After the initial appointments, subsequent members of the Commission shall be appointed from a list of at least 40 candidates recommended by the Commission.
- (c) If any Commissioner is absent from 3 consecutive meetings of the Commission without an excuse during a calender year, that position of said Commissioner shall be automatically vacated upon certification to the (Governor, Mayor, or other chief

elected officer) by the Commission.

- (d) Vacancies on the Commission shall be filled no later than 30 days after the vacancy occurs; vacancies shall be filled by appointment of the (Governor, Mayor, or other chief elected official) from among the candidates recommended by the Commission.
- (e) The Commissioners shall serve without compensation, but shall be reimbursed for any travel expenses incurred in attending meetings of the Commission, at a rate not exceeding \$0.15 per mile.
- (f) The Commissioners shall elect one of their number as chairperson and shall adopt by-laws for the Commission.

Section 5: QUALIFICATIONS OF COMMISSIONERS

- (a) All prospective Commissioners shall endorse in writing the goal of a nuclear weapons test ban and reduction as embodied in this (law, charter amendment, or ordinance), and shall reside within (state or city) during their term on the Commission.
- (b) The Commission shall consult with recognized citizen groups advocating a worldwide nuclear bomb test ban and worldwide nuclear weapons reduction to obtain names of qualified candidates.

HOMEPORTING

OPPOSITION MOUNTING TO NAVY PLANS

In 1982, the Navy announced its plans to transform 14 cities into "homeports" for five battle groups, led by four World War II vintage battleships and one aircraft carrier. Many cities vigorously competed with one another for the purported economic benefits of the homports. The "winners" announced thus far have been:

Corpus Christi, Texas
Everett, Washington
Gulfport, Mississippi
Mobile, Alabama
Pensacola, Florida
Pascagoula, Mississippi
San Francisco, California
Staten Island, New York
Violet, Louisiana

Not all cities, however, have been eager to become homeports. Popular opposition in both Boston and Seattle killed plans there, and within the designated cities, many citizens have had second-thoughts.

The strategic rationale for homeporting seems dubious. The Navy wants to disperse part of its fleet to avoid another Pearl Harbor, but the analogy seems inapt in the nuclear age, when any base can be obliterated with a single nuclear warhead capable of falling with only minutes warning. What's more, urban-based homeports may well be more vulnerable than conventional military ports to sabotage, terrorism, and mining.

The real reason that Navy seems to be promoting homeporting is to build greater economic dependency into America's cities. If municipal citizens can be manipulated to become vocal advocates for the Navy, it will be easier for the Navy to get larger budgets from Congress.

In reality the purported economic benefits of the homeports are frequently non-existent; almost always they are wildly overstated. The cost to the nation as a whole for homeporting is estimated to be at least \$800 million. For each "benefitting" city, there may be substantial additional costs for extra roads, housing, and sanitation facilities. Meanwhile, the economic multiplier from sailors' expenditures will be limited, since many of their purchases are made at Navy-run stores. A study of the Everett, Washington homeport by Employment Research Associates of Lansing, Michigan showed that the Navy seriously

overestimated the benefits of the project.

Beyond the simple economic numbers are some very serious environmental hazards. In Staten Island, support facilities threaten to damage the Gateway National Seashore, the nation's first urban national park. In Everett, the initial plans would have dumped toxic wastes into a breeding area for Dungeness crabs; the current plans still foresee dredging an area filled with toxic chemicals. In Mobile, the Navy had to choose another site because its first site was too polluted; the new site now threatens a nearby wetlands. And in Pascagoula, the homeport poses a danger to a newly discovered sea turtle.

The politicians in Washington, D.C., are not completely sold on homeporting either. In 1986, the House voted 241 to 190 to delete all funds for homeporting, while the Senate voted 65 to 34 to approve funds. A conference committee approved \$85.4 million for Everett and \$56.2 million for Staten Island. Various delays, however, have prevented any of these funds from being spent thus far and doubts in Congress are growing (See next story). A coalition of fiscal conservatives, liberal arms control advocates, skeptics within affected communities, and representatives of landlocked states are now gearing up to kill the whole scheme. Former Republican Senator Barry Goldwater of

SOURCE: PeaceNet, Conference on Homeporting; Peacepaper: Disarmament Subcommittee of the San Francisco Bay Area Chapter for the Sierra Club, March 27, 1987.

Arizona, for example, has branded homeporting

"pure porkbarrel politics."

SAN FRANCISCO GROUPS HIGHLIGHT ENVIRONMENTAL RISKS

Despite intense lobbying efforts by the U.S. Navy and Mayor Dianne Feinstein to establish a homeport for the Battleship USS Missouri in San Francisco, local activists have made headway in slowing the program by pointing out its serious environmental problems. They have shown, for example, that accommodations for the Missouri at Hunter's Point, where the Missouri will occasionally be brought for repairs and where other ships accompanying the Missouri will be moored, will require massive dredging that will threaten the entire San Francisco Bay ecosystem.

While the Navy claims that this dredging is unrelated to the project and merely "maintenance dredging" necessary for its ships to reach their repair facilities, environmentalists such as the Bay Chapter of the Sierra Club maintain that this will pose new hazards.

At a hearing of the Bay Conservation and Development Commission considering whether to issue a permit for the dredging, Dorothy Legaretta, President of the National Association of Radiation Survivors (NARS), presented Naval documents showing that for the past 40 years the Navy has been engaged in indiscriminate dumping in the bay. In the 1940s and 1950s, highly radioactive ships involved in nuclear tests were brought to Hunter's Point for decontamination. The wastes from these procedures were then buried in the very sediment that the Navy now wants to dredge. The Navy's own 1984 Initial Assessment Study of Hunter's Point warned that several areas containing toxic wastes should not be disturbed.

SOURCE: "Public Hearings for New S.F. Homeports Highlight Navy Toxics in Bay," The Sierra Club Yodeler, January 1987, p. 12.

SAN FRANCISCANS TO VOTE ON HOMEPORT

In November 1987, San Franciscans will have an opportunity to vote on homeporting with a sweeping nuclear free zone ordinance. If enacted, the law would bar San Francisco from spending any public funds to "lobby for, encourage, attract or subsidize nuclear or possibly-nuclear military installations," unless voters gave prior approval. Since homeport facilities are impossible without the expenditure of city funds, passage of the measure would effectively kill the Navy's homeport in San Francisco.

The measure also directs that San Francisco Board of Suprvisors to adopt a nuclear free zone ordinance that would support economic conversion, require labeling of irradiated food, and oppose any commercial activity creating radioactive waste.

SOURCE: Paul Kangas, Peace and Freedom Party, P.O. Box 42644, San Francisco, CA 94142.

CONGRESSIONAL STATUS REPORT

In a November 26, 1986, letter to David Gibson and Saul Bloom of the Arms Control Research Center in San Francisco, Michael Ross, Legislative Aide to Representative Ted Weiss (D-NY), gave the following assessment on the prospects for Congress' halting homeporting.

In the Senate, the Armed Services Committee was deadlocked for weeks this Summer in a 9-9 tie over whether or not to back the homeporting plan. The deadlock was finally broken when the Navy managed to convince Senator Warner [of Virginia] to cast the deciding vote in favor of the plan. I was, of course, disappointed by losing th vote, but still encouraged by how close the final tally was -- much closer than I anticipated.

I think our prospects [in 1987] for stopping or slowing the homeporting plan in the Senate Armed Services Committee are good. Two of the homeport's proponents -- Senators Denton and Broyhill -- were defeated for re-election, and one of the committee's open slots will probably be filled by Senator Gore [of Tennessee], a homeporting opponent. Moreover, the committee's new chair, Senator Nunn [of Georgia], seems to be a firm opponent of the homeporting scheme, and Senator Bingaman [of New Mexico, who is in line to chair the Military Construction subcommittee, is probably our strongest ally in the Senate.

On the House side, we came within a single vote of stopping all funding for homeport plans in the Military Installation and Facilities subcommittee last June. Of course, when the issue came to the floor on June 25, we pulled off a surprise victory by deleting all funds for homeports from the Military Construction Appropriations bill by a 241-

190 vote.

But what happened after that was scandalous. In an attempt to reverse the vote, the Navy embarked on a lobbying campaign in the House unlike anything any of us had ever seen before. The Pentagon's lobby efforts on issues like SDI and the Test Ban paled when compared to the noholds-barred wheeling and dealing we saw the Navy engage in over the next six weeks. Perhaps over one hundred high-ranking Naval officers were pulled from their normal duties to twist arms in the House.

When the homeporting issue came before the House once again in early August, we were forced

to let homeport funds be approved without a vote. We simply couldn't risk having the House go on record reversing the June 25 vote -- since we feared they may have had the votes to do so.

The homeporting issue will probably be even more closely contested in 1987. While funds were allocated for the New York City and Everett homeports in October of this year, there is a good chance that little or none of it will have been spent by the time Congress considers the FY 1988 budget -- a budget that will probably be subject to cuts in military spending. Thus I think we stand a very good chance of stopping the homeporting initiative next year, if our side is well-organized and devotes the necessary resources to the job.

SOURCE: Michael Ross, Ted Weiss, 2442 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20515 (202-*225-5635*).

HUMAN RIGHTS

TUSCON CHALLENGES ANGOLA'S HUMAN RIGHTS **POLICIES**

Noting that the government of Angola "denies its population basic human rights" and is "a designated hostile nation to the United States of America by the U.S. Department of Defense," the city council of Tuscon passed a resolution in October 1986 condemning "the cruel and inhumane policies" of Angola. It further authorized "various City officers and employees...to perform all acts necessary or desirable to give effect to this resolution."

SOURCE: Council Member Tom Volgy, Ward 6, Council Office, P.O. Box 27210, Tuscon, AZ 85726-7210.

MUNICIPAL STATE DEPARTMENTS

CAMBRIDGE PEACE **COMMISSION PUBLISHES FIVE-**YEAR REPORT

The Cambridge Commission on Nuclear Disarmament and Peace Education has just published a handsome booklet summarizing its evolution entitled *The Cambridge Idea: The Fifth* Anniversary Report. With succinct, catchy prose and some superb pictures, the booklet describes the city's initiatives in resisting civil defense planning,

creating peace curricula, declaring a sanctuary for Central American refugees, forming a sister city with Yerevan in the Soviet Union, studying the economic impacts of military spending on the local economy, and building a national network of cities active in foreign policy-making.

To dispute accusations that municipal foreign policies might be somehow out of character for Cambridge, the booklet then shows the instrumental role the city played in revolting against the British, opposing slavery, promoting women's suffrage, and opposing the Vietnam War.

On the back cover, Mary McGrory, columnist for The Washington Post, is quoted as saying, "I wish the Cambridge Peace Commission was running the country."

Copies of

The Cambridge Idea

are available for \$4.00 each from the Cambridge Peace Commission, City Hall Annex, 57 Inman St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617-498-9000, ext. 9535).

NATIONAL GUARD UNITS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

MINNESOTA SUES TO BLOCK MONTGOMERY AMENDMENT

At the urging of Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich, six states -- Colorado, Hawaii, Maine, Massachuchetts, Ohio, and Vermont -- have joined Minnesota's lawsuit to restore state governors' authority over their National Guard units. The suit tests for the first time whether Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution vests control of state militias in the hands of state governors.

The legal battle began after many governors grew apprehensive of the growing involvement of their National Guard units in Central America. In 1986, for example, about 5,800 guardsmen from 23 states participated in "maneuvers" in Honduras, which American military officers openly concede had been intended to intimidate the Sandinistas. Even more worrisome have been statements from National Guard Bureau officials suggesting that if President Reagan determined that Sandinista forces were invading Honduras, he could legally send Guard units into combat against Nicaragua. Eager to find a way to discourage the administration's provocations in Central America, seven governors either refused to allow their National Guard units to participate in military exercises in Honduras or attached restrictive conditions to their participation.

Representative Sonny Montgomery, a
Republican from Mississippi, responded by putting
in an amendment to the 1987 defense budget
removing the governors' power to turn down
federal requests to send National Guard units on
training exercises. Despite unanimous
condemnation of the "Montgomery Amendment"
by the National Governors' Association, it sailed
through Congress with almost no debate and was

signed into law by President Reagan in November 1986. Only in the case of state emergencies can governors now withhold their consent.

Lawyers at the Center for Constitutional Rights and Minnesota State Attorney General Hubert H. Humprey III contend that the law unconstitutionally violates the right of states to control their militias. They filed suit on January 28th.

While six governors have joined the suit, many more who are sympathetic with the case have not joined because, according to Peggy Moore of the St. Louis-based "Pledge of Resistance," the Montgomery Amendment "took them out of the position of having the ultimate responsibility for deciding whether or not to send their Guard overseas and freed them of the pressure exerted by grassroots groups."

And many Republican governors oppose the lawsuit altogether. Moore believes that they "have no problem with their Guard being in Central America and are going to back what the administration wants -- right or wrong. They are not going to challenge this."

But the governors joining the lawsuit believe the Montgomery Amendment is a serious usurpation of state power. Vermont Democratic Governor Madeleine Kunin, for example, says: "The federal law seizes a fundamental constitutional right of states to control the training exercises of their National Guard units. I believe the courts should restore such state authority except in times of war."

The Minnesota suit will probably be heard in court late this spring. Meantime, Governor

Perpich will continue his efforts to get more states to join with amicus briefs.

SOURCE: Paul Glickman, "President's New Control Over National Guard is Challenged," Christian Science Monitor, February 9, 1987, p. 5; "States Join Suit Against Foreign National Guard Assignments," Christian Science Monitor, February 20, 1987, p. 5; St. Louis Pledge of Resistance, National Guard Update, February/March 1987; and Peggy Moore, Personal Communication.

LOCAL EFFORTS TO MOVE GOVERNORS

Throughout the country, various local and state officials have tried to pressure their governors to join the Minnesota lawsuit against the Montgomery Amendment and refuse to allow state National Guard troops to be sent to Central America.

On February 17, 1987, the city of Buffalo, New York, passed a resolution urging the governor of New York "to oppose the training and deployment of National Guard troops" to Central America.

In the New Hampshire state legislature,

representative Robin Read introduced a resolution calling for the New Hampshire governor to support the Minnesota lawsuit.

In California, the city of Santa Cruz passed a resolution on July 8, 1986, urging Governor George Deukmejian to "heed the mandate of the Legislature in Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 85 and the requests of various community organizations and civic leaders by reversing his decision forthwith, and [to] join with the Governors of several other states in declining to send members of the National Guard to Central America."

Also in California, state assemblyman Tom Bates has begun to organize state officials throughout the country who want to dump the Montgomery Amendment. Interested state officials should contact Rachel Richmond, c/o Assemblyman Tom Bates, State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814 (916-445-7554).

SOURCE: St. Louis Pledge of Resistance, National Guard Update, February/March 1987; Mayor Jane Weed, City Hall, 809 Center St., Room 10, Santa Cruz, CA 95060 (408-429-3550).

NUCLEAR-FREE INVESTING AND CONTRACTING

MARIN COUNTY DIVESTS \$150 MILLION FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS FIRMS

In the last issue of *The Bulletin*, we reported that Marin County in northern California passed a nuclear free zone ordinance with 60% approval. Since then, it has been implemented with remarkable speed, becoming the first jurisdiction in the United States to divest its public funds portfolio entirely of nuclear weapons manufacturers.

According to Nuclear Free America, "In just three months and with little or no adverse economic effects, the County successfully divested its entire [\$150 million] portfolio of all investments in nuclear weapons contractors -- mostly in General Electric, General Motors, Ford and Westinghouse. Unfortunately, a large portion of the county's portfolio is still invested in U.S. Treasure bills (also known as T-bills), but the Marin Peace Commission hopes to address this in the near future."

Immediately after the nuclear free zone initiative was passed, County Tax Collector Joe Coffrini began replacing the County's short-term bonds and other discretionary investments as they matured

with acceptable non-nuclear investments. The divestment took place in such a routine manner that the announcement of its completion took officials in the county completely by surprise.

Another feature of the initiative was that it created a Marin Peace Commission. The Marin Board of Supervisors filled three of the five positions with members of the Nuclear Free Zone Coalition, the sponsors of the initiative.

Perhaps the most vexing problem the Marin Peace Commission now faces is how to implement the nuclear-free contracting provision of the initiative. For now, the Peace Commission will primarily be examining city contracts over \$10,000. The next step, according to Brady Bevis, a Peace Commissioner and one of the authors of the ordinance, will be to exclude contracts with companies appearing on a list of the nation's top 50 nuclear weapons contractors.

Despite attempts to eliminate transactions with nuclear weapons contractors, the Marin Peace Commission believes that some business with these companies is unavoidable. Bevis explained that the county is required to do business with non-nuclear manufacturers whenever it is "reasonably possible." Thus, Marin was allowed to purchase a

\$60 million criminal justice system computer package of IBM's, even though IBM is a weapons contractor, because, in Bevis's view, it was "the best one of its kind on the market." "However," Bevis added, "we found that there is some \$120,000 in IBM computer equipment that we can find alternatives to and are going to purchase."

The Peace Commission also tried to reduce county contracts with AT&T, another long time nuclear weapons contractor, but the Board of Supervisors decided against it. According to Bevis, much of the county's telephone equipment is "truly imbedded and no one could reasonably compete with that purchase. But we did get favorable bids on some of the less embedded equipment that [the Peace Commission] thought the Board of Supervisors should have gone with but didn't. Even though it was a relatively small part of the contract that they could have changed, it would have been a show of good faith if they had gone that way."

Other provisions of the Marin County Nuclear Free Zone ordinance include a prohibition on manufacturing of nuclear weapons and weapons components in the county, and a ban on the transportation of radioactive materials over certain

roadways.

SOURCE: Brady Bevis, Marin County Peace Commissioner, 8 Commercial Blvd., Suite D. Novato, CA 94947 (415-883-0441).

TAKOMA PARK IMPLEMENTS NUCLEAR-FREE INVESTING AND CONTRACTING

Three years ago, the Takoma Park, Maryland City Council unanimously adopted legislation mandating nuclear-free investing and contracting. It implemented the selective contracting provisions immediately, but it was not until early 1987 that the city finally drew up a nuclear-free investment policy.

Meanwhile, the nuclear-free contracting provisions have drawn increasing national attention as city officials have demanded that the police consider Volvos for police cars and that Harris-Lanier be stricken as a telephone equipment bidder.

In December, Mayor Stephen DelGiudice and Bob Alpern, chair of the city's Nuclear Free Zone Committee, sent a letter to the nation's top 50 nuclear weapons contractors informing them of their ineligibility for city contracts. Amazingly, many companies wrote back denying any role in the nuclear weapons industry, and AT&T went so far as to request a meeting with city officials to

"assure a clear understanding of AT&T's role in nuclear research and to discuss our mutual concerns in this matter."

SOURCE: Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575).

NINE JURISDICTIONS ENGAGED IN SELECTIVE INVESTING AND CONTRACTING

Nuclear Free America recently published a list of local contacts for the nine jurisdictions selectively refusing to contract with and/or invest in firms manufacturing nuclear weapons:

Amherst, Massachusetts (investments and contracts; adopted May 17, 1984)

Fran Fortino Committee for a Nuclear Free Amherst 29 Phillips St. Amherst, MA 01002 413-549-1114

Arcata, California (Economic Conversion Task Force created to study city investments and contracts; adopted November 5, 1986)

> Andrew Archibald Citizens for Social Responsibility P.O. Box 385 Arcata, CA 95521 707-822-7005

Councilmember Julie Fulkerson 900 17th St. Arcata, CA 95521

Mayor Theya Gast 40 East 15th St. Arcata, CA 95521

Berkeley, California (investments and contracts; adopted November 4, 1986)

Nuclear Free Berkeley Committee c/o Len Conly 1530 Rose St. Berkeley, CA 94703 415-526-2746 Eugene, Oregon (investments and contracts; adopted November 4,1986)

Eva Edelman 454 Willamette St. Eugene, OR 97401 503-343-8548

Glen Potter Intergovernmental Relations Division City of Eugene 777 Pearl St., Room 105A Eugene, OR 97401

Hoboken, New Jersey (contracts only; adopted September 20, 1984)

Edwin Chius Business Administrator Hoboken City Hall Hoboken, NJ 07030 201-420-2272

Helen Cunning Councillor-at-Large 15 Willow Terrace Hoboken, NJ 07030 212-952-5995(W); 201-420-8127 (H)

Hood River County, Oregon (investments and contracts; adopted November 4, 1986)

Dr. T.A. Burton P.O. Box 418 Hood River, OR 97031 503-354-1929 (W); 503-354-2002 (H) Jersey City, New Jersey (investments and contracts; adopted September 12, 1985)

Judith Karpova Hoboken Action for Nuclear Disarmament 527 Park Ave., Apt. 3 Hoboken, NJ 07030 201-963-8782

Councillor Jaime Vasquez 280 Grove St. Jersey City, NJ 07302 201-434-2065 (H); 201-547-5204 (W)

Marin County, California (investments and contracts; adopted November 4, 1986)

Micha Peled Marin Freeze 72 Kensington Rd. San Anselmo, CA 94960 415-459-1530

Takoma Park, Maryland (investments and contracts; adopted December 12, 1983)

Jay Levy and City Councillor Sharon Levy 7431 Baltimore Ave. Takoma Park, MD 20912 301-589-2309

Mayor Stephen DelGiudice and City Administrator Jim Wilson Takoma Park City Hall 7500 Maple Ave. Takoma Park, MD 20912 301-270-1700

SOURCE: Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575).

NUCLEAR-FREE ZONING

EUGENE NUCLEAR FREE ZONE REFERRED TO AN INTERIM TASK FORCE

Despite an overwhelming majority voting in favor of a nuclear free zone ordinance last November in Eugene, Oregon, both the mayor and city council have been reluctant to implement it. At a cost of \$8,000, the city attorney assembled a comprehensive review of the ordinance which questioned the legality of various parts of the new

law. As a result, the city council has delayed establishing the Nuclear Free Zone Board required by the law. Instead, it has appointed a temporary task force to look into some of the "legal and political concerns," to "formulate appropriate city responses to the...legal problems," and to "determine the effects of the ordinance on the city's economic development and other programs."

The Eugene NFZ ordinance, one of the most restrictive ever adopted in the United States, bans within city limits the production and development

of nuclear weapons and weapons components, the production of nuclear power, storage of nuclear wastes, the transport of nuclear weapons and wastes, food irradiation, and nuclear war-related civil defense planning. It also requires the city to post signs throughout the city and sponsor appropriate "Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Commemoration Day" observances each August 6th (the anniversary of the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima). Perhaps the most novel feature of the ordinance was that it created a 7-person Nuclear Free Zone Board, which, beginning in 1988, is to be directly elected. The Board is charged with promoting nuclear-free contracting, investing, and economic development.

The city attorney's report warns of several serious legal problems with the ordinance. First, the ordinance emphasizes military and foreign policy rationales for banning nuclear weapons work, rather than local economic, health, and safety concerns, rendering it more vulnerable to preemption by existing federal law. Second, the ordinance draws no distinction between federal contractors and federal agencies, and a municipality may only regulate the former. Third, the prohibitions on the storage and transport of nuclear wastes and the production of nuclear energy may especially conflict with the Atomic Energy Act and other laws.

Citizens Action for Lasting Security (CALS), which authored the ordinance does not feel that the attorney's legal review has created any serious problems for implementing it. Like most nuclear free zones, the Eugene ordinance contains a severability clause, stating that any sections found illegal should be deleted and that the rest of the ordinance should remain operative. CALS's latest newsletter adds that "most questions raised by the city attorney don't necessarily pose any significant challenges to the public policy mandated during the elections. Only minor changes would need to be made in order to adjust most of the ordinance to the city attorney's perspective on legality."

But only one CALS member, David Zupan, has been appointed to the temporary task force that will determine the fate of the ordinance. Other members of the group include individuals from the Chamber of Commerce, the Eugene Planning Commission, the Metro Partnership, the Eugene Software Council, and the president of Biodynamics Corp., all of whom opposed the ordinance or represent unsupportive business concerns. The remaining task force positions have been filled by representatives from the clergy, the Public Education Committee, the League of Women Voters, and the general public.

David Zupan hopes to educate his task force

colleagues who, he believes, neither understand the ordinance well nor "represent the majority of people in Eugene or even the majority of businesses." The people of Eugene place great value on the "livability" of their city, Zupan argues, which includes the presence of only "socially-conscious" businesses and non-dependence on tenuous military contracts.

Zupan hopes the task force will strengthen the ordinance by refining its gray areas and not attempt to make substantive changes that will basically weaken it. The task force, which began meeting in March, is scheduled to present its recommendations to the city council in August.

SOURCE: Nuclear Free Press, 1:1, 9 March 1987; "Memorandum" from Michael D. Gleason, Eugene City Manager, on the Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance," January 9, 1987; David Zupan, Personal Communication.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA FORMING A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE RESOURCE CENTER

The dozen municipalities and counties in northern California declaring themselves nuclear free have begun meeting with the dozen or so other groups trying to get their cities to do like wise. Their aim is to create a nuclear free zone resource center for the West coast. The center would help draft new ordinances, publicize recent developments, and provide legal and technical assistance. Its most important contribution, of course, would be to prevent duplication of efforts. Interested individuals, groups, and local officials should contact Steve Bloom (415-654-1385).

JUNE 1 IS INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR FREE ZONE DAY

The third International Nuclear Free Zone Local Authority Conference held in Perugia, Italy, last October (see related story on page 16) resolved that the more than 3,500 Nuclear Free Zone Authorities throughout the world should make June 1st, 1987 an eventful "Nuclear Free Zone Day." The theme of these activities is an international call for the immediate suspension of nuclear tests. Among the suggested activities are petitions, resolutions, letters to national officials, public statements, and rallies.

Contact: Councillor Jaime Vasquez, 280 Grove St., Jersey City, NJ 07302 (201-434-2065 (H); 201-547-5204 (W)).

NUCLEAR FREE ZONE BRIEF NOTES

Since the first issue of *The Bulletin*, Nuclear Free America reports the following developments in nuclear free zones around the world:

Berkeley, CA -- The Nuclear Free Berkeley Act, passed last November, has achieved its first major victory with the closure of the local Etcheverry Reactor, which the university was using for research, some it allegedly for nuclear weapons contractors. On January 8, 1987, the University of California announced its intention to close the reactor.

Ontario Province -- On November 13, 1986, the provincial legislature of Ontario, Canada's largest and most populous province, passed a nuclear free zone bill by a vote of 63 to 9. The resolution, which enjoyed multipartisan support of the New Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, and the Conservative Party, also said that "the Province should encourage cities, provinces, and states throughout the world to initiate similar action." A month before the vote, 12 municipalities in the province declared themselves nuclear free.

Montreal -- On December 16, 1986, the city council of Montreal unanimously declared the city a nuclear free zone and began considering whether to hold a referendum on disarmament.

Sussex County, NJ -- Confronted by Nuclear Free Sussex County, five Nuclear Free Zone townships and thousands of well-organized citizens, the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection has abandoned its plans to dump 14,0000 drums of radium contaminated soil at a quarry in Vernon Township. The State Environmental Commissioner announced in November that "a new process, involving extensive public input" would be started to find alternative sites for storage and disposal of the waste. Local activists fought the plan with Nuclear Free Zone declarations (six in just five months), huge rallies (including one of over 1,000 people outside the Governor's home and another at the State Capitol), lawsuits, and the promise of human roadblocks. Several more NFZ campaigns within the county are underway.

SOURCE: The New Abolitionist, November/December 1986 and February/March 1987 issues.

SOUTH AFRICA INITIATIVES

UPDATE ON SELECTIVE INVESTMENT AND CONTRACTING

In the last issue of *The Bulletin*, we reported that the jurisdictions now selectively investing funds or selectively entering contracts with firms not doing business in South Africa has topped 100: 70 cities, 13 counties, and 19 states. In the last three months, four cities and one county have joined: Denver, Colorado (pension funds divested); Durham, North Carolina (pension funds divested and selective purchasing); Ft. Worth, Texas (\$27 million in pension funds divested); Menlo Park, California (see article below); and Tomkins County, New York (pension funds divested).

In addition, the state of Michigan, which has already partially divested, has commence selective purchasing.

Contact: Rob Jones, American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212-962-1210).

LOS ANGELES REQUIRES ASHLAND OIL TO PUT UP MILLION DOLLAR BOND

The city of Los Angeles has shown how a selective purchasing ordinance can be creatively used to change corporate behavior. Before allowing Daniel, Mann, Johnson and Mendenhall, an engineering firm owned by Ashland Oil, to receive an \$11 million contract to help upgrade the City's sewage facilities, the city required Ashland Oil to commit itself to pulling out of South Africa within two months. It also required Ashland Oil to deposit \$1 million as an "unconditional and irrevocable letter of credit" that would be paid to the city at a rate of \$20,000 per day for every day Ashland remains in South Africa past the deadline.

Mark Fabiani, legal counsel to Mayor Tom Bradley, applauded the move: "It sends a message to these other companies that if they want to do business with the city, the shell game arrangement is not going to be enough here. People are going to look at Ashland and say, 'If we want to do business in L.A. and other cities that may follow L.A.'s example, we will have to fully divest."

Contact: Mark Fabiani, Assistant to Mayor Bradley, (213-485-3311); Los Angeles Times, Victor Merina, "Firm to Cut South Africa Ties to Win L.A. Pact" October 29, 1986, Metro p.1

NEW YORK MODIFIES SELECTIVE CONTRACTING REGULATIONS

The last issue of The Bulletin reported how the Federal Department of Transportation (DOT) accused New York City of violating federal competitive bidding guidelines with its antiapartheid selective purchasing law. The DOT threatened to cut off federal funding for the city's transportation contracts unless the law was changed.

Opponents of the regulations had hoped that this would lead New York City to rescind its entire selective purchasing ordinance. Instead, the city only amended the law with respect to its

transportation contracts.

SOURCE: Glenn Rubinstein, Assistance to Council Member Ruth Messinger, 212-566-5068

MENLO PARK DIVESTS

In late November, the City Council of Menlo Park, California, adopted by a three-to-one vote (with the mayor abstaining) regulations forbidding investments in South African firms or government securities and in American companies with South African subsidiaries. The city also resolved not do business with banks making loans or doing business with South African corporations.

A staff report recommended the stringent clause forbidding investments in U.S. corporations with South African subsidiaries, even though it conceded that the provision "is considered too broad to be manageable since it would eliminate many major U.S. banks and many of the smaller

ones, too."

SOURCE: Barbara Wood, "Menlo's Tough Stance," The Peninsula Times-Tribune, November 26, 1986.

JACKSONVILLE DECLARES APARTHEID AWARENESS DAY

In early 1986, forty organizations in Jacksonville, Florida, sponsored an Apartheid Awareness Program, in which more than 600 local citizens listened to political refugees from South Africa. The forty organizations then organized a petition drive that ultimately prompted Mayor Jake M. Godbold to declare June 16, 1986, as Apartheid Awareness Day "in recognition of the 10th Anniversary of the black uprising in Soweto and in further recognition of the outpouring of concern from the local grass roots level and throughout the organizations and institutions of this city."

SOURCE: Mayor Jake M. Godbold, City Hall, 220 East Bay St., Jacksonville, FL 32202-3492

HOLLYWOOD MAYOR WRITES CONTROVERSIAL LETTER TO BOTHA

On July 18, 1986, Mara Giulianti, Mayor of Hollywood, Florida, wrote a letter of protest to

P.W. Botha, President of Africa.

"As mayor of Hollywood," Giulianti began, "I strongly abhor the detention of thousands of men, women and children under the state of emergency declared on June 12, 1986, and under permanent security laws.

"I urge the timely release of all political detainees unless they are charged and brought to trial promptly. I respectfully urge you to curb police powers which permit arbitrary arrest and to rescind the immunity from prosecution which has been given in advance to your security forces.

"Furthermore, true justice demands that all prisoners be given immediate access to attorneys, and human decency dictates that you permit the families of the prisoners to see their loved ones.

"On behalf of 125,000 residents of Hollywood, Florida, I urge your government to take immediate steps to end all human rights violations in South Africa and to establish a society which provides equal rights under the law to all citizens. The entire free world is praying for a humane and just resolution to the many complex problems your country faces."

Not all of Hollywood was pleased with Mayor Giulianti's outspokenness. Commissioner John T. Williams wrote that the mayor is "certainly entitled to her opinion, but I'm also entitled to mine, as is each and every one of the 125,000 citizens of this

city, and for her to suggest that she speaks for all of us established a new high for the definition of CHUTZPAH."

"It is patently absurd for Hollywood politicians to stick their noses into the affairs of another country, but if such a cockeyed thing was to be done then I must ask, where were her similar

letters of condemnation to Gorbachev, Castro, Ortega, and countless others in the world who, by comparison, make Botha look like a Boy Scout."

SOURCE: The Sun-Tattler, July 30, 1986, pp. 6A-7A.

SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

DETROIT SOLIDIFIES SISTER CITY RELATIONSHIP WITH **MINSK**

As part of its growing sister city relationship with Minsk in the Soviet Union, Detroit Council Member Clyde Cleveland introduced the following resolution in July 1986:

Representatives of Detroit and Minsk WHEREAS

have exchanged visits, and;

It is our fervent hope to pursue ways in **WHEREAS**

which to maintain and expand communication between Detroit and

Minsk; and

We wish to encourage continuing WHEREAS

exchanges between educational and cultural organizations, particularly on the museum, performing arts and

university level; and

We encourage joint efforts between **WHEREAS**

the Wayne State University Center for Peace and Conflict Studies and the Minsk University and Minsk Peace Committee and Friendship Society for

Joint Studies in achieving peace; and We encourage joint efforts in medical

research, especially in the areas of alcoholism, cancer and cardiovascular

treatment: and

WHEREAS We encourage continuing exchanges

> in the area of athletic activity with the possiblity of annual visits to sports arenas in Detroit and Minsk; and

WHEREAS We encourage exchanges of

Department Heads in areas such as

Recreation and Youth Programs, Building Safety and Engineering, Police Commission, Water and Sewerage, Health and Consumer

Affairs; and

We should make arrangements for an WHEREAS exchange of trade exhibits between

Detroit and Minsk; NOW THEREFORE

BEIT

That the Mayor and Governor be RESOLVED

requested to extend a formal invitation

to Chairman Gorbachev to visit Detroit, upon his United States visit; AND BE

IT FURTHER

RESOLVED That the Detroit City Council and our

guests from Minsk on this 2nd day of July, 1986, pledge never to cease working for peace throughout the

world.

SOURCE: Councilman Mel Ravitz, 1340 City

County Building, Detroit, MI 48226.

DULUTH DEVELOPS TIES WITH PETROZAVODSK

Council Member Joyce Benson sent the following report of Duluth's sister city relationship with Petrozavodsk in the Soviet Union, which was written by Brooks Anderson.

In early September 1986, a diverse group of thirty-three Duluthians had a powerful lifechanging experience on a trip to the Soviet Union seeking to establish a Sister City relationship with Petrozavodsk....

Preparations for the trip began in late 1982. A group of Duluth citizens got together to talk about seeking a Soviet Sister City....More meetings, a city council resolution, letters to Soviet officials, conversations with other cities on a similar quest, but still no action. In May of 1985, the city of Petrozavodsk was suggested as a good match for Duluth....but how to proceed, how to overcome Soviet reluctance was still the question. More contacts were made, another council resolution, a visit to Petrozavodsk by University of Minnesota at Duluth (UMD) geologist, Dick Ojakangas, but still no response. Finally in April, 1986, the first payoff from two-and-a-half years of probing: the Duluth-Petrozavodsk pairing was given a green light by Soviet Officials.

In putting together the first delegation, care was given to represent as many segments of the community as possible. The group included

WHEREAS

nineteen men and fourteen women, nine students, four retired people, four elected officials, four people who spoke Russian and a good mix of people representing diverse politics and vocations....

The first day of the visit was a bit stiff and formal. They appeared to be as nervous as we were. Mayor Vladimir Dorshacov, a large jovial man, welcomed us with a two hour speech. That evening, when we were entertained by the intelligentsia, it was obvious they took our visit very seriously and our nervousness was fading....

The last two days in Petrozavodsk were...overwhelming! Visits to factories, schools, camps, a day care center, museums, a formal banquet, exchanging gifts, always accompanied by a number of media people, kept us on the go steadily. In the midst of the busy schedule, there were many strong personal experiences, people emotionally expressing how much our visit meant to them as a mission of peace....At the formal banquet reception, the mayor assured us their City Soviet (the local governing body) would approve our request for a sister city relationship in November. He also indicated they would accept our invitation to send three athletes and a coach to the Grandma's Marathon in June of 1987.

We knew in advance that Duluth and Petrozavodsk were much alike; both overlooking a large lake with ocean accessibility, both with lumbering, iron mining, a paper mill, similar terrain and a large Finnish population. We also knew that some Finns had gone over there from our region in the thirties to help develop Karelia (the state/region in which Petroza-vodsk lies). That knowledge proved to be a very important connection and a strong theme in our experience....We are hopeful that our Sister City project can help restore communications and heal old wounds caused by that migration some fifty years ago.

....Karelia is called the land of 60,000 lakes. Sound familiar? We hope people all over the region will take an interest in this project. Maybe we can be a catalyst for other city affiliations. Maybe Minnesota-Karelia as sister states....

SOURCE: Joyce Benson, 102 City Hall, Duluth, MN 5580 (218-723-3711).

NEW ORLEANS TOUTS TRADE WITH THE SOVIETS

In an interview with The Journal of U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council (10:2, 1985), Edward S. Reed, Executive Port Director, Board of Commissions of the Port of New Orleans describes his enthusiasm for improving trade relations with the Soviet Union.

JOURNAL: How much tonnage passes through the Port of New Orleans?

MR. REED: The Soviet account is a very major one. Approximately nine percent of all the cargo tonnage handled in this area is Soviet cargo. We handle about 33 percent of all two-way Soviet cargo. We handle 43 percent of all imports from the Soviet Union to the United States. This area handles about 3,200,000 tons of cargo to and from the Soviet Union each year, with a considerable postive economic impact each year.

JOURNAL: The area, or the Port?

MR. REED: The area. And I'm talking about the dollar flow. The dollar just doesn't stop at the waterfront. There are seamen's wages, bunkers, lawyers fees -- the whole gamut of things. It works out to a rule of thumb of about \$15 a ton for bulk cargo and \$44 a ton for general cargo. The economic impact is about \$60 million a year, which is very substantial. A less hard figure to pin down, but one that's based on nationwide studies made by the federal government, is the job impact. It probably accounts for from three to five thousand jobs. Which is a lot of jobs. It's not just the port, it extends out through the area. It's extremely important to us. It's important enough that we don't want to lose it. We make a point of going into the Soviet Union at least once a year, either out of this office or our office in Germany, to make contacts there, to see if there are any problems or to work out any problems we have.

JOURNAL: Who are your contacts in the Soviet Union?

MR. REED: We meet a whole gamut of people -- the Ministry of Merchant Marine and people from the different groups actually handling the types of cargo too. And, of course, the people who are dealing with the grain, vodka, tractors, insulated pipeline tape and the like.

JOURNAL: Do you find it easy to deal with the Soviets?

MR. REED Yes. They are experienced maritime people, sound practical businessmen.

JOURNAL: Does much of these products pass through the Port of New Orleans?

MR. REED: Almost all of it. For example, in 1984, 2,700,000 tons of corn, 347,000 tons of soybeans, 46,000 short tons of rubber and plastic articles, 31,000 tons of oils and fats, 20,000 tons of cotton...

JOURNAL: How long has this been going on?

MR. REED: Ouite a number of years. In fact, before we had the deterioration in international relations, we had two Soviet cruise ships operating out of the Port of New Orelans as home base for their voyages.

JOURNAL: Do you expect increased Soviet use of the Port of New Orleans in the near future?

MR. REED: Yes. There are many optimistic signs that point to better relations between our two countries....All is sure to have a positive effect on trade relations.

TALLAHASSEE DEVELOPS SISTER TIES WITH KRASNODAR

In the spring of 1984, a group of citizens from Tallahassee, Florida began to explore the possibility of developing a sister city relationship with Krasnodar. That summer, the Tallahassee City Commissioners unanimously passed a resolution requesting a sister city relationship. In the years since, Tallahassee has sent several citizens' delegations carrying children's artwork, photographs of Tallahasseeans, and bags of gifts. The following article, published in the Soviet Union, was written by Yuri Zenyuk, a Novosti Press Agency correspondent.

The delegation from Tallahassee, Florida, which visited Kranodar, a city in the southern European part of the USSR, at the end of August, presented their host city with a small magnet to symbolize the mutual interest that the two towns have in each other. The 17 Tallahasseans brought not only souvenirs with them but also a letter from their mayor, Jack McLean.

In his letter, Mayor McLean expressed his wish

to continue developing the sister city relationship between Tallahassee and Krasnodar and extended an invitation to a delegation from Krasnodar to pay a return visit to Tallahassee. It looks like this trip

will take place in the near future.

Today, Tallahassee is familiar to the overwhelming majority of the 700,000 people living in Krasnodar because of the activity of the "Tallahassee-Krasnodar Sister City Program" organization which was set up three years ago. In August of last year, Tallahassee sent its first delegation to the Soviet Union. The visit received much coverage in the local press. The members of the delegation met with hundreds of people from Krasnodar and the surrounding area. Many children and grownups from Krasnodar have seen the exhibition of children's drawings from Tallahassee, which was on view in different exhibition halls for a whole year.

This time the delegation which, like last year, was headed by Robert Broedel, trip coordinator of the Tallahassee-Krasnodar Sister City Program, was received by Eduart Smychkovsky, Deputy Mayor of Krasnodar, along with a group of prominent deputies of the City Soviet (the local governing body). Attending the meeting was also one of the few residents of Krasnodar who has been to Tallahassee -- Vasili Machuga, five-time world gymnastics champion, who heads the Krasnodar Territory branch of the Soviet Peace

Fund. He expressed the hope that many of his fellow townsfolk would soon be visiting

Tallahassee, too.

During the six days the American guests spent in Kuban -- as Krasnodar Territory is often called, the same as the name of its main river -- they managed to considerably expand the number of people involved in developing the friendly ties between the two sister cities....

Professor Lindsey Sarjeant (piano), Pamela S. Laws (vocal), Samual C. Tedder (saxophone) and Rene R. Arbogast (flugelhorn) gave two concerts -- in the city philharmonic society and in the palace of culture of the local cotton mill -- which were a great success. The money earned from the second one was donated to the Soviet Peace Fund, a gesture which the entire audience enthusiastically applauded. Before the concert the American delegation had a meeting with the young workers of the cotton mill, where they exchanged addresses with many young men and women.

A specific feature of this year's visit [was a series of meetings between different interest groups. Thus, a group of guests led by Professor Augustus B. Turnbull, Provost of the Florida State University, met with the administration of Kuban State University, at which they agreed to exchange information and scientific work. Dr. Ruth F. Mitchell, an administrator of the Tallahassee Public School system, concluded a similar agreement with Vadim Kvasha, head of the Krasnodar public education department, whom she gave a new collection of drawings by young Tallahassee artists. And peace activist Edward S. Green visited the Krasnodar Peace Committee together with a group of members of the delegation.

"Our towns must become one," said Valeri Anorin, 22, a worker at the Krasnodar Cotton Mill. "Let all the other towns establish sister relationships, too, so that in the future all the people in the world will have the benefit of these relations."

"It is a very good thing," said Archbishop Vladimir of Krasnodar and Kuban. "It leads to more contacts, more active exchanges of information and knowledge and a buildup of trust. Today, when the destiny of peace greatly depends upon our two powers, these relations are particularly important...."

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

TRENTON BRINGS MOSCOW A SHADE CLOSER TO THE HUDSON

Mercer County Chamber of Commerce President Shelley Zieger has finally achieved his longtime goal of involving New Jersey's state capitol in a relationship with the Soviet Union. Zieger, who privately imports Russian toys and handicrafts, has linked up the city of Trenton with the Lenin District of Moscow.

Negotiations began in 1985 when Zieger led a group of private citizens and county and state representatives on a trip to Moscow. A return visit by the Chairman of the Lenin district is expected in 1987, at which time the sister-community relationship will be formalized. Meanwhile, a number of cultural exchanges have already taken place. In 1986, Trenton hosted Leningrad's reknowned Kirov Ballet and began a children's art exchange. Later this year, the Bolshoi Ballet plans to visit Trenton; in return, Trenton's youth orchestra will travel to Moscow. Also, a group from the National Water Well Association will visit their Soviet counterparts in Moscow for the purpose of exchanging technical information.

SOURCE: Margarie S. Schkolnick, Communications Director, Mercer County Chamber of Commerce, 625 Prospect St., Trenton, NJ 08608 (609-394-1000)

TRADE AND COMMERCE

MAYOR ANDREW YOUNG ASKS CITIES, HOW CAN WE "GET OUR SHARE"?

At the 1986 Congress of the National League of Cities in San Antonio, Texas, Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta, Georgia, gave the following address.

International trade is here. It's all around us. The question is: How can we get our share? I became concerned about this when I first went to Congress. As a member of the Banking Committee, I suddenly realized...that the USA had a \$7 billion trade deficit with Nigeria. There was no reason for that. Nigeria had 100 million people, they want almost everything made in America, and we were buying \$7 billion more goods from Nigeria than we were selling them. At that time, we were disturbed because the United States was running a \$25 billion trade deficit. Now our trade deficit is \$157 billion.... We can't continue to

run as a deficit nation. In the meantime, we in local governments are forced to make adjustments to these kinds of economic dislocations in the global economy....

LOCAL TRADE INITIATIVES PAY OFF

If other people are generating much more of a cash surplus than we are, and we need new investment, expansion, and growth, then we probably need to find a way to get some of that money coming our way. Fortunately, most of us, particularly those of us from the South, have been blessed by governors that saw this 8, 10, 12 years ago. In fact, Jimmy Carter, as Governor of Georgia, started back in 1972-1973, and opened trade offices in Brussels and Tokyo. And Georgia has been promoting and attempting to attract international investment into the state since that time. It was propitious that they did that -- we now are beginning to see benefits of it. In my first term as mayor, we brought \$29 billion worth of

new investment into Atlanta. And we generated about 300,000 new jobs. Most of that was foreign investment. And we did it realizing that even though there was a state office, the state office by its charter is devoted to dealing with the small towns and rural areas of the state. They were not

really promoting Atlanta....

I think we basically lost a big Nissan Motors plant to Tennessee because they wanted to be near a big city and the Georgia Department of Industry and Trade was trying to send them down into South Georgia, the hometown of the governor... If we had made two proposals from Georgia -- one from a small town and one from a big city -- we would have had two shots at the big factory. We didn't. We left it to the state and so we got left. But Knoxville got a nice Nissan Motors plant, and we don't begrudge them that. We've probably gotten more than our fair share anyway.

It's there for the asking. There's an estimate that there's \$200 billion worth of surplus Japanese capital alone that's got to relocate outside of Japan. It's looking favorably up on the United States, and it's not particularly favoring the areas that have traditionally been occupied by Japanese investment -- that is, the West Coast region. They're looking at Texas, they're looking at Tennessee, they're

looking at Georgia.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PERSONAL CONTACT

You've got to find a way -- preferably through your state office -- to be available to make personal contacts with people who are coming here. There are people who come on trade missions and investment missions who really want to talk to the mayor. In most foreign countries, mayors have a lot more power and earn a lot more respect than in this country. If people are going to put in a million [dollars] or \$30 million, that's going to take 10, 20 years to bring a return on the investment. They want to be able to go home and say, "Well, I've talked to the political leadership." So you have to make yourself available. Receive them in the office. Give them a little book. It's old fashioned public relations. I don't think that people invest where they don't feel comfortable.

We don't have any international promotion budget. We did that deliberately because everyone criticized me for being more interested in being overseas than I was in filling in potholes and picking up garbage. . . . We also didn't want it to cost the taxpayer any money. Since somebody is going to make the money off international investment, let him pay for it. So when we have international visitors, we just pick up the phone and ask the companies that are likely to do business

with them: Will they host the dinner? Will they pick up the hotel bill? Will they provide some souvenirs? It builds a relationship with the business community that doesn't cost the taxpayer any money.

. . .

There is probably some international affairs person with your chamber of commerce. I'm sitting down with the international vice-president of the chamber when I get back, and we're planning trade missions and other kinds of things that the chamber and city hall can do together over the next two years. . . . (For example,) we know that Delta is going to start flying to Tokyo. So that was a good excuse to make the innaugural flight on Delta from Atlanta to Tokyo a trade mission, where they give the Chamber of Commerce a cut rate. And we're going to take a delegation of chamber members, who'll pay their own way, and if enough of them go, that pays my way. Our problem has been that too many people want to go.

Again, those kinds of trade missions and groups sponsored by the business community don't cost the city anything and they are a very good opportunity to get the business community personal contacts with other countries. The mayor can get appointments to see people that business men and women by themselves will never get to see. In Japan, particularly with the Export Trade Organization, if a mayor of political figure is along, they will host some things for you and they will receive you. But if a businessman goes by

himself, he gets no attention.

WE JUST HAVEN'T MADE THE EFFORT

Everyone has something to export. . . . New Iberia, Louisiana has tabasco all over the world. Nothing more worthless than Coca-Cola, and yet they sell Coca-Cola everywhere. It's an international symbol of the American way of life, and people want the American way of life.... America dominates the world culturally. So you have to assume that anything American will sell anywhere in the world.

Why is it that we have a \$150 billion trade deficit? Because we haven't been trying to sell anything. We've been content to let people come here, and if they want to buy something from us, they take it back. But we've never made any effort to export our goods and services. And that's what we're saying in the National League of Cities. Even when the federal government gets tied up in excuses, like the dollar's too strong, we at the local level can't, [rely on excuses] because there are always jobs contingent on the sales of our local

companies.

I could go on with the little success stories of putting one businessman who wants something in touch with a local businessman who makes something. A black woman florist went with us on a trade mission to Trinidad and Tobago. And I figured she was just wasting her company's money, but she set up a network to import cut flowers from the Carribean. And she can import cut flowers from the Carribean and distribute them to a consortium of Atlanta florists cheaper than she could get them from California or Holland. Plus she is now getting a variety of flowers from the Carribean she couldn't get from California. And so she ended up getting into a major business venture.

The next thing you have to do is make an assessment of what it is you have in your city that's saleable. Then you have to find out where is the best potential market. That means having somebody take some time just to ask the question: who has money? The Bahamas, for instance, is right near by. They still get most of their goods from England. And yet a third of their tourism comes through Atlanta. Somebody in Atlanta ought to be selling something in the Bahamas.

I never knew anything about Burkina-Fasso. But the Mayor of Decatur, Georgia, was in the Peace Corps in Burkina-Fasso, and so when he became mayor, he set up a sister city relationship with Burkina-Fasso. Now they are using the University of Georgia to give technical assistance. There's an exchange program. There are business exchanges. Some folk are going to make some money, and some good is going to be done.

TRADE IS OUR BEST FOREIGN POLICY

The internationalization of the world economy is here to stay. No nation will be able to survive without exporting. No nation will be able to continue the growth of its own economy without importing some goods and services. Meanwhile, our federal government seems to get all tied up. I mean, Nicaragua makes no sense at all. Nicaragua is three million people. Anything they decided to do makes absolutely no difference. Mexico is a problem. If Mexico doesn't do right, half the people of Mexico will be in San Antonio in ten years. No amount of Marine guard on the border can stop that.

The big crisis of the world is an economic crisis -- it's a crisis that's going to be solved by trade and development. In the absence of a national policy on trade and development, I think there's a real role cities can play. Cities can play it in the manner I've talked about -- working with

your state trade agencies, working with your chamber of commerce, and working with your local business.

But also, we have a couple of hidden trump cards in cities. One is the sister city program. The other is the foreign students that are studying in our communities. In order to get here, they've got to be fairly smart; they've also got to be fairly rich. They almost all will represent the leading political and economic families from the countries

that they come from.

The business is there and the money is there. The services that the world needs are in our cities. We've just got to find a way to link them up. And I think we as local elected officials offer one of the world's best opportunities for building new economic bridges that hopefully will help our trade deficit and keep more Americans working. Ironically, that's also the way we're going to feed the hungry. That's the way we're going to heal the sick. That's the way we're going to clothe the naked and house the homeless. There's a moral, political, and economic component to the whole question of world trade. I'm just glad that we're finally beginning to take it seriously as cities and as a nation.

ILLINOIS NOW FUNDING STATE EXPORTS

State promotion of international trade has taken a major step forward with Illinois, closely followed by several other states, announcing that it will now help finance state exports. According to a recent report in *The Christian Science Monitor*, since last summer the Illinois Export Development Authority has provided financial and administrative assistance to small to medium-size Illinois businesses.

The Illinois Export Development Authority has thus far lent \$7 million from a pool of \$15 million, which it raised through the sale of special export development revenue bonds. It has legislative authority to raise a total of \$100 million through

revenue bond sales.

The loans are designed to help exporters who cannot obtain commercial loans. Typically the Illinois Export Development Authority will lend 90 percent of the gross invoice value of an export transaction, and a commercial lender will cover the rest. Both loans are insured against loss and political risk by the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

Facing such low risks, Illinois banks have rushed to participate; 19 banks have been approved to date, and 27 others have applied. Illinois officials hope that one result of the program will be that local banks become increasingly involved in international finance and provide export assistance

loans to the many businesses that cannot qualify for state loans.

Michigan, Nevada, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia are now drafting legislation to create their own export financing authorities, and several other states are studying the idea.

SOURCE: Daniel Utroska, "Illinois Takes Lead In State Export Financing," Christian Science Monitor, December 16, 1986, p. 23.

DOES YOUR CITY NEED A WORLD TRADE CENTER?

According to a recent pamphlet by Triad, a real estate research and development company, a World Trade Center "is not just another office building." It is a facility where international traders can shop for goods, finance, and transportation. It is also a place where one can easily find facilities for translation, offices, meetings, and displays.

Triad reports that 16 U.S. cities either have or

are building World Trade Centers:

Atlanta, Georgia Baltimore, Maryland Columbus, Ohio Dallas, Texas Fort Lauderdale, Florida Greensboro, North Carolina Houston, Texas Mobile, Alabama New Orleans, Louisiana New York, New York Norfolk, Virginia Orlando, Florida Portland, Oregon St. Paul, Minnesota Tacoma, Washington Toledo, Ohio

Outside the United States, some 42 cities have World Trade Centers either operating or under contstruction:

Abidjan, Ivory Coast
Amsterdam, Netherlands
Antwerp, Netherlands
Bangkok, Thailand
Basel, Switzerland
Bogota, Columbia
Bombay, India
Brussels, Belgium
Cairo, Egypt
Copenhagen, Denmark

Dubai, United Arab Emigrates Edmonton, Canada Eindhoven, Netherlands Geneva, Switzerland Genoa, Italy Gothenburg, Sweden Halifax, Canada Hong Kong Jeddah, Saudi Arabia Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia Le Harve, France Leiden, Netherlands Lisbon, Portugal London, Great Britain Madrid, Spain Marseille, France Melbourne, Australia Milan, Italy Montreal, Canada Moscow, Soviet Union Nantes, France Paris, France Porto Alegre, Brazil Rotterdam, Netherlands Seoul, South Korea Singapore, Singapore Strasbourg, France Taipei, Taiwan Tel Aviv, Israel Tokyo, Japan Toronto, Canada Vancouver, Canada

SOURCE: The Triad Companies, 142 State St., P.O. Box 7269 Capitol Station, Albany, NY 12224 (518-465-4997).

CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR WARNS JAPANESE ON TRADE BARRIERS

In his recent trip to Japan, California Governor George Deukmejian, a moderate Republican, bluntly told Japanese politicians and businessmen that their trade barriers were "unacceptable... unreasonable...and unfair", and he urged them to join his fight against protectionism.

Meeting with the prestigious Japanese Federation of Economic Organizations, also known as the Keidanren, Deukmejian warned, "Nothing less than the swift elimination of Japanese barriers will defuse the trend toward retaliation in Washington, D.C." Deukmejian called on the Japanese to stimulate consumer demand and end predatory pricing practices

undercutting California's semiconductor industry.

"Unacceptable quotas, unreasonable quarantine requirements and unfair standards," he said, "shield domestic farmers from worldwide competition. Procurement procedures continue to discriminate

against foreign trade firms."

Before a meeting of 120 Japanese business executives, Deukmejian specifically asked that California construction firms be allowed to bid on a \$6 billion Kansai airport project that will be built on a manmade island in Osaka Bay: "Failure to open this project to bid proposals by California firms would be a profound disappointment in our state." Whether or not the governor's speech was responsible, American businessmen were encouraged when the Japanese government announced that Bechtel Civil Engineering, Inc., of San Francisco won a \$200,000 consulting contract for the Kansai project.

In a brief meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, Deukmejian reaffirmed his commitment to battle protectionism in the United States. He carried with him a letter from President Reagan, which introduced Deukmejian as "my long-time good friend and colleague" and expressed hope that California's new trade and economic development office in Tokyo would strengthen relations between the United States and Japan.

At his various stops, Deukmejian suggested that if Japan did not soon take concrete steps to lower its trade barriers, not only would he abandon his anti-protectionist stance but he also might recommend that California reimpose its unitary tax (which bases state corporate taxation on worldwide assets, payroll, and sales, irrespective of the profitability of the local branch) -- a tax loathed by Japanese businessmen.

Akiro Morita, the chairman of Sony Corp., responded to Deukmejian's message by explaining Japan's frustration in waiting ten years for California to change its unitary tax. "We exercised our patience," he said. "We hope that the American side will also exercise patience."

Deukmejian's large interest in Japan is hardly surprising, given that California has the highest volume of trade with Japan of all the 50 states. In addition, California attracts the lion's share of Japanese investment in the United States -- 45% in 1985.

SOURCE: Robert B. Gunnison, "Deukmejian Talks Tough in Japan on Trade Barriers," San Francisco Chronicle, January 20, 1987, p.1; Robert B. Gunnison, "Deukmejian Tours Tokyo School," San Francisco Chronicle, January 22, 1987, p. 21; and, Guy Wright, "Japanese Trade," San Francisco Examiner, February 22, 1987, p. A-11.

THE CALIFORNIA WORLD TRADE COMMISSION TRIES OPENING AGRICULTURAL MARKETS IN ASIA

The California Department of Food and Agriculture and the California World Trade Commission have both been assisting state farmers to open Asian markets to the state's agricultural exports. According to Anne Burton, an agricultural trade specialist for the World Trade Commission, Japan has thwarted California's exports with quotas on citrus and beef imports, bans on commercial rice and nectarine imports, and high taxes and tariffs on wines. Taiwan, she adds, is just as bad, adding 50% to the price of citrus and nearly as much on the price of raisins. Both countries are regarded as the top two markets for growth in California agricultural exports.

The state's role in export promotion accelerated in 1985, when it surpassed Illinois and Iowa as as the top agricultural exporter in the country.

SOURCE: Sally Lehrman, "State Farms Push to Enter Asian Markets," San Francisco Examiner, January 18, 1987, D-1.

CALIFORNIA OPENS SECOND TRADE OFFICE IN LONDON

After creating a successful trade office in Tokyo, California is now opening a second trade office in London. In mid-April, Governor George Deukmejian officially dedicated the office and immediately began pressing British officials to allow more U.S. films to be shown on government-controlled English television.

Deukmejian's remarks followed the advice of the California World Trade Commission, which flagged television programming as a major concern

of the California film industry.

British Trade Minister Paul Channon countered that series such as "Dallas" and "Dynasty" were inappropriate for English audiences and cautioned, "I wouldn't try to build your case [for increased trade] on trying to export American television over here.

Like the Tokyo office, the London office was set up to promote California products abroad and to attract foreign investment into California -- not just British investment but also investment from Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Deukmejian also urged the British to widen their markets for California aerospace, telecommunications, and agricultural products.

SOURCE: George Skelton, "Deukmejian Opens State Trade Office in London," Los Angeles Times, April 14, 1987, p. 1.

III. RESOURCES

BOOKS

ROOTS OF PEACE. By Eric Shragge, et al., eds., (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1986) -- This book contains an interesting chapter on "Community Disarmament Initiatives" written by Andrea Levy.

CONFERENCES

Seattle's U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference

On May 21 to 23, the city of Seattle will be hosting the largest conference on Soviet-American sister cities ever planned. Sponsored by the U.S. Sister Cities International and the Soviet Association for Relations between Soviet and Foreign Cities, the conference will examine successful models for citizen exchange, business and trade relationships, and will include discussion of shared urban problems such as transportation, education, and alcoholism. It will also foster discussion of ways in which more Soviet-American sister relationships can be established.

Among those addressing the conference will be: Charles Royer, Mayor of Seattle; Stephen Rhinesmith, Coordinator of the President's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative; Richard Neuheisel, President of Sister Cities International; Steve Kalishman, Director of the Gainesville-Novorossiisk Sister City Program; and David Hunt, Director of the Salem-Simferopol Sister City Program.

Further information is available from: Eric Swenson, U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference, 630 Randolph Place, Seattle, WA 98122 (206-232-4550).

Ottawa's Capitals of the World Conference

This coming October 20 to 23, the Canadian International Development Agency will put on the first "Capitals of the World Conference" in Ottawa. Through the leadership of Ottawa Mayor Jim Durrell, the conference has been designed to encourage dialogue and exchange among the world's capitals. Mayors, planners, and administrators will examine rapid urbanization, population growth, and other issues faced by every city, as well as those questions unique to national capitals.

As of March 17, 1987, those confirming their attendance include the mayors of Amman (Jordan), Baghdad (Iraq), Beijing (China), Beirut (Lebanon), Brasilia (Brazil), Colombo (Sri Lanka), Dakar (Senegal), Jakarta (Indonesia), the Hague (Netherlands), Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia),

Lilongwe (Malawi), Lima (Peru), Lisbon (Portugal), London (United Kingdom), Mogadishu (Somalia), Port-of-Spain (Trinidad and Tobago), Sa'na (Yemen Arab Republic), and Washington, D.C. (United States).

Contact: Mairi A. Murchison, Conference Program Officer, City Hall, 111 Sussex Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1N 5A1 (613-564-

1448).

Nuclear Free Zone Conferences

At the Third International Conference of Nuclear Free Zone Local Authorities in Perugia, Italy (see story on p. 16), another conference was announced for nuclear free zones in Europe and around the North Atlantic. This conference will be held in Coventry or Birmingham in conjunction with the European Nuclear Disarmament Convention, on July 15 to 19, 1987.

The Australian Nuclear Free Zones Secretariat has announced that it will hold the first meeting of nuclear free local authorities located on the Pacific Ocean in Blackwell, Australia, during July 17 to

21.

Contact: Information on both conferences is available from Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575). Additional information about the Australian conference is available from Alderman Morrie Mifsud, 150 Bougainville Road, Blackett 2770, Australia 628-0801.

Seattle's National U.S. - Nicaragua Sister City Conference

The 1987 National U.S.- Nicaragua Sister City Conference will bring together citizens and elected officials from cities across the U.S. which have already established or are interested in establishing sister city ties with Nicaragua. The conference, which will be held June 26, 27 and 28, will include seminars with representatives from the Nicaraguan National Sister Cities Office, the Ministries of, Health, Education and Culture, the Office of the Mayor of Managua and the Governor of Region 5 Central Nicaragua. Topics for discussion include: sister schools, clinics and churches; cultural and educational exchange; sending and receiving delegations; and commercial exchanges. The Conference's featured speaker will be Commandante Monica Baltodano, Vice Minister of the Ministry of the Presidency of Nicaragua. Cultural events during the conference will include the Nicarguan National Art Exhibit, and Dimension Costeña, a Nicaraguan musical group.

Contact: Seattle-Managua Sister Cities Information, P.O. Box 24883 Seattle, Washington

98124 (206-329-2974).

TOURS

New Zealand Peace Tour

Nuclear Free America is sponsoring a tour to New Zealand November 5th through 22nd. The tour is aimed at introducing Americans interested in promoting peace to leading government officials and activists in New Zealand. This will enable them to discuss their experiences and strategies in promoting a nuclear-free world.

For further information, contact Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575).

PUBLICATIONS

TOP 50 NUCLEAR WEAPONS CONTRACTORS -- Nuclear Free America has an updated list of the nation's top 50 nuclear weapons contractors and their consumer products. It is available from Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575).

STATE OR LOCAL INITIATIVES AND REFERENDUMS TO REVERSE THE GLOBAL ARMS RACE: AN ACTION MANUAL -- The Initiative Resource Center has just published an excellent manual describing the hundreds of initiatives and referenda that various states and municipalities have passed to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race. It begins with a state-by state analysis of the different measures, the campaigns for and against, and the political possibilities for new campaigns. It then examines every state's laws regarding how to get an initiative onto the ballot.

A chart from the booklet showing the initiative and referendum petition requirements in every state appears below.

The Action Manual is available from the Initiative Resource Center for \$5 per copy: P.O.Box 65023, Washington, D.C. 20035 (202-387-8030).

STATEWIDE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM REQUIUREMENTS

Key to Abbreviations

GV = Total votes cast for office of governor at preceding gubernatorial election

TV = Total votes cast at preceding general election

PV = Total votes cast at preceding presidential election

RV = Total registered voters

SV = Total votes cast for office of secretary of state at preceding election

(S) = Statutes

(C) = Constitutional Amendments

		ATIVE UTES NUMBER	CONSTITE AMEND PERCENT		NUMBERS GIVEN VALID UNTIL	PETITION DEADLINES ('88 BALLOT)	REFERENDUM PERCENT
Alaska	10% TV	18,253			1989	1/11/88	10% TV
Arizona	10% GV	86,699	15% GV	130,048	1991	7/1/88	5% GV
Arkansas	8% GV	55,081	10% GV	68,851	1991	7/1/88	6% GV
Californi	a 5% GV	372,174	8% GV	595,479	1991	6/2/88	5% GV
Colorado	5% SV	50,668	5% SV	50,668	1991	8/3/88	5% SV
Wash. Do	C 5% RV	15,000 ¹			1987 ¹	7/1/88	5% RV
Florida			8% GV	342,939	1989	8/3/88	1,000
Idaho	10% GV	38,743			1991	7/1/88	10% GV
Illinois 2	10% RV	600,381	8% GV	180,813	1991	4/30/88	
Maine	10% GV	42,686			1991	1/24/88	10% GV

	INITIAT STATU PERCENT		CONSTITI AMEND PERCENT		NUMBERS GIVEN VALID UNTIL	PETITION DEADLINES ('88 BALLOT)	REFERENDUM PERCENT
Michigan	8% GV	191,725	10% GV	239,656	1991	(S)5/26/88 (C)7/1/88	5% GV
$Mass.^3$	3 GV	50,525	3% GV	50,525	1991	12/1/87	2% GV
Maryland							3% GV
Missouri	5% GV	105,410	8% GV	168,656	1989	7/1/88	5% GV
Montana	5% GV	18,949	10% GV	37,897	1989	6/25/88	5% GV
Nebraska	7% GV	39,510	10% GV	56,442	1991	7/2/88	5% GV
Nevada	10% TV	26,437	10% TV	26,437	1989	(S)10/15/86 (C)6/6/88	10% TV
New Mexi	со						10% TV
N. Dakota	2% Pop. ⁴	13,055	4% Pop. ⁴	26,110	1991	(S)3/10/88 (C)8/4/88	2% Pop. ⁴
Ohio	3% GV ⁵	91,999	10% GV	306,662	1991	(S)1/5/88 (C)8/4/88	6% GV
Oklahoma	8% TV	72,794	15% TV	136,489	1989	8/1/88	5% GV
Oregon	6% GV	63,578	8% GV	84,770	1991	7/1/88	4% GV
S. Dakota	5% GV	14,723	10% GV	29,444	1991	(S)3/5/88 (C)11/2/87	5%GV
Utah	10% GV	62,962			1989	7/1/87	10% GV
Wash.	8% GV	151,133			1989	7/1/88	4% GV
Wyoming	15% TV	25,298			1989	12/11/87	15% TV

¹Since Washington, D.C.'s petition requirement is based on the number of registered voters, it changes daily.

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²Illinois initiative statutes are non-binding -- that is, they cannot enact legislation, but merely function as people's advice to the legislature. Illinois constitutional initiatives are binding, but their subject matter is restricted to "structural and procedural matters" of the legislative article of the constitution; for example, an initiative to reduce the number of members in the legislature, or create a unicameral legislature.

³ Proponents of the Massachusetts statutory initiatives must submit petitions with an additional one-half percent (about 8,500) signatures seven months after completing their initial petition drive, in order to ensure ballot placement. Massachusetts constitutional initiatives are hampered by the legislature's perogative to block them from the ballot. In no other state does the legislature have this power.

⁴ North Dakota's petition requirement is based on a percentage of the state's total population, as recorded in the decennial census.

⁵ Proponents of the Ohio Initiative statutes must submit petitions with the signatures equal to 3% GV once before the legislature convenes, and again (with an equal number of additional signatures) after the legislature adjourns, to gain ballot placement.

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