

UC Irvine

Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy

Title

Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy - Autumn 1990

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4c9726d5>

Journal

Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy, 4(4)

Author

Center for Innovative Diplomacy

Publication Date

1990-10-01

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution License, available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Peer reviewed

We Don't Just Report History, We Make It...



Larry Agran

Publisher, Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy
Mayor of Irvine, California, 1986-1990

Dear Friend,

Just a few weeks ago, we who believe in the power of local government made history. MFP's parent organization, the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, organized and co-sponsored the "First World Congress of Local Governments for a Sustainable Future." This historic Congress, held at the United Nations in September, gathered together 400 mayors and councilmembers from 200 cities in 45 countries to meet the global environmental emergency head-on. These leading local elected officials shaped state-of-the-art policies concerning protection of the ozone layer, pollution reduction, energy conservation, reforestation, recycling, and solid waste disposal. More than a mere conference, the First World Congress then transformed itself into a *permanent* organization — a "United Nations of Cities" — to lead the way toward restoration of our global environment.

You can read about this historic congress starting on page 10 of this issue of MFP.

As Dr. Noel Brown, Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, confided to us: This was an extraordinary, pioneering event. It was the first time that cities had bypassed sluggish national governments in an effort to save the world's environment. There can be no doubt that we are entering a new era in which *cities* will form global organizations that lead the way not only in environmental affairs but also in the struggle for human rights, democracy, and peace.

You can read about these exciting developments in every issue of MFP as we continue to cover world history — and make it — from our city-based vantage point.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Larry Agran'.

LET'S CONTINUE TO MAKE HISTORY TOGETHER...
USE THE REPLY CARD ON THE REVERSE SIDE TO SUBSCRIBE TO MFP TODAY.

Let's continue to make
history together...

Use the reply card on the back cover to subscribe to MFP.

BULLETIN

MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

MFP

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

Autumn 1990, Vol. 4, No. 4 ■ Three Dollars

Cities and the Environment

The Missing Link



in the New International Order

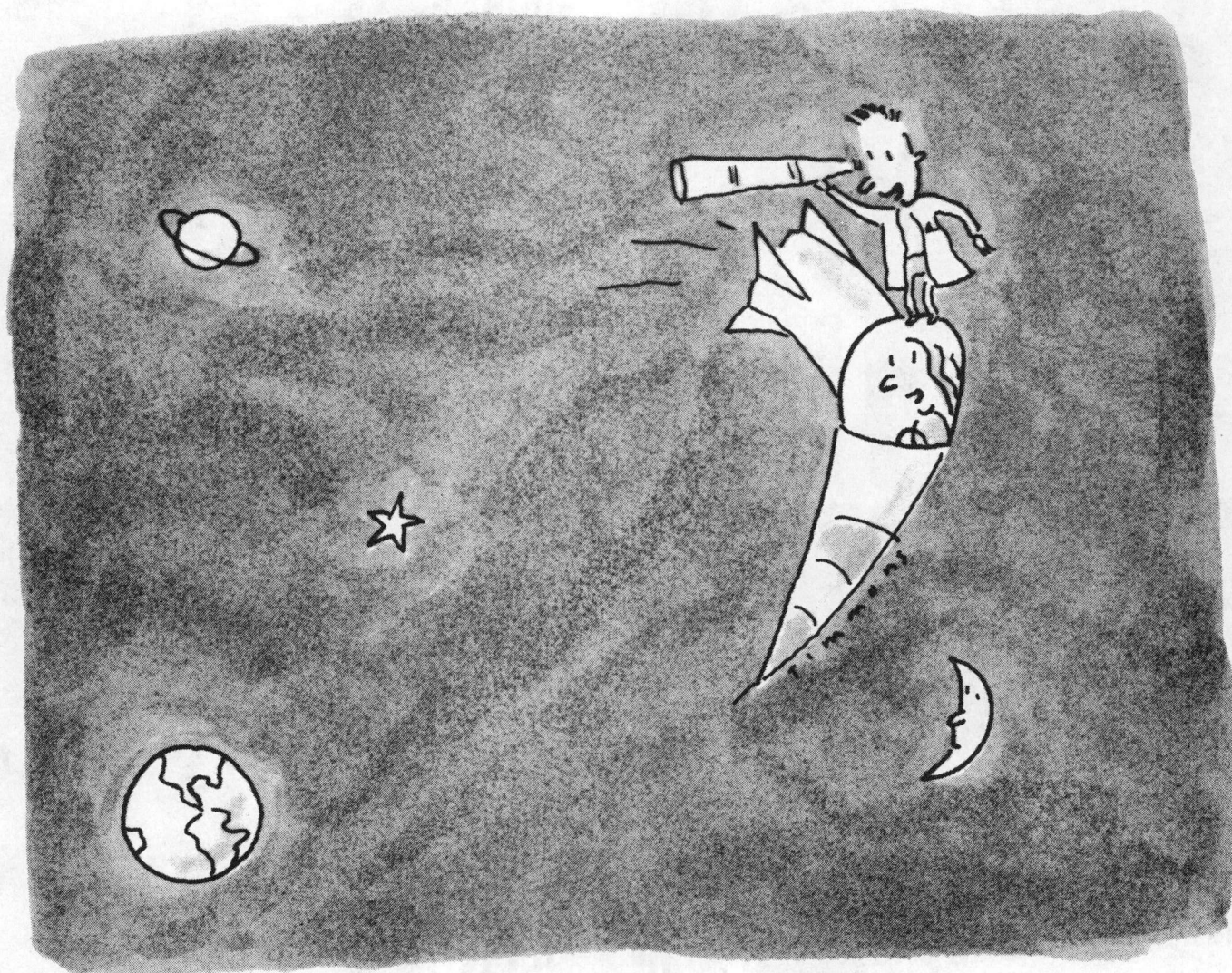
**Michael Closson on the
Peace Dividend & the Mideast**

**What Cities Do When the
Military Leaves Town**

Municipal Coffee Boycott

Eastern Bloc Sister Stampede

**INTERNATIONAL TRADE ■ ENVIRONMENT ■ GWEN TOWERS ■ FAR EAST
CENTRAL AMERICA ■ ECONOMIC CONVERSION ■ GOODWILL ■ SOUTH AFRICA**



Consider The News From A Whole New Perspective.

Journey beyond the headlines to a world of news and knowledge on National Public Radio's All Things Considered.

Whether it's a superpower summit or an expedition to the top of Mount Everest . . . we give each story something

that's missing from most news broadcasts . . . time.

The time we take makes All Things Considered a different kind of news . . . refreshingly intelligent and insightful . . . with commentary that challenges and ideas that energize.

Take a journey through today's news . . .

**ALL
THINGS
CONSIDERED®**

We Think You'll Find The Difference Considerable.

NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO®

PHOTO: COLUMBUS CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU

**COLUMBUS, OHIO.**

A sleeping giant, an entrepreneur's heaven, and one of America's ten best international cities (see page 41).

UP FRONT

- 4 Democracy vs. Gattzilla** by Michael Shuman
An international treaty threatens to undermine efforts by municipalities to protect the environment and the health of their people.

BRIEFS

- 8 Notes from All Over**
In this issue: The undersea world of warheads; immigration and its misconceptions; Nightmare on Elm Street; and much more.

ENVIRONMENT

- 10 The Missing Link** by Nancy Skinner
Representatives from municipalities around the world form an international council to tackle common environmental concerns.
- 13 Atmospheric Protection Update**
- 14 Life Beyond Foam**
- 15 Fighting to Save the Rain Forests**

INTERVIEW

- 16 Michael Closson** - Center for Economic Conversion
The effects of the Persian Gulf intervention upon military spending, the peace dividend and conversion.

EASTERN EUROPE

- 20 East Side Stories** by Richard Trubo
The stampede is on to form sister city ties with communities in the fast-changing eastern European nations.
- 22 A New Democracy**
- 23 Learning About Cities from the Ground Up**

CENTRAL AMERICA

- 24 Sister Cites and Federal Aid** by Sheldon Rampton
After a decade of opposing U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, federal aid now poses a moral question.
- 27 The Courage to Survive**
- 28 Cities Find Grounds for Coffee Boycott**
- 29 U.S. - Nicaragua Sister City Briefs**

ECONOMIC CONVERSION

- 30 A Tale of Two Cities**
After Defense Dept. decisions on military cutbacks and closures, cities in Texas and California head in opposite directions.
- 32 Economic Conversion Briefs**

SOUTH AFRICA

- 34 A Better Future on the Horizon?**
- 35 Cities Marching On: Nelson Mandela**

FAR EAST

- 36 Healing Sino-American Wounds**
- 37 Two Mayors: DiverseViews About a Shared History**

GWEN

- 38 "Not in My Backyard!"**
The Air Force continues to receive static over its planned network of GWEN towers.

TRADE

- 40 Mayor with a Global Vision**
Under Joseph Leafe's leadership, Norfolk has emerged as a major site of international trade.
- 41 Ranking the Ten Best International Cities**
In North America, 10 cities emerged as those that seem like "home away from home" for their international customers.

GOODWILL

- 46 From Shingu to Santa Cruz: "Ganbatte"**
Since the California earthquake of last year, one city emerged with the emotional and financial support of its sister cities.

INSIDE / OUT

- 48 Our Current Affair** by John Simon



Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy

A Quarterly Publication of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy
17931 Sky Park Circle, Suite F • Irvine, California 92714 • 714-250-1296

PUBLISHER
Larry Agran

EDITOR
Richard Trubo

MANAGING EDITOR
John Simon

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Beth Katz, Sheldon Rampton, Nancy Skinner

PHOTO EDITOR
Jody Lyle

ILLUSTRATION
David Hwang

EDITORIAL BOARD

Chadwick Alger, *Professor, Ohio State University*

Jeb Brugmann, *Field Programs Director, CID*

Michael Closson, *Director, Center for Economic Conversion*

Carolyn Cottom, *Coordinator, U.S. Comprehensive Test Ban Coalition*

Albert Donnay, *Former Executive Director, Nuclear Free America*

Peter D. Dyke, *Editor, The Front Line*

Karen Franklin, *Director, Initiative Resource Center*

Virginia Mayer, *International Trade Staff, National League of Cities*

Stephen Mumme, *Professor, Colorado State University*

Michael Shuman, *President, CID*

Nancy Paige Smith, *Professor, St. Mary's College of Maryland*

CITY CORRESPONDENTS

Abilene, KS Commissioner Connie Cooper. **Abilene, TX** Roy McDaniel. Asst. to City Manager. **Akron, OH** Mayor Don Plusquellic. **Albuquerque, NM** Millie Santillanes. Mayor's Assistant. **Allentown, PA** Council Member Benjamin Howells, Jr. **Anchorage, AK** Chris Toal. SANE/Alaska. **Ann Arbor, MI** Council Member Larry Hunter. **Arcata, CA** Council Member Thea Gast. **Arlington, TX** Warren Green. Chamber of Commerce President. **Aspen, CO** Mayor William Stirling. **Atlanta, GA** Anne Bassarab. Mayor's Assistant and Ellen Spears. Atlanta NFC. Jobs with Peace. **Aurora, CO** Council Member Steve Hogan. **Austin, MN** Council Member Brad Swenson. **Austin, TX** Council Member Sally Shipman. **Barrington, IL** Blanche Frey. SANE / Freeze. **Baton Rouge, LA** Council Member Pearl George. **Bellevue, WA** Council Member Don Davidson. **Berkeley, CA** Mayor Loni Hancock. **Birmingham, AL** Council Member William Bell. **Boston, MA** Councilmember David Scodras and Frank Doyle. Director of Mayor's Political Committee. **Buffalo, NY** Council Member David Collins. **Cambridge, MA** Councilor Alice Wolf. **Cedar Falls, IA** Mayor Doug Sharp. **Charleston, SC** Council Member Hilda Hutchinson-Jefferson. **Charlotte, NC** Gwen Harvey. Mayor's Assistant. **Chattanooga, TN** Hugh Jackson. Sister City Association. **Chicago, IL** Alderman David Orr and State Representative Clement Balanoff. **Cincinnati, OH** Conrad Haupt. Chair. Soviet-American Sister City Program. **Cleveland, OH** Pauline Silverman and Todd Strickland. SANE/Freeze. **Colorado Springs, CO** Howard Church. Senior Budget Analyst. **Columbia, MO** Council Member Allen Tacker. **Columbus, GA** Mayor J.W. Feighner. **Columbus, OH** Council Member Ben Espy. **Denver, CO** Council Member Bill Schietler. **Des Moines, IA** Council Member Elaine Szymoniak. **Detroit, MI** Council Member Maryann Mahaffey. **Duluth, MN** Council Member Joyce Benson. **Durango, CO** Council Member Ann Brown. **East Hartford, CT** Council Member Patricia Gately. **Evanston, IL** Alderwoman Ann Rainey. **Fall River, MA** Council Member Steven A. Camara. **Flint, MI** Gail Shulman. Special Projects Director. **Eugene, OR** Glen Potter. Intergovernmental Relations Staff. **Ft. Lauderdale, FL** Jim Hill. City Manager's Assistant. **Ft. Wayne, IN** Council Member Ben Eisbart. **Ft. Worth, TX** Carole Tayman. Sister City Association. **Franklin, LA** Mayor Sam Jones. **Freeport, ME** Councilor John Nelson. **Fresno, CA** Council Member Chris Petersen. **Gainesville, FL** Mayor David Coffey and Commissioner Cynthia Chestnut. **Gary, IN** Council Member Gardest Gillespie. **Georgetown, TX** Ruth Roberts. Texas Campaign for Global Security. **Grand Rapids, MI** Nancy Z. French. Communications Director. **Grants, NM** Council Member Kathy Chavez Staley. **Greensboro, NC** Joanna Colodin. Public Information Officer. **Henderson, NC** Council Member J. Green. **Honolulu, HI** Council Member Gary Gill and Eileen Fujimoto. SANE/Freeze. **Hawaii, HI** Mayor Kathryn Whitmire. **Indianapolis, IN** Mayor William Hudnut III and Debbie Wyeth. **NWFC, IA** Mayor Pro Tem Kate Dickson. **Jackson, MS** Council Member Doris Smith. **Jacksonville, FL** Ivan Clare. Mayor's Assistant. **Jersey City, NJ** Council Member Jaime Vasquez. **Kankakee, IL** Council Member Zelpha Whatley. **Kansas City, KS** Council Member Richard Ruiz. **Kansas City, MO** Council Member Emanuel Cleaver. **Knoxville, TN** Mayor Victor Ashe. **Lacey, WA** Deputy Mayor Kay Boyd. **Laredo, TX** Mayor Aldo Tatangelo. **Lansdowne, PA** Andy Coleman. Dade County SANE/Freeze. **Laurel, MS** Council Member Lula Cooley. **Lawrence, KS** Commissioner Sandra Praeger. **Lawton, OK** Mayor Pro Tem Leila Barfield. **Little Rock, AR** Mayor Lottie Shackelford. **Long Beach, CA** Sheila Parsons. Mayor's Assistant. **Longmont, CO** Council Member Tom McCoy. **Los Angeles, CA** Council Member Robert Farrell. **Louisville, KY** Alderperson Reginald Meeks and Alderperson Melissa Mershon. **Madison, WI** Alderperson Eve Galanter. Alderperson Sally Miley and Alderperson Nicole Gotthelf. **Memphis, TN** Mayor Richard C. Hackett and Bill Akin. Mid-South Peace and Justice Center. **Mesa, AZ** Ellen Pence. Public Information Coordinator. **Miami, FL** Don Cleland. Dade County SANE/Freeze. **Milwaukee, WI** Council Member John Calwitz. **Minneapolis, MN** Council Member Carol Johnson and Council Member Sharon Sayles Belton; Sonja Dahl. Minnesota Freeze. **Modesto, CA** Angie Wiinikka. Administrative Analyst. **Montclair, NJ** Jan Berry. Essex County Office on Peace. **Moscow, ID** Council Member John Cunningham. **Nashville, TN** Council Member Charles French. **New Haven, CT** Majority Leader Martin Dunleavy. **New Orleans, LA** Al Stokes. Mayor's Assistant. **New York, NY** Borough President Ruth Messinger; Bruce Rosen. City Planner and Phyllis Grunauer Side. SANE/Freeze. **North Little Rock, AR** Elizabeth Groppe. Mid-South Peace and Justice Center. **Oakland, CA** Council Member Wilson Riles, Jr. **Oklahoma City, OK** Mayor Ronald J. Noric. **Olympia, WA** Council Member Mary Lux. **Omaha, NE** Council Member Richard Tackechi. **Orlando, FL** Commissioner Mable Butler. **Palo Alto, CA** Council Member Ellen Fletcher. **Philadelphia, PA** Council Member Joan Spector. **Phoenix, AZ** Doug Wilson. Chief of Protocol and Marybeth Woodall. Arizona Center to End the Arms Race. **Pittsburgh, PA** Mark Zabierek. Mayor's Assistant and Michael Freeman. Three Rivers SANE/Freeze. **Port Arthur, TX** Council Member Walter Mosely. **Portland, OR** Commissioner Mike Lindberg. **Princeton, NJ** Bob Moore. Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament. **Providence, RI** Tim Duffy. Assistant Director of Administration. **Raleigh, NC** Bob Cain. SANE/Freeze. **Richmond, VA** Vice Mayor Claudette McDaniel. **Riverside, CA** Council Member Ronald Loveridge. **Riverside, CT** Jane Milliken. Greenwich Nuclear Freeze. **Rochester, NY** Council Member Maxine Chidress-Brown. **Rock Island, IL** Council Member Rita Coyne. **Sacramento, CA** Mayor Anne Rudin and Dan Galpern. SANE/Freeze. **Saganaw, MI** Council Member Louis Oates. **St. Louis, MO** Alderman Steve Roberts. **St. Paul, MN** Mayor James Scheibel. **St. Petersburg, FL** Richard J. Hickman. Public Information and Marketing Director. **San Diego, CA** Marcia Boruta. San Diego Economic Conversion Council. **San Francisco, CA** Board President Nancy Walker. **San Leandro, CA** Council Member Edwin Suchman. **Santa Ana, CA** Council Member Miguel Pulido. **Santa Barbara, CA** Council Member Hal Conklin. **Santa Monica, CA** Mayor Pro Tem David Finkel and Andrew Tomkovich. **Westside SANE/Freeze.** **Savannah, GA** Alderman Otis Johnson. **Seattle, WA** David Fleishman. Washington SANE/Freeze. **South Bend, IN** Tom Jones. American Cancer Society. **Spokane, WA** Council Member Sheri Barnard. **Springfield, MA** Mayor Richard E. Neal. **Springfield, OR** Councilor Christine Larson. **Stockton, CA** Council Member Loralle McGaughey. **Tacoma, WA** Utility Board Member Barbara Bickel. **Tampa, FL** John Dunn. Communications Director. **Toledo, OH** Council Member Peter Ujvagi and Steve Miller. **Tucson, AZ** Councilmember Bruce Wheeler. **Tulsa, OK** H.M. Zachritz. Asst. Finance Commissioner. **University City, MO** Council Member Byron Price. **Urbana, IL** Council Member Bernadine Evans Stake. **Virginia Beach, VA** Mayor Robert G. Jones. **Warren, MI** Paul Wojno. Executive Administrator. **Washington, D.C.** Acie Byrd. Nuclear Weapons Freeze Advisory Board. **West Hollywood, CA** Council Member Stephen Schulte. **Wichita, KS** Carla Scheull. Mayor's Assistant. **Wildwood, NJ** Norm Cohen. Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament.

Letters

HEATING UP

Thanks for your special issue on global warming (Summer 1990). Unfortunately it looks like we're headed for a long hot autumn.

The Bush Administration has declared that should the Persian Gulf crisis erupt into war, the U.S. effort will be immediate and massive, including indiscriminate aerial bombing. Aerial bombing on a massive scale will entail the mindless, purposeless slaughter of tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of Iraqi civilians. Civilians are not legitimate targets in war. Pre-20th-Century military traditions, as well as a substantial body of legal and theological thought, dictate against it. The bombings of British and German cities during WWII accomplished little of military value — but visited horror upon their civilian inhabitants.

The position that Iraq cannot be negotiated with presumes that Saddam Hussein is a belligerent lunatic. If we really believe that the leader of Iraq is a dictator and madman, how can we countenance the slaughter of Iraqi civilians? As the subjects of a dictatorial, non-democratic government, they bear little responsibility for, and possess even less control over, the actions of their ruler. Hence, they cannot legitimately be held liable for their government's actions.

Hussein obviously wishes to avoid war with the United States; the Iraqis wouldn't be placing our civilians in and around potential targets were this not the case, nor would they have directed their tankers to permit boarding by U.S. forces.

Given this situation, why is Bush pushing for war rather than a negotiated settlement? Could it be that he and Secretary of Defense Cheney, consistent advocates of continued, ruinously high levels of military spending, do not want this conflict to be resolved without the use of force? It's obvious that a peaceful resolution of this conflict would heavily damage the credibility of those who insist that we must continue with our \$300 billion per year military budgets — forever.

I do not hold that there are not situations where military confrontation is unavoidable; however, this is clearly not one of them. It is totally unacceptable that the President of the United States should risk the lives of tens of thousands of U.S. servicemen and threaten hundreds of thousands of civilians who have the misfortune of having been born in Iraq, in order to provide justification for next year's defense budget and to preserve our presumed right to continue to exacerbate global warming. This is, after all, what ensuring the availability of large quantities of cheap oil amounts to.

David J. Trickett
Irvine, CA

DOD, \$, MFP, and GRS

For a brief time in our history, American cities received income tax money back from the federal government in the form of a General Revenue Sharing (GRS) plan. The money was redistributed to municipal governments to spend as they saw fit. Most

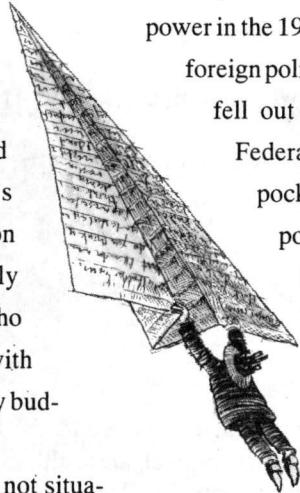
of it went into law enforcement and social programs. Monitoring of the program showed very little wasted funds. But as "small government" forces rose to national power in the 1980s — and a new paranoiac foreign policy swept the nation — GRS

fell out of favor with the public. Federal money jumped out of the pockets of cities and into the pockets of defense contractors. Finally, in the great tradition of "no taxation" this seven billion-a-year program was laid to rest.

Now, in its place, the federal government has given us a new GRS plan. Its called the Savings and Loan Scandal General Revenue Sharing plan (SLSGRS). This new plan involves the private sector, so you know right off-the-bat it's got to be better than GRS #1. And all the folks who used to benefit from that first GRS plan are now required to give \$5,000, give or take a bunch, to the federal government who will in turn use it to bail out the very sort of people who killed the original GRS plan. So it goes.

I don't expect to be taken seriously, but just for a moment let us consider a trimmer GRS model or TTRGRS (Tax The Rich General Revenue Sharing plan). In it we simply tax our nation's richest one-percent, about one-percent of their total yearly income for however long it takes to get back to square one, or perhaps long enough to reinstate GRS #1 with retroactive pay. This might seem a little unfair, but I think its got SLSGRS beat by a mile.

Richard Delorie
Baton Rouge, LA



CID

C	E	N	T	E	R	F	O	R
I	N	N	O	V	A	T	I	V
D	I	P	L	O	M	A	C	Y

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

MFP wishes to thank the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the General Service Foundation for their generous support of specially commissioned articles on foreign policy issues.

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

Bulletin of
Municipal Foreign Policy
Letters to the Editor
17931-F Sky Park Circle
Irvine, CA 92714

ISSN 1047-3556

Democracy vs. Gattzilla

An international treaty threatens to undermine efforts by municipalities to protect the environment and the health of their people.

by Michael Shuman

IMAGINE A FOREIGN DICTATOR TAKING OVER THE UNITED STATES, curbing local environmental and safety regulations, and ordering us to eat food heavily contaminated with pesticides, hormones, and other chemicals. Certainly a nation like ours that has proved its willingness to wage an all-out war in the Persian Gulf to keep gasoline prices low would be willing to take up arms against such an ominous threat. Yet this is essentially what our President has been proposing behind closed doors in Geneva, Switzerland.

The potential dictator is an international treaty, little under-

stood by Americans, called the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, or GATT. Since its inception in 1948, GATT has been the principal vehicle through which 98 of the world's nations have sought to promote "freer and fairer trade" by ratcheting their tariffs and non-tariff trade barriers downward. Between 1950 and 1975 successive rounds of GATT negotiations increased merchandise trade for industrial nations at an average rate of eight percent per year, double the average growth rate for their gross national products. GATT currently regulates about 85 percent of the more than three trillion dollars of world trade that occurs annually.

GATT currently regulates about 85 percent of the more than three trillion dollars of world trade that occurs annually.

stood by Americans, called the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, or GATT. Since its inception in 1948, GATT has been the principal vehicle through which 98 of the world's nations have sought to promote "freer and fairer trade" by ratcheting their tariffs and non-tariff trade barriers downward. Between 1950 and 1975 successive rounds of GATT negotiations increased merchandise trade for industrial nations at an average rate of eight percent per year, double the average growth rate for their gross national products. GATT currently regulates about 85 percent of the more than three trillion dollars of world trade that occurs annually.

Free trade is a laudable economic principle, but recently the Bush Administration has begun to redefine the mission of GATT as not just whittling away protectionist regulations but also quashing reasonable laws concerning public health and the environment. Over the past two years U.S. trade representatives have been proposing to GATT that local health and environmental laws relating to food and agricultural goods should be replaced by uniform international regulations. With the aim of "harmonizing"

these laws across the world, the Bush proposals would delegate the power to promulgate health and environmental standards to an agency in Rome called Codex Alimentarius, or Codex. This agency, largely dominated by executives from chemical and food companies, could suddenly have the authority to declare what levels of different chemicals in our food were safe. Any standards that were more stringent, whether they came from Congress, the states, or cities, might be preempted, because GATT procedures could brand them as "unfair trade practices" and U.S. law treats GATT as the supreme law of the land.

Take DDT, for example. The U.S. Congress has wisely banned food imports containing anything more than very low "background" levels. But if the worst of the Bush proposals was accepted, the Codex standard, which allows much higher levels of DDT, would suddenly become U.S. law. According to Anne Lindsay, Director of Pesticides Registration at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, about one out of every six pesticide standards set by Codex is weaker than those now set by U.S. law.

Besides chipping away at national standards, the Bush proposals could sweep away state and local protections. Even if California voters pass the "Big Green" Initiative (Prop. 128) this November, which would prohibit the use of any cancer-causing pesticides on food grown or sold in the state, GATT regulations might render it null and void. State and local governments could lose much of their legislating authority over food and agricultural products to Codex.

While Codex masquerades as an esteemed "scientific court" that issues only objective safety standards, its members are comprised almost entirely of government officials and corporate lobbyists. The U.S. delegation, for example, includes representatives from the American Association of Cereal Chemists, the American Frozen Food Institute, CPC International, Grocery Manufacturers of America, Hershey Foods, Kraft, Nestle Foods, PepsiCo, Ralston Purina, and Smith-Kline Beckman. Unlike governmental bodies, its members are not elected, its decisions are not openly debated, public testimony is not allowed, and review

by other legislative bodies or courts is impossible.

Consumer activist Ralph Nader has warned, "GATT is designed to circumvent democratic institutions and override local and state government efforts to protect consumers and the environment."

A GOVERNMENT OF, BY, AND FOR THE MULTINATIONALS?

ONE OF THE CHALLENGES FACING advocates of municipal foreign policy is how to check the growing power of multinational corporations. Many cities are now bidding away their control over multinationals in an effort to lure them. In Tokyo, Japan, nearly every U.S. state has a trade office offering up tax breaks, subsidies, union-busting practices, and lax environmental and health standards to entice Japanese manufacturers to build factories in its jurisdiction, all for economic benefits that rarely materialize. As corporations become more internationally mobile, any city unwise enough to protect consumers, workers, and the environment risks losing jobs to other cities interested in only short-term profit.

If we want to have even a remote chance of putting reasonable checks on misbehavior by multinationals, we will need all the standards we can muster — local, state, national, and even international.

We could certainly benefit from global rules that prevent corporations from going anywhere on the planet and spewing carbon dioxide, CFCs, sulfur dioxide, or hundreds of other dangerous pollutants. And it would be helpful to have enforceable international laws that ban child and slave labor, grant workers basic protections, and set minimum global wages.

But international standards must become floors, not ceilings. National governments must remain free to implement more rigorous standards. And if local and state governments wish to implement more stringent controls, they should be able to do so. So long as local regulations are not targeted against foreign goods or any particular country, they should be regarded as trade-neutral.

Mainstream advocates of "free trade" have it all wrong. An



Consumer activist Ralph Nader has warned, "GATT is designed to circumvent democratic institutions and override local and state government efforts to protect consumers and the environment."

unfair trade practice occurs, not when a country or city protects its environment, but when someone can exploit global ecosystems to manufacture cheap goods and undercut more responsible producers. Goods produced at the expense of workers' safety, public health, or environmental protection are the ones that should be

We must make it clear to the President now, while negotiations are still under way, that international agreements preempting municipal creativity are unacceptable.

branded as unfair.

The Commerce Clause in the U.S. Constitution provides a reasonable model for how to balance the benefits of free trade with democratic virtues of allowing diverse localities to pass their own health, safety, and environmental regulations. Basically, if U.S. courts find that regulatory measures are protecting local industries, they will strike them down. But if the regulations are reasonably serving the public's welfare and equally burdening locally and nationally produced goods, courts will uphold them.

An analogous system could operate within the framework of GATT, empowering the courts of different nations to scrutinize national, state, and local regulations with these kinds of standards. Regulations that draw no distinction between locally produced and foreign goods should be presumed legitimate. A heavy burden should be put on a challenger to show that there is absolutely no reasonable basis for the regulation.

Congressman James Scheuer of New York now has a resolution pending (HR 336) calling on the President's representatives at GATT to initiate special consultations "to ensure that the implementation of the GATT does not undermine national environmental protection measures and health and safety standards...". This is a good beginning. But in all likelihood, even if it is passed, the Bush Administration cannot be trusted to implement it. Thus far, despite paying occasional lip service to states' rights, the Bush Administration has shown remarkable disdain for local and state initiatives in protecting the environment and public health. It took a heroic local organizing effort to con-

vince Congress to rescind Bush-sponsored provisions in the Clean Air Act that would have preempted municipal and state laws banning CFC emissions.

We must make it clear to the President now, while negotiations are still under way, that international agreements preempting municipal creativity are unacceptable. Faced with a simple, thumbs-up-or-down vote in which no amendments are possible, Congress rarely disapproves a GATT agreement. And a number of Democratic heavyweights are already lining up behind the President. According to *Food Chemical News*, House Speaker Tom Foley is "not happy with the trend toward states taking the lead in health, safety, and environment areas, adding that it can have serious consequences for trade and commerce in the U.S. and internationally."

It will take a massive public campaign to approve the Scheuer resolution and to send the President's representatives back to the negotiation table. Mounting pressure by environmental and consumer groups has already caused some favorable changes in the Bush proposals in just the last few months, but unless that pressure continues the final GATT agreement could ultimately stomp out creative municipal policy-making.

We can have both a healthy system of global commerce and vigorous local environmental and health initiatives if we act now. But if the President insists on our choosing between "free trade" or democracy, and if "freedom" means the freedom of corporations to exploit the environment and ruin public health without fear of national or local regulation, then let us always choose democracy.

Michael Shuman is President of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy and a visiting scholar at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.

BE A GATTFLY

If you want to make sure that GATT does not preempt local environmental and public health regulations, write to the following people immediately:

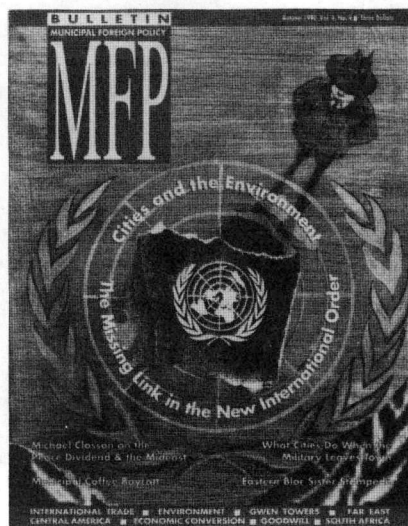
The Honorable Carla Hills
U.S. Trade Representative
600 17th St., NW
Washington, DC 20506
FAX: 202-395-3911

President Jacques Delors
European Community
Rue de la Loi 2001049
Brussels, Belgium
FAX: 32-2-236-3115

Arthur Dunkel, Director General
GATT
154, rue de Lausanne
CH-1211, Geneva 21, Switzerland
FAX: 41-22-7-31-42-06

Ambassador Tran Van Thinh
European Community
37-39 Rue de Vermont 1211
Geneva 20 Switzerland
FAX: 41-22-73-42-236

We don't just report history... We make it!



Central America ■ CFCs ■ China ■ Civil Defense ■ Demilitarization ■ Drug Traffic ■ Economic Conversion ■ Environment ■ Global Organizations of Cities ■ Global Warming ■ Homeporting ■ Human Rights ■ Immigration ■ International Trade ■ Local Campaigns ■ Mideast ■ Military Transport ■ Military Bases ■ National Budget Priorities ■ Northern Ireland ■ Nuclear Free Zones ■ Offices of International Affairs ■ Peace Sites ■ Sister Cities ■ South Africa ■ Soviet Union ■ Test Bans ■ Third World Development ■ Tourism ■ Trans-border Relations ■ and much, much more.

Subscribe to MFP

We'll help you get started...

Absolutely Free.

YES! I want to learn more about how cities are reshaping America's foreign policies. Send me two free issues and then I'll decide whether to subscribe.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

Clip and send to: MFP, Subscription Services,
17931-F Sky Park Circle, Irvine, CA 92714

Notes from All Over

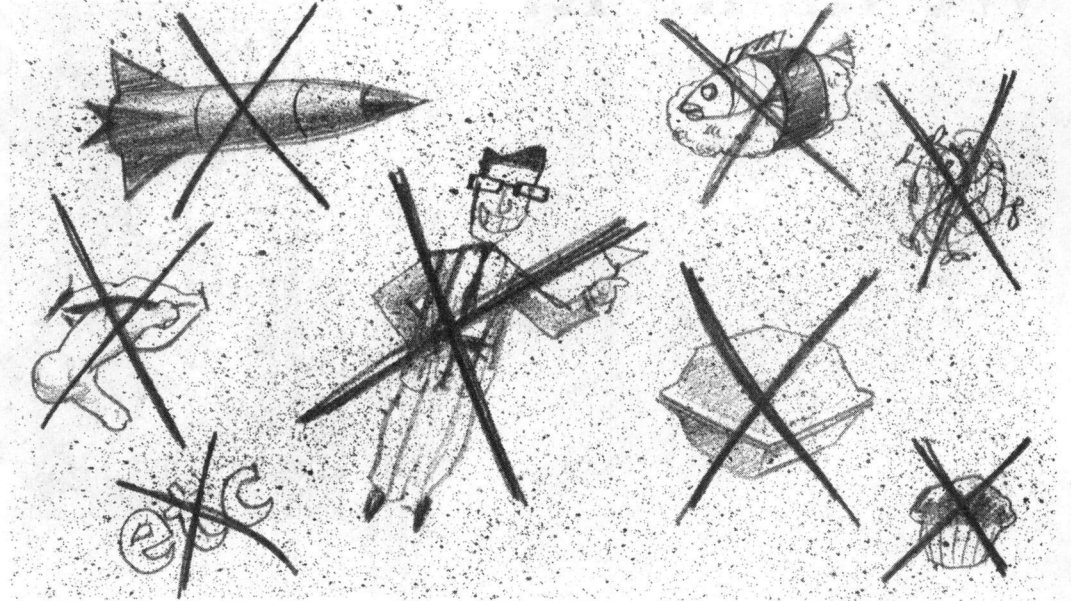
In this issue: The undersea world of warheads; immigration and its misconceptions; Nightmare on Elm Street; and much more.

MAKING HOMER FREE

AFTER VOTERS IN HOMER (AK) proclaimed their city to be nuclear-free last fall, activists began trying to raise community consciousness about other issues, such as the need to decrease dependence on ozone-depleting products. These efforts, however, annoyed Homer Councilmember Mary Henry enough to prompt her to draft a city ordinance whose apparent attempts at humor evoked few laughs from groups like Alaskans for Peace.

Last May, Harvey penned the so-called "Catch All, Free of All" ordinance, which noted that the Homer City Council had devoted an "inordinate amount of time on proposed legislation declaring Homer free of nuclear materials and styrofoam." Thus, in her "catch all" ordinance, she proposed 13 more "things" of which the city should be declared free, including: yuppies (unless wearing mud boots or sorrels); alfalfa sprouts (unless planted in soil); sushi parlors; earth muffins; trench mouth ("aka foot-in-mouth disease"), politicians "of any ilk," and "any more 'free legislation.'"

Dennis Specht of Alaskans for Peace says that though at first glance, the proposed ordinance may have appeared to be an attempt at humor, "when you look a little closer you realize that it has a cold, hard, mean spirit and attempts to trivialize



issues that people like myself take seriously."

While the ordinance was submitted to councilmembers as part of their informational materials, it never came to a council vote.

SOURCE: City of Homer, 491 Pioneer Avenue, Homer, AK 99603; Alaskans for Peace, P.O. Box 363, Homer, AK 99603.

AN ACCIDENT A DAY

A RECENT GREENPEACE REPORT may provide homeporting opponents with a greater sense of urgency about their mission. The report, titled *Naval Safety 1989*, revealed 3,200 accidents involving the world's nuclear navies in the 1980s. That's nearly one every day. The U.S. Navy alone accounted for 1,596 of those events, including incidents involving vessels carry-

ing long-range nuclear missiles.

Josh Handler, co-author of the report, says that naval accidents happen "all the time." Adds Handler, "This isn't like stubbing your toe. It's a very serious problem."

Greenpeace says there are now between 48 and 50 nuclear warheads lying on the ocean floor as a result of accidents. "The only way to get rid of the risks associated with these accidents is to get hazardous nuclear weapons and reactors out of marine environments," says Handler.

SOURCE: "Naval Mishaps," *Greenpeace*, July/August 1990, p. 6.

AS YE SOW...

MUNICIPAL TREE PLANTING is making a contribution to easing the global warming crisis, but it may not be doing much

for city budgets.

Governing reports that cities are beginning to confront the dilemma of how to finance the care of these new trees as they grow. Already, urban foresters are noting that tree care in many cities is minimal or inefficient. And with more trees than ever, municipalities may be scrambling for funds to keep the new greenery from causing as many problems as it eases.

Tony Acosta, park services manager in Oakland (CA), worries about potential lawsuits if improper care results in tree branches falling on people or private property. "We're vulnerable because courts are taking a stricter approach these days; they're not accepting a city's argument that it was an act of God," says Acosta.

In Minneapolis, director of forestry Dave De Voto has drawn up a tree care budget of

\$6.4 million for the year, and other cities are not far behind. But as city budgets shrink as tree grow taller, some cities may consider reigning in the enthusiasm of their local Johnny Appleseeds.

SOURCE: "Maintenance of Trees Leaves Much to Be Desired?", *Governing*, July 1990, p. 11.

A PIECE OF ITALY

WHEN GREENVILLE (SC) set out to honor its sister city of Bergamo, Italy, it didn't cut corners. For about a year now, residents of Greenville have been able to experience a piece of Bergamo in their own downtown, thanks to the creation of Piazza Bergamo, a urban plaza designed with its five-year-old sister city in mind.

Piazza Bergamo is part of a revitalization program of the Coffee Street district of downtown Greenville, and is conceived as a European public space. Bergamo architect Signora Laura Sonzogni played a major role in the project's design, and when it was dedicated recently, an eight-member delegation from Bergamo attended the ceremonies.

Just as important, the Piazza Bergamo project has given Greenville the confidence to pursue the rest of its revitalization program with renewed vigor. As Mayor William Workman says, "We now have a coherent vision of what is possible for many other areas within our downtown."

SOURCE: City of Greenville, P.O. Box 2207, Greenville, SC 29602.

ICY DEBATE

THE CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL is well-known for heated de-

bates. But Chicago TV viewers may have been surprised to see their aldermen vociferously arguing recently about a cooler issue: their favorite flavors of ice cream! And on a TV commercial yet!

Chicago Alderman Ed Burke shouted his approval of French vanilla. But Alderman Louis Gutierrez retorted, "This isn't Parea, Ed. We eat rocky rock here."

The debate continued, with other aldermen jumping into the fray. But despite the international flavor of the donnybrook, the intent was solely to promote Edy's Grand Ice Cream, a purely domestic brand for whom the city leaders taped

words the way a director wants you to than to speak two hours on the council floor."

SOURCE: "Aldermen All Scream for Ice Cream Commercial," *Governing*, July 1990, p. 61.

BRING ON THE IMMIGRANTS?

A RECENT STUDY FOUND THAT nearly half of the U.S. public believed that "most new immigrants end up on welfare." Not true. Statistics show that the typical immigrant family received fewer government services — and paid more taxes — than the average native family, partly because these newcomers don't generally have

conomic Consequences of Immigration, he presents evidence showing that compared to natives, immigrants save more, work harder and are more likely to start new businesses, creating jobs for both natives and immigrants. Simon's recommendation: The U.S. should open its doors to one million new legal immigrants a year.

However, Simon doesn't shy away from more controversial proposals. For instance, "policies that discriminate on the basis of economic characteristics, and especially a system such as allocating admission by auction that self-selects immigrants according to productive economic characteris-



three separate commercials.

Each alderman received \$3,000 for the commercials, and all donated their fees to charity, except for one who formed a college scholarship fund for his daughter. But many felt it was a hard-earned \$3,000. Alderman Lawrence Bloom lamented, "It's harder to say two

access to costly benefits (such as Social Security payments.)

As controversial as immigration is in the U.S. today, University of Maryland business professor Julian L. Simon says there is a plethora of evidence that, overall, immigration is a beneficial phenomenon. In his book, *The Eco-*

tics, are especially recommended." In other words, he believes that individuals who can, in essence, buy their way into the country have more right to be here to pursue the American Dream.

SOURCE: Julian L. Simon, *The Economic Consequences of Immigration* (Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1989).

The Missing Link

City Leaders Unite to Save the Earth

Representatives from municipalities around the world have formed an international council to tackle common environmental concerns.

by Nancy Skinner



PHOTO: LAURA COLAN

AT THE U.N.

Representatives of 200 cities created the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, designed to solve the world's environmental problems from the ground up.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS FROM around the world have taken unprecedented, collective action in the battle to save the environment. In September, 400 representatives of 200 cities in 45 countries created the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, designed to solve the world's environmental crisis from the ground up.

The formation of the new Council was the highlight of the World Congress of Local Governments for a Sustainable Future, a four-day meeting (Sept. 5-8) at the United Nations in New York City. The Council is the first international organization created to assist cities, counties, towns, villages and other local jurisdictions in implementing policies that provide a local response to environmental problems.

Dr. Noel Brown, director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), has described the new international organization as the "missing link" in a successful global campaign to restore and preserve the planet. Cities, says Brown, are the economic engines of the world and the centers of civilization and education; thus, they are the places we must turn to for creative responses to the environmental crisis.

Even so, Brown had this warning for Congress delegates: "Time is not on our

side. The decade of the '90s may be the last opportunity to save the globe."

In addition to UNEP, sponsors of the conference were the Irvine (CA)-based Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID) and the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA), based in The Hague. In calling for the formation of the new International Council, Congress Director and CID staff member Jeb Brugmann said, "To be effective, a coordinated global effort needs to be established to address those local activities and behaviors that threaten the sustainability of our planet. The challenge of ecological sustainability cannot be met without a thorough mobilization at the local government level."

The tenor of the meeting was decidedly enthusiastic about the International Council's potential for bringing about positive change. Manhattan (NY) Borough President Ruth Messinger asserted that when a municipality defines a problem that requires attention, "many times all we need are the technical assistance and information to enable us to pursue the problem. The International Council can be a vehicle for this crucial information exchange. It can enable us to act when so often we are told, 'This just can't be done in one city.'"

Even though cities are the source of so much environmental degradation, delegates concurred that cities can and, with organization, will be the source of environmental restoration as well. At the same time, some conference speakers insisted that to be successful, efforts must go beyond only environmental concerns.

Jacek Zapasnik, IULA director, said that to successfully address the fate of the Earth, the realities of economic and social inequalities, the causes of poverty, homelessness, and cultural and social disruption must also be tackled. "This is not a Congress to make ourselves more comfortable," warned Zapasnik, reminding Congress delegates that environmental and economic problems are linked to serious social and political issues.

Mexico City Mayor Manuel Camacho Solis gave participants an optimistic view of the possibilities for change. Although Mexico City may be the most polluted city in the world, Mayor Solis said that in the



PHOTO: LAURA COLAN

UNIVERSAL CONCERNS. CREATIVE RESPONSES.

Noel Brown, Director of the United Nations Environment Programme (l) and Jeb Brugmann, Congress Director and CID staff member, listening to representatives.

'90s, he expects it to "become an example of people's capacity to overcome their difficulties."

In recent years, Mexico City's government has tackled three of its major problems: It has reduced air pollution, improved water quality and restructured pub-

Time is not on our side. The decade of the '90s may be the last opportunity to save the globe.

lic finances to improve services to poor residents of the city. (See sidebar for additional information on Mexico City's efforts.)

Toronto Mayor Art Eggleton also spoke at the conference. He chronicled his city's extensive efforts to curtail the greenhouse effect, including regulations re-

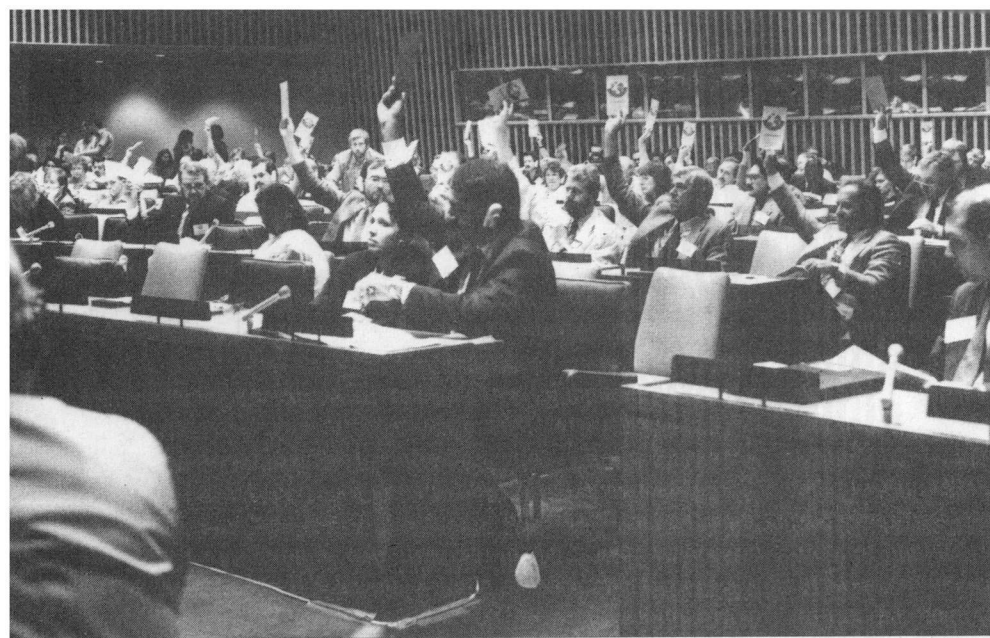


PHOTO: ELLEN COOPER

THE VOTE OF RATIFICATION.

Establishing a link for local partnership in the national and international discussion about solutions to environmental problems.

stricting the use of ozone-depleting compounds, the recent establishment of an energy efficiency office, and the creation of a tree-planting fund. Mayor Eggleton recalled that when its chlorofluorocarbon (CFC) regulations were first passed to reduce emissions of compounds that destroy the Earth's ozone layer, "Toronto was laughed at." But within months, the provincial and Canadian federal governments toughened their own CFC regulations. "If necessary, we'll be a burr in the saddle of upper level governments until we're able to achieve the environmental improvements we are seeking."

Congress workshops — while focus-

U.N. HONORS ENVIRONMENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS

NINE INTERNATIONAL CITIES HAVE BEEN SINGLED OUT BY THE United Nations for promoting solutions to the environmental problems threatening the globe.

At the World Congress of Local Governments for a Sustainable Future, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) presented the awards to officials from the local governments of the award-winning municipalities.

"As the world's major international environmental agency," said Noel Brown, UNEP's director, "UNEP is committed to establishing lasting relationships with local governments to address the severe and unprecedented threats that now face our natural and urban environments. These threats are of such magnitude that they can no longer be solved through national government action and international agreements alone."

The cities recognized for their pioneering environmental records were:

CURITABA, BRAZIL — Many of Curitiba's environmental programs provide direct benefits to the city's poor residents. One program compensates 17,000 poor families for bringing their trash to a city-administered collection site. Other environmental advances include an extensive mass transit system designed to reduce automobile use, a 53-kilometer cycleway, and an increase in the ratio of green space per resident.

QUITO, ECUADOR — Potable water and sanitation services have been provided in the city's "shanty-town" neighborhoods. Water tariffs have also been restructured, charging higher rates to large and wealthy users.

MEXICO CITY, MEXICO — An urban clean air program includes a "Day Without Your Car" plan, coupled with requirements for automobile smog controls and fuel improve-

ments. Oil is also being replaced by natural gas in the city's power plants. Mexico City has also implemented an "Each Family-One Tree" reforestation project that accounted for 1.8 million new trees planted last year.

IRVINE, CALIFORNIA — The world's strictest law to eliminate the use of CFCs and other ozone-destroying compounds was implemented in Irvine last year. As a result, Irvine's major businesses have already reduced ozone-depleting emissions by a remarkable 46 percent.

TORONTO, CANADA — Committed to decreasing carbon dioxide emissions 20 percent by the year 2005, Toronto is implementing programs to reduce automobile travel, retrofit buildings for energy efficiency, and install energy-conserving lighting systems.

HELSINKI, FINLAND — Since the introduction of cogeneration and district heating, Helsinki has reduced its energy demand for heating by 30 percent, even though the city has an average mean temperature of only 5.4 degrees C.

BREMEN, WEST GERMANY — Since the mid-seventies, Bremen has been a leading community in committing public funds to Third World development projects. Especially noteworthy are the partnerships that Bremen has created with villages and communities in India and Africa to provide safe water and appropriate energy sources.

BANDUNG AND SURABAYA, INDONESIA — These cities have incorporated major recycling programs in their waste management systems. Bandung improved waste collection equipment, organized scavenger collectives and trained scavenger families in composting. Surabaya improved waste management and recycling by implementing modern collection systems and reducing pollution of its water supplies with better sanitation measures.

ing on topics like energy efficiency, waste reduction, recycling, and urban planning and design — were lively and sometimes contentious. Some delegates complained that workshop topics were dominated by concerns of the wealthier, developed countries. For example, a member of the Ghana delegation expressed disappointment that the sessions focused primarily on the problems of industrialized nations — problems caused by the overconsumption of raw materials by those countries. He stressed that the problems of countries in Africa are very different and must be addressed if the new Council will truly succeed as an international organization.

The Congress was sensitive to those concerns in approving charter language to initiate the new organization. During debate on a series of proposed charter amendments, delegates from the southern hemisphere said that unless there is equitable representation from their regions, the Council would lapse into focusing on issues germane primarily to northern and developed countries. Consequently, the membership of the executive committee was expanded to ensure not only geographic representation, but also that a majority of the committee members would be local government officials.

The charter makes it clear that member cities will pay annual dues to underwrite the new Council's programs and activities. Location of the Council's headquarters and regional offices remains to be decided.

At the concluding session in the U.N. Assembly Hall, Brugmann said that the Congress demonstrated that local government officials in every region of the world are eager to become involved in both developing and implementing an agenda that can address global environmental problems. "The fact that people came not only from Germany and the U.S., but also from Malaysia and Qatar is indicative of this universal concern," he said.

"The real outcome," added Brugmann, "was the establishment of an institution that can make possible local government partnership in the national and international discussions about solutions to our environmental problems." ■

ATMOSPHERIC PROTECTION UPDATE

The Battle Against Global Warming Heats Up

THE NEWLY-FORMED INTERNATIONAL Council for Local Environmental Initiatives has announced that it will address global warming as one of its first comprehensive programs.

The so-called "Urban CO₂ Project" will develop carbon dioxide reduction programs for the world's urban areas. According to Jeb Brugmann, director of the World Congress of Local Governments for a Sustainable Future, cities are the primary consumers of fossil fuels and thereby the major contributors of CO₂ in the atmosphere; thus, they provide an excellent laboratory for developing and testing CO₂ reduction and climate change mitigation techniques.

The Urban CO₂ Project will initially work with eight to ten major world cities to design and implement programs necessary to achieve dramatic reductions in urban carbon dioxide emissions. With the goal of obtaining a 25 to 35 percent reduction in CO₂ emissions, the project will evaluate innovations in land use planning, energy, transportation, waste management, construction practices and education. Proposals will be developed that are specific to each city's unique geographic, economic and social characteristics. The participating cities will be expected not only to adopt the CO₂ reduction measures, but also to provide technical assistance to other cities in their country so they, too, can implement similar programs.

Making a Dent in Auto Congestion

AT THE WORLD CONGRESS' workshop on transportation, many municipal leaders boasted of their successful efforts at reducing the number of automobiles driven within their cities. For

instance:

■ Claudio Sassi of Bologna, Italy, announced that in his city, "we have gored the sacred cow of cars." Those efforts began with a referendum asking, "Do you agree that the city should reduce auto use in the downtown area?" About 75 percent of the voters answered "yes."

Since then, Bologna has implemented a program keeping autos out of its historic downtown area, reserving the area solely for buses, taxis and mopeds between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. In 1981, there were 191,000 cars a day entering downtown; that number has now been lowered to 60,000, greatly reducing congestion and pollution.

■ Tin How Phua of Singapore's Department of Land Transport described his city's 15-year-old plan to charge drivers for road use — a way of accounting for the true costs of driving motor vehicles. (Typically, petroleum and automobile prices do not reflect the full costs of the damage that cars inflict on the environment, human health and infrastructure.) Under the Singapore plan, cars entering the central city must display proof of payment of road use fees, unless the car carries four or more people.

■ Last February, Oslo, Norway, followed Singapore's lead, implementing a toll system. There are now 20 toll gates in the city, with the fee declining as the number of occupants in the vehicle increases. Leif Nybo, chairman of Oslo's town planning committee, said that the money is being earmarked to improve the public transit system. Oslo has also increased parking fees in the city, with Nybo declaring that "if you want to take 2,000 pounds of iron with you to your job, you should have to pay for it."

Life Beyond Foam

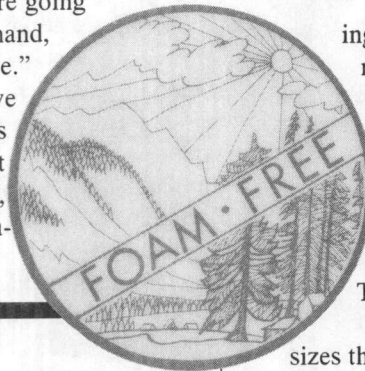
Portland is taking its first steps to enforce a new ozone-saving ordinance. And while restaurant owners and retail food vendors aren't jumping for joy, they are playing by the rules rather than risk a fine.

IN PORTLAND, OREGON, PRODUCTS MADE OF POLYSTYRENE FOAM are becoming as obsolete as the Model-T Ford and "Dukakis for President" buttons.

Since February, restaurants and retail food vendors have been prohibited from serving prepared food in foam containers. Portland city officials are reporting that compliance with the new law is good, even though many businesspeople are grumbling as they replace their styrofoam cups with paper products.

"The business community is grudgingly complying," Catherine Fitch, a policy analyst for the city, told MFP. "Most are going along with the new law under duress. On the other hand, citizen response to the ordinance has been very supportive."

Restaurants and grocery stores can no longer serve prepared food in any polystyrene foam containers. This includes food served on the premises as well as take-out food. Other uses of foam, such as for packing materials, florist supplies and construction materials, are not regulated by the ordinance.



CHEMICAL WONDERS, ATMOSPHERIC VILLAINS

CHLOROFLOUROCARBONS ARE REMARKABLE CHEMICALS. THEY ARE NEITHER toxic nor flammable at ground level, as demonstrated by their discoverer Thomas Midgley, Jr., in 1930 when he inhaled vapors from a beaker of clear liquid and then exhaled to extinguish a candle. A safe chemical that was inexpensive to produce was exactly what the refrigeration industry was looking for, and CFCs soon became a universal coolant, marketed by E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Company under the trademark Freon. (In chemical shorthand it is referred to as CFC-12.) Another use for the chemical, as a blowing agent in rigid insulation foams, was discovered in the late 1940s. In this application, liquid CFC-12 is vaporized into a gas that forms lightweight, closed cell bubbles that are poor conductors of both heat and cold. Consumers refer to the product as Styrofoam, the Dow Chemical Company trademark.

Unlike most chemicals CFCs are not broken down in the troposphere, the layer of air surrounding the earth. Instead, they waft slowly upward and after six to eight years reach the upper layer of the atmosphere, the stratosphere. Once there the chemicals can survive up to 100 years. When they are broken down, each chlorine atom released is capable of destroying tens of thousand of ozone molecules before it eventually gets washed out of the atmosphere.

From "State of the World 1989," Lester R. Brown et al., W.W. Norton and Company.

The ordinance was passed by a 4-to-1 majority of the Portland City Council, but full enforcement was delayed by a lawsuit filed against the city by local McDonald's franchisees and plastics manufacturers. Their suit claimed that the city did not have jurisdiction to pass the food-packaging law, while also contending that polystyrene foam is recyclable and thus there was no legal right to ban it.

In February, however, Multnomah County Senior Circuit Judge Douglas Spencer granted a summary judgment in favor of the city. "My view of the case is that the ordinance on its face is not in conflict with state priorities" of reducing solid waste, said Spencer. He also stated that his job is not to make political decisions for the Portland City Council. "Nobody elected me or any other judge to run the city of Portland."

Judge Spencer added, "In my judgment, the attempt to anticipate the consequences — the side effects and the fallout — is precisely what the city councilors are elected to do, and precisely what a judge should not do." If the polystyrene foam ban turns out to have negative effects, Spencer said, the city council could change the ordinance. "Legislatures sometimes make mistakes, but it isn't illegal to do so."

The plaintiffs in the case are now appealing Judge Spencer's decision, but in the meantime, McDonald's outlets and other Portland fast-food restaurants are serving coffee in paper cups. "About 2200 restaurants and grocery stores are affected by the ordinance," says Fitch, "and only four have asked for exemptions because they couldn't find alternative products. Two of the four were granted exemptions."

City Attorney Jeffrey Rogers emphasizes that Portland's intent is "not to fine people, but to make sure all firms come into compliance." Letters are sent to suspected violators and an on-site inspection is conducted three weeks later. If there's a violation, a fine of \$250 can be issued for the first offenders, and \$500 for second.

"We've sent out about 180 letters," says Fitch, "and of the 160 establishments inspected thus far, six had polystyrene foam on-site and were fined."

Lee Barrett is the city contract employee who issues those citations. While some Portland residents call him "Styro-Cop," he is not a policeman (although the police department has offered to provide him with a polystyrene police badge).

Barrett is dedicated to clearing the city's retail food vendors of polystyrene foam. He explains to local businesspeople that foam products are not biodegradable and that chlorofluorocarbons are damaging to the Earth's ozone layer.

"To use plastic to drink eight ounces of coffee for two minutes and then throw it away where it will take up space forever is absurd," says Barrett.

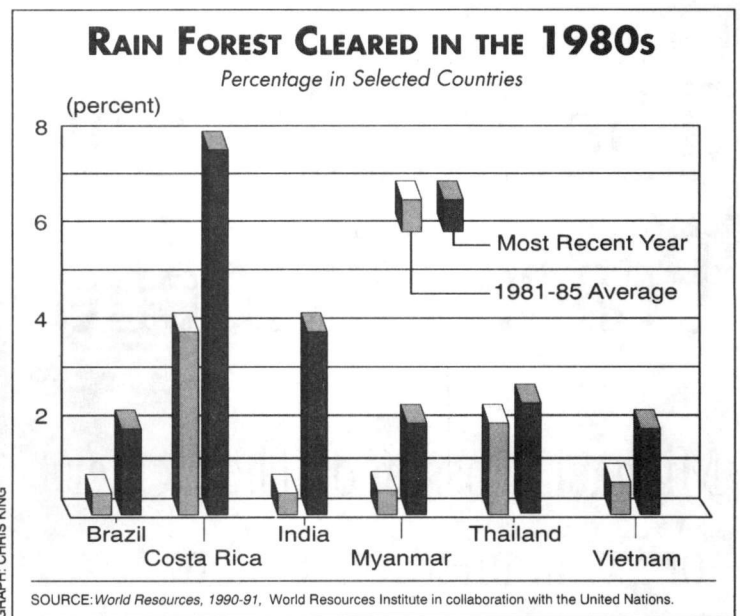
SOURCES: Catherine Fitch, City of Portland, 1120 S.W. 5th Ave., Portland, OR 97204 (503-226-3161); Fred Leeson, "Judge Backs Portland Foam Ban," *The Oregonian*, February 7, 1990, p. A2; Timothy Egan, "A Lonely Law Enforcer Pursues New Violator," *New York Times*, May 4, 1990.

Fighting to Save the Rain Forests

THE WORLD'S TROPICAL FORESTS ARE VANISHING MUCH FASTER than scientists once thought. In August, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization said that the forests are disappearing twice as quickly as the estimates of 10 years ago. The annual rate of deforestation is now 66,000 square miles — an area about the size of Oklahoma. In the process, the vanishing of the rain forests contributes to the greenhouse effect and an imbalance of oxygen and carbon dioxide.

The cities of the Netherlands are taking this matter seriously. As part of a campaign that is approaching the end of its second year, about 60 percent of the Netherlands' 200 largest cities have chosen to sharply curtail their use of tropical timber. As one city council after another has taken action, they have been prompted to do so by dozens of national and local environmental groups, as well as third-world solidarity groups and churches. The Union of Dutch Municipalities has endorsed the idea as well.

The Netherlands is second only to Japan as the nation with the world's largest per capita consumption of tropical timber. About



two-thirds of this timber is utilized for housebuilding, with the remainder used for everything from park benches to furniture to toys. But now, in communities throughout the Netherlands, city councils have chosen to cut back on using tropical timber for everything from office buildings to parks to water projects. Also, some of the larger cities, such as The Hague, are now approving private home-building projects on the condition that contractors refrain from using tropical timber. ■

EVERY TIME YOU SHOP YOU CAN MAKE THE WORLD BETTER...OR WORSE

Do you really know the companies behind the products you buy everyday?

Find out...which cereal manufacturer warms you and not the ozone...which peanut butter maker has women in upper management... and more.



Shopping For A Better World is a quick and easy guide to socially responsible supermarket shopping. It rates 168 companies and 1800 products in 11 areas.

Join 700,000 people who cast their economic vote. To get your copy call **1-800-U-CAN-HELP** or return the coupon below.

Yes, I want to shop for a better world!

Please send me:

1 copy at \$4.95 (+ \$1 postage) 5 copies at \$15.00 (+ \$3 postage)

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

MC/VISA/AmExp (circle one) # _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

or check made out to

Council on Economic Priorities, Inc., Dept. N-1, 30 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

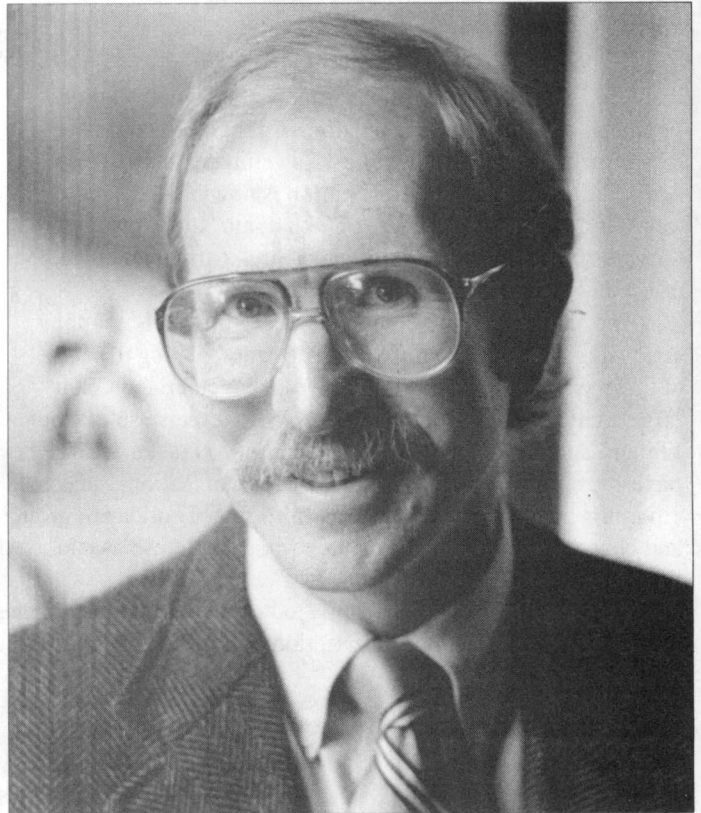
MUN

"Finally! An easy way to get in and out of the store and support companies with responsible policies. I feel as if I'm really making a difference."

- Pat McCollough
Louisville, KY

The Middle East Crisis and the Peace Dividend

Michael Closson of The Center for Economic Conversion discusses the effects of the Persian Gulf intervention upon military spending, the peace dividend and conversion of the military economy.



AS THE COLD WAR BECOMES RELEGATED TO A PLACE IN recent history, issues like economic conversion and the peace dividend have received more attention than ever. However, with the U.S. commitment of troops in the Persian Gulf this summer, there have been new questions about whether the military budget really will be significantly reduced and what these developments mean for America's cities and towns.

To explore these issues, MFP spoke to Michael Closson, executive director of the Center for Economic Conversion. The interview took place in mid-September, as the U.S. troop buildup in the Middle East was escalating.

Q: What effect will the U.S.'s strong military presence in the Persian Gulf have upon ongoing efforts to curtail Pentagon spending in the years ahead?

CLOSSON: I don't believe that the current crisis in the Middle East alters the reality that the Cold War is essentially over. Even with this situation in the Middle East, there are so many other critical pressures on our federal budget — the mounting federal

debt, the savings and loan crisis, the time bomb of toxic wastes at Department of Energy plants and on military bases, our crumbling cities and highways — it is hard for me to imagine that we're not going to see substantial changes in the Pentagon budget as we move through the decade of the '90s.

Q: But aren't there going to be some hawkish voices in Congress arguing that any military cutbacks are foolhardy because there is always going to be someone like Saddam Hussein out there with whom we're going to have to contend?

CLOSSON: I like to go back to the business concept of zero-based budgeting. And that simply means that rather than basing next year's budget on last year's budget, you ask, "What's our mission, what kind of program do we need to accomplish that mission, and what will it take to fund that program?" Very clearly, the mission of our military has to be dramatically altered. Yes, we certainly are going to need an appropriate defense. But the budget of 1992, for example, should not be based on the budget of 1990. It should be based on new military priorities.

However, it is going to be hard to get Congress to shift from the old pork barrel mentality to a new kind of thinking. Yet even acknowledging that there are going to be trouble spots around the world and that the U.S. has to keep an adequate level of defense, we no longer need a lot of the infrastructure that we've built up to fight the Cold War — for example, those intercontinental ballistic missiles and several hundred thousand troops in Europe. And I personally don't think that a military configured to the new realities, especially if we support United Nations' initiatives and not play policeman of the world, has to cost us nearly as much as it did during the '80s.

Q: But in light of what has occurred in the Persian Gulf, do you foresee any Congressional retreat on making cuts in Pentagon spending?

CLOSSON: In the short term, yes. The problem is that this Middle East crisis has been painted as a patriotic issue. Democrats in Congress particularly feel hard-pressed to argue against military intervention for fear of being perceived as weak. So this is definitely going to hinder efforts for immediate substantial cuts in the Pentagon budget.

Q: Do you also see a loss of momentum, even if only temporary, in the efforts toward conversion?

CLOSSON: Yes, I think we have lost some momentum, which had really been building. This has been a setback for the supporters of new national priorities, and I think we have to acknowledge

There are some wonderful conversion possibilities in the fields of solar and hydrogen power, both for defense workers and for selected companies that have expertise, assuming we actually invest in our future and establish an energy policy that is adequately funded.



PHOTO: JIM WEST / IMPACT VISUALS

that. The Middle East situation has played right into the hands of the forces of militarism.

On the other hand, I've noticed that for the first time in my memory, many commentators have seriously started to look at the economic implications of military intervention. There has been a lot of talk recently about the economic impact of having our troops

I don't see a substantial peace dividend for the 1991 budget. But I predict that within a year we will once again see significant momentum build for major Pentagon cuts.

in the Middle East and the burden that a war would place upon our economy. That shows a realization that our economy is not nearly as healthy as it once was, and that we can't afford to intervene indiscriminately — particularly unilaterally, or to a substantial degree for a significant period of time — in foreign military adventures.

Q: What else have we learned from this Middle East crisis?

CLOSSON: It has pointed once again to our need for a comprehensive energy policy for the U.S. And in addition to serious steps toward conservation and energy efficiency, such a policy has to involve the development of more renewable energy technologies like solar and hydrogen power. There are some wonderful conversion possibilities in all of these fields, both for defense workers and for selected companies that have expertise, assuming we actually invest in our future and establish an energy policy that is adequately funded. There are already opportunities for defense firms to get involved in emerging energy technologies. For example, Rockwell International has developed an advanced electricity co-generation plant.

Q: What about the peace dividend? Has any hope of a peace dividend for the near future vanished?

CLOSSON: I don't see a substantial peace dividend for the 1991 budget. But I predict that within a year we will once again see significant momentum build for major Pentagon cuts. Most people realize that we can't afford a bloated military any longer.

Q: In spite of our intervention in the Persian Gulf, do you sense a growing local acknowledgment of inevitable economic changes related to shifts in Pentagon spending?

CLOSSON: Yes. I was recently in Monterey discussing Fort

Ord, which is one of the bases identified for possible closure — and I gave speeches on base conversion to the Kiwanis Club and at the World Affairs Council. The sense I got from those people was that while they may not necessarily welcome the closure of Fort Ord, at least they realize that they could turn it into a significant economic benefit for their area.

Of course, I'm aware that there is still going to be resistance to base closures in threatened communities. But I think we are going to continue to see bases shut down because the Pentagon has wanted to close a lot of them for the last decade. We'll have to see what the impact of the latest Middle East developments will be. But my guess is that the base closures are going to continue, as well as weapons systems cancellations.

Q: If the handwriting is on the wall that some bases are going to be shut and that military cutbacks will eventually occur, isn't it hard for local officials to oppose conversion efforts that would benefit their cities?

CLOSSON: It depends on their mindset. The mayor of Alameda, California, has said that if his community develops a conversion plan for the Alameda Naval Air Station, it will make it easier for the Navy to close it. So there are a lot of ways to resist planning efforts.

We're saying that right now there is an opportunity for concerned citizens to really start their own process of exploring conversion alternatives. Most threatened local and state governments are primarily assessing the immediate impacts of closures rather than seriously exploring the available alternatives.

The reason I'm excited about base conversion is that I see it as a natural opportunity for citizens to start to shape their local economies in positive ways. Unlike plant closures — where companies can basically thumb their noses at communities if they want to — base closures are clearly in the public domain.

Q: In cities where bases are targeted to be shut down, will visionary local officials be needed to take a leadership role to build some momentum for planning?

CLOSSON: Not necessarily. The leadership can also come from concerned citizens, as long as they make a real effort to become knowledgeable and broad-based so they aren't ruled out as a movement on the fringes.

Of course, the more public officials who are willing to sign on to something like this, the better. But by making a start and serving as a catalyst, citizens may be able to attract individuals who initially were a little skeptical.

It is particularly important for far-sighted citizens to take the lead because there is often a significant time lag between the

closure of a base and its full re-use as a civilian facility. So time is of the essence to minimize economic dislocation.

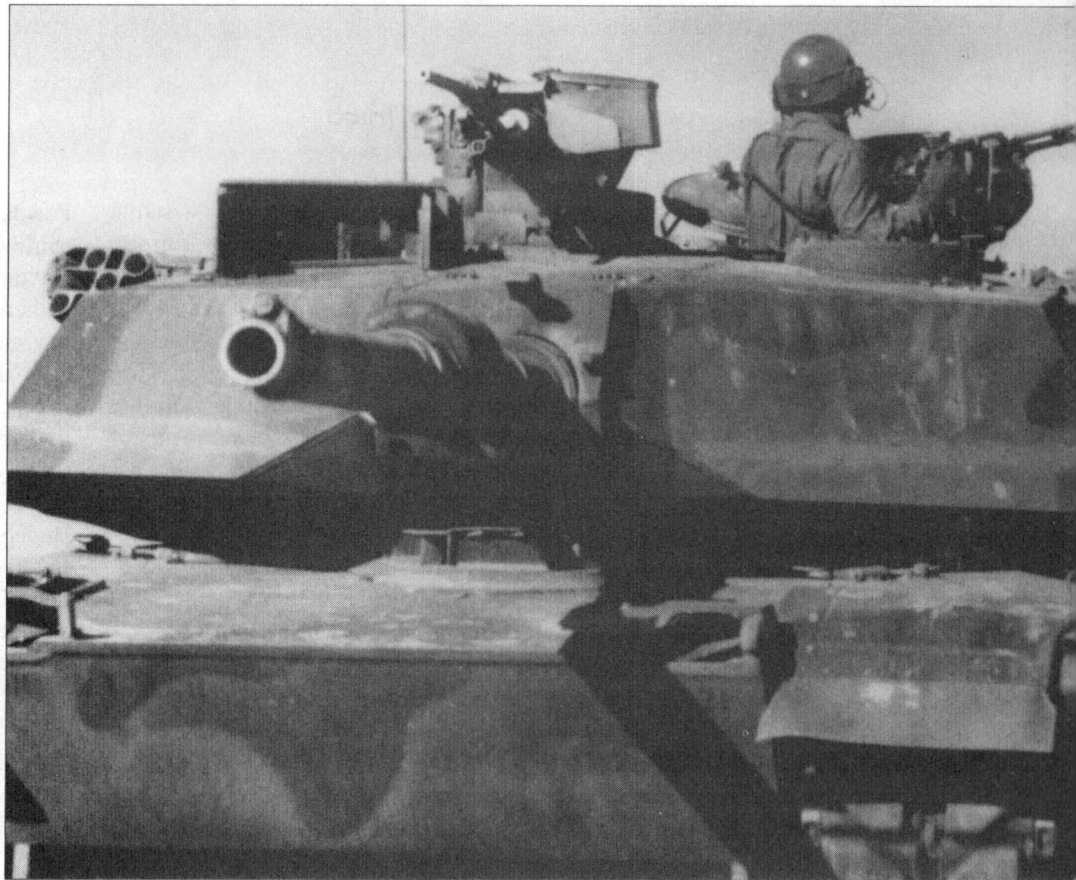
Q: Are corporate officials becoming any more receptive to the concept of economic conversion?

CLOSSON: With a few notable exceptions, corporations are still not very receptive. A number of companies are exploring alternatives, but it tends to be more diversification than conversion — acquiring other smaller companies as a way to sustain themselves. Unfortunately, that doesn't necessarily help their own workforce or the communities in which they're located when defense contracts are terminated.

Q: Even so, are you optimistic about conversion efforts over the long-term?

CLOSSON: Yes. The Middle East crisis has been a setback for the entire peace movement, and conversion is part of it. We've taken a shot because the military budget isn't going to be cut the way we had hoped. But I think in the long-term, trends are still in the right direction.

We definitely need some strong federal conversion legislation because only the federal government has the clout and resources to make widespread conversion planning happen. But we can't focus solely on that. One state — Washington — has already passed its own conversion bill and over a dozen others are seriously considering this. So we don't have to wait for federal action to start the transition. Work at the local and state levels empowers people to start shaping their futures and builds the constituency that will eventually lead to a shift in national priorities and a new vision of national security. ■



Work at the local and state levels empowers people to start shaping their futures and builds the constituency that will eventually lead to a shift in national priorities and a new vision of national security.

East Side Stories

The stampede is on to form sister city ties with communities in the fast-changing eastern European nations.

by Richard Trubo

WHEN IT COMES TO NEW SISTER city ties, eastern Europe couldn't be any hotter.

Inspired by the dramatic and awesome changes that surged through the communist world in the last year, U.S. cities are rushing to form links with the newly-formed municipal governments of countries that seemed so inaccessible before the curtain rose, before the wall came down.

"Most definitely, we're getting a lot of inquiries from cities in the U.S. interested in forming new ties in eastern Europe," says Megan Donnelly of Sister Cities In-

Potsdam has formed a sister-city relationship with Sioux Falls, South Dakota. In November 1989, 250,000 citizens of Prague gathered in Wenceslas Square, day after day, chanting for what Vaclav Havel would call "the gentle revolution"; just months later, Chicago and Prague would tie a knot giving the Czechoslovakian city its first sisterly link with the West.

And that's just the beginning. Budapest and Fort Worth, Texas, have finalized their sister-city agreement. So have Cleveland and Bratislava, Czechoslovakia; New Brunswick, New Jersey, and Debrecen, Hungary; and Toledo, Ohio, and Szeged, Hungary. Still other east-west cities are close to signing on the dotted line.

In some U.S. communities, the choice of a particular sister city in eastern Europe has been driven by emigres who are still emotionally bonded to their homelands. "Chicago has

a very large Czechoslovakian community," says Pat Matsumoto, Chicago's assistant commissioner of cultural affairs. "In fact, we have the largest Czechoslovakian population outside of Czechoslovakia itself."

Jaroslav Koran, the Lord Mayor of Prague, traveled to Chicago in June and joined with Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley to sign a declaration of their sister-city tie.

Sioux Falls' link with Potsdam became the first U.S. association with an East

ternational. "One of the problems has been that a lot of restructuring is still going on in these countries. Some are just now having elections establishing counterparts we can begin working with."

Despite the obstacles, agreements are being drafted and documents are being signed. Barely more than a year ago, as Mikhail Gorbachev visited East Berlin, riot police broke up demonstrations in nearby Potsdam as people pressed for immediate reforms; today, the Berlin Wall has been hammered into history and

Inspired by the dramatic changes that surged through the communist world in the last year, U.S. cities are rushing to form links with newly-formed municipal governments.



THE LORD MAYOR AT THE MERCHANTILE EXCHANGE.

Jaroslav Koran, (center), Lord Mayor of Prague, visited the trading floor in Chicago shortly after announcing his community's sister tie with Mayor Richard Daley's (r) city.

German city, and with the uniting of the two Germanys this fall, is the last one, too. The Sioux Falls-Potsdam tie began taking root in March when Dr. Michael Moller, a visiting German language professor at Sioux Falls' Augustana College, was asked to be an observer of the national elections in East Germany. At that time, he made some initial inquiries on behalf of Sioux Falls into a sister-city relationship.

Then in June, a Sioux Falls Lutheran church sent 45 choir members (and their spouses) to sing in East German churches. While in Potsdam, one member of that delegation—David Stenseth, Sioux Falls' former economic development director—went to City Hall on behalf of Sioux Falls Mayor Jack White, where he met with Potsdam Mayor Horst Gramlich and signed the initial sister-city "treaty." In September, Gramlich visited Sioux Falls for the first time, where formal signing of the final documents took place.

"Sioux Falls is a pretty conservative area, and when we first began looking into establishing a sister city in an eastern bloc country, some of us wondered how the community would react," says Tom Hall, chairman of the Sioux Falls sister city association. "But that concern was not well-founded. It was a ghost that just didn't exist."

Although some of the new sister-city ties seem to have formed rather quickly, the participants in the programs recognize that they are dealing with countries in transition, which could pose some obstacles as the programs evolve in the upcoming months and years.

"We expect things to move slowly," says Jane Tublin, director of the sister-city program for New Brunswick. "But that tends to happen with most sister cities. It takes time to develop trust." She adds that just communicating across international boundaries can often be time-consuming.

New Brunswick was the first U.S. community to sign an official agreement with a Hungarian city. But unlike some of the other ties that are now being formed, New Brunswick began sending out feelers for a Hungarian sister city more than two years ago. The New Jersey community has a large Hungarian population, and Tublin began exploring possible connections in 1988 with the help of Sister Cities International and the Hungarian embassy.

Then, in summer 1989, the president of the American-Hungarian Foundation (who resides in New Brunswick) visited Debrecen, carrying a letter from New Brunswick Mayor John Lynch, inviting Debrecen to jointly explore the possibility of forming a sisterly association. Although there was some hesitation on Debrecen's part because of the ongoing political and social changes, officials there finally agreed to go forward. Last May, Debrecen Deputy Mayor Gyula Kortvelyesi arrived in New Brunswick to sign the sister-city agreement.

Fort Worth's tie with Budapest was aggressively pushed by two Hungarian-born Texas businessmen, one of whom was friends with the mayor of Budapest. Last December, a delegation from Budapest traveled to Fort Worth, where they were taken to a ranch, a rodeo and an array of private receptions and meetings. At the end of their visit, the visitors from Budapest publicly invited Fort Worth to form a sisterly bond.

Many of the U.S. cities now linking with eastern Europe hope that some business and trade opportunities will evolve from these ties. Most, however, are realistic enough to recognize that these opportunities will not develop overnight, and that eastern Europeans are not yet lining up to buy the trendiest new running shoes or even state-of-the-art color graphics computers.

"Seven members of the Hungarian parliament were just here, and they participated in a public forum where they were asked about doing business in Hungary," says Tublin. "While they are interested in business opportunities, they suggested that we give them time. It will happen somewhere down the line."

In the drive for new sister cities, some U.S. communities have found themselves competing against one another for the attention of the same eastern European city. Redondo Beach, California, had hoped to link up with Prague—until Chicago entered the picture. "We have a small Czechoslovakian community in Redondo Beach that was interested," says city clerk John Oliver. "We even tried to get the new President of Czechoslovakia to come to Redondo Beach when he visited the U.S. But once Chicago was given priority over us, the interest here waned."

Oliver adds, "Like the Spruce Goose, our effort got about three feet into the air before it was grounded." ■

A New Democracy

Two U.S. mayors had a unique view as Yugoslavs and Hungarians went to the polls for the first time in decades.

MAYORS WILLIAM ALTHAUS OF York (PA) and Tom Volgy of Tucson (AZ) have been through their share of elections. But there was nothing to prepare them for the moving experience of what they recently witnessed thousands of miles from home.

Last spring, both mayors served as official international observers of the first free elections held in over forty years in Eastern Europe.

Volgy joined five other American citizens—selected by the Democratic and Republican national committees—on a trip last March to Hungary, the mayor's native country. The group was chosen to help oversee the first free parliamentary elections since the Hungarian communists gained control of the government in the late 1940s.

The Tucson mayor, a Democrat and

“It was a real emotional event for me, but what I discovered is that it was an emotional event for everybody,” according to Volgy. “We felt a little bit like midwives giving birth to a democracy.”

Mayor Althaus traveled to Yugoslavia in April to observe the first multi-party elections in Croatia (the second largest Yugoslav republic) in 44 years. He was part of a 10-member delegation sponsored by the National Republican Institute, a non-profit, educational foundation. The group



ELECTION DAY.

The people of Croatia made history after over 30 years of communist rule.

an associate professor of political science at the University of Arizona, escaped from Hungary at the age of 10, when he and his family fled in the back of a truck while being fired upon by soldiers. When he returned to his hometown of Budapest this year, he was greeted warmly while monitoring elections in both the capital city and the countryside.

initially traveled to Zagreb, the capital of the Croatian republic, and on election day, spread out to 60 different polling sites in all parts of the republic, where they interviewed hundreds of election officials and voters.

In evaluating the fairness of the voting process, Althaus' delegation noted that a picture of Marshall Josip Tito was displayed at every polling site, in accordance with a law mandating that the former leader's portrait be exhibited at all public-meeting areas.

“We did witness one charming tug-of-war at a polling place where the non-communist members of the Election Commission attempted to pull a curtain in front of the portrait of Tito and the Communist officials attempted to pull it back, exhibiting the portrait,” recalls Althaus. “This process went on for quite some time. When we came back at the end of the day, we found that they had compro-

mised by half-draping Marshall Tito so that you knew he was there but weren't quite sure whether he was watching.”

Althaus believes that “on balance, the elections appeared to be reasonably fair in the context in which they occurred.” At one local Croatian precinct, many names were not on the voting list. When that occurred, these individuals had to go to the local commune or city government center, present identification and receive a certificate entitling them to vote. This process took as long as several hours.

“Our observation was that almost everyone confronted with this difficulty chose to continue with the process and receive the right to vote,” said the York mayor. “Consider if you would do so and how many people you know who would.”

Althaus notes, “In evaluating

the fairness of another country's election, it would be well for us not to be too critical or condescending. After all, if one looks at early elections in our country, there are certain things of which we should not be too proud,” including the denial of voting rights to women and blacks for most of U.S. history.

“On Sunday, the day of the election, when we were watching the people of Croatia walking to the polls or standing in long lines, we felt that we were actually watching history.”

In Hungary, Mayor Volgy recalls seeing an elderly man, dressed in an old World War I uniform, enter a polling site and ask, “Who should I vote for?” The observers told him that they could not direct him to vote in any particular way.

“Well,” said the man, “point me to the party of perpetual peace.”

Recalls Volgy, “There wasn't a dry eye in the place.”

SOURCES: Mayor William Althaus, City of York, 50 W. King St., P.O. Box 509, York, PA 17405; Kay Scrimger, “Althaus, Volgy Observe Eastern European Elections,” *U.S. Mayor*, June 11, 1990, p. 3.



Learning About Cities from the Ground Up

When Poland put local government reform on its agenda, officials traveled to U.S. municipalities for hands-on lessons.

FOR FIFTY YEARS, THERE HAS REALLY been no local government in Poland. As Jerzy Regulski, Poland's Undersecretary of State for Local Government Reform, says, "The municipality was abolished in 1939. There has been no municipal executive body as you [Americans] understand the term; the body was always state-appointed and, therefore, responsible to the central committee. No one can remember what the municipality was."

But with the recent dramatic changes in Poland, newly-formed municipal governments and their officials are looking to their counterparts in the U.S. for guidance in creating local, democratic institutions.

Last March, in a program coordinated by Sister Cities International, nine Polish officials spent three weeks in the U.S., meeting with municipal leaders to help prepare them for the change from "democratic centralism" to local governance. The

PHOTO: U.S.C.M. STAFF



ON NEW MUNICIPALITIES.

Senator Jerzy Regulski, Undersecretary of State for Local Government Reform, Republic of Poland, at the U.S. Conference of Mayors meeting.

Polish delegation included planners, economists, a businessman, an attorney, and two deputy ministers, all representatives of the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy. Splitting into three groups, they traveled to a number of U.S. cities (Cleveland, Buffalo, Phoenix, Fort Wayne, Richmond, Chicago, Aurora, Minneapolis/St. Paul, Philadelphia, Rochester, Richmond, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Toledo and Baltimore), spending time in city halls and learning the nuts and bolts of how local governments operate and interrelate to federal and state institutions. They learned about budgets, business development, the court system and citizen participation.

"We need experience and assistance

from Western countries to learn, among other things, what a mayor should have on his desk" and other components of municipal government, said Regulski when he spoke to the U.S. Conference of Mayors annual meeting in Chicago in June.

Local elections were held in Poland in May, in which 52,000 new municipal officials were elected. On June 18, the councils chose 2,400 new mayors.

The Poles, however, are realistic enough not to expect an immediate and smooth transition. Adam Kowalewski, Polish deputy minister of physical planning and construction, said he anticipated "a two- or three-year period of transition... to build the necessary cadre of professional local officials."

As a result, new groups of Poles are now making their way to the U.S., spending time in city halls and learning the intricacies of how cities are run. For instance, two local officials visited Chicago this summer, learning everything from how police and fire departments run to how the educational system works to how garbage is collected. Pat Matsumoto, Chicago assistant commissioner of cultural affairs, recalls that when the first delegation of Poles traveled to the Windy City in March, "They were very excited when they learned about taxes. They were quite intrigued at how taxes are used to pay for city functions." ■

U.S. MAYORS PLEDGE EASTERN EUROPEAN SUPPORT

THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS HAS MADE A COMMITMENT TO HELP CITY officials in eastern Europe make a smooth transition toward local democracy.

At the Conference's annual meeting in June, a resolution was approved by the International Affairs Committee that "pledges the support of American mayors to assist their colleagues" in eastern Europe, including developing funding for an American-Eastern European Mayors Leadership Institute.

The resolution also called for the creation of a response team of mayors who will meet with and assist mayors in eastern Europe who request such assistance.

SOURCE: U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 Eye St., N.W., Washington, DC 20006 (202-293-7330).

Sister Cities and U.S. Aid: Feasting with the Feds or Dining with the Devil?

Now that the Reagan-Bush administrations' wish has been granted and Nicaragua's Sandinistas have been replaced with a U.S.-backed government, sister-city organizers are facing a new dilemma: Should they fund their continuing programs in Nicaragua with U.S. government money?

by Sheldon Rampton
research by Gini Waddick

WHERE THERE'S A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PEOPLE WHO support this proposal and those who oppose it, I think the difference boils down to the question of whether or not you think we should — or *can* — own our own government."

Dave Thelen, an organizer of Bloomington, Indiana's sister-city project with Nicaragua, thought he had found a formula to define the dilemma faced by Bloomington and three other cities looking into project funding from the U.S. government's Agency for International Development (AID).

"That's the bottom line," he repeated. "How alienated are we from our own government?"

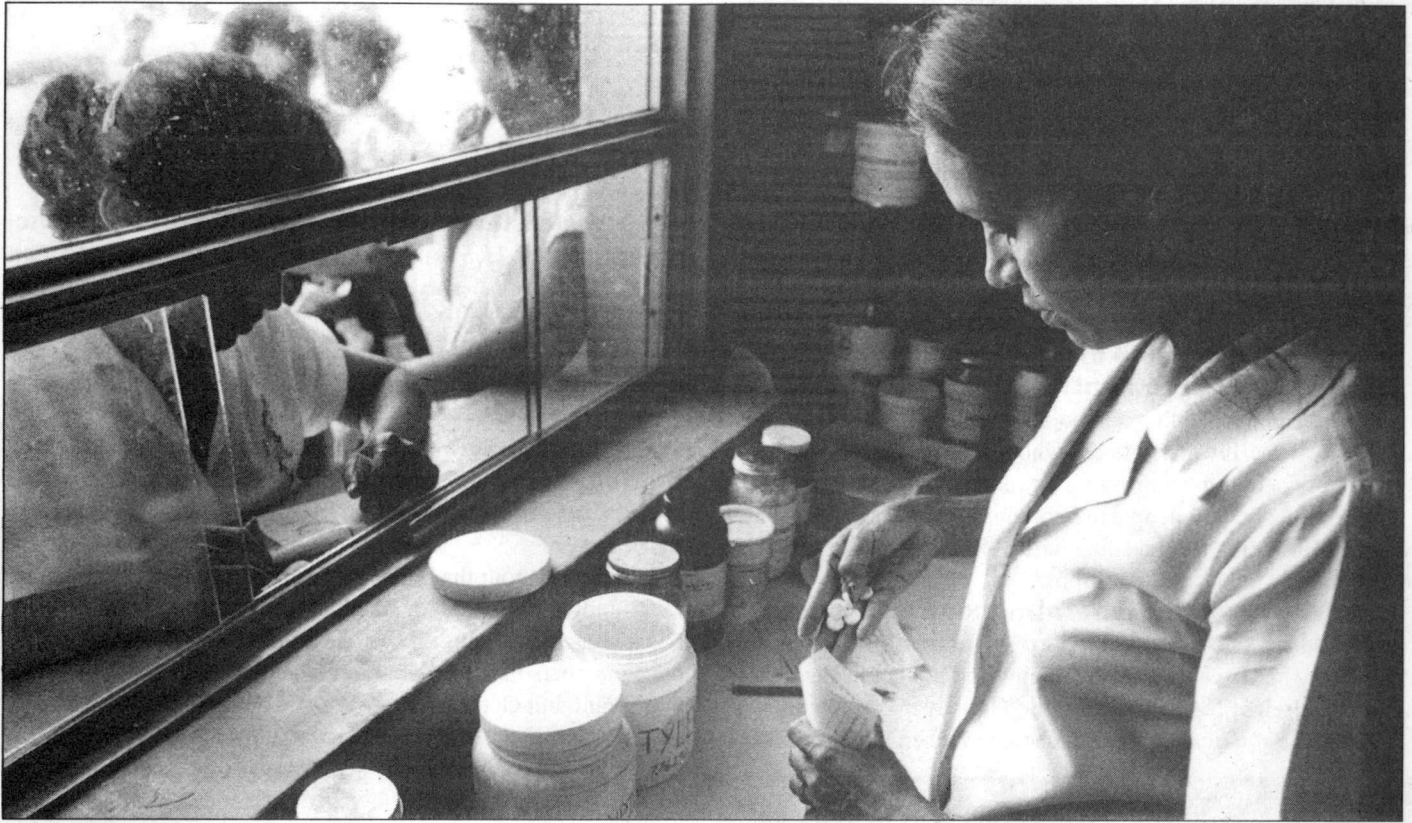
Bloomington has developed a "concept paper" in collaboration with other sister-city projects in Ann Arbor, Michigan; Providence, Rhode Island; and Richland Center, Wisconsin. In August this exploratory proposal was delivered to the U.S. AID mission in Managua. It seeks approximately \$500,000 to support public health programs in the four cities' Nicaraguan counterparts.

The proposal stresses that it will emphasize "democratic" and "publicly managed health" based on "decentralized, face-to-face community empowerment."

Richland Center hopes to use its share of the funding to send \$32,000 worth of medical supplies that have been identified as priority needs by the clinic in its sister city of Santa Teresa. The Richland Center organizers also hope to bring two health care workers from Santa Teresa to receive training in Richland Center.

"We feel that in addition to the educational benefits for the participants, these visits could also strengthen person-to-person contacts," said Jane Furchgott, one of the Richland Center project organizers. "All of the projects described are subject to the confirmation and adjustment of the people of Santa Teresa, whose input we can't have at this moment since telephone communication is poor. When they are asked, will they want what we're proposing? I think so. Since the AID money is going to Nicaragua anyway, it may as well be used for useful things."

But Furchgott admitted "experiencing a lot of doubt" after submitting the proposal. "My biggest factor in deciding whether to take the money will be what the Nicaraguans think," she said.



GIVING AID.

Should sister-city organizations accept money from the U.S. government's Agency for International Development (AID) even though it has described itself as a "tool of U.S. foreign policy?"

Several groups have argued that the use of AID funding to support community empowerment is a contradiction in terms. One of AID's own brochures describes it as "a tool of U.S. foreign policy" and "an economic arm of the State Department."

"Its programs are designed to provide 'civilian' support to U.S. economic and military intervention, and its policies serve to increase inequality, create dependence on imports and foreign capital, and disempower people's organizations and the labor movement," charged the Summer 1990 newsletter of the National Central America Health Rights Network (NCAHRN). "Its activities in Central America have included supplying 'non-lethal' aid to the Nicaraguan contras, building roads and bridges along the Honduran and Costa Rican borders with Nicaragua to facilitate contra movements, and training the police and judiciary in Guatemala and El Salvador."

NCAHRN went so far as to pass a resolution during its annual conference in May, forbidding any of its member organizations from accepting "direct financial support from U.S. AID or from any other agency of the U.S. State Department." Member groups that accept AID funding will be "prohibited from NCAHRN membership."

Carl Kurz of the Nicaraguan solidarity group Bikes Not Bombs said he is "fairly sure we will lose our three most active chapters if we take direct AID money. . . . AID is a worldwide force that makes its living stabilizing injustice for U.S. imperialism. That's its role. That's its strategy. I'm hesitant to dine with the devil; it causes remorseful indigestion and greed."

"I've heard people use language like 'betrayal' and 'selling out' to criticize our decision to apply," Thelen said. "We've had

some blunt exchanges within the Bloomington group as well, but in the end it's had a very positive, energizing effect on us. We're proceeding very cautiously, without illusions about the history or goals of U.S. policy. AID claims that it agrees with our vision of development based on grass-roots community empowerment. We're offering the government a chance to prove itself by acting differently than it has in the past. We're doing this to test our government."

"How much time do we want to waste finding out something we already know?" countered Louise Cohen of NCAHRN. "It's good that people are trying to have a fruitful discussion around this topic, but I wonder if we're not running in circles and chasing our tails."

A number of sister-city projects have taken a neutral position on the controversy. "We're supportive of what the participating groups are trying to do," said Alan Wright of the New Haven/Leon Sister City Project. "Our philosophy has been that we don't know in advance what's right and wrong. We're supportive of people who want to take the chance. However, our group had a constructive discussion that resulted in a decision not to apply. There were too many issues we had to resolve before we could participate, and we felt that focusing on those issues would be a diversion from our own organizational agenda."

On both sides of the discussion, sister-city organizers agree that groups considering applying for federal funding should address issues such as the following:

■ **Will U.S. money come with political strings attached?** "If we look at the ways the U.S. government has been involved in the Third World, it has traditionally opposed

national self-determination and free, universal health care," said Gregory Fox of Ann Arbor, one of the groups that is applying. "We've always been critical of the U.S., and there's no reason to believe U.S. AID has seen the light."

■ **Will AIDs reporting requirements place groups in the position of intelligence-gathering for the federal government?** "If you take their money, they have the right to audit your books," said NCAHRN's Louise Cohen. "They'll want to know whom you're working with and what those people are doing with the money. In the short-term, the money might benefit people in a community, but U.S. AID stands to get information from dealing with U.S. solidarity groups. This is something to be very careful of."

■ **Will accepting federal money begin a gradual process of seduction and co-optation?** "Groups may work very hard to apply for the money and not get it," suggested Patty Nuelsen of New Haven/Leon. "Or, they may get funding at first with no political strings attached, but when it comes time to

to pacify a bunch of activists."

■ **Will sister-city groups become unwitting accomplices of U.S. efforts to influence Nicaraguan politics at a national level?** "Bush recently suggested that the U.S. might hold back aid money until Humberto Ortega is removed as chief of the armed forces," said Carl Kurz. "This is one more sordid way in which AID money is being used as a weapon once again to lynch Nicaragua and the Sandinistas."

■ **Finally, will AID money or the prospect of funding serve to sow distrust between U.S. and Nicaraguan groups that have worked together until now?**

Concern about the potential divisiveness of the debate over U.S. funding prompted members of the organization Science for Nicaragua to disavow "blatant and crude threats" made by one of their members in a publicly-circulated article titled "Sell Out If You Want, but Get Ready to Pay the Consequences."

The group acknowledged that "many of us agree with the dangers inherent in U.S. government funding," but added, "We believe that the proper approach to this issue is one of reasoned debate, and . . . developing alternative funding sources that will not compromise our work."

"This debate is a natural part of the transition we're making in response to the changes inside Nicaragua," observed Tulio Browning of the New Haven/Leon Sister City Project. "It's a painful process but also exciting. The beauty of the sister-city movement is that it's a pro-active movement. It's based on doing positive things rather than simply criticizing things we disagree with. We each have the autonomy to make decisions for ourselves, set our own agendas, to experiment and be creative."

"Sister-city groups will continue to work together, regardless of our short-term differences. We're all in this for the long term. The important thing is solidarity with the people of Nicaragua. I think that spirit will carry us through our short-term errors."

"We haven't changed our priorities since the Nicaraguan election, and I would say that this proposal isn't worth pursuing if it creates divisions or detracts from the grass-roots character of our movement," Thelen said. "We don't think that what we're doing

is a panacea for Nicaragua's problems or a crusade. Some people send out fund-raising flyers and some try to shake down our government. I'm not even saying that what we're doing is right. I understand others' concerns, and I recognize that we might be making a mistake. Maybe we're just wasting our time. If that's the case, I can live with that. I've wasted time before. My feeling is that we won't know until we try. I'll feel satisfied if, through trying this, we get a little wiser as to how AID operates and how its strategy relates to the sister-city movement's vision of grass-roots community development." ■

PUTTING THE BRAKES ON AID? Carl Kurz of the Nicaraguan solidarity group Bikes Not Bombs said he is "fairly sure we will lose our three most active chapters if we take direct AID money."

renew in a year, they'll find that the guidelines are changed. By then, they'll have made commitments and will feel pressure to compromise in order to maintain funding."

"The funding of sister-city projects in Nicaragua through U.S. AID seems like a perfect way for the U.S. government to buy off a lot of people who have opposed their activities in Central America," argued Kathryn Savoie, a supporter of the Ann Arbor/Juigalpa Sister City Project. "While it is a lot of money for you or me, the amount of money being considered is a drop in the bucket for the U.S. . . . It's actually a cheap way for the U.S. government



PHOTO: LIZ CHILSEN

The Courage to Survive

Years after being brutally attacked by the military, the people of one Salvadoran town are determined to make their community whole again.

FOR THE 1,200 PEOPLE WHO RESIDE IN San Antonio Los Ranchos, every day is a struggle for survival.

The small village was one of hundreds in El Salvador that was destroyed by the military in vicious raids in the early 1980s. As a result, at least one-third of the nation's people were displaced, forced into refugee camps as far away as Honduras.

Though their plight was tragic, these survivors were the "lucky" ones. Many thousands of civilians were massacred in the attacks.

Even so, the people of San Antonio Los Ranchos are back. Their repopulation movement began in 1987 when they left the Mesa Grande refugee camp, heading for home and the ruins they had left behind. After initially settling in nearby Salvadoran communities, they eventually made their way to San Antonio to begin rebuilding their lives.

The courage of these Salvadorans has not been lost on the people of Berkeley, California. In July 1983, San Antonio Los Ranchos and Berkeley formed the first sister-city tie between communities in the U.S. and El Salvador. And although the relationship understandably waned when San Antonio all but disappeared from the map after the military raid, it is now on the upswing, with the Californians providing moral, political and economic support for their Central American friends.

In August, a nine-person Berkeley delegation traveled to San Antonio Los Ranchos to celebrate the second anniversary of the repopulation of the village. They carried with them an official proclamation from the city of Berkeley, signed by Mayor Loni Hancock, honoring the courage of the people of San Antonio.

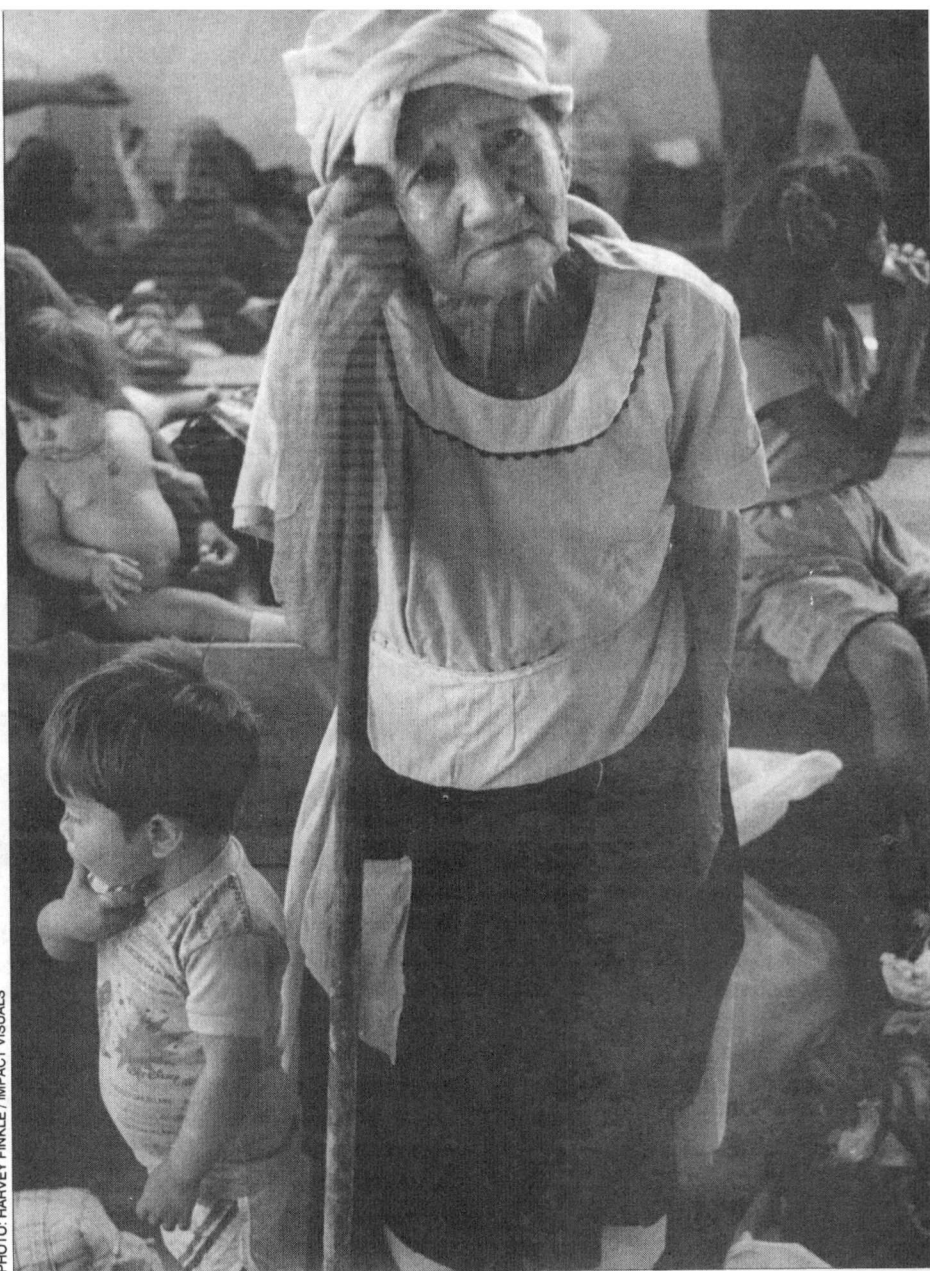


PHOTO: HARVEY FINKLE/IMPACT VISUALS

Paul Desfor of the Berkeley Sister City Project says the progress made in San Antonio has been striking. During his first visit to El Salvador not long after the repopulation process began, people were living under plastic coverings. "Now, everyone has housing," says Desfor. "There is a water system. The people make shoes, clothes, and there is a child-care center. They grow beans, corn and cucumbers; it's all done by hand and it's very hard work."

While in San Antonio, the group from Berkeley heard stories that were inspiring and terrifying, as people recounted how they had survived the terror of recent years. One woman described an incident in 1984 when she and her children hid in the high grass for two days as soldiers used machetes to kill 80 townspeople, many of whom had jumped into a lake in a desperate attempt to escape and survive.

Military-imposed obstacles still remain for the people of San Antonio. The army intercepts shipments of medication into the community, claiming that it may get into the hands of guerrillas. The military is also stopping fertilizer from reaching the village, and on several occasions, has burned the crops of farmers. During the Berkeley delegation's visit, U.S.-supplied military jets constantly flew overhead. On the group's last day in the area, civilians were fired on in the nearby town of Guarjila, three kilometers down the road.

"The people of San Antonio Los Ranchos have unity, solidarity and spirit that won't be denied," says Desfor. "In this sister-city relationship, we have learned more from them than they have from us."

SOURCE: Berkeley Sister City Project with El Salvador, 3126 Martin Luther King Jr. Way, Berkeley, CA 94703 (415-848-3949).

Cities Find Grounds for Coffee Boycott

The boycott of Salvadoran coffee is percolating in city halls, forcing manufacturers to respond to a brewing controversy.

A GROWING LIST OF MAYORS AND other local officials are hitting El Salvador where it hurts, poking symbolic holes in coffee-bean sacks that are crucial to the Salvadoran government and economy.

Mayors Donald Fraser of Minneapolis, Art Agnos of San Francisco and Loni Hancock of Berkeley have endorsed the boycott. So have the Los Angeles City Council, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, and nine members of the Chicago City Council. A number of state officials and governing agencies are also on board, including the Minnesota State House of Representatives, 58 members of the California state legislature, and Massachusetts Attorney General Jim Shannon.

The roots of the boycott date back to November 17, 1989, when the Salvadoran military brutally murdered six Jesuit priests and two female witnesses. Four days later, California Lieutenant Governor Leo

vide the #1 source of money for the Salvadoran government to wage war on its own population," says Neighbor to Neighbor. "A boycott will provide a vehicle for every American to stop supporting the repression unknowingly."

In endorsing the coffee boycott, Minneapolis Mayor Fraser said, "A boycott of Salvadoran coffee is a good way to speak directly to those in power in El Salvador, to let them know that many of us in the U.S. want military action there to be replaced by constructive negotiation for peace. Those in power should also know that we want to see all sectors of the Salvadoran people free to participate in their government and their economy without fear of reprisal from any other sector. In support of these goals,

I endorse Neighbor to Neighbor's boycott of Salvadoran coffee. I hope it will produce the same kind of dramatic change that economic pressure is now producing in South Africa."

The boycott's success stories are starting to mount. For example, as of August, more than 40 stores in Ann Arbor (MI) have stopped stocking Folgers coffee, the top-selling U.S. brand that imports



PHOTO: ROBERT FOX / IMPACT VISUALS

BLOOD AND COFFEE

Protesters from Neighbor to Neighbor demonstrate in New York promoting a national boycott of Folgers.

some of its product from El Salvador. The Red Apple Company, owner of Manhattan's largest supermarket chain (43 stores), announced that it was suspending Folgers purchases for 60 days this summer in support of the boycott.

Procter & Gamble, which manufactures the Folgers brand, has reacted aggressively to the boycott. After a Boston TV station ran a 30-second commercial attacking Procter & Gamble for buying Salvadoran coffee beans and thus prolonging the civil war there, the corporate giant pulled all its advertising from the station, estimated to be worth as much as \$1 million a year.

On the national level, more than 40 U.S. Senators and Representatives have endorsed the boycott. Meanwhile, a recent letter from Undersecretary of State Robert Kimmitt urged Procter & Gamble to continue purchasing Salvadoran coffee to provide economic stability to the Central American country.

SOURCE: Neighbor to Neighbor, 2601 Mission St., Suite 400, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415-824-3355).

After a Boston TV station ran a 30-second commercial attacking Procter & Gamble for buying Salvadoran beans, the corporate giant pulled all its advertising from the station.

McCarthy and actor Ed Asner helped launch the Salvadoran coffee boycott, sponsored by Neighbor to Neighbor, a San Francisco-based political advocacy group.

Supporters of the boycott say that Salvadoran coffee exports indirectly support the right-wing Salvadoran death squads, since it is the wealthy coffee growers who subsidize the squads. "Revenues from coffee exports (\$400 million per year) pro-

SISTERS TO THE RIGHT

IN ONE OF HIS FIRST ACTS AS the new mayor in Nicaragua's capital city, Arnoldo Alemán Lacayo threw an expensive party for several Cuban-exile mayors from Florida, inviting them to set up sister-city relations with the various districts of Managua.

Alemán is known as a right-wing hard-liner within the UNO coalition that defeated the Sandinistas in February's elections. His first official decree, issued in early May, was an order to tear down a wall protecting the home of former President Daniel Ortega.

The wall still stands, now adorned with murals and statements like "Alemán, this is not the Berlin Wall!"

Alemán also denounced the administration of former Sandinista mayor Carlos Carrión, accusing it of corruption, and theft of municipal property. The denunciation included Managua's sister-city ties with other countries. "The Sandinistas took all projects, and even project proposals, set up parallel organizations and are trying to get foreign governments and international organizations to give money directly to them," Alemán complained.

WISCONSIN AID

THE WISCONSIN-NICARAGUA Partners, a 25-year-old organization that promotes Wisconsin's sister-state relationship with Nicaragua, announced in June that it has received a \$1.4 million grant from the U.S. Agency for Interna-

tional Development (AID).

The Partners is a separate organization from the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua (WCCN), which also promotes the sister-state relationship. Unlike Partners, WCCN has no ties to AID and has been a consistent critic of U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua.

Like AID, Nicaragua's sister-state relationship with Wisconsin originally grew out of the Kennedy administration's Alliance for Progress. The Partners organization began under the Alliance and, in ensuing years, served as a channel for U.S. aid to Nicaragua during the rule of the Somoza dictatorship. After Somoza was overthrown by the Sandinistas in 1979, Partners continued to serve as a channel between Nicaragua's "private sector" and U.S. bankers, government leaders and members of the media.

In late April, less than a week after the Sandinista government left office, the Wisconsin-Nicaragua Partners held their 25th anniversary celebration, prompting Partners' President Jeannine Desautels to reflect on the "difficult times" her organization had suffered during the Sandinista rule. "Now," she said, "there is a sense of optimism."

Desautels also expressed enthusiasm about the U.S. AID grant her organization received in July, which she said would be used to provide medical, psychological and nutritional care to Nicaraguan orphans.

"This grant represents one of many U.S. activities recently initiated in Nicaragua and is an example of our desire to assist the Nicaraguan people in rebuilding their lives," said AID assistant administrator James

E. Michel.

In contrast with U.S.-Nicaragua sister-city programs that emerged during the years of the Sandinista government, the Partners program has not expressed any misgivings about taking U.S. AID money.

In response to a reporter's questions about links between AID and the CIA, Desautels said the allegation was "asinine," adding, "I've never met anyone from the CIA."

CLEAN WATER

BRENDAN SHEA OF BOULDER, Colorado says he "learned to swear" in Nicaragua while attempting to yoke oxen.

"Lashing an ox's horns to a wooden yoke with a leather thong is quite a chore," Shea wrote in a letter home. "It involves belting the ox on the nose and swearing a lot. Then we had to lash the yoke to the wagon tongue. This involved getting the oxen to hold still while tying the leather thong and more swearing."

Shea, who serves on the board of directors of Boulder's Friendship City Projects, is spearheading a project that will bring clean drinking water to the 3,500 residents of Teotecacinte, a small town near Boulder's Nicaraguan sister city of Jalapa. Citizens of Boulder are working to raise \$25,000 for construction of the water system.

"Currently the people of Teotecacinte draw the water they use for cooking and drinking from the Limon river that runs past the town," Shea wrote. "The river is contaminated with

numerous parasites as well as soap, motor oil, animal dung, pesticides and other chemicals. People bathe and wash their clothes in the river, and they wash tractors and other vehicles in the river as well. The contaminated water causes diarrhea, especially in young children. The dehydration that results from diarrhea kills more children under the age of three than any other disease. In my first two weeks in Teotecacinte, two infants died of dehydration resulting from diarrhea caused by contaminated water."

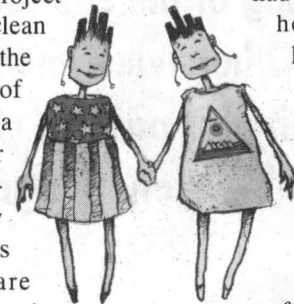
While working in Teotecacinte, Shea received a visit from his father, a "rather conservative" doctor and retired Air Force colonel who wanted to see Nicaragua for himself.

"He was continually surprised," Shea wrote. "We went to visit [a man named] Rogelio Girón. Rogelio was not at home, but Dad ended up examining several children while he was in the house.

One of Rogelio's daughters was recovering from the mumps. As he was examining the lymph nodes in her neck, he turned to me and said, 'I wish I had a stethoscope.' ...If

he had brought his bag, he would have been in Teotecacinte for several days examining patients. I am going to ask him to come back to Nicaragua for one of his volunteer stints.

He left with a lot of suggestions and told me he was proud of me. I am here doing what I'm doing because of the things he taught me, and I was glad to have the chance to show him the community in which I work."



A Tale of Two Cities

After the Defense Department announced decisions on military cutbacks and base closures, cities in Texas and California couldn't have reacted any differently.

WHEN THE PENTAGON announced that, due to "recent changes in the international climate," it would dismantle the Army's Second Armored Division at Fort Hood, Texas, shock waves reverberated through the adjacent city of Killeen. As tanks were being positioned for storage—forming parking lots stretching more than two miles long—and as many of the 12,000 soldiers based there were beginning to disappear, Killeen's mayor and other officials bitterly criticized the military's decision. This summer, a lawsuit was filed to block the departure of the armored division.

At about the same time, city leaders in Sacramento, California, were faced with a similar dilemma. Nearby Mather Air Force Base was designated for shutdown by the federal government's Commission on Base Realignments and Closures. But rather than

resisting the Pentagon's decision, many Sacramento leaders decided to meet the new reality head-on. A conversion committee has been formed to study and present proposals on how best to adjust to the closure of the 6000-acre facility 12 miles east of the California state capital.

The stories of Killeen and Sacramento are reflective of the diverse ways that communities across the U.S. are responding to

the ebbing of the military buildup that flourished in the 1980s. Some cities see it as the beginning of the end for their economies. Others view it as a real opportunity for positive change and possible economic growth.

"We're all for peace," said Killeen Mayor Major Blair. "But there is something totally wrong about how this is happening. We've always backed the military 100 percent all the way, but now that everything is supposed to be just fine over there, we're going to be living in welfare conditions over here."

Fort Hood, located in central Texas about 100 miles from Austin, is not closing. But about 3,500 soldiers of the Second Armored Division are being reassigned. And since Killeen (population: 68,000) depends on the military base as its major source of economic activity, the townspeople are jittery and upset, claiming that they have helped win the Cold War and now are being victimized by that turn of events.

"This is an awfully fine unit to be throwing away," said Mayor Blair. "I wish we'd wait until the Russians got rid of theirs before we did it."

In June, Bell County (in which Killeen is located) went to court to try to block the Pentagon's decision. Joined by a citizens' group called Keep Hood Alive and Kicking Inc. (or KHAKI), the county government filed suit in federal district court in Waco, seeking an injunction to block the army from closing down the Second Armored Division. At press time, the court

Some cities see military cutbacks as the beginning of the end for their economies. Others view them as a real opportunity for positive change and possible economic growth.

had not ruled on the lawsuit.

The county and KHAKI claim that the army should have issued an environmental impact statement indicating the effect its decision would have on the region. The plaintiffs have introduced studies that it commissioned, contending that as use of the water and sewer systems declines in the area, they will become dangerously inefficient. They also claim that the "human environment" will be harmed, as thousands of houses and apartments are left vacant, leaving them prey to vandalism and crime.

"We're going to be hit by a double whammy," said Mayor Blair. "Just as our tax base is shriveling, we're going to have to provide additional services to all these people in economic distress."

In Sacramento, however, city leaders have a more upbeat approach to closure of Mather Air Force Base. In fact, as far back as 1984, Sacramento Mayor Anne Rudin was meeting with Pentagon officials, discussing ways that workers could be protected if Mather should ever be shut down. Today, Rudin is a member of the Sacramento Area Commission on Mather Conversion (SACOM-C), which is examining ways to re-use the base and keep the economy in the area from being negatively impacted by the closure.

Of course, for several months, some people in Sacramento had difficulty accepting Mather's fate. But, according to



PHOTO: JIM WEST / IMPACT VISUALS

END OF THE LINE?

Completed tanks await final testing and shipping at a General Dynamics plant scheduled to close in June, 1992.

Mayor Rudin, "once the community stopped burying its collective head in the sand," progress toward a positive transition began. Labor, minority and other community representatives were invited to join SACOM-C, which ultimately grew to 45 members. Planning grants were received from the Pentagon's Office of Economic Adjustment and the California Department of Commerce to support the commission's staff and economic studies.

SACOM-C's draft report was scheduled for release in September. The commission had been examining using the base's aviation facilities for general aviation. It looked into the possibility of

turning existing training facilities into a junior college. There were proposals to utilize some of the military buildings for county and state offices. And there was talk of turning a part of the military facility into a regional park.

Once the commission has presented its report to the Sacramento County Board of Supervisors, public hearings will be scheduled throughout the area on how best the city and county can plan for the changes that are inevitable.

SOURCES: *Base Conversion News*, Center for Economic Conversion, 222 View St., Suite C, Mountain View, CA 94041, (415-968-8798); City of Killeen (817-634-2191); Roberto Suro, "Army Town in Texas Pays the Price of Peace," *New York Times*, July 22, 1990, p. 1.

WHO WILL BE HIT BY MILITARY CUTBACKS?

MISSOURI, ARIZONA AND WASHINGTON WILL BE THE THREE states hardest hit by projected defense cutbacks, according to a report by the Council on Economic Priorities.

Nationwide, these cuts are projected to be hundreds of billions of dollars over the next five to ten years. "These states and the nation must move more rapidly to a peacetime economy," says John Tepper Marlin, one of the authors of the report. "We must not protect jobs and inefficient industries in a form of Lemon Militarism. Better to bite the bullet now and provide federal resources to ease the transition to a

productive market-oriented economy in those affected communities."

The study concluded that Texas, Maryland and California rank as others states that will be seriously impacted by military cutbacks.

By contrast, Alaska, Delaware, Hawaii and South Dakota have virtually no prime contracts for weapon systems slated for cuts.

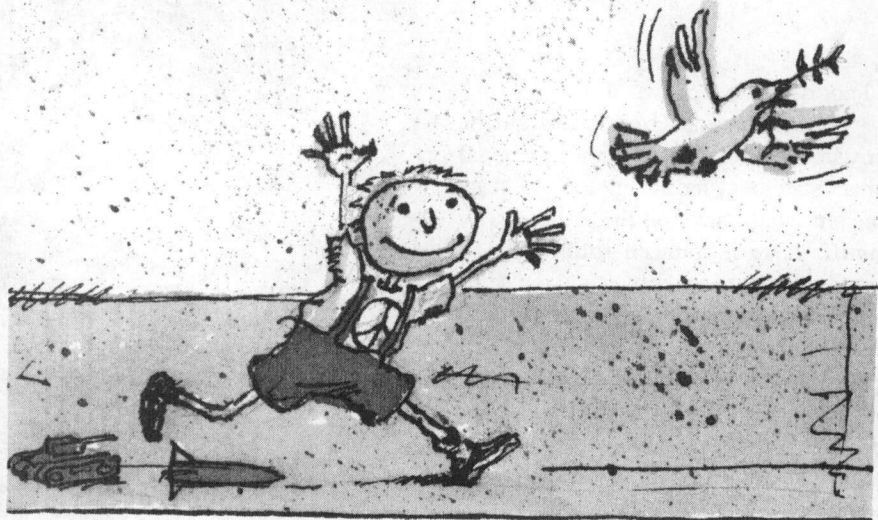
SOURCE: Council on Economic Priorities, 30 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003 (212-420-1133).

A CHANGE OF HEART

IN JULY, WHEN THE McDONNELL Douglas Corp. announced plans to eliminate between 4,700 and 5,200 jobs in St. Louis, Mayor Vincent Schoemehl Jr. described it as a "wake-up call" for the city regarding the military-spending realities of the future. McDonnell Douglas is the region's largest employer, and is one of nearly 500 corporations in the area with prime military contracts. And although St. Louis Mayor Schoemehl had never been an outspoken proponent of economic-conversion planning, he has had a change of heart, finally being confronted with the Pentagon's writing on the wall.

For the first time, says Mayor Schoemehl, his city has come face to face with its overreliance on military spending and the defense industry. "Any regional economy as disproportionately dependent on defense as we are here" is in trouble, said the mayor.

As a result, over the summer, Schoemehl called for "an extraordinary cooperative effort, an effort we perhaps



have not been called upon before to make," to help the community adjust to the changes that now seem inevitable with the ending of the Cold War. He is determined to bring new growth industries into his city, looking particularly toward jobs in fields like telecommunications and computers.

According to the mayor, the region would "delude" itself if it ignored the changes that are occurring in the international political arena. "This is a somber

moment for the St. Louis economy."

Schoemehl quickly helped pull together the first meeting of the St. Louis Economic Adjustment and Diversification Committee, attended by city and county officials, labor representatives and members of the St. Louis Economic Conversion Project.

"The mayor has acknowledged this is not a time for stop-gap measures — for example, trying to find ways to save one weapons system or another," says Virginia Nesmith of the Economic Conversion Project. "He recognizes that we're seeing a fundamental change in the economy. It's the first time we're seeing this attitude from local officials."

Mayor Schoemehl is not the only community leader speaking out since the McDonnell Douglas layoffs. County Executive H.C. Milford also says it is time to convert. "We've been praying for peace for 45 years," he said. "Now that we've got it, we don't know what to do."

Nesmith says the mayor has asked the new economic adjustment committee to examine how it might spend \$3-\$4 million on planning and implementing a conversion program, if those dollars could be obtained.

Both the city and the county have begun applying for grants for retraining and for planning. At press time, they had already received a \$100,000 grant from the Department of Commerce.

EITHER / OR

GOVERNMENTS MUST CONTINUALLY MAKE CHOICES IN THE ALLOCATION OF PUBLIC funds. The decisions are seldom made in terms of a simple weighing of alternatives, particularly as between military defense and the public's welfare. These figures give voice to the wealth of alternatives that nations do have in formulating budgets and, through them, national priorities.

\$3,900,000,000 = 1 aircraft carrier (Nimitz class)
or 1 solid meal a day for 6 months for the 20 million Americans who do not get enough to eat.

\$1,436,000,000 = 1 Trident submarine
or a 5-year program for universal child immunization against deadly diseases, preventing 1 million deaths a year.

\$280,000,000 = 2 frigates (F 30)
or the cost of a campaign for global eradication of smallpox, which created annual savings 10 times the investment 280 million.

\$59,400,000 = 1-year operating cost of an anti-submarine warfare cruiser
or housing for 1 year for three-fourths of the homeless families in London.

\$45,000,000 = 2 fighter aircraft (JA 37)
or installation in the Third World of 300,000 hand pumps for safe access to water.

SOURCE: Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures*, 1987-88. World Priorities Inc., Box 25140, Washington D.C., 20007.

SOURCES: St. Louis Regional Commerce and Growth Association, 100 S. Fourth St., St. Louis, MO 63102 (314-231-5555); St. Louis Economic Conversion Project, 438 N. Skinner, St. Louis, MO 63130.

SUCCESS AT LAST

AFTER THREE YEARS OF HEARINGS, DEBATE and legislation revisions, Washington state finally has a Defense Diversification Law. The bill, signed by Gov. Booth Gardner, creates a program within the existing state Department of Community Development to help defense-dependent corporations and communities shift from a war-based to a peace-based economy.

The legislature appropriated \$200,000 for first-year funding, to be spent on:

■ Identifying defense dependent firms and communities;

■ Monitoring trends in military spending, and alerting firms and communities that may be affected;

■ Providing technical assistance in diversification planning, financing and training; and,

■ Creating a statewide plan for diversification in militarily-dependent communities.

In Washington state, more than 200,000 workers are directly employed by the Pentagon or its contractors. Military spending accounts for about six percent of the state's gross product.

One economic study shows that the state faces the loss of about 40,000 jobs over the next three years because of dwindling military spending.

SOURCE: Washington State Sane/Freeze, 5516 Roosevelt Way NE, Seattle WA 98105 (206-527-8050); "Planning Peace: State Takes Lead," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, April 6, 1990.

GOOD FOR BUSINESS

"PEACE WORKS."

That was the message that New Bedford (Massachusetts) Mayor John Bullard carried to Congress in July when he testified before a House armed services subcommittee conducting hearings on economic conversion legislation.

"We must be willing to devote our resources to proving that peace is good for business. Economic conversion is a concept whose time is long overdue."

Mayor Bullard, also chairman of the U.S. Conference of Mayors' urban economic policy committee, noted that in his own city, the Chamberlain Manufac-

turing Corporation — which makes artillery shells — announced a layoff of nearly 40 percent of its work force of 500. "It is crucially important that defense-related industries and the communities and workers which support them develop a game plan, a preemptive strategy, to deal with these dislocations *before*, and I must stress the word *before*, they occur."

He added, "We mayors believe that

national security begins at home. It begins with the realization that we must develop to the utmost our most precious national resources: namely, our people."

In its June meeting, the Conference of Mayors adopted a resolution, submitted by Mayor Bullard, that urged "Congress and the Administration to devote at least half of all defense savings over the next ten years to domestic spending programs which revitalize America's urban areas."

WHAT KIND OF A WORLD DO YOU WANT?



Environmentally Sound? Peaceful?
With Equal Opportunity?
Concerned About World Development?
Then Consider

PAX WORLD FUND*

A mutual fund that invests in companies:

- _____ exercising pollution control
- _____ producing life-supporting goods and services
- _____ not involved in weapons production
- _____ with fair employment practices
- _____ promoting some international development

Pax World is a no-load, diversified mutual fund designed for those who wish to develop income and to invest in life-supportive products and services. IRA and Keogh plans available. Minimum investment \$250.

* Pax World Fund is the only mutual fund in the nation affiliated with a Foundation that, for eight years, has supported tree planting in areas of the deforested Third World.

This is not a solicitation in those states where the securities have not been qualified.

A prospectus containing more complete information about PAX WORLD FUND, including all charges and expenses, will be sent upon receipt of this coupon. Read it carefully before you invest. Send no money.

To: PAX WORLD FUND, INC.

224 State Street

Portsmouth, N.H. 03801

1-800-767-1729

- Regular Account
- Send IRA Packet
- Simplified Employer Pension Plan
- 403 (b) Pension Plan

Please send me a free prospectus and information on Pax World Fund.

Name _____

Address _____

City, Zip _____

Occupation _____

Telephone No. Day _____ Evening _____

MFP A90

A Better Future on the Horizon?

The “winds of change” are blowing in Saint Paul’s South African sister community, Lawaaikamp.

FOR THE PEOPLE OF LAWAAIKAMP, A black township in South Africa, there is genuine hope that life may get better, even in the midst of one of the world’s most repressive societies.

As MFP reported most recently in its Spring 1990 issue, the township had endured years of violence and intimidation by a white government that wanted the residents of Lawaaikamp to relocate. Most of them did, leaving just 2,000 people (from an original population of 5,000) who courageously struggled to survive despite the most difficult of living conditions.

Thanks in part to pressure applied by Saint Paul, Minnesota, Lawaaikamp has not only survived, but seems on the brink of realizing its dreams.

But thanks in part to international pressure applied by Saint Paul, Minnesota — a sister community of Lawaaikamp — the black township has not only survived, but seems on the brink of at least some of its dreams coming true, even though day-to-day hardships persist.

Late last year, the South African government agreed to make an interest-free loan to the white-run city of George to improve Lawaaikamp’s living conditions. Perhaps more significantly, the township was declared a Free Settlement Area, allowing the remaining residents to stay in the only community some have ever known.



PHOTO: ERIC MILLER / AFRAPIX, IMPACT VISUALS

DRUMMED OUT.

South Africa was unsuccessful in the forced relocation of Lawaaikamp, where some Saint Paul residents may soon be travelling to assist in the building of homes.

The funds from the interest-free loan were earmarked for infrastructure upgrades, and the leaders of Lawaaikamp have successfully demanded to be part of the planning process that is deciding precisely how that money will be spent. “There has really been a cooperative effort between George and Lawaaikamp to draw up plans for these improvements,” says Sue Hurley, Saint Paul’s sister city coordinator.

The upgrades are desperately needed. When Bishop Lowell Erdahl, a Saint Paul religious leader, visited Lawaaikamp in July, he reported back to Mayor James Scheibel that the existing “roads and hous-

present, there are only 183 homes in the community, many constructed from sheet metal and scrap lumber. Unfortunately, however, no money exists to build the new dwellings, and thus Lawaaikamp is reaching out to Saint Paul and other international supporters for help.

“They’ve requested financial assistance,” says Hurley. “We’ve replied that the city of Saint Paul doesn’t have the ability to give funds directly. But we’re looking into providing technical assistance, and trying to network Lawaaikamp into foundations that may provide grants, and groups like Habitat for Humanity that may be of help. We’re also exploring the possibility of Saint Paul residents going over there to assist in the building of homes.”

Meanwhile, as the new school year began, the schoolchildren of Saint Paul started applying some gentle pressure of their own to let South Africa know that the people of Lawaaikamp have international support. They have resumed a letter-writing campaign that began months earlier, in which South African government officials are being reminded of U.S. interest in making living conditions better for blacks.

According to Bishop Erdahl, there is “much talk of ‘a new South Africa’ and winds of change are obviously blowing. The leaders of Lawaaikamp are stirring and I must believe that there are citizens of George, as well as Saint Paul, who care enough to help create a new Lawaaikamp.”

ing continue to be deplorable and services are between minimal and nonexistent. Except for a few tall street lights...there is no electricity. There are five water taps serving 2,000 people, some of whom must carry their water 500 meters to their homes, and a ‘bucket’ sewage system involves someone coming around to the homes daily to empty the buckets.”

But Lawaaikamp has ambitious hopes for its future. While the loan funds will build roads and a sewer system, the township needs housing, too — 517 affordable homes, in fact, are part of a proposal that the township’s leadership has created. At

SOURCE: Sue Hurley, Saint Paul Department of Planning & Economic Development, 25 W. Fourth St., Saint Paul, MN 55102 (612-228-3208).

Cities Marching On

Nelson Mandela was warmly greeted when he visited U.S. cities in June, and received a commitment to continue the push for freedom in South Africa.

THE VICIOUS APARTHEID REGIME shackled your body, but it could not imprison your spirit."

When Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley greeted Nelson Mandela with those words last June, he was one of dozens of local officials who reached out to warmly embrace the African National Congress deputy president during his 11-day, eight-city tour of the U.S. In New York, Boston, Washington, D.C. and Atlanta...in Miami, Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland... Mandela was met by city leaders and a collective total of millions of admirers.

In addition to Bradley, Mandela was formally greeted by Mayors Ray Flynn of Boston, David Dinkins of New York, Marion Barry of Washington, Maynard Jackson of Atlanta, Coleman Young of Detroit and Lionel Wilson of Oakland. The cities in the tour were chosen because of the commitment they had demonstrated to bring an end of apartheid.

Wherever he went, Mandela often seemed overwhelmed by the positive reception. In New York City, for instance, Mandela took his anti-apartheid message to the streets of Harlem, where 80,000 people jammed the sidewalks and peered out of tenement building windows, chanting "Viva Mandela, Viva Mandela." He urged crowds to continue the struggle, to keep sanctions in place, and to support the goal of a one person-one vote, non-racist democracy in South Africa.

In Oakland, before 60,000 people at the Coliseum, Mandela characterized Oakland as the birthplace of the U.S. anti-

apartheid movement. "We thank you, we admire you, and most of all we love you," he said.

Tom Bradley's opening remarks in Los Angeles were reflective of the support Mandela received throughout the country: "It wasn't so long ago that the United States policy toward South Africa was shameful and unworthy. Instead of the last, best hope on Earth, the national government of the U.S. had become the last, best friend of apartheid.

"But the people refused to follow the bankrupt philosophies of their national leaders, and in cities like Los Angeles, strong sanctions were invoked. States and universities followed our lead. Finally, the Congress of the United States overrode the President's veto and imposed economic sanctions that broke the back of resistance of the apartheid regime.

"We have come too far, and you have achieved too much, for us to turn our backs on you now. I say to you today,



PHOTO: GAIL OSKIN

WARM GREETINGS.

Michael Dukakis, Winnie Mandela, Ted Kennedy, Nelson Mandela and Mayor Ray Flynn in Boston.
Below: Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley with Mandela.

Mr. Mandela, and to you, Mr. de Klerk, our sanctions will remain in force until the scourge of apartheid has been banished once and for all."

Even in cities that Mandela did not visit, there were celebrations commemorating his release from prison. In Saint Paul, for example, a community rally was held at Martin Luther King Center. At that event, Saint Paul Mayor James Scheibel said, "This rally is a celebration of Mandela's release, but it's also an opportunity to say we're marching on... Nelson Mandela is a symbol of people being freed from prison, but we have many other people locked in prisons around the world. His release gives us energy to continue on in trying to break down those walls."

SOURCES: Mayor Tom Bradley, City of Los Angeles, City Hall, Room 305, Los Angeles, CA 90012 (213-485-3311); Mayor James Scheibel, City of Saint Paul, 347 City Hall, Saint Paul, MN 55102 (612-298-4323); John Kifner, "Mandela Takes His Message Into the Heart of Harlem," *New York Times*, June 22, 1990, p. A21; Judith Burrell, "Cities Rally for Mandela, 'Champion of Freedom,'" *U.S. Mayor*, July 16, 1990.

MAYORS VOTE FOR THE PEOPLE

AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING IN JUNE, THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS' INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE passed a resolution condemning the apartheid system and calling for the release of all South African political prisoners. The resolution also "supports the demand of the South African people for full democracy based on one person, one vote in a unified and nonracial South Africa," and urges President Bush to "support vigorously this demand and to refrain from attempting to lift sanctions until it has been enshrined in a new South African constitution."

The Conference also expressed its support of the Africa Fund's "Vote for the People" campaign, in which ballots are being collected from the American people to highlight the demand for full democracy in South Africa. It encouraged the nation's mayors to endorse the collection of ballots in their communities.

SOURCE: U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (202-293-7330).

Healing Sino-American Wounds

The Mayor of Shanghai led a mayoral delegation barnstorming the U.S., spreading goodwill and trying to stimulate business ties.

FOR MANY PEOPLE IN THE U.S., THEIR most vivid images of China date back only as far as June 1989, when government troops splattered the blood and battered the dreams of pro-democracy demonstrators in Tienanmen Square.

But Shanghai Mayor Zhu Rongji is on a crusade to replace those tragic images with a more positive international view of his country. This summer, he led a delegation of five Chinese mayors who visited the U.S., where they met with local and national government officials as well as businesspeople.

"Our visit is not to convince anyone of our ideology," Mayor Zhu said while in Los Angeles. Instead, he was trying to stimulate goodwill between the peoples of the two nations, as well as explore trade possibilities.

In Shanghai, Zhu managed to weather demonstrations in the streets of his city without declaring martial law and without bloody violence.

Not only is Zhu the mayor of China's largest city, but he is the highest ranking Chinese official to visit the U.S. since the crackdown in Beijing and other cities more than a year ago. In Shanghai, Zhu managed to weather the demonstrations in the streets of his city without declaring martial law and without bloody violence.

At a press conference in Washington, he asked for understanding about the turmoil in his country. "You have your system of democracy, and we have our system

of democracy. But that does not mean we have nothing in common."

Zhu conceded that China's internal problems have hurt its international business ties. Before the June 1989 violence, the U.S. accounted for one-third of all foreign investment in Shanghai. Today, that figure has declined to one-fourth.

When Mayor Zhu arrived in San Francisco, he faced a special challenge—trying to smooth out any ruffled feathers that remained in the San Francisco-Shanghai sister city program. Zhu had hosted San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos in Shanghai in May 1989, where the two city leaders signed a blanket memorandum of under-

standing, which laid out a series of ambitious programs for the two cities. But after the bloodshed in China only a month later, San Francisco suspended the blanket memorandum, and announced that all future projects would be examined on a case-by-case basis.

In San Francisco, Zhu and Agnos shared a private breakfast meeting. The Shanghai mayor also conferred with businesspeople, and was the guest at a banquet sponsored by the sister-city com-

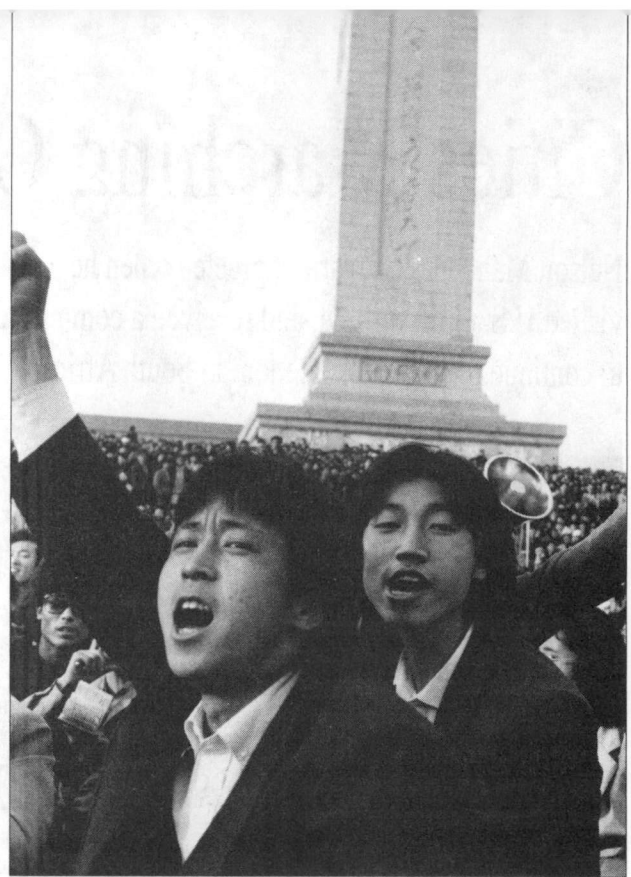


PHOTO: MELANIE CHAPMAN / IMPACT VISUALS

A FAR CRY?

The incidents in Tienanmen Square in June, 1989 caused a marked drop in foreign investment in Shanghai.

mittee, attended by about 500 people.

"Even with the suspension of the blanket memorandum, the activity level of the people most active in the sister-city program never really let down in San Francisco," says Mark Chandler, coordinator of that city's sisterly ties. Several projects have been ongoing, and in July, Zhu talked with sister-city activists about new programs, including educational and judicial exchanges and a stock-exchange internship.

Zhu's delegation also included Mayors Zhao Baojiang of Wuhan, Wan Liangshi of Taiyuan, Zhong Yongsan of Hefei and Geng Dianhua of Ningbo.

In Washington, the Chinese mayors met with National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft and Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. When asked whether these sessions violated the Bush Administration's policy against high-level exchanges between U.S. and Chinese leaders, a White House spokesperson said they did not since "mayors are not high-level officials."

SOURCES: Mark Chandler, City of San Francisco, 100 Larkin St., San Francisco, CA 94102; Jim Mann, "Shanghai Mayor Tours U.S., Seeks to Revive Goodwill," *Los Angeles Times*, July 14, 1990; Irene Chang, "China Mayors Tout Gains, Seek U.S. Understanding," *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 1990.

Two Mayors: Diverse Views About a Shared History

The mayors of the Japanese cities that were targets of atomic bombs disagree about Emperor Hirohito.



HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI. These Japanese cities will forever be etched into the history books, sharing the tragic distinction of having borne the devastation of atomic bombs. In August 1945, both cities were virtually destroyed, an estimated 132,000 people were killed, and an even greater number were injured.

Even though they are both outspoken on the need to eradicate nuclear weapons, the present mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have very different views on who was responsible for World War II — an issue that has divided segments of the Japanese population as well. Nagasaki Mayor Hitoshi Motoshima has taken the most controversial stance — and paid the price for doing so. In late 1988, while Emperor Hirohito was gravely ill, Mayor Motoshima broke a cultural taboo and

publicly criticized the royal family.

“I experienced military life,” said Motoshima during a city assembly meeting, “and I believe the Emperor had responsibility for the war.” Hirohito should have acted to end the war sooner, Motoshima said, thus avoiding the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Last January, on the Nagasaki city hall steps, the mayor was shot in the lung by a right-wing activist and supporter of the imperialist system. Although critically wounded, Motoshima survived the assassination attempt.

Mayor Takeshi Araki of Hiroshima has a different point of view. He insists that Hirohito was instrumental in ending the war, not starting and prolonging it. As for Motoshima, Araki says that the Nagasaki mayor was conscripted during World War II and educated new sol-

diers in the early 1940s, telling them they “shall die for the Emperor in battle.” Motoshima’s own uncomfortable wartime memories, says Araki, may be causing him to atone for the part he played in the war effort.

Despite their public differences on a very emotional issue, Araki and Motoshima remain allies in promoting their peace and disarmament agenda.

“The city of Hiroshima, which experienced the first atomic disaster in the world, fully recognizes history,” says Araki. “We look to the future, and we have consistently wished for and called for the realization of nuclear disarmament and permanent world peace.”

SOURCES: Shinji Ito, “Hiroshima Mayor Won’t Blame Emperor Showa for War,” *Japan Times Weekly, International Edition*, August 6, 1990, p. 7; David E. Sanger, “Mayor Who Faulted Hirohito Is Shot,” *New York Times*, January 19, 1990; “Bullet for a Broken Taboo,” *Time*, January 29, 1990, p. 57.

A MISSION OF FRIENDSHIP

IN 1955, TEN YEARS AFTER THE U.S. DROPPED AN ATOMIC bomb on Nagasaki and brought World War II to an end, Saint Paul (MN) extended a hand of friendship to the people of the rebuilding Japanese city. Sister-city documents linking the two communities were signed on December 7 — exactly 14 years after the attack upon Pearl Harbor.

The tie between the two cities was considered a bold move, given that some anti-Japanese sentiment still existed in the U.S. It was the first sister-city association involving a U.S. and an Asian city.

Today, Saint Paul’s commitment is as strong as ever. In August, Saint Paul Mayor James Scheibel traveled to Nagasaki where he honored the atomic bomb victims during a moving visit to the Japanese city’s Peace Park — located at the

epicenter of the atomic destruction.

“It is important that we honor the memory of war victims, in our own country as well as in Japan,” Mayor Scheibel said. “The best way to do that is to work to make sure that this kind of war and destruction never happens again. That’s what sister city relationships and people-to-people diplomacy are all about.”

Mayor Scheibel opened Nagasaki’s “Journey Expo,” a three-month-long fair and exposition that included activities commemorating the sister-city ties between the communities. A student orchestra from Saint Paul traveled to Nagasaki in September to perform at the Expo.

SOURCE: Mayor James Scheibel, City of Saint Paul, 347 City Hall, Saint Paul, MN 55102.

“Not in My Backyard!”

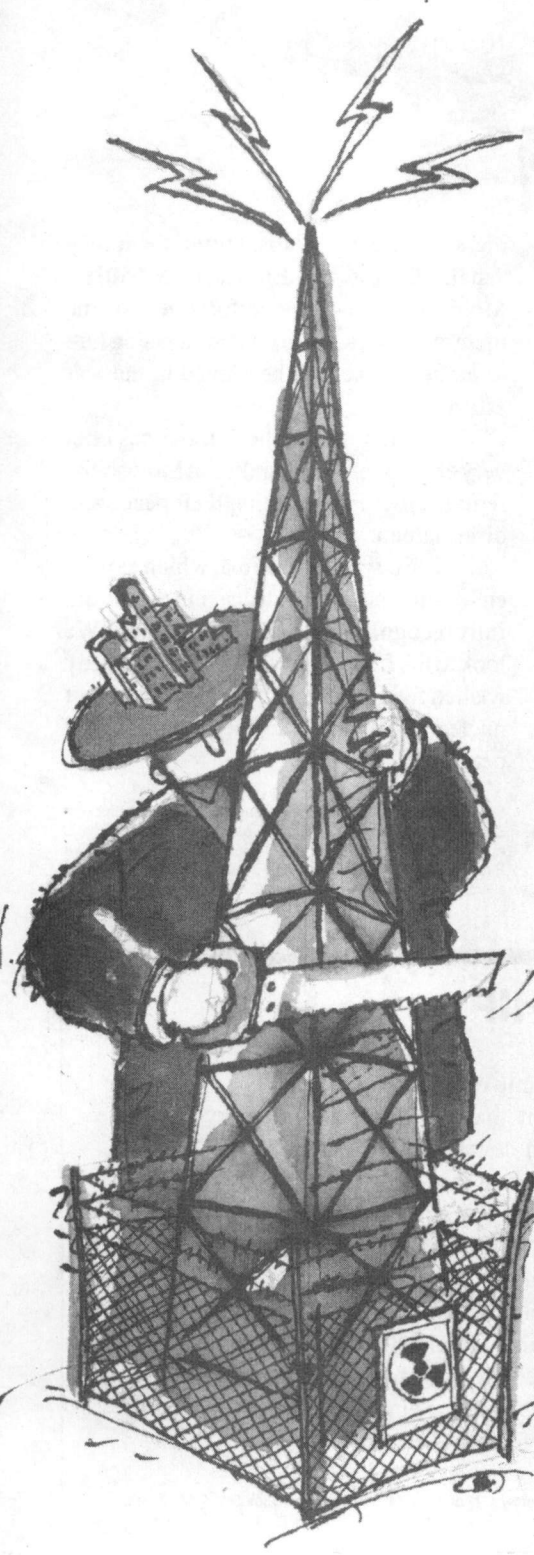
The Air Force continues to receive static over its planned network of GWEN towers, with opposition voiced from city council chambers to the halls of Congress.

THE AIR FORCE MUST BE GETTING WEARY of trying to cope with the growing opposition to its nationwide network of GWEN (Ground Wave Emergency Network) communication towers. Although the first few towers were built without local opposition, a groundswell of defiance in one small town after another has now turned into a prairie fire of protest, spreading from one city council to another, with debate also now raging in both houses of Congress. As a result, the Air Force's drive to erect a "thin line" of 96 towers has been repeatedly disrupted as the Pentagon has been pressured to abandon its site search in some communities.

According to the Pentagon, the GWEN towers constitute a vital system that will allow the President to communicate with missile command posts and domestic bomber bases during a nuclear war. Critics, however, have opposed the low-frequency system on several grounds—initially for the role it played in the nuclear war-fighting strategy of the Reagan years. More recently,

opponents describe GWEN as a wasteful relic of that era for which communities are increasingly unwilling to pay the cost in federal taxes, environmental blight and potential hazards to health.

In recent months, here is some of the



THE GWEN THIN LINE

Some form of organized opposition has emerged in forty communities under consideration or chosen as sites for twenty different Thin Line towers. Eighteen of these communities have formally voted, via town or city council meeting, their opposition to a GWEN tower in their community; the legislature of Rhode Island has voted opposition to a GWEN tower in the state.

Listed below are sites for the 56 relay towers of the GWEN Thin Line; those towers which faced some form of organized opposition are in *italics*.

Alabama : Grady, Hackleburg
Arizona: Flagstaff
Arkansas: Fayetteville
California: Bakersfield, Biggs, Fenner, Roseville
Colorado: Aurora (Lowery Air Force Base), Pueblo, Pueblo Army Depot, Denver (Rocky Flats)
Georgia: Macon, Savannah Beach
Iowa: *Mechanicsville,** St. Mary's Township
Kansas: Goodland, Topeka
Maine: *Herseytown, Penobscot*
Maryland: *Hagerstown, Crownsville, Waldorf**
Massachusetts: *Acushnet, Barre Falls, (or Hubbardston, or Hardwick, or North Brookfield)*
Michigan: *Onondaga (Holt)**
Mississippi: Alligator Township

Montana: Billings, Great Falls, Ronan (Polson)*
Nebraska: Ainsworth, Omaha
New Jersey: *Little Egg Harbor Township*
New Mexico: Albuquerque (Kirkland AFB)
New York: *Elmira (Veteran),* Hudson Falls, Remsen*
North Carolina: *Beaufort*
North Dakota: Devils Lake, Edinburg, Medora
Oklahoma: Canton
Oregon: *Klamath Falls, Seneca*
Pennsylvania: *Harbor Creek, Gettysburg, Hawk Run*
South Carolina: Kensington
South Dakota: Clark
Texas: Summerfield
Virginia: Driver
Washington: Appleton, Spokane, Wenatchee
Wisconsin: Mequon

* In these five communities protest emerged after the towers were built, which was when the local citizens learned about them. For most of the Thin Line towers the Air Force was under no constraint to provide public notification of its siting plans. Five relay towers where no protest occurred were built on government installations.



A TAXING DEVELOPMENT.

Protestors in Tuckerton, New Jersey near a newly-constructed GWEN tower. The post-cold war GWEN system will cost taxpayers an estimated one billion dollars.

local anti-GWEN action in communities currently being investigated by the Air Force as possible tower sites:

■ In Morrison County, Minnesota, the Board of Commissioners formally took an anti-GWEN stance “until such time as the safety of GWEN tower transmissions is conclusively proven and documented by scientific research.”

■ The city councils of Brainerd and Baxter, both in Minnesota, adopted resolutions opposing the placement of a tower in their towns.

■ The Coconino County (Arizona) Board of Supervisors approved a resolution opposing placement of a tower near Fredonia. The Town Council of Fredonia had earlier passed a similar measure, which noted the town’s concern “about the unnecessary expenditure of public monies at a time when the federal government is cutting back on programs and participation of cities and towns in the federal budget. The Town is opposed to the expenditure of public funds for the construction of GWEN facilities in Fredonia or elsewhere.”

■ The Grant Township and Grand Traverse County boards, both in Michigan, passed resolutions voicing opposition to the construction of a GWEN tower in

their area.

There has been strong citizen support for actions like these. While the GWEN Project, based in Amherst, Massachusetts, has helped coordinate anti-GWEN efforts in many parts of the country, local groups (like Virginians for a Healthy Environment—Stop the GWEN Tower) have formed to fight the grassroots battles.

The towers are 25-story-high structures, each supported by 15 guy wires, with a strobe light on top that blinks 40 times a minute. Lt. Col. Stephen Martin, GWEN’s

not needed to defend the nation. “The GWEN towers do nothing to prevent nuclear war,” he said. “We shouldn’t be wasting our money.”

In Congress this summer, the defense authorization bill reported out of the House Armed Services Committee included provisions prohibiting further obligation of any funds for GWEN, pending a report on the health effects of the system’s electromagnetic radiation from its test transmissions. Earlier, the Senate Armed Services Committee had voted to postpone con-

According to the Pentagon, GWEN towers constitute a vital system that allows the President to communicate with missile command posts during a nuclear war.

national program director, says this network of towers is intended to serve as a “discrete land-based communications system if the eyes and ears of military communication get cut off” during a nuclear war.

But at a public hearing before the Grand Traverse County Commissioners in June, retired Naval captain James Bush, now associate director of the Center for Defense Information, said the towers are

struction of the final 40 GWEN towers until the health study is completed (expected by summer 1991). At press time, there had been no floor action by either house on these measures.

Nancy Foster, director of the GWEN Project, termed the committee actions as “delay headed toward extinction.”

SOURCE: The GWEN Project, Box 135, Amherst, MA (413-253-2632).

The Mayor's Global Vision

Under Joseph Leafe's leadership, Norfolk has emerged as a major site of international trade — and even better things may be on the horizon.



FROM ITS BEGINNINGS, NORFOLK (VIRGINIA) SEEMED DESTINED TO become a trading center. Its natural harbor and its strategic location at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay made its economic importance almost inevitable.

But while the port of Norfolk is now one of the busiest in the nation, Mayor Joseph A. Leafe thinks this is only the beginning. Although his city does not have the high international visibility of New York or Los Angeles, for example, Mayor Leafe is determined to give it a strong global presence. Toward that end, he is the driving force behind an aggressive, well-planned marketing strategy designed to build the city into an international trading center.

When Mayor Leafe isn't in city hall, he's liable to be at the airport, headed toward one global destination or another, laying the groundwork with business prospects or strengthening the link with one of Norfolk's four sister cities. In recent years, he has traveled to countries like Japan, Germany, France, England, Iceland, Israel and Italy.

"It is important to develop relationships with the decision-making bodies of other countries so they'll recognize your city and take positive steps for you," says Leafe.

Leafe is a lawyer and a former member of the Virginia House of Delegates. He was elected to the Norfolk City Council in 1980, and after winning re-election in 1984, he was selected to serve as mayor by his fellow councilmembers.

The mayor perceives Norfolk's four sister-city ties as important elements in the community's efforts toward becoming an international trading center. The cultural and educational exchanges that grow out of these ties have created "a profile for the city which is crucial to economic development," said Leafe. "When countries learn of Norfolk's resources and all it has to offer, they are more likely to establish businesses or set up trade with us. Cultural and educational exchange filters down to economic growth."

In Norfolk, that is more than talk. Early this year, Mayor Leafe and Valentin Tsapov, general director of Tomak-Kiev, the U.S.S.R.'s largest manufacturer of food processing equipment, announced that Norfolk would be the site of the first U.S.-U.S.S.R. joint venture for the marketing of fast-food equipment. Under the agreement, Tomak-Kiev (headquartered in Kiev, Ukraine) has joined forces with the Chesapeake International

Corporation, an import-export company, to form the Chestomak Corporation. At the same time, plans were set into motion for the opening of the first Russian restaurant franchise, Piroshki, which in April began serving customers in Norfolk's Waterside Festival Marketplace, selling Russian soups, doughnuts, teas and, of course, piroshkis (dumplings).

Why Norfolk? According to Tsapov, Norfolk was chosen largely because of the city's favorable relationship with the Soviet government and people. In July 1989, about 1,000 Soviet sailors visited Norfolk in a historic people-to-people exchange.

"We are pleased that Norfolk has drawn the attention and investment of our Russian friends," says Leafe. "It was a privilege for our development department to serve in a facilitating role to help make this exciting, innovative joint venture happen."

Most cities would envy Norfolk's success to date. Its ports already service 165 nations, handling over 63 million tons of cargo in 1989, with Norfolk's own businesses benefiting from a growing number of global ties. Fancy Foods of Virginia, a wholesale specialty food distributor, imports products from Spain and exports them to Bermuda. Descal-A-Matic sells its water purification systems in countries in Europe, Africa and the Pacific Rim.

Mayor Leafe thinks the shifting political winds in the eastern bloc nations might spell even better economic times for cities like his. "The dramatic changes in eastern Europe — and the rising economic power of the Pacific Rim nations — undoubtedly will affect the future of Norfolk," he says, providing new and larger markets for Norfolk's products.

In February, Mayor Leafe spoke to 250 business executives at a New York City luncheon, where he projected that his city would become a major-league business and financial center by the year 2000. He pointed to Norfolk's exceptional land, sea and air transportation access, and claimed that his city would be making its presence felt in Europe, the U.S.S.R. and the Pacific Rim.

"Our international activity was beginning to grow a few years ago," says the mayor. "But recently, it has exploded. I think in 10 years we'll not only be the cultural and business hub of the mid-Atlantic region, but a centerpiece of the international market."

SOURCES: City of Norfolk, City Hall, Norfolk, VA 23501; Lynda Thompson, "City Ideas Reaching Across the Globe," *Nation's Cities Weekly*, August 13, 1990, p. 3.

Ranking the Ten Best International Cities

In North America, 10 cities emerged as those that seem like “home away from home” for their international customers.

For its August/September 1990 issue, World Trade asked a panel of experts to nominate the “10 Best Cities for International Companies.” Rather than rehashing the big cities like New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Dallas or Philadelphia, the editors asked the panel to concentrate on the cities that might surprise readers. Here is the Top 10 list selected by the experts, who included Center for Innovative Diplomacy President Michael Shuman:

ATLANTA

IN THE 1960s, ATLANTA MADE ITS reputation as the city that was too busy to hate. The city’s alacrity has paid off. Atlanta’s Hartsfield International is one of the world’s busiest airports. The city boasts one of the world’s best cargo and passenger intermodal systems, hosts 33 international banks, and is home to the United Nations International Training and Research office, training 1,500 international diplomats each year. Ted Turner lives here, and brings cutting-edge communications technology with him. Former President Jimmy Carter’s international relations school is here, and Andrew Young, the former United Nations ambassador, was mayor for eight years. It’s easy to see why big business has come here (480 of the Fortune 500 maintain major offices in Atlanta): Atlanta may be too busy for much of anything but international business.

Folks have always been coming to Atlanta because Atlanta has always been the southeast’s trading center. Union soldiers knew that when they came here to torch the place during the Civil War. Fire didn’t really change much: Locals still insist that their city is the Capital of the Southeast. Others agree. British develop-

ers Balfour Beatty Developments Ltd. and London and Edinburgh Trust are here, developing Hartsfield Centre — a 400-room hotel and 700,000 square feet of office space; the Dutch are just down the road, working with Japanese developers Mitsui and Shimizu on a \$300-million intermodal and retail center in the city’s foreign trade zone. Japanese investment in the state as a whole is greater than anywhere in the U.S., with the exception of California. Representatives of the African Development Bank are in Mayor Maynard Jackson’s office at city hall, hoping to set up joint ventures and development projects.

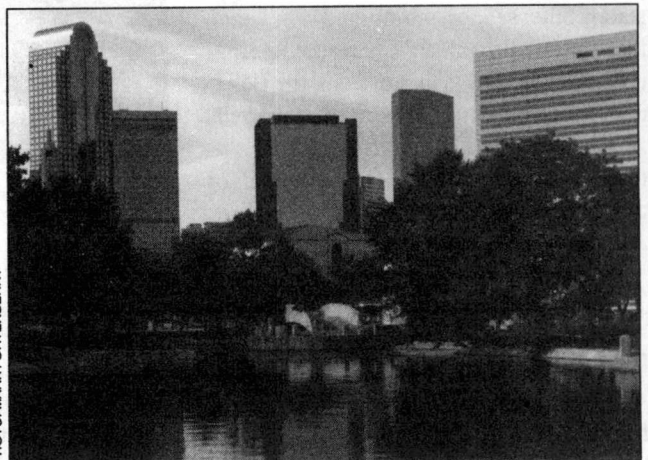
Atlanta Economic Development Corporation director Walter Huntley says his city is global, its ambitions universal, nearly cosmological, and that the “can-do attitude extends to the highest levels of the business community.” When the call goes out for advice on international business, leaders from Coca-Cola, Georgia Pacific, and others don’t merely send their representatives, Huntley says: “They roll up their sleeves and get to work themselves.”

CHARLOTTE

TWO YEARS AGO, NORTH CAROLINA’S largest bank, Charlotte-based North Carolina National, bought out the largest bank in Texas. That’s the way things are around here. No longer content with being the

biggest anything in their own state, other Charlotteans — as they call themselves — have moved beyond regional, even national, giant-beating, and are moving overseas. The transformation was a sudden one. Just a few years ago, the city’s claim to fame was that it hung on the southernmost tip of the Piedmont Crescent — the arc of middle-sized industrial cities between the Atlantic coast and the Appalachians. Now business leaders see the place as a City on a Hill. In 1970, there were just 60 foreign firms in Charlotte; today there are four times that number, most of them British, German, Japanese and Swiss manufacturers.

There are some 15,000 Germans working in the city, and 6,000 Japanese as well. “That wasn’t true a little while ago,” says Sue Myrick, the city’s mayor. “Even five or ten years ago, the numbers were almost nil.” When those numbers were still nil, international business attorney Michael Almond started practicing in Charlotte. “Most people thought interna-



CHARLOTTE — City on a Hill.

tional business in North Carolina was a contradiction in terms,” he says. They were wrong.

What happened to Charlotte? In the late 1970s, the U.S. textile industry — much of it centered in and around Charlotte — was falling apart at the seams. Foreign-owned machinery builders sniffed at the air and smelled sales. There was, says an observer, “a buffalo hunt” as foreign machinery manufacturers dropped in on the city, anxious to prove the value of their equipment. Many of them stayed on

— not just importing their machines, but building them right here in Charlotte.

They stayed on because Charlotte-area banks had money to loan. And, in the heady days of deregulation, North Carolina banks like First Union, NC National (the nation's sixth largest), and Wachovia were ready. NC National Bank's victory in Texas was only one sign that Charlotte had arrived: Attorney Almond points out that within three blocks of his Charlotte Plaza office, bankers control more than \$100 billion in assets, "tremendously higher than anywhere else in the southeast."

There are problems, to be sure, most of them produced by geography. The city is landlocked, three or four hours' drive from the nearest ocean port at Wilmington. That's why locals built the six-acre Charlotte Intermodal Terminal (CIT) at the old Union Carbide plant. Along with the city's international airport, CIT processes more international cargo than Wilmington, Raleigh (the state capital) and Morehead (the state's other seaport) combined. For years, the "International" in Charlotte International meant flights to San Juan, the Bahamas, and London. Last summer, the feds finally loosened air traffic restrictions through Charlotte with the approval of direct Lufthansa flights to Frankfurt; Alitalia and Swissair are standing in line.

BALTIMORE

BALTIMORE IS LOOKING BACKWARD TO find its place in the emerging global marketplace. Along with the state government, they've built "The Pride of Baltimore", a \$1.5 million replica of an eighteenth-century American clipper commissioned in 1988 to further Maryland's economic development. Something of an oversized conversation piece, she drops anchor in important cargo centers world-wide, functioning as a unique backdrop for entertaining foreign bigwigs. What the city really needs is a well-armed man-of-war to battle increasingly fierce competition from the Virginians; defense depends largely upon costly modernization of Baltimore's goliath inland port. With Seagirt, a \$250 million state-of-the-art intermodal system,

Baltimore hopes to regain business lost in recent years to her southern neighbors. Local optimists believe Seagirt's rapid container transfer will balance against the expensive 10-hour chug up the Chesapeake Bay.

The drawbacks to Baltimore's isolated seaport are mitigated by well-placed Baltimore/Washington International Airport. Iceland Air, Air Jamaica, Mexicana and KLM already serve the city and rumor has it that JAL will join them soon. If airlines out of BWI can't get your cargo to a favored destination, chances are the several lines serving Washington's Dulles

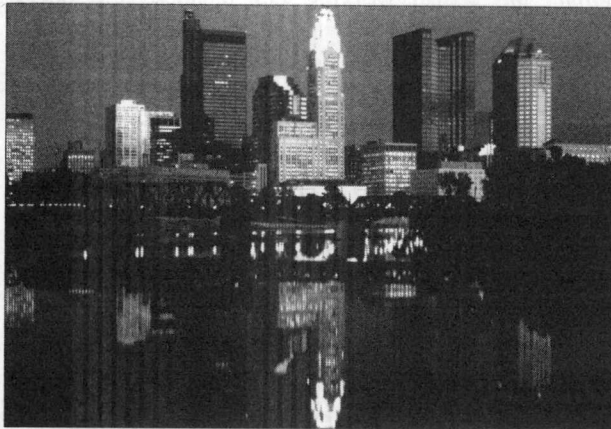


PHOTO: COLUMBUS CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU

COLUMBUS — Brainy college town.

Airport can.

Baltimore's clamor for international attention is spearheaded locally by Mayor Kurt Schmoke. A well-traveled Rhodes Scholar at 40, Schmoke makes frequent — and successful — missions overseas. Baltimore's scholarly mayor is the apt representative of a city boasting an impressive academic tradition. Johns Hopkins University is the source of Maryland's biotechnological strength and the city's largest employer. Following the collapse of the steel and ship-building industries, Baltimore moved from a muscle-power to a brain-power economy. Greater Baltimore is the recipient of the largest amount of federal R&D grants in the nation and is home to one of the highest concentrations of scientists and engineers — nearly 150,000. Besides the brainy labor force, foreign investors like Baltimore's low cost of living and proximity to Washington, DC. In the words of a local businessman,

Baltimore is a "helluva lot cheaper than New York and within hollering distance of Washington."

COLUMBUS

THE COMMON WISDOM IS THAT COLUMBUS is an international city because Ohio Governor Richard Celeste works here. The man chosen by his Yale classmates as the student most likely to commit his life to world peace is now committed, an aide says, "to shaking Ohio's rust-bucket image and moving the state into the high-tech age." The well-traveled governor attracts well-traveled guests: Says Ohio State University professor Chadwick Alger, "There's a lot of coming and going of international business people," people who come initially to do business with the state but end up doing business in Columbus.

The city of Columbus merits recognition on its own. The city's mayor, Dana Rinehart, is one of the few local officials ever

chosen to sit on the federal government's ExIm Bank board. He also helped establish the city's International Trade Development Office (ITDO). Last year, ITDO, the Columbus Chamber of Commerce and the U.S. Department of Commerce earned Celeste's "E" Award for their work in building the Columbus Export Network. In 1989 alone, the network helped 781 local businesses go international. Not all of them were "Most Likely to Succeed" candidates. In 1986, the organization hooked up four recent Ohio State grads working out of their basement with a Dutch firm interested in compact disc technology. The former students created Digital Storage, now a \$5-million-a-year company with more than half its annual revenues produced overseas.

It's a brainy college town, in other words, that happens to be home to the state capital at a time when the governor and the mayor see the wisdom in going global.

There are Columbus-based banks, too, like Huntington National and Bank One Columbus, that have, out here at the back-end of nowhere, developed international trade divisions rivaling those of big-city banks. There's the giant Battelle Memorial Institute, Columbus's anomalous 61-year-old non-profit research center. Battelle spends most of its time developing technological solutions to the business problems of Fortune 500 and fortunate local firms.

All this may account for the fact that Columbus is the only city in the northeast showing signs of consistent growth. But not everything is great. There's no seaport, for one thing. Heck, there's no water, to speak of. The city's airport, Port Columbus International, isn't anything to brag about yet. But they're working on changing that. Port Columbus officials have filed with the Department of Transportation for one-stop service to Tokyo, already offer between five and seven flights daily to Toronto — itself a major international cargo and passenger hub — and broke ground this summer on a 55,000 square-foot cargo warehouse (the other two warehouses are full). Says the airport's John Fisher, "Columbus is a sleeping giant, an entrepreneur's heaven." Fine. Except for the bit about sleeping.

HUNTSVILLE

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, EMPLOYMENT in Huntsville, Alabama has risen 23 percent and optimism is high — so high that officials from the Chamber of Commerce hand out business cards that read, "The sky is not the limit." It's a curious place: In 1987 alone, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration funneled nearly \$600 million into Huntsville; thus a high-tech industry rivaling the Silicon Valley has rooted itself in this former agricultural community. On the other hand, bright skies over Huntsville have been obscured only recently by the city's first freeway overpass. Progress frightens some residents of this city that once billed itself as "The Watercress Capital of the World." A local says: "They're psyched out by the pace of change."

Change has its roots in the years immediately after World War II. That's when the U.S. Army converted the old Redstone Munitions Arsenal into the Ordinance Rocket Center and staffed it with German rocket scientist Werner von Braun and his colleagues. Today German emigre rocket scientists account for the heavy traffic in Deutschemarks at local foreign exchange counters. But boom days may be a thing of the past; even the sky may have limits. And that, more than German emigre rocket scientists, explains why Huntsville has become an international city. Military spending cuts mean that Huntsville-based companies will diversify or die. And diversification means internationalization.

Local officials aren't too worried. Mayor Steve Hettenger says the city's high-tech industries, coupled with a thriving university community, provide for an "innovative atmosphere." "Atmosphere," of

"super," a sturdy mixture of high-tech industry and, yes, old Southern charm. Huntsville taxes are among the lowest in the nation. But Huntsvillians may be short-sheeting themselves. Despite the creation over several years of 25,000 new low-to-medium-income jobs, the city's insufferable mass transit system effectively excludes a large part of the workforce from the new opportunities to be had. The city deals more kindly with its cargo. Huntsville's International Intermodal Center and expansion of the airport's east runway to 10,000 feet may indeed begin to lift the burden on rail and truck traffic.

SEATTLE

EVERY CITY WITH A DOG TO CATCH HAS AN economic development agency; some of them dabble in international trade development. Seattle goes another step: The city has its own state department, the four-year-old Office of International Affairs. The office oversees Seattle's fourteen sister-city programs, helps Mayor Norm Rice bone up on international trade, cultural and political issues, and coordinates the international trade activities of the city's teeming international business community.

It's the kind of office that's commonplace in a city that is, well, anything but commonplace. There's the usual Chamber of Commerce working group on international trade development, of course, and the Visitors and Convention Bureau working diligently to attract international business travelers and conventioners. But there's also the Seattle-based Washington Council on International Trade, the World Affairs Council, the Citizens International Center, the Ethnic Heritage Council, and a branch of the U.S. Small Business Administration working with the city's Office of International Affairs. The International Workers of the World ("wobblies," they were called) built their strongest local in Seattle, and held a general strike here in the late teens — a strike they hoped would topple the international capitalist economy. It didn't. Se-



PHOTO: SEATTLE ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT

SEATTLE — In Boeing's jet stream.

course, is what most Huntsville executives still think about. And most are reluctant to drop the space and weapons projects that built the place. Last year, the aerospace industry led all U.S. exporters for the fifth year running, closing \$22 billion in sales.

For that reason, one banker pronounced Huntsville's economic health

attle still depends upon international business: The state as a whole ranks second in the percentage of jobs linked to international trade (California is first), and the city's port — riding the swell of two-way Pacific Rim trade (which surpassed two-way Atlantic trade in 1982)—is the number four container port in the nation.

Things haven't always been so good. If you want to measure the health of Seattle's international business companies, slip the thermometer under Boeing's tongue. In the late 1960s, when Vietnam-era war spending began to peter out, Boeing, the region's biggest international player, went into a slump and shed some 70 percent of its 100,000 workers. Today Boeing accounts for about half of the state's exports and its workday population is back up to 100,000. (Worldwide, the firm employs another 60,000.) Last year Boeing earned a bit more than half its \$20 billion revenues overseas.

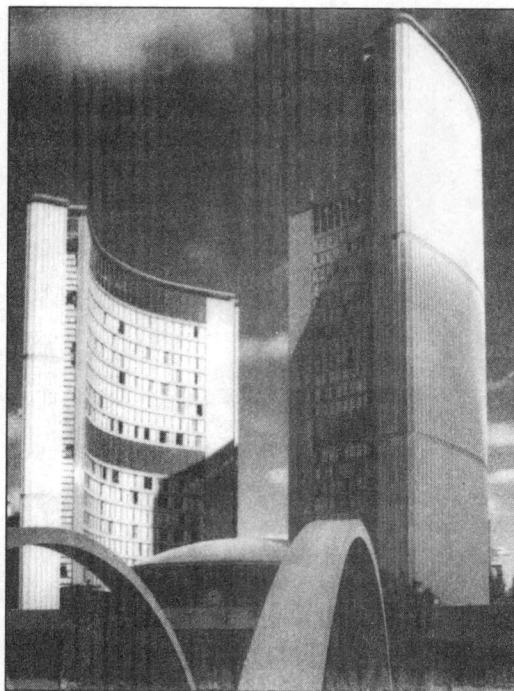
Boosted by Boeing's overseas successes, Seattle exports more than just about any place in the United States — twice the national average last year. Most of Seattle's trade — \$30 billion in 1989 — flows through the Port of Seattle. State and local officials are working assiduously to cash in on the accident of geography that placed the port two day's sailing time closer to Japan than other U.S. west coast ports, and midway between Japan and Europe. Danzas, the Swiss-based freight-forwarders, set up its U.S. headquarters in Seattle; company executives predict that, within a few years, Seattle will pass Dubai as the Asia-to-Europe sea-air link.

SAN JOSE

THERE'S MONEY TO BE MADE IN SAN JOSE. Gordon Campbell started Chips and Technologies "from zero" five years ago. Last year the firm clocked \$217 million in sales; this year Campbell figures to hit the \$300 million mark. His edge? Beyond diligence and product quality, Campbell points to the city of San Jose ("From a technical standpoint, there's hardly anything that isn't here") and the global economy.

Campbell's is one of hundreds of new San Jose companies — 400 in the last five years — making a successful run at the global high-tech market. No wonder *Fortune* calls San Jose the "Capital of the Silicon Valley."

It's also one of the most expensive places to live in the nation. So how do high-tech start-ups flourish? "The advantage of the Valley is engineering and technical talent," says Silicon Valley Bank's Jim Forrester. "There are just a lot of people here who are skilled at developing the high-technology that supplies the rest of the world." Indeed. One-fourth of the world's high-technology products come out of the forges of San Jose-based high-tech firms. And the global reach of San Jose-based companies gets a big assist at city hall. In other communities, San Jose's well-traveled mayor, Tom McEnery, might be the object of nasty editorials in the town paper; in San Jose, he's a hero, a man



Toronto — The Little Apple

whose municipal mission includes a promise to strengthen economic and cultural ties with "markets" (his word) in Asia, Latin American, and Europe, "including eastern Europe."

Nor are things likely to slow. Says

Security Pacific's Mike Romanchak: "I haven't found that the national, so-called recession you read about in the papers has been a problem here."

What is a problem in the south bay? Transportation, for one. The city's international airport is growing; it was twenty-sixth in the nation last year in passengers carried, and cargo traffic — most of it domestic — was up a prodigious 75 percent. But it's still a second-tier airport, with just two direct international flights — to Mexico and Australia.

TORONTO

UNTIL RECENTLY, CANADA HAD TWO faces: Cosmopolitan, international Montreal, and staid, Protestant Toronto. But after World War Two, immigration rose; most of the "New Canadians" opted for Vancouver on the west coast or Toronto on the east. These days, far more of the newcomers (many of them well-monied refugees from Hong Kong) head east to begin with: "We have more Chinese-speaking millionaires than English-speaking millionaires," says a Toronto businessman. But not all the money is Chinese. In the 1960s, French separatists in Quebec province scared much of the big money out of Montreal and into Toronto. The Toronto offices of Montreal-based banks like Royal Bank and Bank of Montreal dwarf the corporate headquarters back in Montreal. Sixty-four foreign banks have made their Canadian headquarters here.

Some locals refer to the city as the Little Apple; others, more Canadian in manner, resist such comparisons. But Toronto is throwing shadows over western New York state. Seventy-two Toronto-based firms have opened offices in Buffalo since the signing of the U.S. trade agreement in 1987. Officials in the state capital at Albany have, in fact, encouraged local officials in cities like Buffalo to do what they must to ride Toronto's

PHOTO: METROPOLITAN TORONTO CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU

transnational coattails. No talk yet of annexation or secession.

There are still reasons to stay, of course. Besides banking institutions that rival those of any capital city, the city's International Office has a well-earned reputation for helping new local firms tap into federal and provincial export programs, establishing sister-city links with cities in Europe, and organizing trade missions across the Atlantic. While the city's harbor is diminutive by big-city standards (2.5 million tons last year), it handles an impressive 35,000 containers a year from the Soviet Union (machinery and sporting goods, mostly) and has excellent intermodal connections with New York and Montreal.

TUCSON

THE 100 MILES OF DESERT HIGHWAY between Nogales, Mexico, and Tucson, Arizona, are among the few in the U.S. marked in kilometers. The reason? The ever-increasing traffic between U.S. companies and the Mexican factories which have sprung up along the southwestern border in the last 25 years. There are 64 maquiladoras operating in Nogales and in other nearby border towns, and they have lifted Tucson above the level of a southwestern retirement community. Last year, Motorola and Foster Grant opened offices in Tucson to supervise production operations south of the border; 15 percent of all manufacturing employment in Tucson itself is dependent on the maquiladoras. Even local businesses benefit from the weekend influx of Mexican workers who cross the border to spend their wages in Tucson.

Not all roads lead south. Three years ago Tucson opened the first U.S. municipal foreign trade office in Asia. That's brought the city \$600,000 in new business — not much, but better than a sharp stick in the mayor's eye; city officials expect to double the figure in the coming fiscal year.

"We hand-hold Tucson companies through their deals," says Bill Cline, head of the city's International Trade Office. "We put Taiwanese and Tucson companies in touch with one another, we work

with banks, and we make sure all the documentation is in order." One of those being held by the hand was Bob Kincaid, president of the Tucson-based security systems company Pre-venTronics Corp. Cline's office set up 14 interviews with "very interested" Taiwanese business people; from Taiwan, Kincaid expects to slip more easily into Japanese markets he thinks will accelerate his firm's growth.

While Kincaid likes the desert environment ("Florida was too humid"), he's more interested in access to Latin American markets: "Where we're at right now is a great location for Mexico."

TWIN CITIES

ON HIS RECENT TOUR OF THE U.S., Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev stopped in Washington, California and the Twin Cities. The reason? The former Soviet agriculture minister is still looking for U.S. help in boosting his country's farm output. But Gorbachev knows something else: The Twin Cities can send a tanker full of grain (through the port of Duluth) as easily as one filled with computers — and the Soviets want both.

It's a region bent on going international. Part of the explanation is changing demographics: This fall, 70 percent of the those entering Twin Cities' schools for the first time claimed Asian ancestry.

For the rest of the explanation, look to personal and political initiative. Before Gorbachev's plane left the ground last June, Twin Cities-based Maxwell Publishing Corporation announced a \$50-million grant designed to get the superpowers trading and to develop prospects for similar trade agreements with eastern Europe. Saint Paul Mayor James Scheibel was elected one year ago on a platform that included city involvement in world trade; his Minneapolis counterpart, Don Fraser, already has the reputation of an internationalist.

The towering new Minnesota World Trade Center is one sign of the region's

seriousness about the international marketplace. In October the World Trade Center Association — which generally meets in capital cities like Paris and New

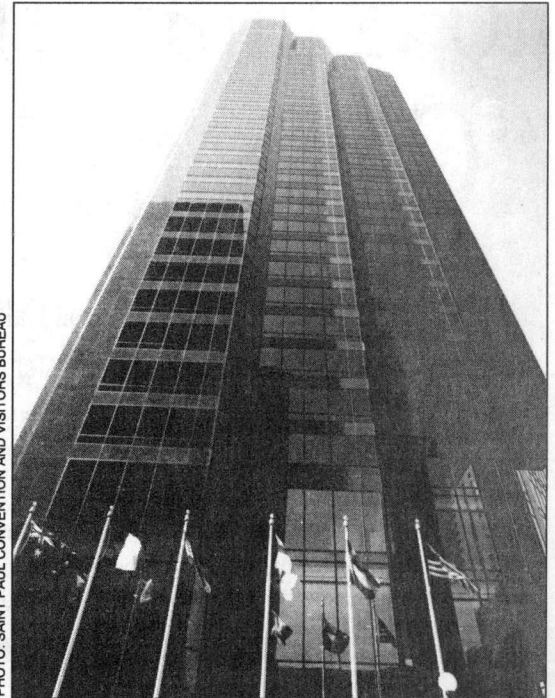


PHOTO: SAINT PAUL CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU

TWIN CITIES — World Trade Center Building

York — hosted its annual meeting there. And no wonder: Working with the state and with the city governments of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, the center operates a state export finance program and 10 affiliate offices around the world. When the center opened in 1983, Minnesota was in the middle of the 50-state pack rushing world markets; it has moved up to twelfth.

Business makes these cities international. Although the region ranks sixteenth in population, it boasts an impressive fourth place (behind New York, Chicago and Los Angeles) in the number of industrial companies doing international business. 3M, H.B. Fuller, and a battery of agricultural giants like Cargill and General Mills, call the Twin Cities home. But there's still room for growth. A Minneapolis-Hennepin County Office of International Trade survey found only 25 percent of the area's potential exporters involved in world trade.

[Reprinted with the permission of World Trade magazine.]

From Shingu to Santa Cruz: “Ganbatte”

In the wake of the earthquake that shook California last year, one city has emerged from the disaster with the emotional — and financial — support of its sister cities.

IN OCTOBER 1989, THE POWERFUL EARTHQUAKE THAT RUMBLED through northern California severely shook the city of Santa Cruz and destroyed many of its shops and homes. But amid the crumbled buildings and rattled nerves, Santa Cruz's sister-city

a month after the temblor. But that didn't mean that Tasaka and the people of Shingu weren't thinking about their California sister city. The Japanese mayor established an earthquake relief fund for Santa Cruz — a campaign so unusual in Japan that it received national media coverage. Tasaka urged his citizens to contribute, and they did. City employees donated 1500 yen (about \$5) from their paychecks. A civic organization contributed \$700. Some schoolchildren gave their allowances. One class made a *senbazuru* — a waterfall of picturesque oragami cranes — and others sent poetry and art. From all sources, the people of Shingu raised \$16,000, and the check arrived by year's end.

Then, when Mayor Tasaka finally made his long-awaited visit to Santa Cruz this June, he brought another \$600 check with him. He also conveyed words of encouragement — namely “Ganbatte” — a Japanese word meaning “stand firm.”

“The money from Shingu has been put in a special earthquake fund,” says Susan Wandruff, a Santa Cruz staff member. “The people of Shingu want us to use it in whatever manner would be most helpful, but the city council hasn't yet prioritized the city's needs. Our sister-city committee has suggested that it be used for replanting the mall.”

When the October quake struck, a delegation from another Santa Cruz sister city — Alushta in the Soviet Union — was visiting the California town, with the group led by Mayor Nikolai Sheshukov. Upon returning to Alushta, they, too, launched a relief effort for Santa Cruz. The Alushta City Department of the Soviet Peace Fund sponsored a benefit concert that featured not only local musicians, including orchestras and a children's violin ensemble, but also singers from California who happened to be visiting the Soviet Union.

The municipal government of Alushta also appropriated 25,000 rubles from its budget for Santa Cruz earthquake relief. However, “because the money exchange is poor, we're investigating other options — for example, converting the rubles to goods or expertise rather than dollars,” says Wandruff.

Santa Cruz has three other sister cities — Puerto la Cruz, Venezuela; Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Spain; and Sestri Levante, Italy — all of whom responded with sympathy and kind thoughts in the earthquake's aftermath. “It

was very touching and a heartfelt reaction,” according to Wandruff. “It speaks well of the sister city programs.”

SOURCE: Susan Wandruff, City of Santa Cruz, 307 Church St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060 (408-429-3778); Sister Cities International, 120 S. Payne St., Alexandria, VA 22314 (703-836-3535); *Ocean Views Newsletter*, Spring 1990.



PHOTO: TOM CHARGIN / IMPACT VISUALS

BAY AREA QUAKE AFTERMATH.

Shingu, Japan Mayor Masharu Tasaka established a Santa Cruz relief fund.

relationships have weathered the natural disaster. In fact, those sister-city ties are stronger and sturdier than ever, the result of an outpouring of support for Santa Cruz from across the oceans.

The Bay Area earthquake forced Masharu Tasaka, mayor of Shingu, to cancel his visit to Santa Cruz, scheduled for less than

MFP

CLASSIFIEDS

■ **NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND A CHANGING WORLD.** Colloquium of the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms. Berlin, November 2-4, 1990. Features panels, workshops and keynote speeches by distinguished international law scholars, prominent public officials and litigators. Topics: critical analysis of deterrence and proposals for a regime of common security. Register *now* through U.S. affiliate *Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy*, 225 Lafayette Street, Room 513, New York, NY 10012, or call (212) 334-8044.

■ **DECADE TO DISARM.** On October 21 and 22, 1990, join us in solidarity as we commemorate the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement's historic grassroots achievement. International vigils, rallies, demonstrations and direct action at Department of Energy facilities, defense contractor sites, embassies of nuclear testing countries and federal buildings will carry a unified voice to the United States government that we the people demand an end to the nuclear weapons testing and production. For further information on what you can do, write: The American Peace Test, P.O. Box 26725, Las Vegas, NV 89126 (702) 731-9644.

■ **A CALL FOR ARTICLES.** *Peace Review*, an international peace research journal, is now soliciting articles for its upcoming issues. *Peace Review* presents, to general and academic audiences, groundbreaking ideas in peace research and activism. Our forthcoming themes include: 1. The Nuclear Question - Just a Bad Dream? (Winter 1991) 2. Africa - Steps to a Peaceful Future (Spring 1991) 3. Eastern Europe - The Future Prospect (Summer 1991). Following our writers' guidelines, please send your article, on these or other peace themes, to either: Prof. Robert Elias, Assoc. Editor, Department of Politics, University of San Francisco, CA 94117 (or) Mr. John Harris, Editor, Suite 8, 2439 Birch St., Palo Alto, CA 94306.

■ **10 WAYS TO SAVE THE EARTH....**
 1) Fully insulate your home 2) Reduce use of electricity 3) Drive less, and buy energy-efficient cars 4) Reduce consumption of meat 5) Recycle newspaper, other paper, glass, aluminum 6) Help stop production and use of CFCs 7) Plant trees 8) Start a garden 9) Shop ecologically 10) Learn more about the greenhouse crisis and get involved. To learn more about the greenhouse crisis, order your copy of "The Greenhouse Crisis: A Citizens' Guide". This helpful booklet lists products and services as well as 101 steps to stop the greenhouse crisis. Write to The Greenhouse Crisis Foundation, 1130 Seventeenth St.

NW, Suite #630, Washington, DC 20036. Urge your local, state and federal officials to support legislation addressing the greenhouse effect.

■ **BEQUESTS.** Add a bequest to CID or one of its projects to your will. For more information contact Carol Simon, The Center for Innovative Diplomacy, 17931 - F Sky Park Circle, Irvine, CA 92714.

■ **MFP CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING.** \$1 / word, 15 word minimum. Special non-profit discount available. Write: MFP - Classifieds, 17931 - F Sky Park Circle, Irvine, CA 92714. Phone: 714-250-7340



Thousands of cities, towns, schools, non-profit groups, and concerned planetary citizens everywhere continue to raise the **Earth Flag** as a way of showing their commitment to a peaceful, just, and clean world. We hope you'll join them.

Join the *Earth Flag* Movement

Free color brochure: (800) 421-FLAG
 (201) 579-7889 or write:

The Earth Flag Company
 P.O. Box 108, Dept. MFP
 Middleville, N.J. 07855

YES, Please Send a Free Brochure!

Name _____

Title/Organization _____

Street Address _____

City/Town _____ State _____ Zip _____

MFP 990

Our Current Affair

by John Simon

THE NEW TV SEASON AND THE situation in the Mideast are fitting together rather nicely these days. Now that crisis-of-the-week programming has taken the place of the long-running *Cold War* series, Nielsen families can look forward to a new and different set of questions regarding their viewing preferences. Here is just a sampling:

- If ABC managed to cut a deal with George Bush, Margaret Thatcher and Saddam Hussein in time for a Veterans' Day showing of the proposed Great Debate would you watch it?
- Would you still watch it if Sam Donaldson were the moderator?
- Would you watch a *Twin Peaks* -style Mideast crisis mini-series format with the Iraqi leader Hussein taking advantage of Italian Parliament member Ilola Staller's offer to "have his way with [her] if, in exchange, he frees the hostages"?
- Should our network news teams construct several new Hitlers as backups to Hussein so that we can completely scrap the peace dividend?
- Should NBC and the Pentagon jointly sponsor a contest for the best incident or pretext to kick-off Gas War I?
- Would you approve if the wounded in the Great Desert Gas War received, instead of the Purple Heart, the Texaco Star?

With all these possible questions left to be answered, there remains one thing as predictable as reruns of *I Love Lucy*: our country's energy policy. That policy calls for nearly unrestrained consumption

of an increasingly uncertain fuel supply that is escalating in price. It's a policy personified by President Bush at the helm of a gas-gulping power speed boat, followed by a press conference in which the President's tongue curiously flounders on the word "conserve."

Let's face it: Our energy policy is the mirror image of a video-cultural creed of convenience fed by free-market phantasms of burning sex and petrol. Any couch potato can tell you that automotive marketing research shows high viewer response to cross-country fossil-fueled trips with Christie Brinkley.

Now, in the '90s, as the nation watches Chuck Yeager moving effortlessly from 30-second prime-time Valvoline oil TV spots to hawking Northrop's B-2 bomber, we might ask: Will we ever see a reasonable energy policy before the millennium — one that we don't need to pollute or kill for — and how would such a policy play on Main Street? More pragmatically we might ask, is it a wise investment for our nation's cities and towns to pay a bill of \$2.5 billion dollars a month for a Mideast military presence with no guarantee that it will help our long-term energy needs?

Don't expect the world of TV to raise these questions anytime soon. And don't expect any politicians to answer them any time soon. What we can expect — since the media have done their job of readying the general public for vengeance against the Iraqi devil — is a flood of patriotic harangues coming out of Washington. We'll hear a lot about brave young men and women, democracy, applehood and motherpie. As is usually the case in war, pomp and exaggeration will be the order of the day. The truth just won't do. Somehow the battle cry, "Give me unleaded — and cheap — or give me death!" doesn't quite work. Unfortunately, playing us as spectators in a video game does. What else can explain the American public's ability, in the course of just half a year, to embrace both the reality of Earth Day and the prospect

of Gas Wars? It's the power of national politicians and our national media at work. Their crisis-of-the-week programming has a hold on the nation. Drugs. Noriega. The Environment. The Deficit. Now Hussein.

There is some hope though. Away from the national TV cameras and the talk of blood for oil, local leaders from Sacramento to Atlanta have been quietly shaping their cities' own innovative energy-efficient transportation programs. These include ride-sharing, mass transit and creative urban design. These local leaders — mayors, councilmembers, and the brightest of citizens — are daily discovering and building sensible alternatives to the death and destruction that are the ultimate price of the Bush administration's "burn before you learn" energy policy.

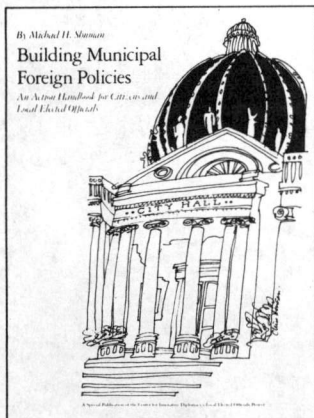
Now, as America sits on the verge of the Great Desert Gas War, let's look to those cities that are facing up to the reality of our energy predicament. They are the examples of the path we must take. Make no mistake about it: When the sand has finally settled in the current Mideast affair our predicament should at last be clear. We need to direct our national budget priorities away from the military and into research, development and practical programs of conservation that reduce oil dependence. We need to require improved automobile fuel efficiency, with an achievable 10-year goal of 60 miles per gallon. We need to impose a \$1 per gallon tax on gasoline that bring us in line with world prices. And we need to fund a national high-speed rail system that includes modern commuter systems in cities and suburbs as well.

To face up to these realities will take the kind of courageous national leadership that, at least for the time being, just doesn't exist. Until some bona fide national leaders emerge, it is up to America's cities and citizens to continue to lead the way. They may not top the Nielsen ratings, but they will help build a safer, better world. ■



CD RESOURCES

17931 Sky Park Circle • Suite F • Irvine, CA 92714 • 714-250-1296



Building Municipal Foreign Policies

An action handbook for citizens and local elected officials.

A large format, softcover guide to thinking globally and acting locally. 1987. 59 pp. \$6

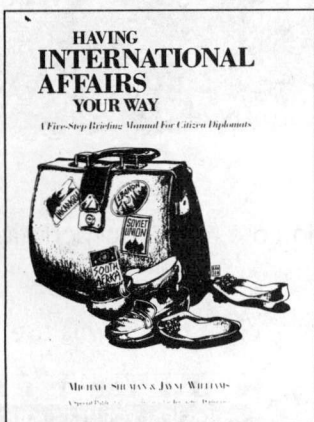


Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy

"...an indispensable resource for local officials and activists across the country"

— St. Paul Mayor
Jim Scheibel

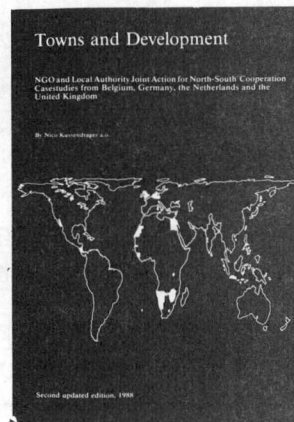
Join the Center for Innovative Diplomacy and become a subscriber to the Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy. Four quarterly issues \$35



Having International Affairs Your Way

A five-step briefing manual for citizen diplomats.

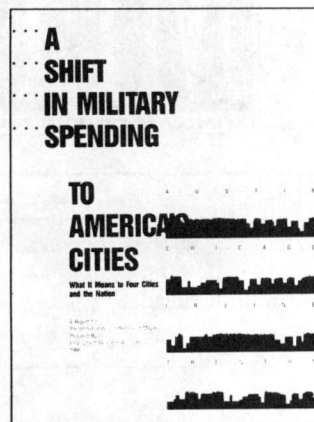
A large format, softcover handbook for starting your own people-to-people diplomacy. 29 pp. \$6



Towns and Development

A guide to Europe's city-based Third World development projects.

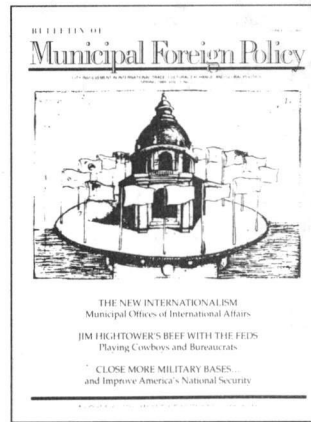
A large format, softcover handbook including the Cologne Appeal and case studies. 1988. 100 pp. \$6



A Shift in Military Spending

What it means to four cities and the nation

A large format, softcover report prepared by Employment Research Associates for the U.S. Conference of Mayors. 1988. 49 pp. \$10

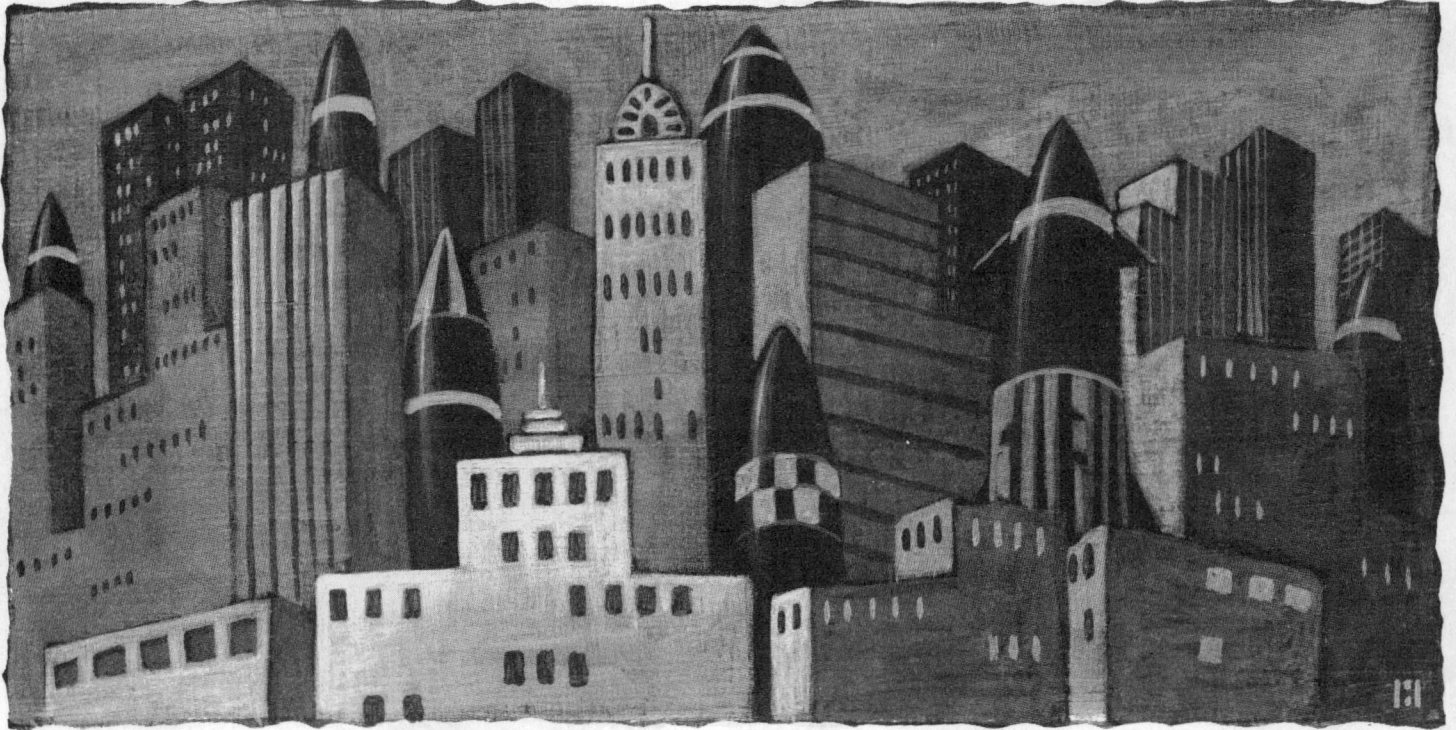


Back issues of Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy

V.2, No. 4 - *The Economic Burden of the Arms Race.*
V. 3, No. 1, *Bush-Wacking.*
V. 3, No. 2 - *The New Internationalism.*
V. 3, No. 3 - *U.S. Cities and South African Apartheid.*
V. 3, No. 4 - *Feds Attack Municipal Foreign Policy.*

V. 4, No. 1 - *Cities and the Berlin Wall.*
V. 4, No. 2 - *Cities on Drugs.*
V. 4, No. 3 - *The Greenhouse Century.*
\$6 each

NATIONAL SECURITY?



National security means more than weapons.

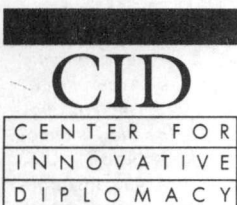
It means economically vibrant communities. It means health care and education, child care, and transportation worthy of our citizens. It means decent affordable housing for every American.

Measured in these terms, our national security has been breached. But across America, cities and towns are fighting back with an array of innovative foreign policy strategies.

Along the way they're changing the world.

READ ABOUT IT.

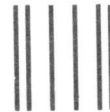
The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy



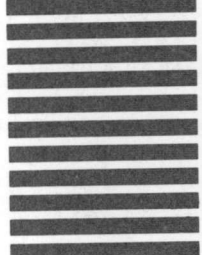
17931-F Sky Park Circle
Irvine, CA 92714

Non-Profit Organization
U.S. Postage Paid
Santa Ana, CA
Permit No. 522

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED



NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES



BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 9526 SANTA ANA, CA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

Center for Innovative Diplomacy

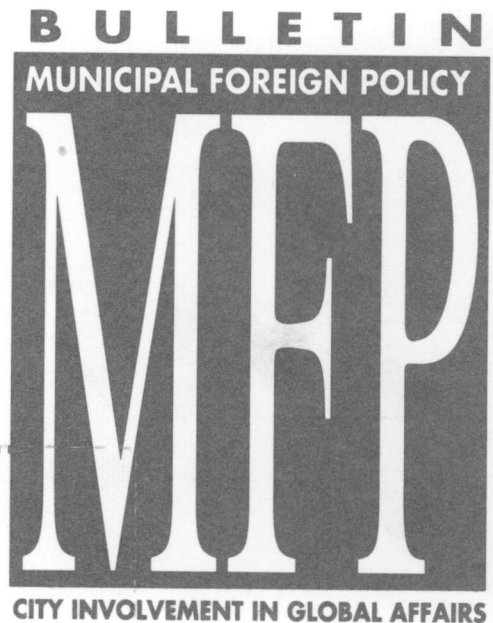
Subscriber Services

17931 'F' Sky Park Circle

Irvine, CA 92714-9654



Let's continue to make history together... Subscribe now!



Simply fill out this card and drop it in the mail.
Thank you.

Name _____

Title _____

City or Institution _____

Address _____

City _____

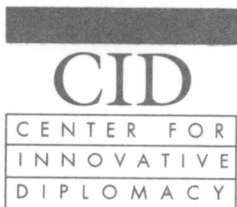
State _____ ZIP _____

Start / Renew my
subscription today at the
yearly rate of \$15.

Please send _____ extra
copies for my staff and
colleagues.

I'm not interested.
Remove my name from
your list.

MFP DC3



17931-F Sky Park Circle
Irvine, CA 92714

Non-Profit Organization
U.S. Postage Paid
Santa Ana, CA
Permit No. 522

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED