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BULLETIN

MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

MFP

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

SPRING 1990, VOL. 4, No. 2 • THREE DOLLARS

- GIVING NICARAGUA THE BUSINESS
- END OF THE ROAD FOR SOUTH AFRICA?
- TIME FOR A TEST BAN

CITIES ON DRUGS

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RICKY FLORES / IMPACT VISUALS



THE THICK BLUE LINE.

Any solution to the drug wars will involve local solutions. Michael Shuman offers innovative strategies, page 4.

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DAVID HWANG

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LETTERS

SHARING THE INFORMATION

The article "Sharing the Filth" (Winter 1989-90) omitted an important issue. The workers in Mexican *maquiladoras* not only are paid a relatively low wage, they also work under conditions that would not be tolerated in the United States. Health and safety regulations are lax and, in some places, nonexistent, and the health of many young women has been seriously threatened.

Edward V. Ashburn
Granada Hills, CA

MARKET STRATEGY

People like the person who wrote your story on Mexican *maquiladoras* are never satisfied with America. On the one hand, we're imperialists if we go to Mexico and invest in factories that produce jobs there. On the other, we're imperialists if we won't do the same thing in Nicaragua.

I see the same hypocrisy at work on U.S.-South African and U.S.-Soviet relations. If free trade will make the Soviet Union more democratic, as your magazine has often argued, why are anti-apartheid activists so intent on stopping free trade with the South Africans? Won't free trade produce democracy in South Africa as readily as it would in the Soviet Union?

I'd like to offer a hypothesis: Free trade will produce more jobs than a million publicly funded development projects.

James Stern
Evanston, IL

THREE STRIKES

I am concerned about things in the Winter issue. First, the article from the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* on

Governor Richard Celeste of Ohio is clearly a negative smear. It is a smear piece on all peace efforts. Why did you use it? I urge you to get an informative piece on what is actually going on in Ohio.

Second, I found the story on the Slepak Foundation puzzling. An effort focused only on USSR human rights abuses is, at this time, dated — especially when Israeli human rights abuses are so current. Even Israeli censorship is unable to cut this information off.

Third, does Colorado State Senator Bill Owens really represent your editorial policy?

I know editors are rushed by deadlines, and I have valued your efforts. But please do not let down the standards.

Elizabeth Morrissett
Anchorage, AK

BLOOD MONEY

I'm all for free speech, but why should *your* journal give a pulpit to cold war macho capitalism? I get enough of that Neanderthal perspective from the mainstream media and politicians; I don't want to support it in any publication to which I subscribe. Nor can I fathom why any of you would want it to appear — especially unresponded to — unless maybe you are grubbing for right-wing reactionary foundation money, and/or trying to be all things to all people. In either case, you do the causes you espouse — municipalism, economically vibrant communities as a source of national security, etc. — a great disservice by printing such cold war trash as "Red and Dead." All it does is promote the very "we" vs. "they", zero sum mentality you claim to be going beyond.

Any more of this kind of stuff and I'll lose whatever interest in your

work I still, guardedly, retain.

Len Krimerman
Storrs, Connecticut

PASSING WHIRLWIND

Re: Colorado State Senator Bill Owens' comments on U.S.-Soviet relations. Why you run such rhetorical flatulence, I am unsure. I don't pay you to give vent to such knee-jerk philistinisms as "the defence build-up of the Reagan Administration... forced the Soviet Union to realize that its own economy

could not afford the military superiority it had achieved." As if our own country — now lying beneath the accumulated weight of hundreds of billions of dollars of debt, decaying infrastructure, schools that don't work, and a declining economy — could afford the arms race.

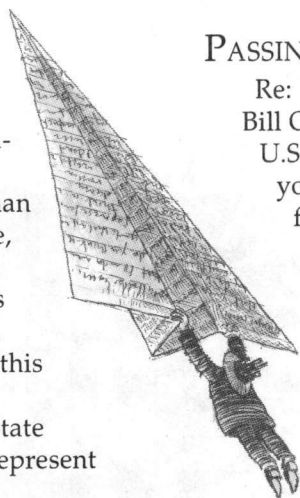
I challenge Owens to meet with the local officials of any major U.S. city — hell, any medium-sized city! — and evacuate himself of the message he published in your Winter issue. They'd show him that when "we arm to parley" we reap the whirlwind.

Brian O'Neill
Omaha, NE

WARM RELATIONSHIPS

Many thanks for [Novosti Press Agency writer] Nikolai Vishnevsky's insights into the U.S.-Soviet sister cities movement (Winter 1989-90). How interesting to see what a Soviet citizen thinks of citizen and city efforts to warm up relations. How satisfying to see such honesty.

S. Levine
Louisville, KY



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

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

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CITIES ON DRUGS

We can begin to make real headway against drugs if we're ready to harness our local governments to reshape national policy-makers, assist desperate Third World farmers, and put real controls on multinational chemical companies.

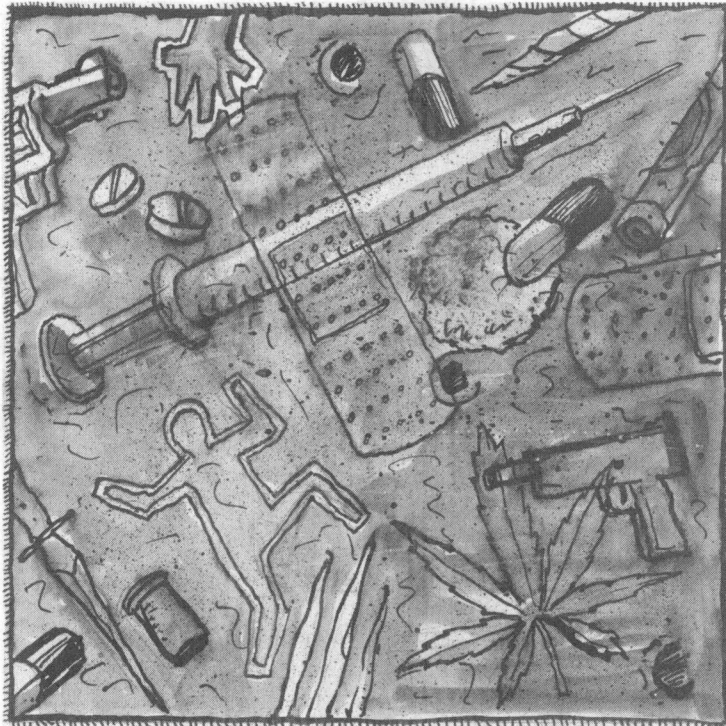
Michael Shuman

JANUARY WAS BUSINESS AS usual in the nation's capital. More than one person was gunned down in the city's drug wars every day — only a slight increase over the previous year's rate of carnage. Local leaders were proclaiming victory in the "war on drugs," while Mayor Marion Barry was being hauled off to a rehabilitation facility in Florida for allegedly smoking crack in front of FBI cameras. And President George Bush was proposing a budget with trivial increases for fighting drugs while continuing to earmark \$150 billion for war preparations in Central Europe that everyone agrees are absurd.

Faced with hypocrisy at every turn, it is hard to know what local officials and citizens can do about drugs. Clearly they can no longer do nothing. Economists now estimate that the total cost of drug abuse in America, including the cost of crime, law enforcement, and health problems, exceeds \$60 billion per year, damages that are falling primarily on poor, urban blacks who can least afford them. If cities begin wisely using the tools of municipal foreign policy, they have a chance of making a dent in the drug mess.

WHAT WON'T WORK

FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF DRUG CZAR WILLIAM BENNETT, TOO many local officials have taken to the stump demanding more stringent law enforcement: If only we could incarcerate more crack dealers, give them longer sentences (including the death penalty), capture more contraband at our borders, wipe out more coca fields, and extradite more drug



lords, all of our problems would be solved.

But statistics tell another story. Between 1980 and 1988, according to author Tina Rosenberg, the United States spent \$10 billion to fight illicit cocaine imports, sales and use. During the same period, the supply of cocaine in the United States increased by a factor of ten, its street price dropped by four-fifths, and its purity rose from 12 to 80 percent. Despite dramatic gains in seizures of cocaine and related processing chemicals, crack is becoming cheaper

and more widely available. "The real line," writes Rosenberg, "is steadily moving in the wrong direction, insultingly impervious to all our efforts."

Rooting out the coca fields and makeshift labs in Latin America has been similarly difficult. Drug trafficking earns Colombia between \$2-4 billion each year; coffee, in contrast, Colombia's largest legal export, earned \$1.7 billion in 1988 and only a billion in 1989. Fewer and fewer Colombians are willing to destroy their most successful multinational business just because Uncle Sam doesn't like it. According to Rosenberg, drug trafficking "is an accepted, even an admired activity. There is no segment of Colombian society that has not made its pact with cocaine: the military, the guerrillas, the banks, the Catholic Church, industry, the courts, the police."

It is for this reason that U.S. gunboats cannot help. We are lucky that protests by the Colombian government prevented the Bush Administration from ordering the U.S. Navy to implement a clumsy anti-drug blockade. Had the United States tried to pull off another Panama-style invasion, the drug lords, already lionized by many Colombians,

would have received a tremendous boost as the stalwart resisters of "Yankee imperialism."

PROMISING NEW STRATEGIES

WHAT OTHER OPTIONS, then, are there? While there are no easy or cheap ways out of the drug epidemic, there are at least three approaches with more promise than direct interdiction, each of which requires creative municipal action.

1 REGULATE U.S. CHEMICAL COMPANIES

We must begin by regulating more vigorously one of the parts of the cocaine business from which American companies profit — selling processing chemicals that transform Latin America's coca paste into cocaine. According to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency, nearly half of the ether, acetone, and methyl ethyl ketone (MEK) exported in 1987 to Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador was used for processing coca. Exxon and Shell, for example, have shipped Colombia enormous quantities of MEK, well beyond any legitimate industrial uses by that country.

State and local government should pass disclosure regulations that supplement loose federal regulations. Look carefully at the chemical companies in your own backyards, ask for records of their foreign transactions, and make sure that they are not part of the problem. If you or other cities discover companies that seem to be involved in the chemical-cocaine chain, your city should refuse to enter contracts with or invest in them.

2 PROMOTE LATIN AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

Another approach to stopping drug traffic is to give Latin American farmers a profitable alternative to growing coca. The United States must stop sabotaging Latin America's legal industries. Last year, we scuttled an international coffee agreement that caused the price of Colombia's largest legal export to tumble by 40 percent. At the same time, the Department of Commerce decided to

protect our domestic flower growers at the expense of Colombia's flower farmers, the nation's fourth largest group of legal exporters.

More importantly, we should provide grants, loans, technology, and other assistance that could give farmers direct incentives to stop growing coca. So long as the average coca farmer can earn an income six times higher than other farmers — for a crop that is resistant to most pests and enjoys a relatively stable price — the incentives for illicit agriculture will remain irresistible. Yet, in our misguided quest for interdiction, we now give Colombians twenty times more for crop eradication and law enforcement than for all forms of development assistance.

Every American city should adopt one town or village in Peru, Bolivia or Colombia, and work side-by-side with Latin Americans to promote economic alternatives to growing

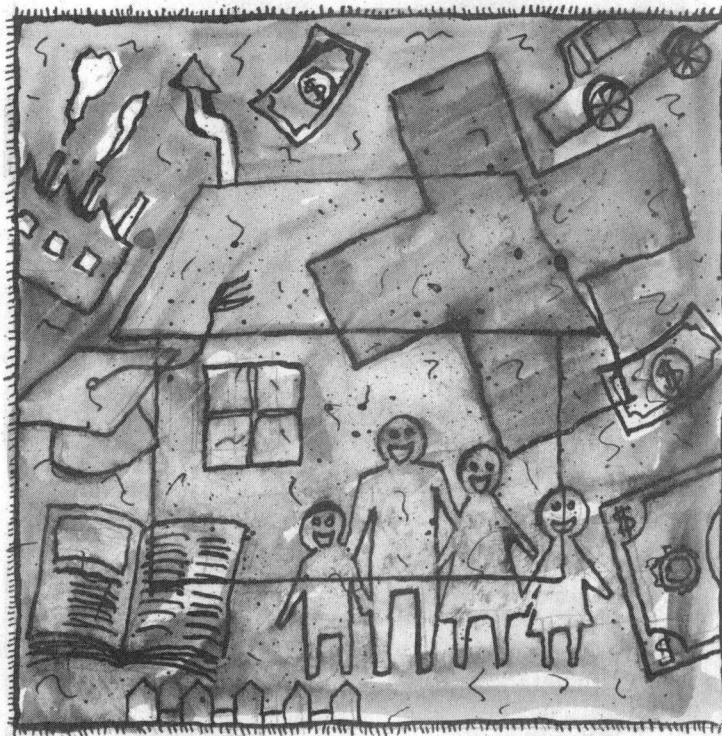
coca. Like our counterparts in Europe who now have nearly one thousand Third World links dedicated to sustainable development, we should send our sister communities farming equipment, provide small-scale loans, and help build roads, bridges, water systems and schools.

For \$25 billion — between one-half and one-eighth the total cost of the bailout for the savings and loan industry — we could pay *every* rural family in Latin America \$1,000 not to grow coca (that's the typical annual income for a coca farmer). That would be half the cost cities are now paying in crime, sickness and other drug damages. Third World development is no longer just charity; it is an essential, cost-effective means of protecting our cities.

3 CUT THE PENTAGON'S BUDGET

Ultimately, our efforts to end drug abuse must reduce demand at home. The fact that Western Europeans have a much smaller crack problem is partially a matter of logistics and luck, but also a reflection of their stronger social welfare systems. America's ghettos are an inexcusable national

continued on page 7



ONE STEP BACK, ONE UP FRONT

Sheldon Rampton

ONCE AGAIN, NICARAGUA HAS CONFOUNDED THE EXPERTS. Opinion polls were virtually unanimous in predicting that the Sandinistas would win handily in Nicaragua's February elections. For the U.S.-Nicaragua sister-city delegations that were in Nicaragua to observe, the pollsters' verdict was seemingly confirmed on Feb. 21 when over half a million people turned out to the Sandinistas' closing campaign rally. Even the head of the U.S. embassy, who met with Wisconsin's "sister state" delegation to Nicaragua, expected the Sandinistas to win.

And then they lost, by a 14-point margin.

For the last eight years, defenders of U.S. foreign policy have said that the Sandinistas were "totalitarian" rulers who would never allow free and fair elections, let alone accept an election result that went against them. Daniel Ortega's concession speech the morning after his defeat has also confounded those "experts."

What now for Nicaragua, and for the cities here who have tied themselves in solidarity to Nicaragua?

To begin with, we can take pride in the nature of our participation in the historic elections that we witnessed on February 25. Unlike the federal government of the United States, we were not in Nicaragua to tell the Nicaraguan people how to run their country. We were not there to threaten them, as the federal government did, with violence, economic sanctions, and other punishments if they failed to vote our preference.

Our role was really a very humble one. We were observers, and in carrying out that role we satisfied ourselves that the Nicaraguan elections were indeed open and honest, and that the decision made by Nicaragua's voters was an honest choice.

It was a choice between two alternatives, neither of which could give them everything they wanted.

On February 25, the Nicaraguan people demonstrated that what they want more than anything else is peace, economic stability, and a chance to rebuild their country. They wanted an end to the U.S. trade embargo, to the *contras*, and to all the other forms of aggression with which they were being threatened for so long as the Sandinistas remained at the head of the Nicaraguan government.

They were not voting for a return to the pre-revolutionary past, to the days of the Somoza dictatorship when elections were a violent ritual of fraud, dominance and submission; when a few people owned everything, and

everyone else owned nothing; when "peace and stability" meant that protests against the existing regime were punished with prison, exile or death.

The Nicaraguan elections were something unprecedented. They mark the first time that a revolutionary government, still in the pride of its youth, has humbled itself before the will of its people. Previous revolutions have reached this turning point, but they have always turned in the opposite direction: the direction of assuming that "the party must guide the people," and that to do this, revolutionaries must hold on to state power "by any means necessary." The fossilized governments of Eastern Europe have demonstrated where that historic road ultimately leads. By taking the opposite road, Nicaragua has opened up for the world an unexplored terrain of history.

It is still too early to know where this new road will lead. Some fear that the result will be a bloodbath, as the old regime attempts to reassert itself and take revenge. This fear is realistic and deserves our full attention. But it is also possible that instead of bloodshed, the Nicaraguan people may attain their goals of peace and national reconciliation.

Those of us who are active in the U.S.-Nicaragua sister-city movement will have to cope with the curse of living in interesting times. Already we can see that the new situation presents both challenges and opportunities:

We will have to deal with a new government in Nicaragua whose vice president has already said that he wants "internationalists" to "go home." We may encounter greater government hostility and obstructiveness than we have faced in the past. But this is not an insurmountable obstacle, as has been proven by the existing sister-city relationships between the U.S. and El Salvador.

On the other hand, the change of government in Nicaragua has already brought about a lifting of the U.S. trade embargo and will almost certainly mean an end to the *contra* war. These changes will free us to direct our energies into the work of social change and economic reconstruction, the features of Nicaragua's revolution that attracted us there in the first place.

Sister-city programs should continue our presence as observers inside Nicaragua, maintaining a voice to speak against abuses of human rights and in favor of peace.

We should take advantage of the coming normalization of U.S.-Nicaraguan government relations to diversify our base of support in the United States, so that friendship with Nicaragua ceases to be a "peace movement" goal and becomes a goal of the entire country.

We should continue to sow the seeds of economic cooperation, cultural exchange, and public education.

Finally, we should begin now to direct our work so that the Nicaraguan elections of 1996 will be as free, as fair, and as open to international observation as the elections we have just witnessed.

Sheldon Rampton of the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua is also a contributing editor of the Bulletin.

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disgrace. Can we really be surprised when malnourished children cannot learn, when uneducated teens cannot find jobs, and when idle people numb their misery with alcohol and drugs? The war on drugs will never be won without a revived war on poverty.

Any new commitment to eradicating hunger, homelessness, illiteracy, unemployment, and addiction will require tens of billions of dollars. And unless we are willing to increase taxes, which President Bush has sworn never to do, we must slash the military budget. Yet amazingly, while Eastern Europe has been transformed from a beachhead for far-fetched Warsaw Pact invasions into a permanent buffer-zone for peace, President Bush insists on throwing money at the military as if nothing has happened.

In his January budget request, the President asked for \$4.7 billion for Star Wars research (a billion more than the previous year), \$5.5 billion for the first five B-2 bombers, \$1.45 billion for our eighteenth Trident submarine, \$2.2 billion for putting MX missiles on trains, and \$100 million for modernizing short-range missiles in Europe (which are capable of attacking only East Germany!). Meanwhile, the allocations for pressing domestic needs are an embarrassment.

After reviewing the Bush budget, New York Governor Mario Cuomo demanded, "[L]ook at that budget they handed you. No money for cities! No money for police! No money for corrections! Worse than that, no money for prevention, treatment, education."

It is essential for cities to send lobbyists to Washington to push for deeper cuts in military spending and renewed social services. Moreover, cities must educate their citizens to understand the need for new national budget priorities — now.

What stands in the way of U.S. cities implementing these strategies is our own outmoded political habits. We must expand our political vision of local action beyond filling the pot-

holes and arresting drug users. We can begin to make real headway against drugs if we're ready to harness our local governments to reshape national policy-makers, assist desperate Third World farmers, and put real controls on multinational chemical companies. The time has come to break loose of our dependency on Washington and begin the local initiatives that can win the war on drugs. If

we fail, we will have no one to blame but ourselves.

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

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NOTES FROM ALL OVER

In this issue: San Jose cuts it too close; cities ban Salvadoran beans from public pots; municipal garbage gives islanders a lift; and much more.

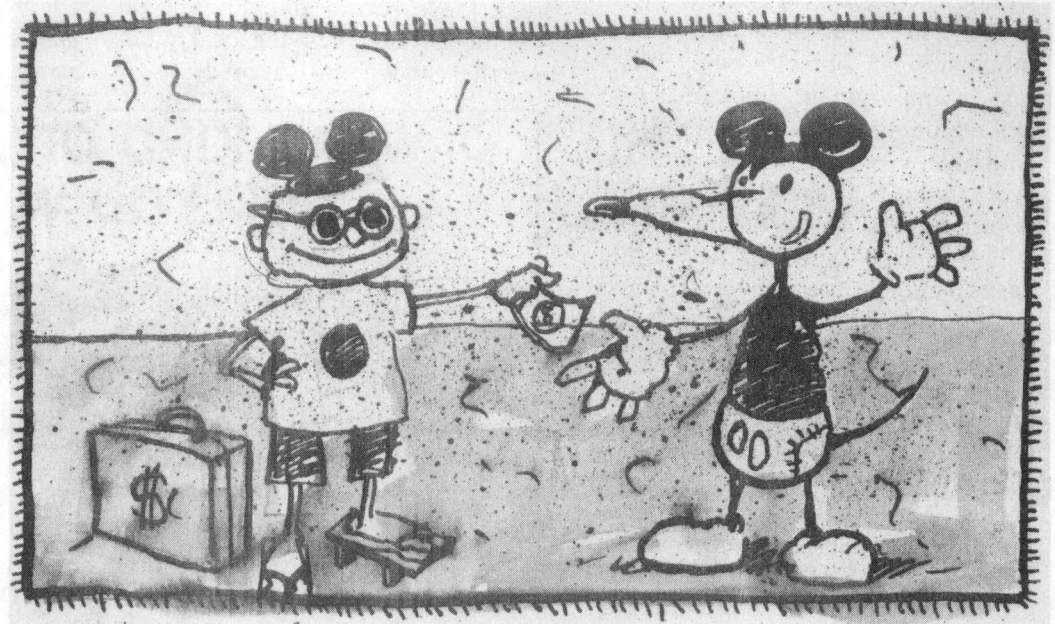
CUTTING UP

AT A RECENT CEREMONY to rename a San Jose library, city officials struck an international note. The banner they draped above the entrance to the newly named Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. library welcomed visitors in 27 languages. But the welcomes in Swedish and Dutch were misspelled, and a Filipino security guard at the event pointed out that the welcome in his own language actually read "circumcision."

OCCIDENTAL TOURIST

FOREIGNERS DON'T THINK much of our cars, stereos, steel or televisions, but they like the lay of the land. And, for the first time since someone started keeping track of these things, foreign tourists will soon spend more here than U.S. tourists spend over there.

In the first nine months of 1989 foreign tourists spent \$33 billion — falling just \$768 million short of Americans' spending abroad, according to the U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration. And all those tourists spending all that money — Japanese tourists in Honolulu average \$586 every day — is good news



for financially strapped local governments.

Aggressive local and state governments themselves get part of the credit for the rise in tourism. States last year spent almost \$280 million luring foreigners to the U.S. — more than three times the amount they spent in 1980.

But most of the credit goes to the falling dollar, itself a product of declining U.S. economic competitiveness in the world economy.

And that worries some analysts. Says John Zysman, co-director of the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy, "The economy is not going to be helped quite so much by accumulating skills in hotel management....If we think this is part of the

solution, as opposed to a short-term palliative, a Band-Aid, then we're misled."

SOURCE: John Burgess, "Foreign Tourists to U.S. Up in Numbers, Spending," *Los Angeles Times*, January 21, 1990, p. D4.

SPILL THE BEANS

SAN FRANCISCO-BASED Neighbor-to-Neighbor (N2N) has approached local governments in its attempt to stop the decade-long civil war in El Salvador. "We want to light fires underneath the backsides of federal government officials....So we're going right to our local elected officials — they're the most accountable to us — and urging them to call for an end to the war in El Salvador," says N2N's Fred Ross.

But this is an unusual call, a call to end the, uh, coffee break cities give the Salvadoran government.

N2N points out that 60 percent of Salvadoran coffee flows into U.S. coffee cups. "Revenues from coffee exports are [the Salvadoran government's] second largest source of war-funding, second only to U.S. tax dollars," says Tracy Zeluff of the group's Los Angeles office.

Hence the logic: Boycott the coffee, stop the civil war.

So N2N activists — who participated in the city of Minneapolis's decision to break its contract with a local law firm connected with the Salvadoran right (Bulletin, Winter 1989-90) — are turning to local govern-

ments.

"It's a conscious part of the national strategy," says Shelly Moskowitz of the group's Washington, D.C. office. "We want local elected officials to be making clear statements about their desire to see an end to the war in El Salvador."

In January, San Francisco officials banned Salvadoran coffee from their city's pots. At press time, the Los Angeles and Chicago city councils were taking up the ban.

SOURCE: Fred Ross, Neighbor-to-Neighbor (415-824-3355).

SIGN LANGUAGE

MOST CITIES USE WELCOME signs to brag a bit. And, so, one scholar has said, such signs have become "the place where every town is above average."

At last count, says Isao Fujimoto, a University of California professor who studies welcome signs and city symbols, "California [cities] alone claimed 35 Capitals of the World — for artichokes and golf, and let's not forget cantaloupes, dates, olives, apricots and flower seeds to mention a few."

That's certainly one sort of municipal foreign policy. But Fujimoto says there's a lot more than chest-thumping going on in some city symbols.

In the central California city of Visalia, Fujimoto says, the billboard at the city's entrance "repre-

sents the sentiments of the community in relation to its role in the world. The billboard, showing two hands shaking, and declaring, 'Peace — it's up to all of us,' represents a community-wide effort."

That sign "required an appeal to the City Council and planning commission, negotiations with the farmer who owned the land, and organizing the participation of public school children," Fujimoto explained in a speech last summer to the 20th annual meeting of the Community Development Society in St. Louis.

The Visalia billboard, Fujimoto says, was only

to be renewed every three years."

San Diego's sign, Fujimoto says, "salutes its sister city of Yokohama, Japan" and tiny Coalinga's welcome sign includes flags "representing the country of origin of each international Rotary visitor."

SOURCE: "Making Sense of the Signals Places Send Us," Isao Fujimoto, Community Studies and Development, Department of Applied Behavioral Sciences, University of California, Davis, California 95616.

GORBY DOUBLE

1989 WAS A GOOD YEAR for Mikhail Gorbachev, which means 1990 will be a good year for Long Beach, California, resident Ron

former McDonnell-Douglas engineer who bears a striking resemblance to the Soviet President and expects to cash in on the similarity.

In Southern California, Knapp's fame is already on the rise. The *Los Angeles Times* reports that the city of San Diego, hosting a 700-member Soviet arts delegation last October for the city's "Treasures of the Soviet Union" festival, featured Knapp's photo in the \$3 festival program.

The caption under Knapp's photo? "Mikhail Gorbachev."

SOURCE: Bettijane Levine, "Seize the Day," *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 12, 1989, p. E1.



supposed to stay up for three months — in a city that allows no billboards in the first place — but was "so successful" that the Council "approved a permanent display of children's art on an international friendship theme

Knapp.

Last year, religion newswriters called Gorbachev the year's "Religion Newsmaker" and *Time* magazine named him "Man of the Decade." That's good news for Knapp, a 51-year-old

LIFE AIN'T ART

LOCAL OFFICIALS IN Crested Butte, a town of 1000 on the Western slope of Colorado's Rocky Mountains, wanted to

make certain folks in the Soviet Union got the message: We're for peace, too.

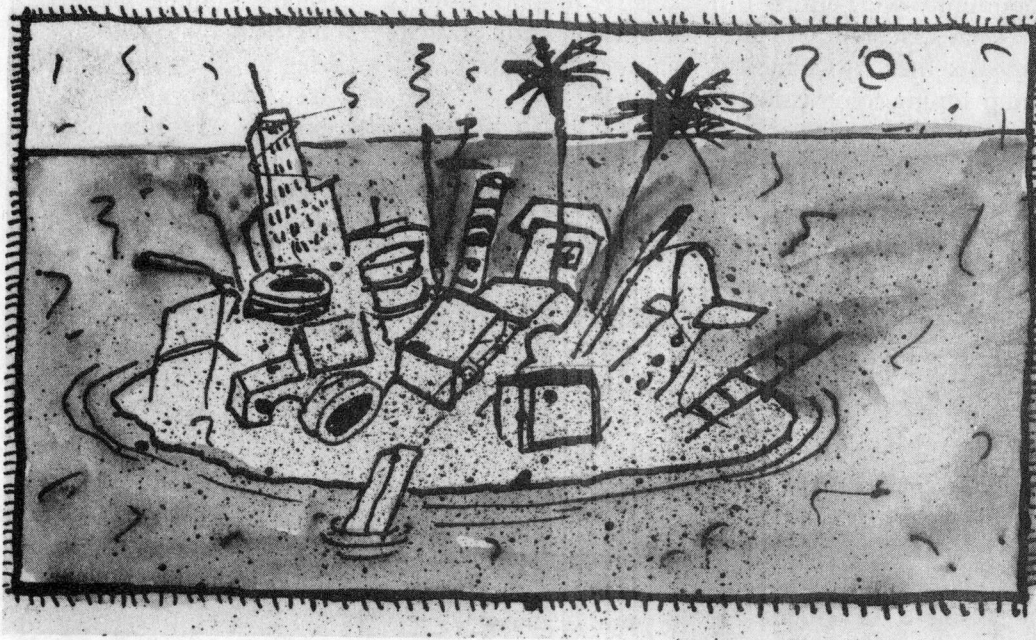
council's offer of financial support.

There was at least one hold-out. "One guy came

was sending back a telegram of best wishes to Motoshima — under the grimmest of circum-

days after the shooting, Mayor Scheibel said, "The people of St. Paul hold you in their highest esteem and pray for your speedy return to good health." Scheibel will visit Nagasaki this August at Motoshima's invitation.

SOURCE: Mayor James Scheibel, City Hall, St. Paul, MN 55102 (612-298-4323).



So, in September 1989, they handed 18-year resident Sue Navy a proclamation declaring her "Crested Butte's representative and ambassador to the citizens of the Soviet Union" — and then contributed \$250 to California-based International Peace Walk, the group sponsoring Navy's October walk across the Ukraine.

Navy left a copy of the proclamation with the residents of Litin, Ukraine. And, she says, the folks of Crested Butte have left any anti-Soviet sensibilities in the past.

Most of the town's residents liked the idea of a peace walk across the Ukraine, Navy says, and most supported the city

up to me and said, 'Maybe I've been reading too many spy novels, but I don't trust the people over there,'" Navy says. "I told him, 'You *have* been reading too many spy novels.'"

SOURCE: International Peace Walk, P.O. Box 2958, San Rafael, CA 94912.

GET-WELL WISHES

IN JANUARY, WHEN James Scheibel was inaugurated as the new mayor of St. Paul, Minnesota, he received a warm letter of congratulations from Hitoshi Motoshima, the mayor of Nagasaki, which has been St. Paul's sister city for 35 years. But just days later, Scheibel

stances.

On January 18, as he left Nagasaki City Hall, Mayor Motoshima was shot in the back by an avowed right-wing terrorist.

The assassination attempt was apparently provoked by statements of Motoshima a year earlier, in which he broke a sensitive Japanese taboo by saying that Emperor Hirohito bore some responsibility for World War II. Since then, Motoshima, an outspoken peace activist, has received numerous death threats. He underwent surgery after the shooting, and is expected to recover.

In a follow-up letter to Mayor Motoshima a few

MADE IN USA

CALIFORNIA-BASED Admiralty Pacific will pay the Marshall Islands \$56 million for the right to dump trash from seven California cities in the island chain 2,000 miles southwest of Hawaii.

Admiralty says shipping the trash to the islands beats trucking it just a few miles to expensive domestic landfills. "Even if our assumptions are off by 100 percent, we'll still make money," says Admiralty president Dan Fleming.

U.S. and Marshall Islands environmentalists are outraged, but Marshall Islands President Amata Kabua says they ought to look at the bright side. Scientists studying global warming say sea levels will rise so quickly over the next 60 years that the low-lying Marshall Islands will be inundated.

American-made trash, President Kabua says, will keep islanders a step ahead of rising tides.

SOURCE: "California Cities Set to Trash South Sea Islands," *Earth Island Journal*, Fall 1989, p. 12.

ENDURING CHAOS

EVEN POLITICAL AND social unrest isn't enough to undermine a sister city relationship. That's the report from Houston, which has maintained its relationship with Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, throughout the turmoil that has bloodied that community recently.

During the height of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, Houston Mayor Kathy Whitmire, as well as sister-city representatives in Houston, sent messages to their counterparts in Baku, expressing their grief over the loss of life, and pledging their commitment to the continuation of the sisterly ties.

In April 1989, the mayor of Baku visited Houston, during which a number of protocols were drawn and a number of exchanges planned. "Unfortunately, with the uncertain situation in Baku and a concern for safety, the exchanges can only be carried out in one direction for now — that is, the residents of Baku coming to Houston," says Kate Moses of Houston's Protocol Alliance, which oversees the sister city relationship.

When the situation returns to normal Houstonians are expected to participate in student and physician exchanges, as well as other programs.

IN SHORT

■ **CHICAGO.** *CITY & STATE* PUBLISHER **DAN MILLER** WITH WISE WORDS ON ONE global environmental initiative: "Recycling doesn't begin at the curb. It begins when a product made from recycled material can be sold in a competitive market. If state and local governments are serious about recycling, they should help create a market by guaranteeing to buy recycled products and by patronizing recyclers. Once the demand is created, the recyclers will find a way to meet it efficiently."

SOURCE: Dan Miller, "Enough talk; it's time to act," *City & State*, January 1, 1990, p. 6.

■ **NEW YORK.** IN THAT LACONIC WAY HE HAD OF PUTTING THINGS, FORMER NEW YORK Mayor **Ed Koch** put it best. Making way for the city's new mayor, David Dinkins, Koch told the press that working at City Hall — even in New York — was like being mayor of a small town. "I sum it up by saying you don't like what the President is doing and you want to picket? It costs you a \$200 round trip. You want to picket the governor? It's \$120 round trip. You want to picket me? Two bucks," Koch said. "That's the intimacy of it."

SOURCE: *Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 1989, p. A41.

■ **SEATTLE.** KOCH WASN'T THE ONLY MAYOR WITH PARTING WORDS ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP between local and federal governments. Speaking at the National League of Cities Congress last November, former Seattle Mayor **Charles Royer** argued that the future of the nation's cities depends on a restructuring of the federal government. "This country is in need of its own perestroika related to the delivery of government services," Royer said.

SOURCE: John K. Mahoney, "One more time, they spoke out for the people in their cities," *Nation's Cities Weekly*, December 4, 1989, p. 6.

■ **MADISON.** FOLLOWING THE DEATH-SQUAD MURDERS OF SIX JESUIT PRIESTS AND TWO of their co-workers in El Salvador last November, the **Madison, Wisconsin, City Council** passed a resolution urging the State of Wisconsin and the U.S. Congress to adopt legislation suspending war-related assistance to El Salvador. Copies of the resolution — which passed the Council unopposed in late December — were sent to the state Senate and Assembly, to the state's Congressional delegation, to President George Bush, Bush's ambassador to El Salvador, William Walker, and to the President of El Salvador, Alfredo Cristiani.

SOURCE: Clerk, City of Madison, Wisconsin (608-266-4601).

■ **BERKELEY.** SAYING "CITY OFFICIALS MUST MAKE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE drain of vital tax dollars to support the war against the Salvadoran people and the plight of our cities," Berkeley Mayor **Loni Hancock** urged Congress to stop all aid to the Salvadoran government. In a December 7 statement, Hancock said she would add her signature to a letter with the same message. That letter — circulated by New York-based U.S.-El Salvador Sister Cities Program — has been signed by 20 U.S. mayors. Newark Mayor **Sharpe James** will be sending out a second letter just before the March meeting of the National League of Cities in Washington, D.C.

SOURCE: Holly Grant, U.S.-El Salvador Sister Cities Program (212-431-8825).

TOO FAST FOR THE FEDS?

The Clean Air Act came close to punishing cities that moved too quickly to defend the environment.

A FEW LINES OF FINE PRINT IN THE U.S. Senate's proposed Clean Air Act could have given the federal government the power to handcuff state and local governments already effectively reducing emissions of chemicals that destroy the Earth's ozone layer.

The pre-emption clause was written into the Senate's massive Clean Air Act (SB 1630) at the urging of chemical industry lobbyists, and would have outlawed state and local restrictions on chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) — the chemical compound used in refrigeration and industrial processes, and blamed for ozone depletion. Federal standards proposed in the new act are considerably weaker than many state and local laws already on the books.

Reaction from officials who have drafted local laws was quick and condemnatory.

As the bill hit the Senate floor for debate in early February, Newark Mayor Sharpe James called on Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), a member of the Senate committee that wrote the pre-emption language, to support "the elimination of any pre-emption clause in the Clean Air Act."

Calling the clause "terribly irresponsible," James said the success of local regulations in swiftly reducing CFC emissions proves that "state and local governments play an essential role in the development of sound environmental policy."

"State and local governments



VERMONT GOVERNOR MADELINE KUNIN.

Last year, Vermont said no to CFCs. This year, the Senate threatened to say no to Vermont.

have been forced to draft legislation like this," says Policy Analyst Bob Cudahy, who advises St. Paul City Councilmember Bob Long, co-author of a Twin Cities CFC ban. Cudahy says industry lobbying in Washington, D.C., is so "heavy that progressive legislation like this is virtually impossible to get through the federal government." He says Long has drafted a Council resolution condemning the pre-emption clause. Action on the resolution — which borrowed heavily from a protest resolution passed in Cambridge, Massachusetts — was scheduled for March.

Other cities which passed or were considering resolutions condemning the act include Denver, Berkeley, and Burlington, Vermont.

In Vermont, where Governor Madeline Kunin last year signed legislation banning the sale of automobiles with air conditioners that use ozone-depleting compounds, the state legislature unanimously called on the Senate to delete the pre-emption clause. The state resolution also directed Kunin to urge the state's Senators to oppose any pre-emption language.

Many Senators must have sensed the local rumbling. In March, Senators Albert Gore and Patrick Leahy introduced an amendment to the Clean Air Act to delete its pre-emption language. It was passed overwhelmingly

(an 80-to-16 vote) by the full Senate on March 7, thus making pre-emption a dead issue in the Senate bill.

FEAR OF FRYING

LOCAL RESTRICTIONS ON CFCs — LIKE those enacted in Newark, the Twin Cities, Irvine and Vermont — are a response to "glacial activity at the national and international levels," says Irvine Mayor Larry Agran, whose city was the first in the U.S. to adopt a comprehensive ban.

In a speech last summer, Agran insisted that the local bans would serve as "public policy models, proving we could cut emissions by 50 percent in two years" and would ease the projected rise in skin cancer cases attributed to ozone depletion. Just as important, Agran said, local bans would "hamstring" international chemical producers, "forcing them to come back to the bargaining table."

The pre-emption clause — Section 519 in the sprawling 587-page document — suggested the local restrictions have done just that.

"Industry is feeling a lot of heat from local government," says Berkeley Councilmember Nancy Skinner. "Local governments have taken the initiative in plastics and packaging regulations, in restricting ozone depleting compounds, and it looks like they're taking the lead on global

warming. Industry is very nervous."

An aide for Senator Tim Wirth (D-Colorado), who worked on the act when it came before the Senate Committee on Energy and Public Works last summer, says the goal of the clause was to give the chemical industry immunity from tough local regulations. In return, the aide says, industry agreed to move more quickly to phase out ozone-depleting chemicals targeted for reductions in the Montreal Protocol.

"There has to be some assurance for industry for some predictability in phasing these things out," said Wirth aide, David Harwood. "It's a buy-in program: 'This is what you [industry] get; this is what we get.'"

BAD PRECEDENT

JEB BRUGMANN, DIRECTOR OF THE Center for Innovative Diplomacy's Stratospheric Protection Accord Project, says that traditionally, federal environmental law has set the floor on regulations and it's been up to the states and localities to establish stricter guidelines if they desire. The pre-emption language, he says, would have been a "dangerous precedent" at a time when all levels of government need to participate in resolving the environmental crisis. "In this period when the federal government is relinquishing an increasing financial and regulatory responsibility to protect the environment, it would be extremely hypocritical to limit the power of state and local governments to establish their own regulations."

Brugmann says a Montreal Protocol amendment conference in June will require the U.S. to adopt guidelines virtually identical to those written into the Clean Air Act. The Senate, critics charged, had merely chosen to reward industry for compliance with minimum international standards — while threatening for a time to make it illegal for cities and states to adopt tougher standards.

Industry representatives who lob-

bied the Senate Committee on Energy and Public Works — including representatives from DuPont, Allied Signal and White Consolidated — said they needed the exemption clause.

"Industry just needs more time" to make the switch to non-depleting compounds, says Dave Stirpe, legislative counsel for the Alliance for Responsible CFC Use, a Washington-based coalition of CFC producers and users. "International agreements recognize this, state and local governments don't. They just want to work too fast."

Stirpe — who says he's "dealing with a dozen bills in a dozen states and cities" — admits that local government regulations are "effective" in pushing industry and the federal government to adopt stricter CFC standards.

But Bob Hine of DuPont Chemical, the world's largest producer of CFCs, says local controls are "counter-productive" in the global effort to ban ozone-depleting chemicals.

"The only way we're going to effectively control these substances is through international agreement, through the Montreal Protocol," Hine says. "You need 100 percent buy-in because even small amounts of non-compliance will put enough long-life chlorine into the atmosphere to lead to major ozone problems."

But the new act allows industry to produce — and consumers to consume — more than merely "small amounts" of CFCs until the year 2000, and allows industry to continue producing a new kind of CFC — HCFCs — well into the next century.

And that, says researcher Neil Harris, is bad news.

"Every bit of chlorine you avoid putting into the atmosphere does make a difference," says Harris, a

University of California atmospheric researcher. Harris says local government ordinances — like Irvine, California's — have shown the federal government that substantial reductions in CFC consumption can be achieved within the next couple years.

At press time the Senate had yet to vote on the full bill. The House version of the Clean Air Act was still circulating through subcommittees and, said a committee member, "We don't have and won't have pre-emption language."

Nevertheless, Carolyn Hartmann, of the U.S. Public Interest Research Group, warns that industry officials have said that they will try to insert pre-emption language into every major environmental bill. "We can't just sit back and let things happen without making our own voices heard."



NEWARK MAYOR SHARPE JAMES.
Pre-emption clause was "terribly irresponsible."

SOURCES: David Harwood, Sen. Tim Wirth's office (202-224-5852); Jeb Brugmann, Stratospheric Protection Accord (617-491-6124); Neil Harris, University of California, Dept. of Atmospheric Chemistry (714-856-6029); Dave Stirpe, Legislative Counsel, Alliance for Responsible CFC Policy (202-429-1614); Berkeley Councilmember Nancy Skinner (415-540-8843); Irvine Mayor Larry Agran (714-724-6233); Newark Mayor Sharpe James (201-733-8004); Bob Hine, DuPont Chemical (202-728-3618); The Society for the Plastics Industry (202-371-5200); Fred Howlett, White Consolidated (202-638-7878); Jay Bonnett, Allied Signal (202-662-2650); Carolyn Hartmann, U.S. Public Interest Research Group (202-546-9707).

ATMOSPHERIC PROTECTION UPDATE

Nancy Skinner

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS KICK OFF POLLUTION PREVENTION CAMPAIGN

CITING THE FAILURE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO STOP THE poisoning of local communities, Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste, Clean Water Action, Greenpeace, National Toxics Campaign and the U.S. Public Interest Research Group have joined together to kick off a national grassroots mobilization for pollution prevention.

Their strategy — outlined in the coalition's Pollution Prevention Plan — calls for an overhaul of the nation's environmental programs. Those programs, the manual notes, "are based on laws that trigger regulation only after pollutants are created." The project is founded on the principle that pollution must be eliminated at the source and that prevention and substitution are the only effective solution.

Focusing on four issue areas — toxics, garbage, pesticides and ozone layer destruction — the plan details how community groups can identify a specific problem and demand that the responsible business or government entity eliminate or substantially reduce the pollutant.

In the section on ozone layer destruction, the plan warns against accepting substitutes for ozone-depleting compounds (ODCs) that are either carcinogenic or contribute to other greenhouse gases. It also recommends that communities demand the elimination of ODCs by 1993 and that local governments enact ordinances to immediately require refrigerator, air conditioner and automobile repair shops to recover and recycle CFCs.

To obtain a copy of the Pollution Prevention Plan, contact Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste, P.O. Box 926, Arlington, Virginia 22216 (703-276-7070).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT NEWS

■ **ALBUQUERQUE (NM).** ON NOVEMBER 16, 1989, THE Albuquerque City Council passed an ordinance banning the sale of CFC refrigerant gas to anyone without a CFC recovery and recycling unit. The law effectively eliminates the sale of freon in cans, commonly available in hardware and automotive shops for use by home mechanics. Introduced by Councilmember Michael Wiener, the bill requires that all

repair of refrigerators and mobile and stationary air conditioners take place in repair shops equipped with a CFC recovery unit.

Effective March 1, 1990, the bill also prohibits the disposal of refrigerators in Albuquerque's landfills. A city-run program will accept used refrigerators and either repair them for resale or recover the CFCs for recycling — giving the freon-free discarded refrigerators to scrap metal dealers.

■ **NEW YORK CITY.** COUNCILMEMBER SHELDON LEFFLER SPONSORED a freon recovery bill which the New York City Council passed unanimously last November, only to be vetoed by Mayor Ed Koch in one of his last acts before leaving office. Mayor Koch indicated he opposed the bill because no fee was included to cover costs incurred by the city. "The bill didn't need to cost the city additional funds," Leffler responded. "There are existing city agencies that inspect gas stations and repair facilities that could easily include inspecting for CFC recovery units in their duties."

Now that Mayor David Dinkins is in office, Leffler is cautiously optimistic about prospects for his bill. It has been reintroduced and hearings were held throughout February. Leffler believes the bill's passage would send an important message that the largest city in the country is serious about preventing ozone destruction. "Vehicle air conditioners are the largest single users of CFCs in the country. My legislation requires measures that don't cost a lot but are very effective and it will make New York City a leader in the fight to stop ozone destruction."

■ **DENVER, BOULDER, AURORA, AND FORT COLLINS (CO).** These four Colorado cities have been working together to research and develop an ozone protection bill each could enact. Last November they co-sponsored a day-long information gathering and work session. The session resulted in a decision to pursue a CFC recovery and recycling law. Boulder and Aurora have included passage of the ozone protection bill in their goals for this year. Denver Councilmember Dave Doering expects action to be taken on Denver's law by May. The affected city agencies have signed off on the bill and have said it would not require significant enforcement expenditures. In Fort Collins, the City Council began to discuss the possibility of requiring relevant businesses — automobile service, appliance repair, heating and refrigeration repair — to recycle CFCs. City staff has indicated that the discussion process will be completed by mid-March. Fort Collins Councilmember Susan Kirkpatrick has been very pleased with the results thus far. "I see the level of information locally about CFCs has increased dramatically in the time we've discussed this ordinance," Kirkpatrick said.

If your city, county, or state is planning actions aimed at protecting the ozone layer or halting the greenhouse effect, please let us know. Send draft ordinances, resolutions, committee materials or news clippings to: Nancy Skinner, c/o Local Solutions to Global Pollution, 2121 Bonar St., Studio A, Berkeley, CA 94702 (415-540-8843).

THE BATTLE OVER CFCs ESCALATES

Suffolk County tries to save its ozone-protection legislation, but faces a tough fight against industry forces.

"Ben, I just want to say one word to you. Just one word . . . plastics."

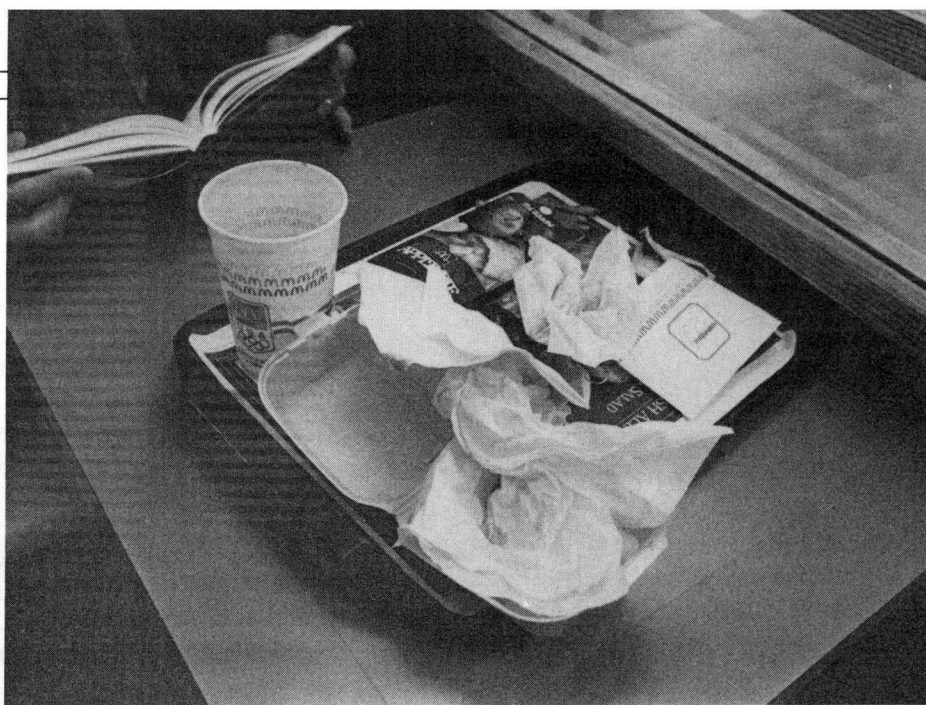
"The Graduate," 1967

PLASTICS HAS BECOME MORE THAN JUST A humorous reference in recent motion picture history. In communities across the country, environmentally-conscious city councils have taken on the plastics and petroleum industries, banning plastic-foam cups, containers and many other items that threaten the ozone layer. But industry leaders, apparently unwilling to risk any threat to their bottom line, are fighting back with a vengeance.

Consider Suffolk County, New York, the first jurisdiction to take a stand against chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) in packaging. In 1988, county legislators passed a ban on polystyrene foam and polyvinyl chloride, an ordinance that would compel fast food restaurants, grocery stores, delicatessens and roadside stands to use paper products instead.

The law, although scheduled to go into effect in July 1989, is still on hold. It has been tied up in the courts for a year, and with recent political shake-ups in the county, the ordinance "is in serious jeopardy," says Bob Clifford, an aide to Stephen C. Englebright, the chief sponsor of the Suffolk bill.

"We're still fighting," says Clif-



LIVING WITH TRASH.

Plastic industry lobbyists and lawyers have attacked a Suffolk law limiting waste production.

ford. "But we're outmanned and out-gunned."

Problems started in early 1989, when the Society of the Plastics Industry and five other parties filed suit to

The plastics and petroleum industries are claiming that the county law would interfere with their own efforts to recycle polystyrene.

overturn the Suffolk County ordinance. Their arguments: The packaging ordinance is pre-empted by state law, it infringes upon interstate com-

merce statutes, and it dodges environmental procedural requirements.

When the court ruling was handed down last May, it sustained the constitutionality of the ordinance. But the judge ruled that additional environmental impact studies would be required before the law could be implemented.

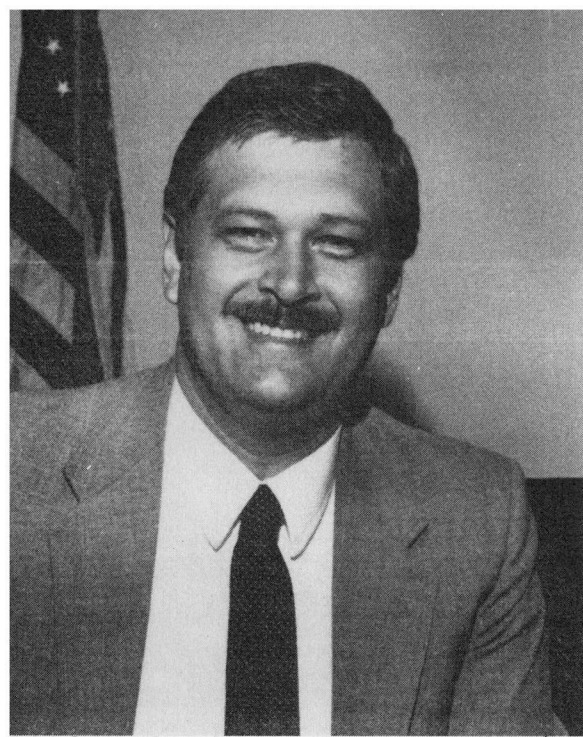
The county decided to appeal the decision. "The judge said we did not strictly adhere, in a literal sense, to the state environmental quality review act that mandates a 'hard look' at legislation that impacts the environment," says Clifford. "But we had been through eight and a half months of public hearings on this bill, which we felt encompassed a very hard look."

At press time, that state appellate court ruling still had not been issued. Meanwhile, the county legislators have passed a "60-day moratorium" bill, which states that the local law will be implemented two months following the court's decision, assuming the ruling does not mandate an environmental impact statement.

That would give retailers 60 days to clear out their stock of CFC-emitting products.

POLITICAL SHIFT

BUT EVEN IF THE COURT APPROVES implementation of the law, it could still



LEGISLATOR STEPHEN C. ENGLEBRIGHT.
Outmanned and outgunned by industry.

be undermined by political forces. The original 1988 legislation was passed by a nearly unanimous vote (16 yes, 0 no, 2 abstentions).

In last November's election, however, five seats on the county legislature changed, and with all the controversy over the CFC ban, even some of the original supporters of the law are now wavering.

Some observers expect Suffolk County Legislator Michael O'Donohoe, the most outspoken critic of the anti-plastics statute, to introduce new legislation to completely revoke the packaging law.

Evaluating the political arithmetic, Clifford says, "I think we have seven firm votes [on the 18-member county legislature] against a movement to rescind the local law. It's going to be very dicey."

The plastics and petroleum industries are claiming that the county law would interfere with their own efforts to recycle polystyrene. But environmentalists say the recycling campaign is mostly public relations.

While the industry points to a plant in Brooklyn it says can recycle three tons of polystyrene a day, that's just a fraction of what the region turns out.

Environmentalists believe that Suffolk County has been singled out

for an industry assault because it was the first local jurisdiction to ban CFCs. But it is not the only one to be confronted. In February, a judge in Oregon dismissed a legal challenge by McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and other restaurants and recyclers which were trying to overturn Portland's

anti-CFC ordinance. Circuit Judge Douglas Spencer ruled that the city was within its authority to institute the ban. The law, which had been scheduled to take effect January 1st, had not been implemented pending resolution of the legal challenge.

SOURCES: Suffolk County Legislator Stephen Englebright, 149 Main St., East Setauket, NY 11733 (516-689-8500); "McDonald's Loses on Foam," *Long Beach Independent Press-Telegram*, February 7, 1990, p. A3.

TORONTO ACTS ON CLIMATE, OTTAWA PONDERES OPTIONS

THE TORONTO CITY COUNCIL COMMITTED ITSELF IN LATE JANUARY TO ACHIEVING a 20 percent cut by the year 2005 in carbon dioxide emissions that cause the greenhouse effect.

The action issues a major challenge both to Canada's Energy Ministers, who are considering whether to commit to carbon dioxide reductions, and the federal cabinet, which is wrangling with Environment Minister Lucien Bouchard's proposals for controlling climate change in the draft Environmental Agenda.

"Toronto was the location of the Changing Atmosphere Conference which called on governments to commit to a 20 percent reduction," pointed out Kai Millyard, Friends of the Earth's climate campaigner. "It's appropriate that they are the first government to take up the challenge."

The federal and provincial Energy Ministers will meet in Ottawa in April to decide whether they will adopt the 20 percent goal. They have been reviewing a study which concluded last summer that Canada could achieve the 20 percent target through energy conservation programs — and save over \$100 billion dollars at the same time.

Following the launch of Friends of the Earth's climate campaign in November, Alberta Energy Minister Rick Orman promised that Alberta would meet the target. The governments are rumored to be hung up on what kinds of policies to use to achieve progress — standards or taxes.

"The government in the Netherlands has already taken actions Canadian governments should be getting on with," says Phil Jessup, Friends of the Earth's energy policy advisor and co-chair of the Toronto Advisory Committee that authored the Toronto Plan. "As of January the Dutch have started paying a carbon tax to discourage use of the dirtier fossil fuels."

The Toronto plan includes a shift to public transit, and away from the private automobile, energy conservation in buildings and a commitment to planting trees.

SOURCE: Kai Millyard, co-chair, Toronto Advisory Committee (613-230-3352, 613-233-9735); Philip Jessup (416-469-2067).

STAY HUNGRY

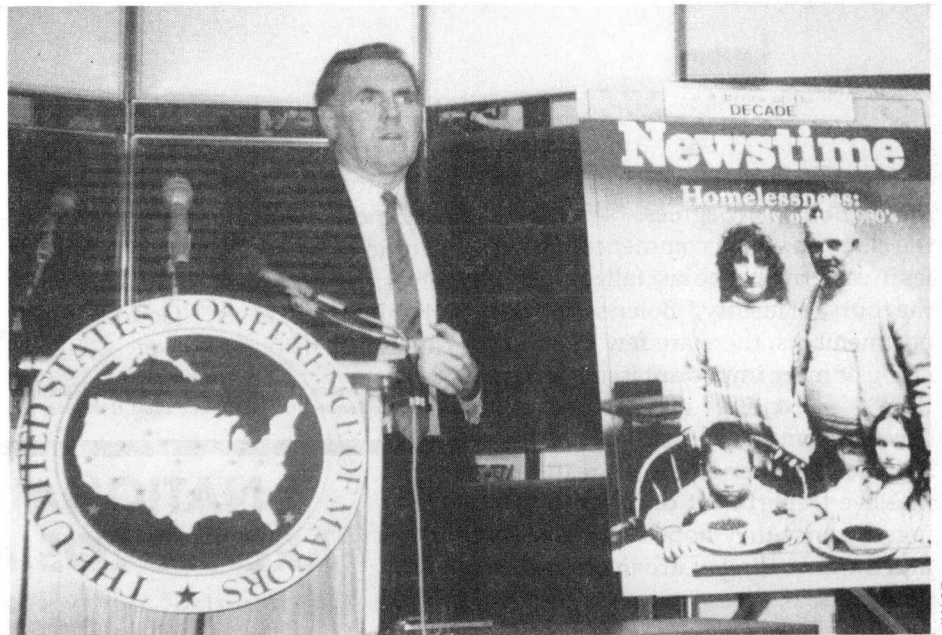
Studies suggest life in the nation's cities is bad and getting worse. Some local officials say deep cuts in the military budget are the solution; others say it isn't going to happen.

HUNGER AND HOMELESSNESS ARE on the rise in the nation's cities, according to one recent study, and safe bridges, roads, and water are disappearing, according to another — emergencies that come at a time when local governments are increasingly incapable of financing solutions to meet them.

A U.S. Conference of Mayors annual survey of hunger and homelessness released last December found that "requests for emergency food assistance increased overall by an average of 19 percent, and requests from families with children increased in more than nine out of 10 cities."

But the news is worse than that. In almost one-fourth of the cases, the Conference report says, cities were unable to meet emergency housing and food needs. Things look just as grim elsewhere in the nation's cities. According to a new Rebuild America Coalition report, public facilities deteriorated rapidly during the 1980s and will deteriorate faster still in the coming decade. Particularly at risk were wastewater treatment, bridges and airports — public needs that will require \$200 billion over the next 16 years.

The Bush Administration has al-



BOSTON MAYOR RAYMOND FLYNN.

"Time to redirect the money that has been used for national security to the security of the people who live in cities across our country."

ready said it is unwilling to raise taxes to meet those public infrastructure requirements.

"President Bush told us to read his lips," said former New York Mayor Ed Koch. "Well, I have read those lips. I can tell you that...his lips say, 'Plenty of new taxes,' all passed by state and local governments."

Even new taxes may not be enough, says the U.S. Commerce Department. The Department's most recent report says state and local governments ran record operating deficits of \$14.4 billion in 1988. 1989 figures aren't yet available.

The Commerce report provides more evidence that the Reagan Administration's "New Federalism" did little more than shift financial responsibility for social programs to local governments. That's a shift which George Sternlieb, former head of the Center for Urban Policy Research at Rutgers University, calls "the new fiscal federalism — every community for itself."

The rising local government deficit has some analysts worried. "If that's what happened when the economy was humming, what's likely to happen when the long-anticipated slowdown arrives, which some econo-

mists say might come as early as this year?" asked *City & State's* Joseph M. Winski.

Winski's answer?

"Welcome to hard times, public servants."

Boston Mayor Ray Flynn chaired the Conference's Task Force on Hunger and Homelessness. Flynn says he hopes the growth of hunger and homelessness will slow this year. Changes in Eastern Europe, he said, suggest "it's about time to redirect some of the money that has been used for national security to the security of the people who live in cities across our country."

The Conference report's release coincided with the U.S. invasion of Panama, and provided Flynn with a point of comparison.

"This morning, the Bush Administration has demonstrated its commitment to removing Noriega from Panama. It has taken the steps that it feels are necessary to do this.

"If that same level of commitment was aimed at the removal of hunger and homelessness from this nation's cities," Flynn predicted, "we would never again have to issue the kind of report we are issuing today."

The National League of Cities'

(NLC) new president, Ft. Worth Mayor Bob Bolen, agrees. "We expect the changes which commenced in cities in eastern Europe last fall to change the course of history," Bolen said. "For our members, there are few more exciting or more important issues in our time" — "exciting" and "important" because some local officials still believe those changes may result in massive Department of Defense savings, savings they hope will translate into the refunding of urban assistance programs.

But Defense Secretary Dick Cheney has said there will be no dramatic cuts in next year's military budget, that "peace is the dividend."

"There are opportunities out there now that will allow us to make some changes in our deployments, to reduce defense spending over the long haul," Cheney said. "But it has to be done carefully, it has to be done cautiously, it has to be done deliberately."

That sort of talk has characterized the Bush Administration's entire first year. And last December it led former NLC president, Phoenix Mayor Terry Goddard, to admonish his colleagues across the nation not to hold their collective breath. While some city officials — like Bolen and Flynn — have talked about a possible "peace dividend" for the nation's cities, Goddard says cities will be on their own in the struggles against homelessness, hunger, drug trafficking, crime and disintegrating infrastructure.

Speaking during the waning days of his tenure as League President, Goddard told city officials, "The Bush Administration came to office with a campaign commitment to education, the environment and fighting drugs and homelessness....Eleven months into a new Congress and administration, the resources for the promises, plans and programs are still absent."

That means local government will become even more important in the '90s, Goddard said. "Cities have the

power to take responsibility and that is why local politics has acquired new significance. We have to ask ourselves: If not us, who? If not now, when? The answer," Goddard concluded, "is no one — never."

SOURCE: "America's Infrastructure: Preserving Our Quality of Life," Rebuild America Coalition, 1957 E Street, N.W., Washing-

ton, D.C. 20006 (202-638-3811); Laura DeKoven Waxman and Lilia M. Reyes, "Survey Finds Shortage of Affordable Housing and Increases in Hunger and Homelessness in U.S. Cities," *U.S. Mayor*, January 8, 1990, p. 1; Joseph M. Winski, "Reagan's legacy: hard times ahead for governments," *City & State*, January 1, 1990, p. 1; Frank Shafroth, "Securing America's Future," *Nation's Cities Weekly*, January 15, 1990, p. 1; Melissa Healy and John M. Broder, "Defense Budget Spares Key Weapons Systems," *Los Angeles Times*, January 30, 1990, p. 1; Terry Goddard, NLC speech reprinted in *Nation's Cities Weekly*, December 4, 1989, p. 4. For a copy of the Rebuild America Coalition report, contact Nick Yaksich at the National League of Cities (202-626-3000).

NATIONAL SECURITY: ARE WE LOSING THE WAR?

A REPORT CALLED "AMERICA'S INFRASTRUCTURE: PRESERVING OUR QUALITY OF LIFE," released by the Rebuild America Coalition, paints a grim picture — a picture of a nation privately rich, but publicly poor.

According to the study, "the condition of America's infrastructure is at a crisis stage, endangering the public safety, lowering U.S. economic competitiveness, and diminishing the overall quality of life." The United States now ranks 55th in the world in capital investment in infrastructure, with spending on public works investment declining from 2.3 percent of the GNP in 1960 to less than 1.1 percent in 1985.

But the Coalition's report wasn't the only disturbing news about national and regional decline. In February, California Tomorrow president Lewis H. Butler announced what state officials are only reluctantly admitting: "California is beginning to look like a Third World nation." A *Los Angeles Times* article blamed the state's 1970s tax revolts, as well as declining federal spending on infrastructure — "a victim first of the Vietnam War, then of inflation, and now of the staggering budget deficit."

Some analysts are worried about what that decline means for the state's global performance. "The buzzword for the '90s is 'competitiveness,'" said Steven Levy, director of the Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy. "How can you be competitive if your roads are falling apart and your schools are lousy?"

In its February meeting in Washington, D.C., the National Governors' Association declared that the nation's education system was failing — and dragging global competitiveness down the drain with it. The Association called for deep cuts in military spending, and for the transfer of those funds to education programs.

In March, the National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality announced that the U.S. has fallen to 20th place among developed countries in the race to cut infant deaths. At the same time, Japan leapt from 17th to first.

The panel said the "morality gap" between black and white infants is the widest it has been since the nation began keeping records in 1940. Washington and Philadelphia have become "infant mortality disaster areas" with rates roughly equal to those in Third World cities. Babies born in Costa Rica or in Jamaica are more likely to celebrate their first birthday than babies born in those U.S. cities.

SOURCE: Rebuild America Coalition, 1957 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (202-638-3811).



JOHN JERNEGAN

END OF THE LINE FOR ALAMEDA?

Some local officials in the Bay Area are glad to see the Navy base close.

WHEN THE BASES CLOSE SHOP

As the Bush Administration announces possible U.S. base closures, local officials evaluate the future.

THE CITY OF ALAMEDA, CALIFORNIA, was preparing for a celebration when the news arrived. Community leaders were getting ready to mark the 50th anniversary of the Navy's presence in the city. Now they are wondering if there will be a 51st year.

At the Long Beach (CA) Naval Shipyard, a fax machine began humming early on that same Monday morning in January, and in barely more than a minute, a three-page message had arrived with a sobering announcement: The Long Beach shipyard, as well as the Alameda Naval Air Station and 46 other military facilities domestically and overseas, had been named by Defense Secretary Dick

Cheney for possible closure.

The reaction of local officials was immediate and, for the most part, indignant. Long Beach Mayor Ernie Kell promised to battle the Pentagon and pointed out that the shipyard in his city — which employs 4,100 workers — performed its work under cost last year, saving the Navy \$20 million in ship repair expenses. In Alameda, Mayor Chuck Corica said simply that the possible closure of the Naval installation there "would have a terrible effect."

California would be the hardest-hit state if Cheney's candidates for shutdown are approved by Congress. In the San Francisco-Oakland Bay

Area alone, Cheney's hit list includes six naval installations that employ about 56,000 civilians.

Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson called a press conference to condemn Cheney's announcement, saying the closures would have a "substantial negative effect" on his region's economy. Nevertheless, local officials did not unanimously line up behind Wilson in predicting economic gloom and doom for their communities.

"Unlike the earthquake, we can plan for the closures," said Oakland City Councilmember Wilson Riles, Jr. The bustling port of Oakland, he said, could expand onto the land now occupied by the Oakland Naval Supply

Center.

"The defense budget is boom or bust," added Riles. "It goes up or down based on politics. We have to wean ourselves from such a dependence on defense budgets."

sion last December. Fort Ord employs 15,129 military personnel and about 5,000 civilians, and according to an Army spokesperson, has an annual payroll of \$610 million.

George Takahashi, mayor of the

for seniors, we need handicapped housing. Additional land [from the base] available for development could potentially solve these problems, and address the chronic housing shortage we have.

"We also need a major university here," adds Cavanaugh. "We've been working on this for some time as part of our local economic development program. So this is another potential land use we would examine."

In Long Beach, a community task force (Save Our Shipyard Committee) is in place, made up of municipal, business and shipyard officials. Councilmember Ray Grabinski, the city's representative on the committee, says the shipyard is one of the city's "economic engines," and a "lean, mean, producing machine" — one the city isn't willing to let die without firing a few cannons of its own.

In analyzing the base closures in Alameda County, the Bank of America's chief economist, John Oliver Wilson, predicted that the impact "would be dissipated fairly quickly" because of the Bay Area's overall booming economy. But Alameda County Supervisor Don Perata isn't so sure. He's concerned that while professionals are flourishing in the robust economy, blue-collar workers are facing a dwindling supply of good-paying jobs with decent health benefits. He worries that the base shutdowns may produce "a new class of under-insured" individuals.

But at press time, Secretary Cheney was moving ahead with his efforts to shut down the bases. And as for the potential effect on the Bay Area in Northern California, Cheney quipped, "You've got the 49ers. What do you need the military for?"

SOURCES: Dan Morain and Adrienne Goodman, "Defense Cuts: Assessing the Casualties," *Los Angeles Times*, January 30, 1990, p. A3; Michael R. Gordon, "Cheney Would Cut 5 Army Divisions and Back the B-2," *New York Times*, January 30, 1990, p. A1; Bob Zeller, "Shipyard Survival Battle Readied As Pentagon Budget War Begins," *Long Beach Independent Press-Telegram*, January 30, 1990, p. 1; Larry Liebert, "It's Official—6 Bay Bases on Closure List," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 30, 1990, p. A1; Sharon McCormick and Michael McCabe, "How Closure Would Hit Fort Ord Area," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 30, 1990, p. A10; Joe Cavanaugh, Monterey County economic development office (408-755-5065); Mayor Art Agnos' office (415-554-6141).



SAN FRANCISCO MAYOR ART AGNOS.

"The land these bases occupy offers extraordinary opportunity for economic development."

Mayor Art Agnos of San Francisco also viewed the proverbial glass as half-full rather than half-empty. Noting that he was neither "frightened nor panicked," Agnos said, "The land that these bases occupy offers extraordinary opportunity for economic development." Referring to Treasure Island Naval Station, one of the Bay Area's candidates for closure, he noted, "I think we could come up with some very creative and very lucrative uses [for the base] that could mean more jobs perhaps and more money for the city."

South of San Francisco, the shock waves from Cheney's announcement are still reverberating in Monterey County. It is the home of Fort Ord, a 28,000-acre installation that is the headquarters of the Seventh Light Infantry Division, an elite deployment unit that took part in the Panama inva-

nearby city of Marina, said Fort Ord's closure would be "drastic, that's for sure. We rely so much on the military and [their] families to shop here that I don't know how the business climate can survive."

A task force has been formed in Monterey County, that includes local officials and business leaders, to plan strategy for taking their anti-closure message to Congress.

At the same time, however, local government planners are already looking at the available options if Cheney's steamroller can't be stopped.

"There are potential scenarios we're studying that could make this a plus economic factor," Joe Cavanaugh, Monterey County's economic development coordinator, told the *Bulletin*. "We need low- and moderate-income housing, we need housing

Global Exchange Third World Reality Tours



Photo by Eli Rosenblatt, 1989 Brazil Reality Tour

"The trip was a great experience for me, which I will never forget!"

*Shirley Melvin
Honduras Reality Tour*

I had studied a lot about Brazil before the trip, but it was meeting the people face to face that made the dry statistics a reality. Perhaps the most important thing I learned was how important it is to create ties at the level of *o povo*, the people.

*Eli Rosenblatt
Brazil Reality Tour*

Organizing this tour has given me a whole new perspective on my own country. It is very important that you people be here!

*Michael Cordiero
India Tour Organizer*

Global Exchange's Reality Tours are a chance to learn firsthand about some of the most pressing issues confronting the Third World today. Our purpose is to build a new kind of tourism that promotes people to people ties while touring in a way that supports the local economy and respects the culture and customs of the people. Through meetings with labor organizers, religious leaders, peace activists, peasant farmers, environmentalists, scholars, and government leaders, trip participants are introduced to the country from a variety of perspectives. The trips are often the first step in organizing people to people ties such as sister cities, schools, and hospitals. Global Exchange's Reality Tour follow-up program facilitates these ongoing relationships.

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- Environmental Destruction and Landlessness in Brazil Aug 8 - 26
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THE DIMMING OF G.E.

Burlington braces for a slowdown at its GE plant.

THE VULCAN GUN IS NOT SOMETHING you'd want around the house. Putting Gatling guns to shame, it fires 6,000 rounds per minute, 100 per second.

The GE plant in Burlington that manufactures these lethal weapons employs just under 1,000 people and is the largest single taxpayer in Burlington, adding about a million dollars a year to local property tax coffers. Even some critics of the military production plant concede that the plant may be a necessary evil in the city of 40,000.

But things are on the decline at the plant. Fifteen years ago, the workforce was three times its present level. The most recent layoff in February cost 275 jobs. After several years of claiming that cutbacks in prime Pentagon contracts were just "fluctuations in a cyclical business," GE corporate heads now admit that the decline is not likely to reverse in the foreseeable future. A plant closure seems like a possibility.

"It sure looks that way," said Richard Sanville, chief steward with Local 248, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

For the first time, union officials are talking about "diversification." According to Sanville, "We are a good machine shop. Why can't GE look for something else to stabilize the place so we don't have to lay off people?"

But GE doesn't see it that way. Company spokesperson Jack Waller has said that GE sees "the subject of conversion as a protest issue and not something we will discuss. We have a defense business to run here."

In August 1988, the Burlington



GREG GUMA

CLOSING THE DOORS AT G.E.

Changes in Eastern Europe accomplished what Burlington activists could not.

City Council authorized the city's Community & Economic Development Office (CEDO) to investigate trends at GE and look into avenues for conversion. GE was generally uncooperative with the CEDO study, although it did finally turn over the names of its vendors for a survey that the city agency planned to conduct. That survey, however, turned out to have limited usefulness because most of the respondents were smaller vendors, not big machine shops that are the core providers of important goods.

Some people in Burlington are now complaining that GE just doesn't care. They paint a worst-case scenario of a plant shut-down, with G.E. moving capital assets and top-level management out, and leaving the rank-and-file to fend for themselves.

In response, Doug Hoffer of CEDO has written two pieces of legislation introduced in the Vermont legislature — an economic planning and adjustment bill and a plant closure act. Supporters are optimistic about the chances of the economic planning legislation, which would require that the state's Agency of Development and Community Affairs reallocate some of its existing resources to perform state-wide data collection on the skills of employees at unstable industries, and to develop a plan for conversion-re-

lated issues. The bill mandates that if industry participates in plant-level conversion planning, union or worker-committee representatives also must be included in the process.

The legislation, says Hoffer, would also have the state agency look closely at potential growth industries — such as waste management, energy efficiency and pollution control — as areas in which skills could be transferred. Hearings on the economic-adjustment bill have already been held, and Hoffer and other proponents are hopeful that the bill will move out of committee this session and come to a vote before the full legislature.

The plant closure bill requires employers to notify their workers or unions, as well as the local government and attorney general, 60 days before a closing or mass layoff. Employers would be required to provide benefits and assistance to workers who lose their jobs. Failure to comply would carry stiff penalties, including a 10-year ban on receiving any state assistance, and reimbursement of any help provided during the previous 10 years.

SOURCES: Doug Hoffer, Community and Economic Development Office, Room 32, City Hall, Burlington, VT 05401; Center for Economic Conversion, 222-C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041 (415-968-8798); Rebecca Reno, "GE Balks, But Burlington Still Wants to Talk," *VT Business*, June 1989, p. 55; Kevin Ellis, "Burlington Plant To Lay Off 275 Workers," *Burlington Free Press*, February 6, 1990, p. 1A.

THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE IN OHIO

Governor Celeste convenes a conference to equip military contractors for the real world that lies ahead.

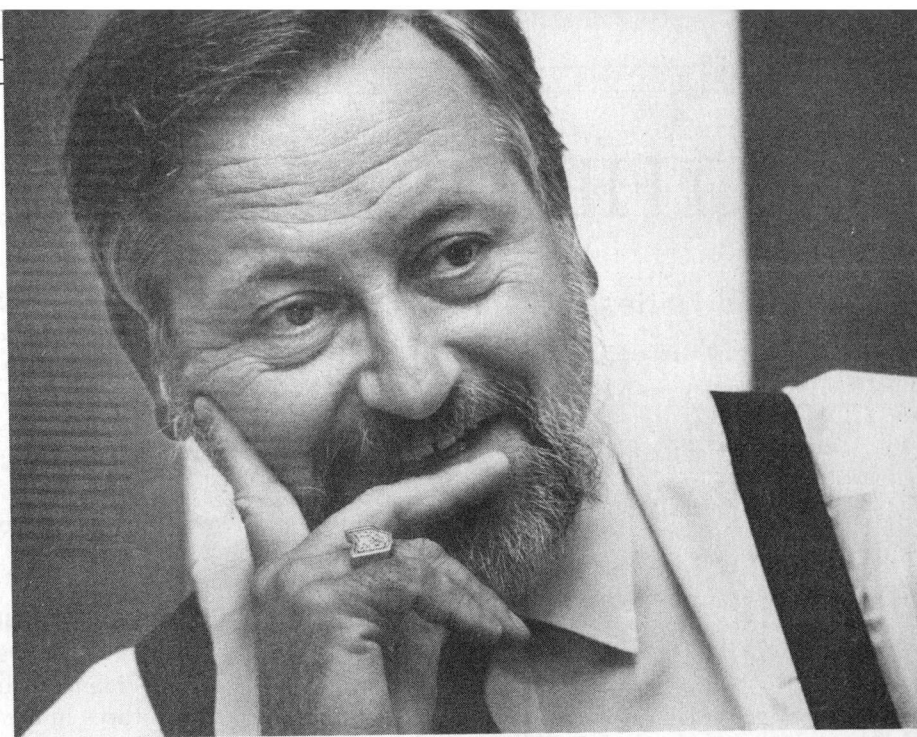
ALTHOUGH HIGH TECH CASTINGS Inc. has always been a small company, it fared quite well as a military subcontractor, producing items like fuel pump housings for the B-1 bomber and precision castings for the cooling systems of the F-15 Eagle. In the mid-1980s, annual company sales climbed to as high as \$3 million.

But those days appear over. Orders have plummeted and, as a result, sales fell 40 percent last year. That brought about employee layoffs and a lot of anxiety among company executives.

Since military subcontracting makes up 80 percent of High Tech Castings' business, news of continuing cutbacks in Pentagon spending is not exactly music to its ears.

In all, about 200,000 Ohioans rely on military contracts for their jobs and livelihood, and without some attention to economic conversion, many of them might be on the unemployment lines before long. But Ohio Governor Richard Celeste is trying to help the transition from a guns to butter economy.

In January, Governor Celeste sponsored a two-day conference, "Economic Transitions for Ohio's Small Business Defense Contractors," designed to help military contractors move into commercial operations.



OHIO GOVERNOR DICK CELESTE.

Shaking Ohio's rust-bucket image, Celeste wants Ohio exporters to get active.

"Businesses are recognizing that they have to remain flexible, and that they don't want to get pushed into a corner with an overreliance on defense contracting," says Gus Comstock, executive assistant to the governor. "So they're looking for other business opportunities so they can weather any change."

At the January conference, representatives from 147 small businesses shared ideas with government officials, economists and military-budget experts. And inter-business networking went on at workshops hosted by representatives from companies like Honda of America, NCR Corporation and Ameritech Services.

"In Ohio," says Comstock, "we have a large number of machine tool-and-dye shops that would love to work for Honda, for example, but they've never been able to make the right connection. In promoting this conference, we could say, 'You can come to Columbus and meet with the Honda procurement officer, and find out how to become a vendor for that company.'"

The Ohio state legislature appropriated \$100,000 to fund the conference. In its immediate aftermath, state officials were already planning some follow-up programs. They were arranging for a representative from

Boeing Commercial Aircraft in Seattle to attend a seminar where he could meet with Ohio businessmen, visit their plants, and hopefully make some productive connections. In addition, local conferences — similar to the January event but more specialized and on a smaller scale — were being discussed with chambers of commerce in cities like Cincinnati, Akron and Canton, in order to educate local companies on small-business commercial procurement.

A week after the conference, Governor Celeste led a trade mission to Switzerland, where he attended the World Economic Forum. A visit to the Soviet Union and India also were on his immediate agenda, with trips to Korea and Japan scheduled later this year in hopes of establishing new international business ties.

"The Governor is committed to shaking Ohio's rust-bucket image and moving the state into the high-tech age," says Comstock. "One of his goals is for Ohio to rank second in the nation (behind California) in international exports by the turn of the century."

SOURCES: Gus Comstock, Office of the Governor, 77 S. High St., Columbus, Ohio 43215 (614-644-9599); Christopher Elias, "Deep Defense Cuts Give Ohio a Market-or-Diet Ultimatum," *Insight*, January 22, 1990; Barbara Schechter, "Businesses Learn to Deal with Defense Cuts," *Columbus Dispatch*, January 24, 1990, p. E1.

THE CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER

AS THE MILITARY WELL DRIES

Where do cities and states stand now that the Pentagon is spending less?



A GROWING NUMBER OF CITIES AND STATES ARE TAKING CLOSE looks at the effects of military spending on their present and future. As the Bulletin continues to track these studies, we report here on the findings of three recent reports:

BALTIMORE (MD)

THE CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMISSION ON THE IMPACT OF Military Spending issued its second annual report last October, prepared for the mayor and the city council of Baltimore. Its conclusions include:

■ In 1988, of the \$1.054 billion in federal taxes paid by Baltimore residents, \$566 million were spent for military purposes — an average of \$752 per person. The amount Baltimore contributed to the Pentagon equalled about one-third of the total city budget.

■ In 1988, the Department of Defense carried over \$42.3 billion in unobligated funds into the next fiscal year. The projected carry-over from 1989 is \$41.2 billion. "This means that each year the Pentagon has monies, equal to about twenty times the total annual budget of the city of Baltimore, which they have not yet contracted to spend."

■ Baltimore (as well as Maryland's rural communities) receives little return for its taxpayers' contributions to the military. In fiscal year 1989, the city of Baltimore received \$147 million from federal sources, compared to \$314 million in 1977. (The '77 figures are not adjusted for inflation.)

JIM WEST / IMPACT VISUALS

The Commission asked the mayor and city council to hire a full-time staff person for its use. "A person working full-time on returning federal tax dollars to city programs is working for all the city, and, if successful, will help return urgently needed federal support to the city coffers." The Commission also urged the city's Washington office to lobby for the passage of the National Comprehensive Affordable Housing Legislation (H.R. 1122) and the Defense Economic Adjustment Act (H.S. 101).

CALIFORNIA

LAST DECEMBER, THE CALIFORNIA COMMISSION ON STATE Finance issued a report on the impact of federal expenditures in the state. It projected that in 1990, total military spending entering California will decline for the second consecutive year, down 0.9 percent from 1989. Looking farther down the road, the Commission anticipates continuing declines in real purchases, which have already significantly affected employment in industries such as high tech communications equipment, missiles and space, and aerospace instruments.

The study pointed out that military spending now constitutes a much smaller portion of the state's overall economy than it did in the early 1970s, when sharp reductions caused a recession in California. Also, some sections of the aerospace industry are doing extremely well today, thanks to the growing commercial market for aircraft.

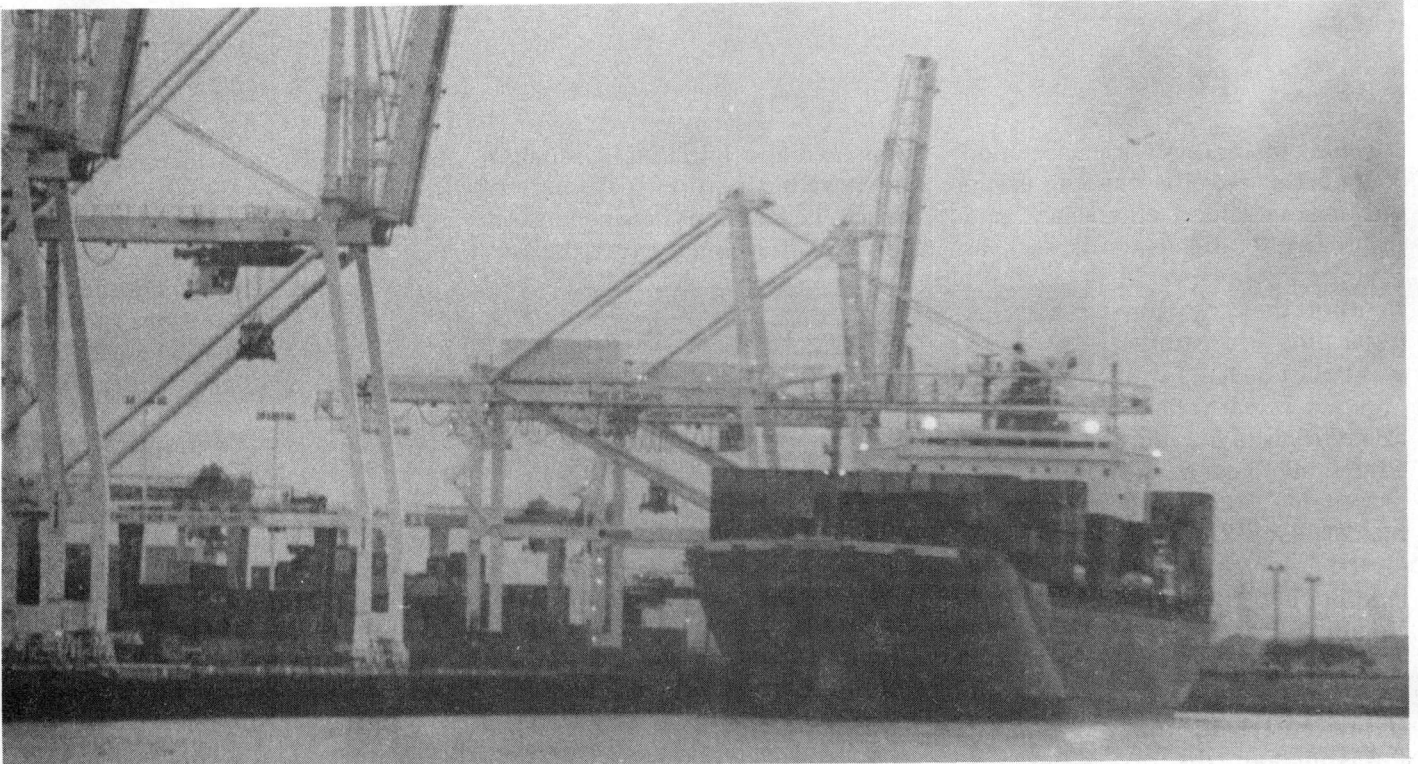
"We believe that economic growth will continue in this state even in the face of slackening defense expenditures," the report noted. "However, it is clear that defense spending will provide much less of a boost to the overall economy in the 1990s than it did in the 1980s."

OHIO

A STUDY RELEASED IN JANUARY, CONDUCTED FOR THE OHIO Department of Development by Marketel/Taratec/Lorz, concluded that because military budgets will probably decline through the mid-1990s, the state should develop a strategy for diversification of its defense industry.

Interviews with executives at 97 Ohio companies with Pentagon contracts found that firms expect to react to cutbacks by intensifying their sales/marketing efforts for products already manufactured, and by reducing hours for their production workers. Few companies anticipated turning to new products in completely new markets, or new technologies in new or existing markets.

The study urged quick action by the state. "Most DOD contracts to Ohio firms are for one year or less, making Ohio's small and medium sized defense contractors highly vulnerable. As opposed to trying to help every business in Ohio, the state should pinpoint its resources to help dependent firms diversify to commercial markets."



JOHN JERNEGAN

PORT OF OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

No nukes is good nukes, of course, but nobody's sure where the nuclear shipment finally went.

THE NUCLEAR SHIPMENT THAT NEVER ARRIVED

Despite legal challenges to its nuclear free zone ordinance, the city of Oakland is implementing the law and making residents aware of possible risks.

IMAGINE TWENTY-ONE TONS OF NUCLEAR materials passing through your neighborhood. It's enough to frighten just about anybody.

In the city of Oakland, however, thanks to a nuclear free zone initiative approved by voters in 1988, concerned citizens there could do more than feel anxious when they recently learned that nuclear cargo was destined for their community.

Oakland's NFZ statute is being challenged in two separate lawsuits, filed by the U.S. Justice Department and the conservative Pacific Legal Foundation. But at least until those suits are resolved, the law is operational. And in its biggest test to date, it

played a critical role in informing the community about a planned shipment of uranium hexafluoride through the city — and may have been the key element that ultimately kept the radioactive material from ever arriving in Oakland.

Under voter-approved Measure T, the city has the authority to regulate but not ban nuclear shipments. It requires haulers to inform the city a minimum of 45 days in advance of the planned transport of hazardous radioactive materials. A public hearing must then be conducted to discuss the proposed route, and public notices must be posted two weeks before the shipment arrives.

Last November, Hyundai Merchant Marine, Inc., notified the city of its planned shipment of 21 tons of uranium hexafluoride through Oakland, to occur in January. The uranium, supplied by the Department of Energy and eventually headed for nuclear reactors in South Korea, would be packed in nine steel cylinders, and shipped on three 20-foot flat racks.

REGULATING NUCLEAR CARGO

IN DECEMBER, AFTER A PUBLIC HEARING on the proposed shipment, the Oakland City Council approved three resolutions — asking federal regulatory agencies for more information,

declining to approve a transportation route because of the ongoing earthquake-related local emergency, and instituting local safeguards such as asking the shipper to transport the cargo during a time when traffic was light.

But in early January, officials of the companies involved in the shipment announced that Oakland wouldn't see the shipment at all, at least not in the immediate future.

"Hyundai Merchant Marine (the shipper) called and said that Transnuclear (the receiver) had decided to go to another port," said Henry Renteria, Oakland's director of emergency services. "I said, 'Am I to understand that you will not be coming through the Port of Oakland at all?' And he said, 'Yes.'"

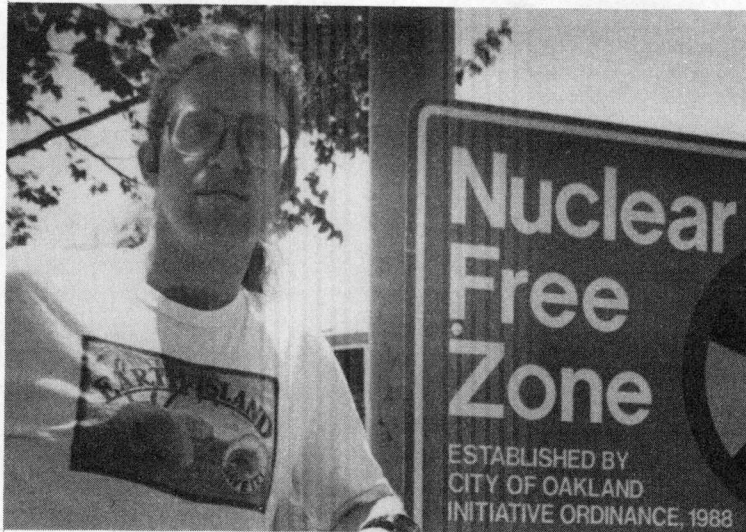
NFZ proponents don't know where the shipment eventually went, but they rejoiced over Hyundai's announcement. Geoffrey Sea, a physicist specializing in radiation health problems, said that a puncture of the cylinders could have threatened the lives of many residents. Sea notes that there is a long history of accidental uranium hexafluoride release into the environment and subsequent exposure to workers and the public. A General Accounting Office report in 1980 said that about 15 percent of these releases were due to cylinder corrosion, and at least six releases were caused by the dropping of a cylinder.

OAKLAND IN COURT

MEANWHILE, THE LAWSUITS AGAINST the Oakland initiative are twisting and turning through the courts, with these recent developments:

■ In December, Nuclear Free Oakland (the citizens' group that

sponsored the initiative campaign) and Steve Bloom (principal author of the act) filed motions in San Francisco federal court to intervene in the law-



OAKLAND NFZ AUTHOR STEVE BLOOM.
Bloom filed a motion to defend the City of Oakland.

suits in order to help defend the ordinance. Oral arguments on those motions, scheduled in January, were canceled by the judge, and at press time, he had not ruled on whether NFO or Bloom would be added to the case.

■ Both the Justice Department and the Pacific Legal Foundation filed motions for "summary judgment" in the case. "Essentially, they're asking the judge to rule on the case without a

trial and with no further arguments," says Jackie Cabaso, executive director of the Western States Legal Foundation, which had filed the motions on behalf of NFO and Bloom. "They're trying to put the case on a fast track." Oral arguments on the summary judgment motions were scheduled to be heard on March 22.

Nuclear free zone proponents believe that if the intention of the Justice Department and the Pacific Legal Foundation was to squelch the NFZ movement with its suits, their strategy has backfired.

"The lawsuits have focused a lot of attention on this ordinance and have been a terrific organizing tool," says Cabaso. "Regardless of what the legal outcome is, the issues raised have greatly heightened public awareness in this area and in many other parts of the country."

SOURCES: Western States Legal Foundation, 1440 Broadway, Suite 420, Oakland, CA 94612 (415-839-5877); U.S. Nuclear Free Zone Association, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-5457); "Oakland Wants More Safeguards Put on Nuclear Shipments," *Oakland Tribune*, December 13, 1989, p. C-1; Brian Johns, "Nuclear Cargo Won't Pass Through Port as Planned," *Oakland Tribune*, January 5, 1990.

JOHN JERNEGAN

DAVIS NIXES NFZ MEASURE

AFTER NEARLY THREE YEARS OF DELIBERATIONS, CONFERENCES AND REWRITES, THE City Council in Davis (CA) finally voted to reject an ordinance declaring the community a nuclear free zone.

The measure, turned down by a 3-to-2 vote, would have (a) prohibited work on nuclear weapons within city limits, (b) established a nuclear-weapons-free vendor preference, (c) informed the public about the transport of nuclear weapons within the city, and (d) established penalties for violation.

Dan Galpern, a supporter of the ordinance, said that two of the three councilmembers who voted to reject the measure actually "gave verbal support to the concept of a nuclear free zone. . . . Then they bowed to utter sophistry."

SOURCE: Dorothy Brownold, 2131 Bueno Drive, Davis, CA 95616.

RETIRING THE IOWA

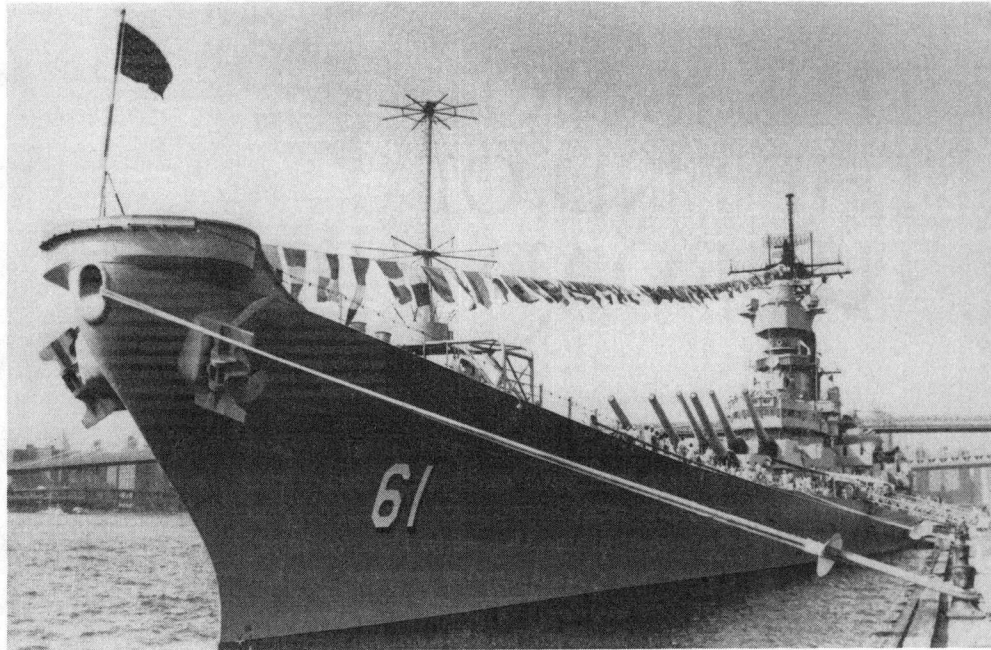
A Pentagon decision to mothball the U.S.S. Iowa has hamstrung plans for a nuclear homeport in New York Harbor.

THE 45-YEAR-OLD NUCLEAR WARSHIP, the U.S.S. Iowa, was to have been the centerpiece of a Staten Island Navy base due to open in August 1990. But Pentagon planners have decided instead to send the Iowa into retirement — first spending \$26 million to overhaul the ship and repair a turret damaged in an explosion off Puerto Rico last year.

But even if it's hamstrung, the \$300 million homeport lives. Staten Island Borough President Guy V. Molinari — a supporter of Pentagon plans to bring Navy warships to New York — says Defense Secretary Richard Cheney told him "there is no discussion at this time of the homeport being cut."

But opponents of the project smell blood. "The mothballing of the Iowa will certainly help the campaign to stop the New York homeport, but doesn't necessarily kill the project," says John Miller, a member of the group opposing the homeport. Miller points out that the Navy will base other ships, including the recently commissioned guided-missile cruiser Normandy, on the island.

Even project booster Guy Molinari has said those ships "would not have the complement of personnel the Iowa carries." The Normandy itself carries a crew of only 367 — compared with the Iowa's crew of 1,500. That means prophecies that cash-rich sailors would pump up the New York City economy are unlikely. And that,



THE USS IOWA.

Defense Secretary Cheney says there'll still be a New York homeport, but the Iowa won't be there.

in turn, means city investments in the port-building project — approved under former Mayor Ed Koch — may come under heavier fire.

"Smaller ships mean fewer economic benefits — such as they are — to New York from the spending by smaller crews," says Miller.

But smaller ships don't necessarily mean less danger. Michael Immerso, a spokesperson for the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor, said the Normandy and at least one support ship can "carry the same Tomahawk cruise missiles as the Iowa."

Some New York City officials say the Navy's switch does nothing to allay their fears about nuclear weapons

aboard Navy ships in New York Harbor. A spokesperson for Mayor David Dinkins says the mayor "has certain concerns that need to be resolved, and the presence of [the Normandy] is not one way or the other going to resolve them."

A new group of prominent businesspersons, lawyers, real estate developers and others — "The Committee for the Alternative Use of the Home Port Site" — is already looking at alternative industrial and residential projects for the homeport site.

SOURCE: John M. Miller, PO Box 150753, Brooklyn, NY 11215 (718-788-6071); James Barron, "S.I. Port Loses Its Linchpin, A Battleship," *New York Times*, January 8, 1990, p. B1; Frank J. Prial, "New Cruiser to Replace The Iowa at Base on S.I.," *New York Times*, February 6, 1990, p. B3.

ANTHONY YARLUS / IMPACT VISUALS

KODIAK SAYS, 'WELCOME'

KODIAK, ALASKA, VOTERS REJECTED LAST OCTOBER AN ADVISORY BALLOT MEASURE that would have stopped planning for a Navy homeport in their community, 55 to 45 percent.

Mark Buckley, the Kodiak fisherman and SANE/Alaska activist who drafted the ordinance and organized the effort to qualify it for the local ballot, said he merely wanted his fellow citizens to have a voice in the homeport project. "I believe the homeport development would be a drastic and sudden development, and is something the people should vote on," Buckley said.

SOURCE: Christopher Toal, SANE/Alaska, 3605 Arctic Blvd., #1717, Anchorage, AK 99503 (907-272-0621).

THIS IS NOT THE END OF THE ROAD

The South African government has freed Nelson Mandela — freed him to join 24 million other black South Africans still working toward the day when they gain equality with the nation's minority whites. Six U.S. cities — including Berkeley and St. Paul — have joined the struggle.



ANNA ZEMINSKI / AFRAPIX / IMPACT VISUALS

CELEBRATING MANDELA'S RELEASE.
Free at last — almost.

The Struggle To Survive

Medea Benjamin and Kevin Danaher

OUKASIE IS OUR HOME. AWAY WITH LETHLABILE, AWAY, away," the children shouted as they swarmed around us. Three, four and five years old, they are already caught up in their community's struggle for survival.

Oukasie, a sister community of Berkeley, California, is a black township on the outskirts of the white city of Brits, just west of South Africa's capital, Pretoria. But Brits—a stronghold of the far-right Conservative Party—has been expanding, and the white residents living in close proximity to Oukasie consider the poor black community an eyesore.

The government has therefore decided to move the residents of Oukasie to another township, Lethlabile, some

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Striking a Blow for Freedom

Richard Trubo

LIFE IN LAWAAIKAMP HAS NEVER BEEN EASY, BUT IN THE LAST four years, it has almost been intolerable. The residents of the black township have endured violence and intimidation in the white government's campaign to uproot and relocate them. Many houses were bulldozed. Others burned down mysteriously during the night. One hundred and fifty residents, including the community's leaders, were detained without charge. Threatening phone calls have become almost routine. Some people have lost their lives in racial violence.

The majority of Lawaaikamp's residents were finally worn down, and the township's population dwindled from 5,000 to 1,200. But for the remaining residents, their tireless struggle finally made a difference. Last November, the

South African central government agreed to provide an interest-free loan to the white-run city of George to upgrade living conditions in Lawaai-kamp. At the same time, it declared the township a Free Settlement Area, and announced that previous inhabitants could apply for resettlement.

The people rejoiced in Lawaai-kamp — and in St. Paul, Minnesota. For more than two years, St. Paul has had a sister community relationship with the black township, and has actively supported the efforts of its people to remain in their homes. Last year, St. Paul Councilmember Bill Wilson traveled with Rev. Oliver White (president of the Saint Paul Black Ministerial Alliance) to Lawaai-kamp to show their concern and support, and to apply pressure for positive action by the South African government.

Councilmember Wilson celebrated the news from Lawaai-kamp. "Our efforts have really paid off," he said. "In uniting with the people of Lawaai-kamp to fight apartheid, we are building a global network of freedom lovers who will not be denied."

Kobus Pienaar, the South African lawyer representing Lawaai-kamp, said, "This is definitely a victory and we should all celebrate." Referring to the visit by Wilson and White, Pienaar added, "Their presence prompted unprecedented meetings between the municipality [of George] and the Lawaai-kamp representatives which started the recent chain of events that led to this victory."

During a telephone hookup between the two cities last December, Melford Notshokovu, spokesperson for the Lawaai-kamp civic association, told his St. Paul supporters, "The job you have done has been appreciated by everyone here. Your prayers worked, but I must assure you that this is not the end of the road."

Notshokovu and others have expressed concerns that the upgrading funds — which will be spent on a sewer system and street improvements — could drive the costs of land and housing up, forcing people to leave.

Councilmember Wilson said, "The people of Lawaai-kamp want an open community, but they also want to regulate the economics of that community. Forced removal

by any other name is still forced removal."

To keep up the pressure, St. Paul high school students launched a massive letter-writing campaign to George Mayor W. Kiers and to Gert Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning who is instrumental in the plans for the black township. The letters were sent early this year.

"They congratulated South African officials on their change of heart in the Lawaai-kamp case," says Sue Hurley, St. Paul's sister city coordinator. "They also asked that the community be included in making the upgrading plans."

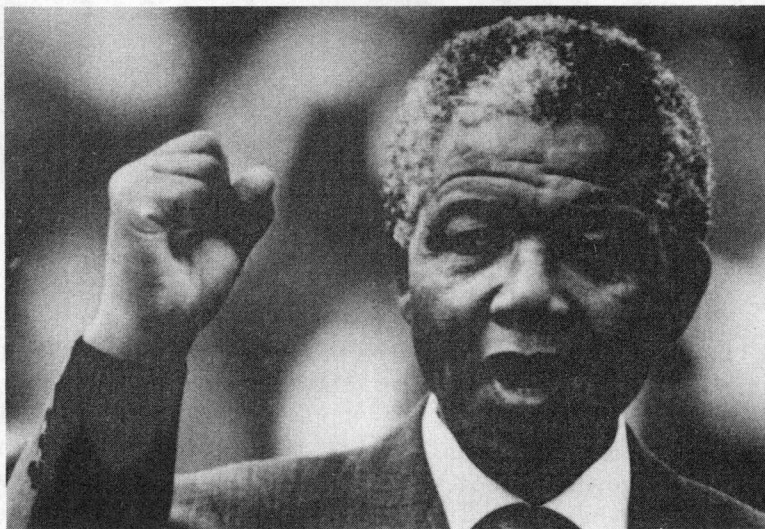
St. Paul is one of six U.S. cities with sisterly ties with South African black townships. Wichita, Milwaukee, Atlanta, Louisville and Berkeley also have formalized these links. The program is coordinated by the San Francisco-based U.S.-South Africa Sister Commu-

nity Project, which is now working with cities like Phoenix, Seattle and Chicago to create connections of their own.

James Scheibel, the recently-elected mayor of St. Paul, wrote a letter to the Lawaai-kamp civic group in January, that concluded, "The lessons in friendship, empowerment, courage and optimism that we have learned from you through our relationship have strengthened the spirit of our community. We are proud to be your sister community."

Councilmember Wilson is also smiling broadly these days, particularly during that phone conversation with Lawaai-kamp when Pumi Booysen, a township leader, asked him about the outcome of last November's St. Paul elections. Wilson's trip to South Africa had been bitterly attacked by Roy Garza, Wilson's opponent in his re-election campaign, with Garza claiming that the councilmember had neglected his own district by traveling to Lawaai-kamp.

The election results were so close in Wilson's district that a recount was held — which determined that Wilson had won another term on the council. "I am still your city councilman," Wilson told Booysen, "and I am very pleased."



NELSON MANDELA AFTER RELEASE.

Activists in U.S.-South Africa sister cities say they're not finished.

SOURCES: Sue Hurley, St. Paul Department of Planning & Economic Development, 25 W. Fourth Street, St. Paul, MN 55102 (612-228-3208); U.S.-South Africa Sister Community Project, 2601 Mission St., Suite 400, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415-824-2938); Anthony Lonetree, "St. Paul Students Cheer S. African City's Victory," *The Star Tribune*, December 2, 1989, p. 1B.



SCHOOLCHILDREN IN OUKASIE.

"Three, four, and five years old, they are already caught up in their community's struggle for survival."

continued from page 28

20 miles away. In legal terms, Oukasie has been "disestablished."

This is not the first time the government has tried to eliminate Oukasie. It was targeted for forced removal in the 1950s, but the people resisted and the government backed down. In 1986, the government renewed its effort and once again the residents, this time organized in the Brits Action Committee, refused to budge.

"We like living here. We have a tightly knit, well-organized community," said Victor Munzima [not his real name] of the Brits Action Committee. "Besides, Lethlabile is in the middle of nowhere, and all the jobs are here in Brits."

The government policy of moving people to Lethlabile is part of the original strategy of "grand apartheid," which aims to move more and more blacks further from the white cities into rural bantustans. The bantustans—"homelands" in government jargon—are underdeveloped areas similar to American Indian reservations. Several have already been declared "independent states," with their residents losing South African citizenship.

Lethlabile is on the border of the bantustan called Bophuthatswana. Once Lethlabile has been settled with blacks expelled from close-in townships like Oukasie, the government will then incorporate it into Bophuthatswana.

"People are vehemently opposed to the bantustan policy," said Lydia Kompe of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), a group that lends support to communities targeted for forced removal or forced incorporation into bantustans. "First of all, if they lose their South African citizenship, they have to apply for special permission to get jobs or to live in South Africa.

"Workers lose their pensions and health care. The

schools are inferior and at the same time more expensive. And the bantustan administrations, hand-picked by South Africa, are not only fraught with corruption but are even more repressive than their white backers."

The residents of Oukasie, aware of the plan to incorporate them into Bophuthatswana, refused to move. The government then declared the township an "emergency camp" and sent in the troops. "The streets were full of soldiers," recalled an elderly resident. "They arrested the community leaders, firebombed their homes, and threatened to kill the rest of us if we didn't move."

Almost half the community, some 5,000 people, left. The rest decided to stay and fight. They contacted TRAC to help them get a lawyer and to draw public attention to their plight. In the legal battle, Oukasie won its first victory recently, when the state was forced to lift its designation of Oukasie as an emergency camp. But the government is appealing this decision.

"The court battle will drag on and on, and in the meantime, the government continues to detain and harass us," said Munzima, who was recently held in solitary confinement for 11 months on charges of arson and intimidation, charges that were later dropped. Recently, a grenade was thrown at his house, forcing him to be constantly on the move, sleeping in different homes each night.

A skilled carpenter, Munzima can't get a job in Brits because no one will hire him. In fact, it is hard for everyone in Oukasie to get jobs. "The ones who have union jobs in the factories are lucky, because they're protected by the union," said one of the women activists. "But for the rest of us, we can't even get jobs as domestic workers because employers consider us hot-heads and troublemakers."

In addition to harassing the leaders, the government is trying to make it harder and harder to live in Oukasie. There

used to be 30 water taps in the township, now only 20 are working. Garbage, once picked up weekly, is now left to rot. The health clinic is no longer functioning because the government removed the staff.

The government even removed its personnel from the day-care center, but the people met and decided to keep it going on their own. "We have only one room for 146 kids," one of the teachers explained. "When it's naptime, we have to remove all the tables and chairs, and line the floor with mats. But the government refuses to let us build an addition. And we have no money to buy blankets or playthings. But we're still proud that we managed to keep the center alive."

In contrast, Lethlabile has been showered with government funds. Its day-care center is housed in a spanking new, well-equipped building. Residents don't live in tin shacks, but two and three bedroom brick houses bought with government loans. Unlike Oukasie, Lethlabile has electricity, running water, telephones, a sewage system and paved roads.

But for all its amenities, Lethlabile still has the feel of a prison compound. The police station, post office, elementary school and even the day-care center are encircled by high fences topped with razor wire. While the dirt roads of Oukasie are full of people talking and socializing, the streets of Lethlabile are empty.

"One of our major problems is the high rents," complained Lucas Mkoni, who moved to Lethlabile six months ago. "The government gave us loans to buy these houses, but now we have to pay back 350 Rand a month (\$110 US). If we're lucky enough to have a job, we only make about 200 Rand."

As a result, many of the new homes have been abandoned, and hundreds of families are trying to return to Oukasie. The Brits Action Committee claims that one-third of Oukasie's earlier residents, including the former mayor and town council members, want to return.

Meanwhile, Oukasie residents are determined not only to stay put, but to develop their community. Since the government won't provide services like fixing the roads and the water taps, the residents have formed committees to make their own repairs. And with so many people unemployed, they are now planning to start cooperative ventures—brick-making for the men and a sewing co-op for the women.

"For communities like Oukasie that are targeted for forced removal, international support is crucial to their survival," claimed Anne Porrier, coordinator of the San Francisco-based U.S.-South Africa Sister Community Project. "The

partners in the U.S. urge their Congresspeople to pressure the South African government, they raise money for community projects, and in some instances—as in the case of St. Paul, Minnesota—they even send community envoys to South Africa to apply pressure directly."

Oukasie residents affirmed the vital role foreign support can play. "We don't have any guns or ammunition to fight the government," said Munzima. "Our only weapons are the unity we have maintained within the community, and international pressure. The fact that we are sistered with Berkeley, California and Hanover, Germany, has been a great help. Without this international exposure, we wouldn't be here today."

The authors work with Global Exchange, a group that fosters people-to-people ties with Third World communities. Global Exchange recently produced a resource book, Bridging the Global Gap: A Handbook to Linking Citizens of the First and Third World. It also organizes two- to three-week "reality tours" of southern Africa, the Caribbean, Central America, the Middle East, and other regions of the world. For more information, contact Global Exchange, 2141 Mission St., Room 202, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415-255-7296).

CITIES TAKE A "SHELL-FREE" STAND

THE SHELL OIL COMPANY CONTINUES TO LOSE FRIENDS IN MUNICIPALITIES because its Royal Dutch/Shell subsidiary persists in doing business in South Africa. City officials in four cities have recently passed resolutions boycotting Shell products:

■ Last November, the Philadelphia (PA) City Council approved a resolution introduced by Councilmember David Cohen that urged all Philadelphians to refrain from conducting business with Royal Dutch/Shell, and prohibiting the city from buying Shell products.

■ In December, the New Haven (CT) Board of Aldermen banned the city from conducting business with Royal Dutch/Shell and the Shell Oil Company "until Royal Dutch/Shell completely withdraws from South Africa."

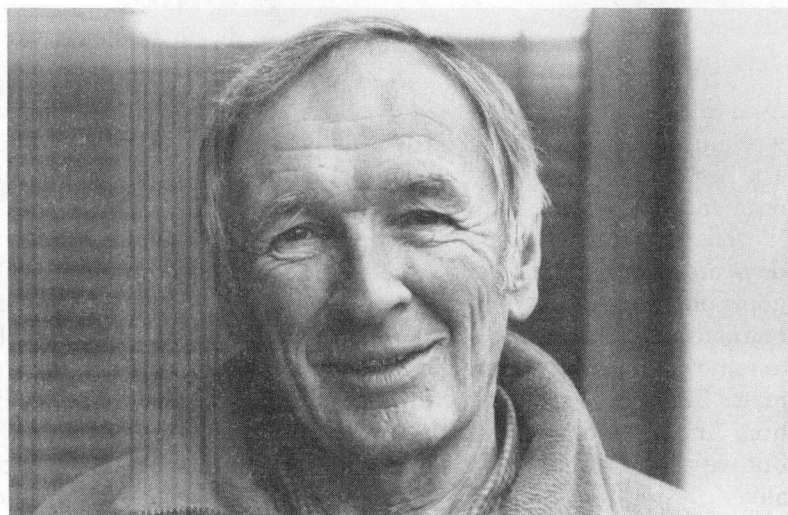
■ City fathers in Takoma Park (MD) resolved to be "Shell-Free" until Royal Dutch/Shell disinvests, proclaiming that "the citizens of Takoma Park recognize their collective responsibility as a community to express their repugnance of and moral outrage against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa and to take action to bring about the end of apartheid."

■ The borough council in Highland Park (NJ) voted unanimously to approve a "Shell-Free" resolution, barring all city departments from buying any Shell Oil products until the firm ceases to do business in South Africa.

SOURCE: *Boycott Shell Bulletin*, Winter 1990, p. 1 (AFSCME, 1625 L St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036).

NO VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

Bob Child helped Pitkin County become a kind of City on a Hill.



FORMER COUNTY COMMISSIONER BOB CHILD.

"I've seen the power of local government."

BOB CHILD SAYS HE'S "A FORMER county commissioner living in a community peopled with many like-minded souls who don't mind an occasional stroll along the cutting edge."

The community is Pitkin County, Colorado, the borders of which embrace Rocky Mountain ski resorts like Snowmass and Aspen. The edge along which Child and others stroll is global environmental activism. And Child himself is a 66-year-old cattle rancher who served for 12 years — until January 1989 — as the international and environmental conscience of the Pitkin County Commission.

"I wasn't tired of it," he says. "But I thought it was somebody else's turn."

It is unlikely, however, that anyone else will quite take the turn that Bob Child — whom a colleague called the "Secretary of State for Pitkin County" — took once he found his place on the county commission. In 12 years, Child urged his colleagues to approve resolutions on world peace and the global environment, once boldly suggesting to colleagues that "world peace should be one of our goals and that every one of our decisions should have environmental considerations at its base."

With Child leading them, Pitkin County commissioners implemented a path-breaking recycling program in the 1970s and, in the 1980s, put real teeth into it. They banned the trans-

portation of nuclear weapons through Pitkin County — though Child admits it isn't very likely the federal government would ever choose to truck nuclear missiles along the county's winding roads and steep mountain passes. "So that was easy to do," he admits.

And, just as Child left county office one year ago, the commission met to consider his resolution committing Pitkin County's resources to the problems of global warming and ozone depletion.

Child says local governments ought to take action on global issues. They're often the ones with ready solutions. "I've seen the power of local government," he says. And, he adds, Pitkin County residents have "always believed that our boundaries weren't just down the road, but were very far-reaching."

Still, Child was just a little concerned about the timing of his global environmental resolution. At the same time his former colleagues were looking at the global warming and ozone depletion resolution, city officials in Aspen were contemplating a ban on folks wearing furs in the resort town. At least one local reporter couldn't keep the issues straight — was it furs or plastic cups that made things hotter? — and, for a while, Child thought the public might become just as confused.

He needn't have worried. Interest in a fur-free Aspen subsided. A pro-

posed county-wide ban on ivory sales went down the same path.

"People were looking at the CFC proposal in a different light," Child says. "They saw it as a cause of genuine, global concern, and thought we had to take action. They weren't as sure about ivory and furs."

Child retired from the county board in January 1989, a few months before his former colleagues finally took up the global environmental resolution. But he continued lobbying his former colleagues — this time working through a local "mentorship" program with a 13-year-old middle school student, Ian Smith.

By April, Smith and Child had persuaded the board to adopt the resolution. In the process, they received a United Nations Leadership Award. That put Pitkin County — a 1970s environmental leader — back on the political cutting edge.

"I think Pitkin County used to be — maybe still is — recognized as a place that took a lead on this kind of thing," says board chair Colette Penne.

There was of course some criticism. But Child took it in stride. "The Montreal protocol calls for specific action, for CFCs to be phased out, and we don't see any reason to be apologetic to be starting that process locally," he says.

Child sent copies of his proposal to every county and local government in the state, encouraging local officials

to copy Pitkin's example. "I got maybe half a dozen responses; there was some action that followed," he says. "I was hoping for a real landslide, but it never occurred" — a disappointing development he attributes to the "funny" nature of Colorado politics.

"Some [Colorado] counties are rural in nature," Child explains. "There are good people and smart people in local government, but they don't have that grounding in environmental issues. They're not Sierra Club members."

Maybe not. But the folks in Pitkin County like Commissioner Child just fine. The lean rancher — born in Chicago, raised in Colorado — launched three successful campaigns for county office from his ranch near the city of Basalt, a smallish place of three- or four-hundred people. "They have a high school and not much else besides excellent fishing," Child says of Basalt.

"Bob has a lot of credibility because of his long-term involvement in government," says his former colleague, board chair Penne. "He's an environmentalist, a successful rancher and businessman. In that way he cuts across a lot of borders. There aren't a lot of borders for him."

Hence — perhaps — the global perspective.

Child himself isn't sure about the genesis of his world-ranging interests. Some of the credit, he says, belongs to his internationally minded neighbors — singer John Denver's Windstar Foundation and the Rocky Mountain Institute, an energy conservation and public policy center in Aspen. He says he's "always been a very active environmentalist" — a tendency encouraged by his reading "several years ago" of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. But in the last few years, he says, "I've become increasingly aware of the global environment."

And in Pitkin County, at least, that's a winning attitude. Even businesses showed an unusual willingness to adopt Child's new environmental regime. Before formal passage of the new guidelines, many business own-

ers moved quickly to abandon plastics.

Heightened social awareness? Radical chic? Good business sense?

"I don't care why they're doing it. The fact is they're doing it," Child says simply. "I think we're seeing everywhere a recognition that environmental issues are everybody's business. We can't leave it to federal governments or world government. In the

end, we can't even leave it to local government. It's everybody's problem. No matter what you're doing, you have to be involved."

And that, Child says, applies especially to local officials. "Local officials are elected to be leaders of their community," he says. "And leadership doesn't stop at boundary lines, because what happens beyond influences what happens within."

A FAMILY REUNITED

IN APRIL 1975, THU D. DUONG WATCHED HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN BOARD A military plane at Saigon airport, bound for the United States. It was the final days before the fall of the South Vietnamese government, and with just three hours warning, Duong quickly gathered his wife and nine children, and hurried them to their flight to safety, with hopes of joining them shortly in the U.S.

But plans for a rapid reunion never materialized. Despite his own yearning to leave, Duong spent more than 14 more years in Vietnam, part of it as a political prisoner. When he finally arrived in the U.S. last December, one of the people he thanked was Larry Agran, the mayor of Irvine, California.

Duong and Agran first met in Vietnam in April 1989, when Agran and California State Senator Art Torres traveled there with the explicit purpose of convincing Vietnamese officials to permit the reunification of families split apart when the Vietnam war ended. Duong was one of 30 cases that Agran and Torres attempted to resolve during their visit — so-called "good-faith" cases that they hoped would open the bureaucratic logjam that was keeping apart many hundreds of families.

The two Californians met with a number of Vietnamese officials in Hanoi, including the minister of justice and the foreign minister. "They promised to treat these cases with the highest priority," recalls Agran, whose 30-case list included five men with families in Irvine. "They made a clear commitment, and have generally been fulfilling it ever since."

The paperwork started moving, although painstakingly slowly. Duong had been a colonel in the South Vietnamese army and had been imprisoned for five years after the war; as a result, securing permission for him to leave for the U.S. was particularly difficult. But the pressure from American officials finally paid off, as it has for most of the 30 cases.

California local and state officials can now turn to the Family Unification Foundation, a non-profit corporation that is an outgrowth of the efforts by the state legislature to address reunification issues. This private foundation, to which the city of Irvine has contributed \$10,000, is trying to cut through the red tape that continues to leave many families divided.

"Without the help of people in the United States, especially Larry Agran, I could never have gotten here," Duong said through an interpreter. About 800 other California families are still actively seeking the release of their own relatives from Vietnam.

SOURCES: Mayor Larry Agran, City Hall, 1 Civic Center Plaza, Irvine, CA 92714 (714-724-6233); Susan Kelleher, "Father is Present, Bringing Family Joy," *Orange County Register*, December 23, 1989, p. B1; Karen Auge, "A Family Reunion," *Irvine World News*, December 14, 1989, p. 1.

GIVING NICARAGUA THE BUSINESS

The electoral defeat of the Sandinista party has meant the end of the U.S. trade embargo and other economic sanctions against Nicaragua. For U.S. - Nicaragua sister-city projects, the lifting of these sanctions was already long overdue.

Sheldon Rampton

NICARAGUANS CALLED HIM "THE mercenary."

In response to political pressure from progressives, the government of West Germany had allocated funding in 1988 for a "machinist" to set up a mill where Nicaraguans could build windmills. Administration of the project was left to conservative German embassy officials in Managua. They hired a German national for \$3,000 a month, rented him a seven-bedroom beach house and bought him a new Toyota truck. When the man arrived, Nicaraguans soon learned he wasn't even a machinist. To workers at the project he seemed like a saboteur.

That was the situation until the arrival of Bob Barracca, a volunteer with Baltimore's Nicaraguan sister-city project in San Juan de Limay.

"It took me about three days to get the mill working and I worked on the attachments to the mill on and off the rest of the time I was there," Barracca said. "I also trained the shop foreman, David Parker, an American and the founder of the project, and a young Nicaraguan named Julio to operate the mill and to make different things on the lathe."

The Windmill Project is among a number of innovative citizen-based efforts aimed at helping resurrect Nicaragua's war-shattered economy. Even before the recent Nicaraguan elections brought a likelihood of improved government-to-government

relations, U.S.-Nicaragua sister cities had begun to think beyond the war, taking on longer-term projects aimed at ending the U.S. trade embargo, developing alternative technology, encouraging foreign investment in Nicaragua, and providing technical assistance to help Nicaraguans overcome inefficient economic practices.

"A lot of groups had reached the point where they felt that they had to do more than simply send donations of material aid to Nicaragua," says Dennis Lombardi, a peace activist working on a book about the U.S.-Nicaragua solidarity movement. "They were saying, 'OK, we've raised donations of clothing. We've sent shipments of medicine. But we haven't done anything that changes the fundamental problem of poverty and underdevelopment in Nicaragua. What's the next step?'"

At the Windmill Project, workers can turn out windmills for \$3,000 each, providing a cheap, energy-efficient means of irrigating fields and pumping clean drinking water into Nicaraguan homes.

"People need these pumps because water supplies are often contaminated," Barranca said. "Because of this, the infant mortality rate is increasing dramatically. The problem is the people who need them can't afford them even at that price. The workers who make them need to get paid but can't sell them." As one possible solution, Barranca has been "kicking around the idea that sister cities around the world could buy these mills from the factory, keeping it from being shut down and at the same time supplying desperately needed clean

water."

Projects on this scale — a pittance compared to most government-sponsored foreign aid — are within the reach of most U.S.-Nicaragua sister cities. And unlike national governments, sister cities operate without bureaucracies and "mercenaries." Often they use donated supplies and labor which give them economic leverage beyond the dollar amounts that they raise and spend.

Recent projects have included the following:

■ After Hurricane Joan struck Nicaragua in 1988, several sister city projects including the Friendship Cities Project between Boulder and Jalapa joined with the organizations Quest for Peace and APSNICA (Architects and Planners in Support of Nicaragua) to raise \$20,000 for the construction of sawmills to process trees downed by the hurricane.

■ The sister-city project between Norwalk, Connecticut, and Nagarote provided pipes and materials necessary to bring clean water to approximately 300 homes in Nagarote, part of over seven tons of material aid shipped in the last three years.

■ For \$660, Project Minnesota/Leon brought electricity and lighting to the San Martin Elementary School, making it possible to teach adult classes in the evening and to provide better lighting on cloudy days.

FROM MILL WINDS TO ILL WINDS

IT WILL TAKE A LONG WHILE, HOWEVER, before such projects make even a dent in the estimated \$12 billion of damage Nicaragua has suffered as a result of the contra war. In addition to destroy-

ing crops, storage facilities and other economic targets, the contras forced diversion of the country's resources to defense. The war also created chaos and made it impossible to carry out rational economic planning. On top of all that, Hurricane Joan, the worst natural disaster in Nicaragua's history, struck in October 1988, causing \$1 billion in destruction in a single day. This all adds up to staggering losses for a country with an annual gross national product of only \$3 billion. It means that over half of the country's total production over the last eight years has been destroyed by forces outside its control.

Under these circumstances, Nicaragua's 35,000-percent inflation rate for 1988 — 120 percent in December of that year alone — is hardly surprising. What was remarkable is the fact that people were not starving in Nicaragua. Economic pressures that would have made a shambles out of other societies have not led to burning vehicles and fires in the streets, nor hundreds being killed in riots and looting, as was the case last year in Venezuela. As the fighting inside Nicaragua began to subside, the country managed to divert resources from defense toward economic recovery. Through a series of economic austerity measures, the inflation rate was whittled down to "only" 1,600 percent in 1989, accompanied by a 35 percent increase in exports and a mild recovery of workers' buying power.

It is still too early to predict, as of this writing, whether the outcome of the Nicaraguan elections will lead to a renewal of violent conflict, or whether genuine peace will be attained. If the war is renewed, of course, all bets are off. If, however, Nicaragua's contending political forces manage to achieve national reconciliation, the prospects look very good for U.S.-Nicaraguan trade relations.

Even before the elections, both the Sandinistas and their opponents were agreed on the necessity of attracting foreign capital to revitalize the econ-



BACK TO THE PAST.

A decade of fighting the contras and a U.S.-sponsored international embargo undermined the Nicaraguan economy.

omy.

"Traditionally, Latin American revolutionaries, including the Sandinistas, have been economic nationalists who criticized foreign investment for its exploitative relations with the local economy," observes *Envio* magazine, a publication of the Central American Historical Institute. "Reflecting this view, in the early eighties the Sandinistas worked on developing a law which placed strict controls on investment. But economic realities forced a change."

Under the Sandinistas, Nicaragua had already developed an investment law to define, in broad terms, the country's goals in seeking foreign investment. These goals include: favorable impact on Nicaragua's balance of trade; generation of employment; increasing the supply of basic goods and services for the well-being of Nicaragua's population; gaining access to advanced technology and know-how, as well as administrative expertise; and favorable environmental impact.

Within this framework of generalities, the law leaves details to be

worked out in negotiations on a case-by-case basis, providing flexibility for investors. There are no quotas or pre-established rules preventing investors from repatriating capital or profits.

For U.S. investors, in fact, the main difficulty in doing business with Nicaragua had been the trade embargo imposed by the U.S. government, banning imports and exports on the grounds that Nicaragua posed "an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States." The embargo cost millions of dollars in ongoing trade to Nicaragua's sister-state of Wisconsin. Edusystems, Inc., a Wisconsin firm that sets up vocational-technical schools in foreign countries, had been shipping an average of \$500,000 in goods per year to Nicaragua before the embargo. An order worth \$80,000 was left sitting on the docks in Miami when the embargo was announced in May 1985. Another firm, Snap-on Tools of Kenosha, had been doing about \$100,000 in yearly business with Nicaragua and had to cancel a \$65,000 order.

These considerations were at the

forefront of a hearing held September 25 in the Wisconsin Legislature by State Representative David Clarenbach, with the purpose of "looking into ways to strengthen Wisconsin's sister-state relations with Nicaragua, and to assess the impact that federal trade prohibitions and travel limitations have had on Wisconsin."

CUTTING OFF OUR NOSES?

TESTIMONY AT THE HEARING, WHICH was broadcast live in Wisconsin's capital city of Madison, came from a coffee store owner who was barred from importing Nicaraguan coffee unless it had been processed in a third country; a sales representative from an artificial insemination cooperative in Shawano who wanted to sell bull semen in Nicaragua but couldn't; and an organization called "Trade for Peace," which was raided in April 1988 by officials of the U.S. Customs Service for importing and selling "contraband" merchandise such as Nicaraguan postage stamps as an act of "nonviolent civil disobedience" to protest the embargo.

Testifying before Clarenbach, University of Wisconsin professor Steve Stern criticized "the prevailing assumption in Washington that the most important interest of U.S. foreign policy in Latin America was to stop left-wing governments and left-leaning policies at all costs, and to promote right-leaning governments committed to conservative economic policies....In the area of economics, the obsession with Nicaragua and right-wing economics made it impossible for Washington to develop a sophisticated and comprehensive policy to deal with the debt crisis and the way it has thrown most of Latin America into economic stagnation and, in some cases, deep depression. This has been especially harmful to industrial and agricultural exporters in the United States, since Mexico is one of our largest trade partners, and Latin America is one of our biggest export markets."

Following the Nicaraguan elections and the announcement that the

U.S. would lift its trade embargo, some of the same Wisconsin businesses that had been cut out of the Nicaraguan market began looking for ways to get back in. Other companies which had never operated in Nicaragua began looking for ways to initiate contact, such as Applied Biochemists, a Mequon firm that makes chemicals for water and sewage treatment, and Burns Milwaukee, a manufacturer of solar-powered ovens.

"Wisconsin business people may be among those in the forefront because of the state's ties to Nicaragua as a 'sister state,'" commented the *Milwaukee Journal* on February 28.

Despite the embargo, U.S. solidarity groups found creative ways of maintaining economic contact with Nicaragua, the most common of which had been simply donating rather than selling goods. They also found that Nicaraguan coffee could be sold legally in the U.S. if it was roasted and ground in a third country, such as Holland, and many groups sold coffee or held "coffee parties" as fundraisers. After "Trade for Peace" was raided in Wisconsin, new groups came forward and began similar civil disobedience actions.

"In the long run, though, what's needed is a more mature, equitable relationship so the people at both ends of the relationship can participate in a mutually beneficial way," says Bill Wright, a California businessman who has been investigating the potential of establishing a fish farming business in Nicaragua. Wright believes such investments will enable Nicaragua — and U.S. investors — to produce "more sustainable development over the long term than 'humanitarian donations.'"

At the local level, activists have been very successful at using the public funds and economic powers of municipalities to encourage divestment in South Africa. As the war in Central America winds down, municipalities may be able to develop a similar but inverse strategy of promoting change in U.S. foreign policy by

actively *encouraging* investment in the region.

If the history of post-war economies is any indication, now may be an opportune time for investments in Nicaragua. According to Dr. Jesus Castillo, Director of Investments for Nicaragua's Ministry of Foreign Cooperation, investors who visit his office see Nicaragua as the most stable option in the region, precisely because it has already gone through a revolution. "They look at the problems in El Salvador and Guatemala....In their view, the social changes that are being fought for in Central America have already been made here."

The rise of Europe and Japan after the Second World War, and the Soviet Union's rapid economic growth following the end of its civil war in the 1920s, suggest that the latent economic potential of countries at war can be rapidly recovered once wartime conditions change.

"The war and the trade embargo have hurt the Nicaraguan economy in ways that we could not control," said David Lemus, the director of Nicaragua's Institute for Public Administration. "Unfortunately, it has become common for producers to blame everything on the war, including things they can control such as inefficiency. Now that the war is ending, we need to overcome these bad habits and excuses."

Lemus spent part of last summer in Wisconsin, receiving free lessons in Japanese management techniques from the Madison firm of Joiner & Associates. "There's an intriguing similarity between Nicaragua's situation right now and the situation of Japan after World War II," said Joiner consultant Peter Scholtes. "Back then, Japan was the last country you would expect to become an economic success, but it did. If Nicaragua, out of all the countries in Latin America, can begin to be recognized as a place that contributes to the world economy, it could begin to turn all the economies of Central and South America on their ear."

A SLOW START IN EASTERN EUROPE

The market may be there, but U.S. companies are generally taking a wait-and-see attitude rather than rushing into nations once under Communist domination.

"We cannot reform our old system within our own means. This is impossible without outside help."

—Lech Walesa

AT FIRST GLANCE, YOU MIGHT THINK U.S. businesses would rush into Eastern Europe with abandon. One country after another there has extricated itself from Communist domination, and collectively, these nations — which used to be called the Eastern Bloc — constitute a market of 120 million consumers, bursting with demands unmet for generations, if ever.

There have been some headline-grabbing ventures, like General Electric's move into Hungary where it has assumed majority control of the state-owned lighting maker. But while city trade offices in the U.S. report an awakening of interest among American businessmen in opportunities in countries like Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and East Germany, there is more of a cautious, wait-and-see attitude rather than bold leaps into the marketplace. At this point, the number of U.S. ventures into



COLIN SHAW / LINK / IMPACT VISUALS

TWO FACES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

U.S. cities hope to tap into the region's pent-up consumer demand.

that vastly-changed part of the world is limited.

"Savvy companies are assessing the situation, they're looking at economic potential and looking for political stability," Birtan Collier, Philadelphia's deputy director of commerce for international trade and investment, told the Bulletin. "I think it's too early for them to make any major moves."

Madeleine Hamel, international business development coordinator for the city of San Antonio, agrees. "There is interest, but I don't see businesses venturing out that quickly."

Trade officials note that most of the Eastern European countries don't have the foreign exchange to buy Western products. Though countries like Poland want U.S. products, they are heavily in debt, with no hard currency to pay for goods.

Also, the infrastructure necessary for conducting business is painfully absent in many parts of Eastern Europe. Good telephone systems, for instance, are rare.

There is also low-level anxiety among some U.S. businesses, suspicious about making long-term investments in a potentially-volatile region. Their memories of the violence in Beijing's Tiananmen Square last June

is a bitter reminder that economic reform and international image-making can be put on the back burner when political power is threatened.

Frances McEachran, assistant manager of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce's international department, says that Lloyd's of London has moved in to ease some of those fears. "Lloyd's is offering insurance for businesses to protect their investments against any kind of political or economic upheaval that might occur in these countries. We're letting businesses know that this policy is now available."

With time, the interest among U.S. companies in Eastern Europe may turn into action. "Businesses are still waiting for the political situation to settle," says Collier. "These countries are leaving their centrally-controlled economies behind, but I don't think they can move into a free-enterprise economy overnight. It's going to take years. So it's very early for U.S. companies to make moves in a major way. It just won't happen."

SOURCES: Birtan Collier, Philadelphia deputy director of commerce (215-686-3647); Frances McEachran, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce (404-586-8400); Madeleine Hamel, San Antonio department of economic and employment development, P.O. Box 839966, San Antonio, TX (512-299-8088); Art Pine, "Foreign Businesses Show Interest but Move Cautiously in Eastern Bloc," *Los Angeles Times*, January 28, 1990, p. D4; Judith I. Brennan, "Opportunity on the Bloc," *Orange County Register*, December 3, 1989, p. M1.

A SORT-OF REVOLUTION

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC:
VERMONT AND THE SANDER'S
REVOLUTION.

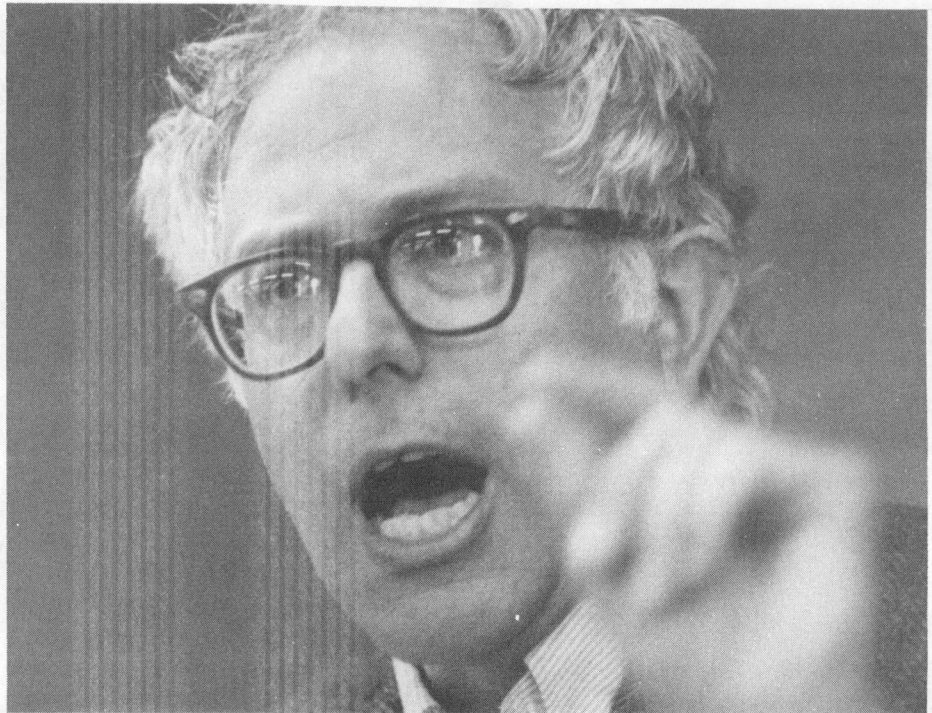
Greg Guma (P.O. Box 575, Shelburne,
Vermont 05482: The New England
Press, 1989). 200 pp.

SHORTLY AFTER SOCIALIST Bernie Sanders was first elected mayor of Burlington, Vermont, in 1981, French voters first elected socialist president Francois Mitterand. On the streets of Vermont, enthusiastic "Sanderistas" sported "As Goes Burlington, So Goes France" buttons.

However lightly intended, it was the first sign of what were more than merely Great Expectations. More like excessive expectations, according to author Greg Guma.

Guma is a character in his own book — this look at politics in the Sanders era. And his involvement in key events throughout the Sanders years humanizes this otherwise hard look at the very human Mayor Bernie Sanders. As a "journalist and editor, a public administrator, and a community organizer" in Vermont since 1968, Guma had a close look at Sanders' election in 1981, his four re-election campaigns, his run for governor and then for U.S. Congress, all in the space of just eight years. But more than that, Guma watched Sanders wrestle with his desire for democracy, on one hand, and his self-imposed responsibility to Burlington's "workers," on the other.

The book's title suggests Sanders' wrestling match with himself produced a local revolution in Burlington. And certainly, on turning over the mayor's office to Peter Clavelle — a long-time Sanders supporter and a Sanders-appointed director of the city's Community and Economic Development Office — Bernie Sanders believed there was. Sanders said



GREG GUMA

FORMER BURLINGTON MAYOR BERNIE SANDERS.

Was he the head of a radical movement, or just a successful self-promoter?

Clavelle's 1989 mayoral victory proved "there is one city in America that has said we can go beyond status quo politics...That's the message we have given to the entire United States of America. It's not a one-man show. It's a movement."

But was it a revolution?

Depends on what you mean by revolution. And what Guma means is, well, pretty frankly revolutionary. He wants a mayor to democratize "the system." "Bringing together scattered movements and spurring a fundamental reconsideration of all aspects of government can help people to overcome despair and regain a sense of control over the destiny of their communities and, ultimately, the survival of the planet," Guma writes. "The end...is the cultivation of an ecological, self-regulating society." By Guma's tough standards, Sanders brought change, even "ultra-liberal" change, but no revolution.

When he arrived in Burlington in 1968, Guma found a city already the largest in Vermont, "but culturally...still a backwater. The aging generation that controlled business, government, and virtually all social institutions had become in-

grown and hostile to change. This meant that no matter what brilliant or foolish plan they brought forward, a lack of popular enthusiasm was guaranteed. Political competition, any real struggle over ideology and values, was almost non-existent."

And when Sanders left office in 1989? Frighteningly the same, Guma suggests. "When occasionally [Sanders] took a stand that was not supported by other progressives," Guma says, "...criticism of him was rare and muted. Progressives expressed their gripes and problems with Sanders' sometimes-insensitive style in private, but they viewed public criticism of him as disloyal 'Bernie bashing.' The mayor increasingly became the arbiter of what was progressive."

Muted self-criticism within the Sanderista movement may have led Sanders into a few political sticker-bushes. Guma says Sanders' "brand of socialism placed a premium on economics — on the redistribution of wealth, and a growing, progressive tax base." Policies that depended upon economic growth put the mayor at odds with his more environmentally minded supporters and blinded him to the emerging Green movement.

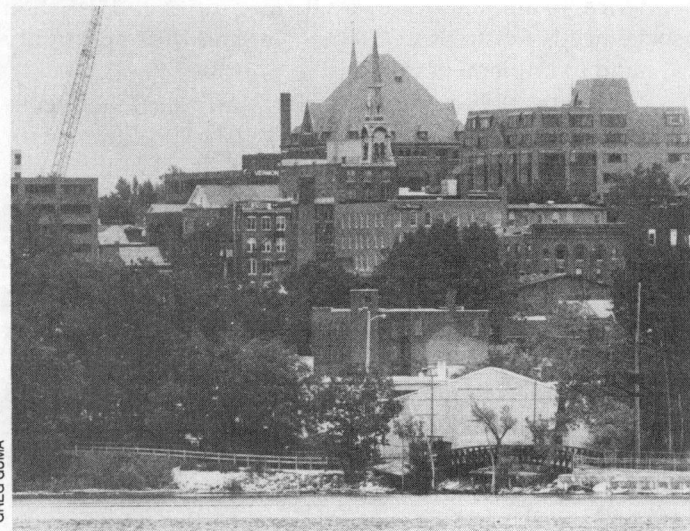
And, on at least one occasion — in June 1983 when Guma and other activists sought Sanders' support for a major civil disobedience action at a Burlington GE plant producing rapid-fire Gatling guns — Sanders' desire to protect "workers" overwhelmed his affection for economic conversion. "We were 'blaming the workers' for something over which they had no control, he said...A few days later," Guma writes, "the mayor went public, condemning the protest in the press and describing the people involved as middle-class dilettantes who didn't have to work for a living."

Sanders' industrial socialism clearly dampened the great expectations of his early enthusiasts. And, clearly, Guma is among the disaffected. Indeed, by the end of *The People's Republic*, Guma himself refers to the Sanders revolution in quotes — as in the Sanders "revolution." Even by its own standards, Guma suggests,

There was one policy area where even the very rigorous Guma seems fairly satisfied. "During the 1980s, Burlington did develop an independent and progressive foreign policy," Guma says. "Few places witnessed more citywide referenda on international issues, and fewer still produced such consistent results." On the nuclear freeze, the military budget, first-strike weapons, aid to El Salvador, South African divestment, and military aid to the Nicaraguan contras, the mayor gave Burlingtonians their say. "[C]ity government promoted cooperation with the Soviet Union to reduce the risk of nuclear war, nonintervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, and 'people-to-people' programs...By the late 1980s...[p]eace and, to a limited extent, social justice, had become mainstream issues."

So the answer to the question Guma raises in this sophisticated book — was there a Sanders revolution? —

is, apparently, sort of. "Contrary to most media images," Guma believes, "the city has not become a Paris Commune in the midst of Reagan/Bushland. On most issues other than foreign policy, Burlington hasn't strayed dramatically from national norms." Sanders' concern for "workers" — or, more precisely, for jobs —



GREG GUMA

BURLINGTON, VERMONT.

Not much has changed, Guma says.

the Sanders administration was barely average, let alone revolutionary. Limits on growth were never set, Guma says. Sanders failed to find a formula "that would shift the tax burden to the wealthy and the business community." And "[c]oncerning sexual politics, the Sanders 'revolution' helped widen the terms of debate, but it could not resolve the dilemma."

meant that businessmen still had pull at City Hall, and that peace and environmental activists often found themselves wishing for something like the bad old days, when the demons at City Hall were more thoroughly lamentable. Led by Bernie Sanders — their blessing and their curse — Burlington activists rallied quietly to a sort-of revolution. (WS)

BULLETIN CLASSIFIEDS

PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE is a digest of peace and disarmament developments with specific, suggested action steps for both systemic change and consciousness-raising. A helpful resource for busy, committed people. \$11/year for 10 issues. Peace Through Justice, Mary Schmuck, RSM, 1172 E. Broadway, Louisville, KY 40204 (502-583-7641).

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TIME FOR A TEST BAN

The arms race is still being run, and the cost to our cities is a disaster.

Theodore Mann

WITH THE RAPIDLY CHANGING international political situation, we now have an opportunity to stop nuclear weapons testing — to enact a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) that would immediately free the billion or more dollars it costs to conduct nuclear tests themselves, and ultimately free billions more, as new weapons systems were no longer produced and deployed. We could redirect these so-called “defense funds” to provide desperately needed affordable housing, jobs programs, education, and health and social services. Beyond these direct benefits, reallocation of funds would invigorate our national economy so that we may compete successfully with other economically strong nations.

This year, a CTB will be at the top of the international agenda. In January 1991, the 118 parties to the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) will meet to consider an amendment to include a fully verifiable ban on testing underground nuclear weapons.

Many countries not aligned with either superpower — including India, Yugoslavia, Peru, and Mexico — have taken the lead by calling for the conference. The U.S., Great Britain, and the Soviet Union (the original PTBT negotiators) are now under treaty obligation to convene it. If the conference passes the CTB amendment, all 118 countries would be bound to it. These include Iran, Iraq, Libya, India, Pakistan, South Africa, Israel, Argentina, and Brazil — all of them on the threshold of obtaining or producing nuclear weapons.

Our role as local elected officials will be crucial because the United States has indicated its intent to veto the amendment. The Soviet Union has indicated it will vote for the amendment, and Great Britain will probably follow the U.S. lead. President Bush has shown that he can change his mind if the American people do not agree with a particular policy, as demonstrated by recent shifts on chemical weapons and aid to the Nicaraguan contras. Citizens and community leaders must, therefore, make their opinions known.

There should be minimal political risk for local elected officials who address this crucial issue, particularly since the American people support a shift in national priorities. According to an August 1989 Washington Post/ABC News poll, there is a growing recognition among Americans that



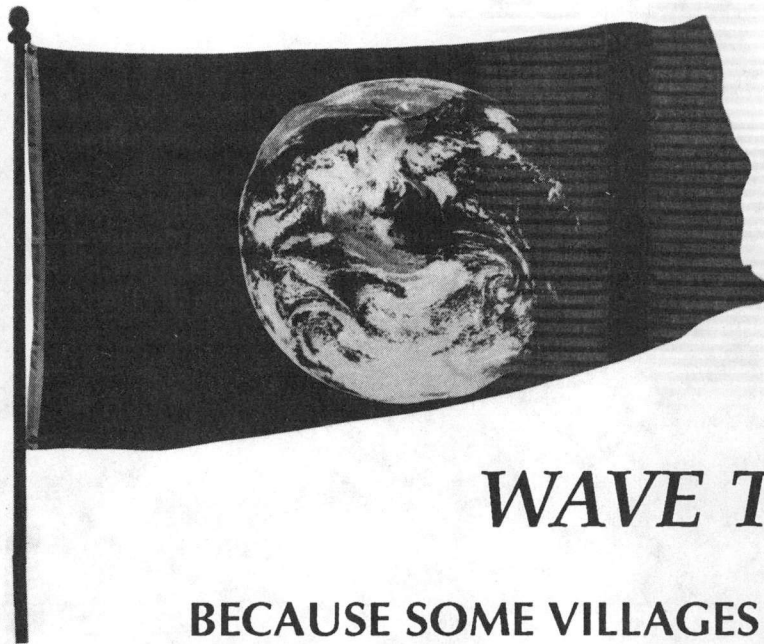
military and nuclear weapons do not make America secure; investments in our cities and in the social welfare do. The benefits far outweigh any political risks, anyhow: Until our national priorities are re-ordered, we will continue to see the dissolution and decay of our cities' infrastructures and a weakening of the social welfare. By talking about the costs of the arms race in human and economic terms, doubtful constituents can be persuaded on the value of this approach.

Over the past four years, 197 state legislatures and city councils have passed resolutions calling for a comprehensive test ban. It's now time to magnify that effort; it's time for mayors and city councils and state legislatures to speak up — in the form of resolutions and publicly announced letters to the U.S. administration — for a fully verifiable comprehensive test ban. For a stronger and more secure America — an America of revitalized cities and satisfied social needs — it is essential that we seize the opportunity at hand to implement this shift in priorities.

In January 1991, when the Test Ban Treaty Conference takes place, cities around the globe will be speaking out for a comprehensive test ban. In the U.S., local officials can send copies of resolutions and statements to President Bush, National Security Advisory Brent Scowcroft, and Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney. In some communities, large city maps will be blackened for every nuclear test explosion in 1990, to show the economic and social impact of each nuclear bomb tested. In others, like Cambridge, Cleveland and Tucson, church bells will toll or ribbons will be tied on car antennas every time there's a nuclear test.

This is an historic moment, when millions of people willing to risk their lives to shed the yoke of totalitarianism are rocking the cities of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and China to their foundations. Here in the United States, the quality of life in our cities will depend on our willingness to take a similar risk — the risk of speaking out about our country's national priorities. By joining with world leaders who are calling for a fully verifiable comprehensive test ban, we can improve not only international security but launch a period of extraordinary health and stability for U.S. cities as well.

Theodore Mann is the mayor of Newton (MA). He authored the CTB resolution passed unanimously by the U.S. Conference of Mayors last summer.



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

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