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Municipal Foreign Policy

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND GLOBAL POLITICS
WINTER 1988 - 89, VOL. 3, No. 1



BUSH-WHACKING


A Foreign Policy Agenda for the People

THE IOWA COMES TO NEW YORK

An Interview with John Miller

OF DEATH SQUADS AND DEPORTATION

How Baltimore Saved a Salvadoran Local Official



Our representatives in New York,
in Paris or in Moscow depend
ultimately on decisions made in
the village square...from there must
come America's voice...a message
of humanity from a nation of
human beings.

Albert Einstein



C O N T E N T S

BULLETIN OF MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

Vol. 3, No. 1

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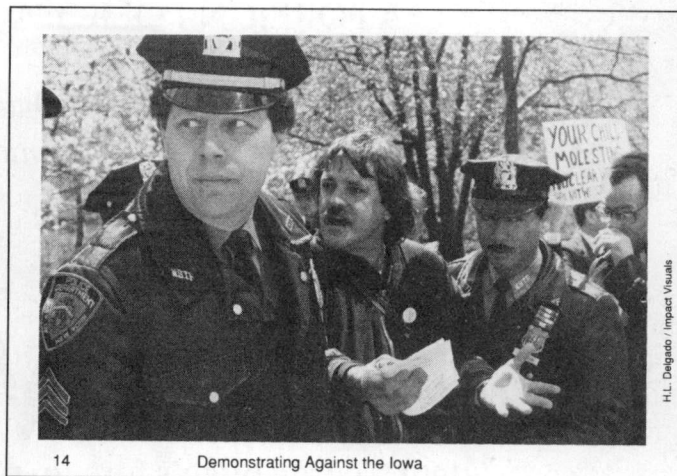
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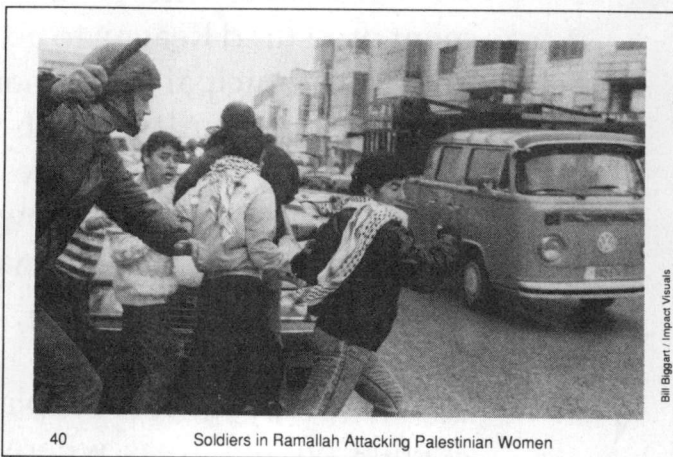
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President George Bush checks out an FB-111 at Pease Air Force Base near Dover, New Hampshire. This fighter-bomber carries both conventional and nuclear weapons.

BUSH-WHACKING

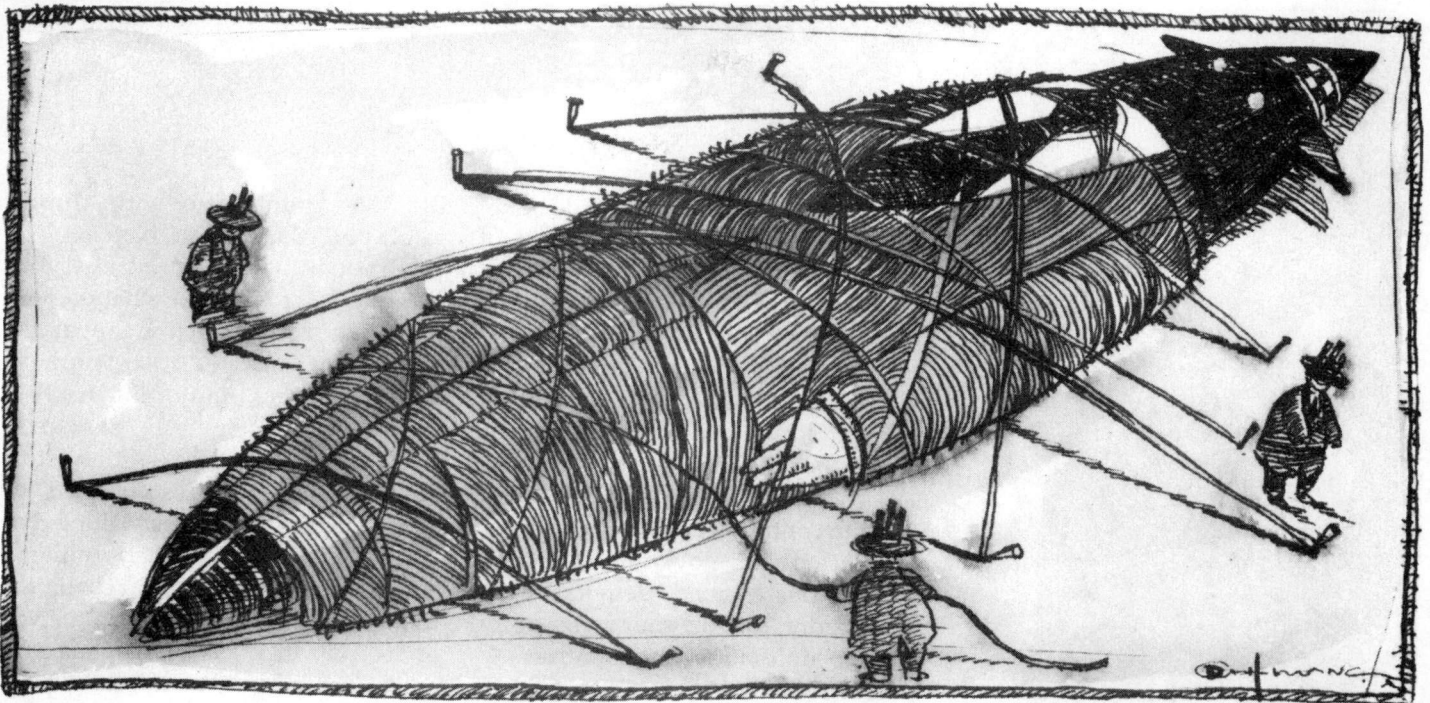
A FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA FOR THE PEOPLE

Michael Shuman
Senior Editor

While the exact contours of President George Bush's foreign policy will not be known for some time, the early signs are disquieting. Throughout the campaign, both Bush and his heir-abhorrent, Senator Dan Quayle, promised continued support for Star Wars, the Nicaraguan contras, and increasing Pentagon spending. To be sure, Bush's rhetoric has been less shrill and desperate than President Reagan's, and his first national security appointments — James Baker and Brent Scowcroft — seem more moderate than Reagan's ideologues. But the battle for bringing sanity and balance back to America's foreign and defense policies seems anything but won.

Once again, the responsibility for changing these policies falls squarely on the shoulders of communities across America. Only now — unlike 1980 — we know how much power we really have. After seeing how the city-based Freeze movement pressured Reagan to begin INF and START negotiations, how the municipal divestment movement undermined "constructive engagement" with South Africa, and how the Nicaraguan-American sister cities movement helped kill contra aid last February, we now know that municipal foreign policies can dramatically reshape national policies. What's needed now is serious planning — municipal analogues to Bush's transition team.

In the spirit of such planning, I present the following agenda of ten areas where your community could significantly improve the likely foreign and military policies of the Bush-Quayle Administration.



SEND A LOBBYIST TO WASHINGTON

Today the U.S. peace movement has fewer than a dozen registered lobbyists that actually engage in face-to-face lobbying on Capitol Hill. If dozens, then hundreds, of America's cities each sent one or more lobbyists to Washington, D.C., they could make the critical difference in securing Congressional support for positions supported by a majority of Americans but opposed by Bush and Quayle — positions like cutting the military budget, negotiating a comprehensive test ban, strengthening the United Nations, and preventing U.S. intervention in Central America.

PASS A STATE NEUTRALITY ACT

Speaking of intervention, let's not forget that our new president is a former director of the CIA who has few compunctions about covert adventurism (The morning after his election, Bush promised to make his intelligence briefings a daily priority). As I argued in the Summer issue of the *Bulletin*, local and state governments can stop many U.S.-sponsored paramilitary operations abroad by making them

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state crimes. By passing a local "Neutrality Act," a state like Wisconsin could make it illegal for anyone in its jurisdiction to ship arms abroad, send money or other aid to support foreign paramilitary operations, or even hold fund-raisers or run direct-mail campaigns for these operations.

State Neutrality Acts could shred the secret networks now aiding the contras in Nicaragua, Renamo in Mozambique, and terrorists elsewhere in the world. Politicians and activists in several states are now studying the feasibility of this legislation. Why not join them?

LINK UP WITH CENTRAL AMERICA

Over the past eight years, the nearly one-hundred American cities that have linked with towns and villages in Nicaragua have helped convince Congress to halt President Reagan's program of military assistance for the contras. Shipping tens of millions of dollars of desperately needed medicine, books, and tools to the Nicaraguan people, and providing the American people with some of the best information available on Central America, these sister



By cleverly spreading military contracts in Congressional districts throughout the country, the Pentagon has scared managers, workers, and consumers into supporting any pork-barrel weapons project.

cities have been critical in undermining the CIA's not-so-secret war against the Sandinistas.

Similarly, the half-dozen American sister city links with El Salvador have provided thorough accounts on U.S.-sponsored strafe bombing of villages and recent increases in human rights abuses there.

To head off Bush's expected efforts to continue trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan government and to prop up death squad "democracy" in El Salvador, link up your community with people in both countries — school-to-school, church-to-church, and hospital-to-hospital. If your community is already linked, how about doubling your level of activity?

RESIST WORLD WAR IV

Even though fiscal reality has finally convinced the federal government to stop giving the military blank checks, Bush has nevertheless promised a cornucopia of new weapons, including the early development of Star Wars. We can also expect the quiet continuation of Reagan's nuclear strategy — to fight and prevail in a nuclear war.

These dangerous weapons and military strategies all have local components. The ground-wave emergency network (GWEN) is erecting a series of towers across the country to assist command, control and communications during the heat of nuclear battle. The homeporting program is putting battleships equipped with nuclear-tipped cruise missiles in major cities such as Everett, Washington, and San Francisco, all for the purpose of fighting limited nuclear battles on the high seas. And deployments of additional tactical nuclear weapons in the European and Korean "theaters" will require more plutonium and tritium, tempting the government to reopen bomb-materials plants around

the U.S. countryside with chronic safety and economic problems.

If you want to strike back, get your community to find out what parts of the nuclear war-fighting apparatus are in your backyard. Do you have uranium mines and mills nearby? Plutonium-producing reactors? Bomb fabrication plants? Contractors manufacturing missiles, bombers, or submarines? Companies writing Star Wars software? By performing a simple inventory and publicizing the information, you can help rip the veil of secrecy off nuclear weapons programs and open up an informed public debate.

Once the word is out, resist. You can join the 160 cities that have become nuclear-free zones. You can refuse to dredge your harbor for a proposed homeport. You can stop building new roads or housing for military bases. You can put up billboards around unwanted weapons factories. You can also examine the staggering environmental costs of weapons activities (national clean-up is now estimated at over \$130 billion) and demand better environmental impact statements.

PLAN FOR DEMILITARIZATION

By cleverly spreading military contracts in Congressional districts throughout the country, the Pentagon has scared managers, workers, and consumers into supporting any pork-barrel weapons project. If your community has a sizable number of military contracts, you can begin the long process of conversion by having your local government study the economic impacts of military spending. As we argued in the last *Bulletin*, studies are important and often neglected requisites for convincing the public of the long-term economic problems associated with a community's dependence on military spending.

Even if your community is nu-

clear-free, you can perform a valuable service by getting your city to study the local benefits of major cuts in military spending. You might posit, as the U.S. Conference of Mayors just did, a \$30 billion budget shift from the Pentagon to urban programs of education, health care, housing, transportation, crime prevention, and so forth, and flesh out how much better your community would fare with the new national budget priorities. Then distribute the study to every household in your community to help your neighbors understand how security can begin at home.

FIGHT APARTHEID

Chester Crocker, the principal architect of "constructive engagement," President Reagan's discredited policy toward South Africa, may well be retained by President-elect Bush to complete the Angola-Namibia settlement he helped author. The result may be Bush's continued opposition to serious sanctions, which would reduce pressure on the Botha regime at precisely the time South Africa is drifting further toward right-wing repression.

Cities and states helped convince Congress to reverse constructive engagement once before by divesting more than \$20 billion from firms doing business in South Africa. If Bush equivocates, your city should be prepared to join in. Another option, regardless of what Bush does, is to develop strong sister community ties with black South Africans and provide them with technical, economic, and moral assistance.

MELT THE COLD WAR

Economist Hazel Henderson recently said, "The Cold War is over — Japan won." One reason for the cease-

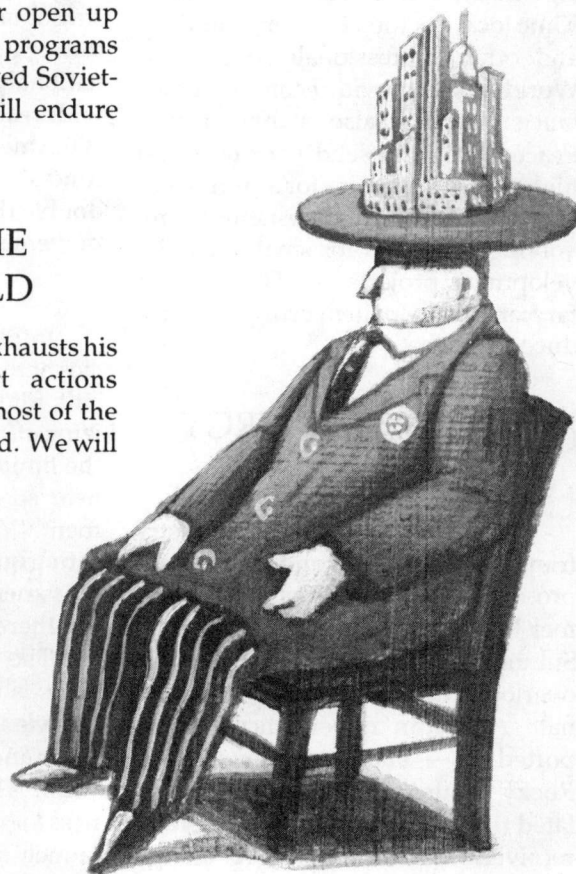
fire, of course, is that Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has been successfully promoting *glasnost* and *perestroika*. But as the Soviet economy now undergoes wrenching change — food prices are rising, jobs are being cut, and shortages are worsening Gorbachev's survival is becoming more precarious every day. Most foreign policy specialists contend there is nothing we can do to help. Your community should help prove the experts wrong.

By establishing stronger sister city ties with the Soviet Union, by expanding Soviet-American trade, and by increasing the flow of American technology to the Soviet economy, we can help *perestroika* to succeed. Moreover, by sending hundreds of thousands of our citizens on cultural exchanges and spreading computers, Xerox machines, VCRs, and Walkmans, which most Soviets want anyway, we can bolster *glasnost* and further open up Soviet society. Sister city programs can weave a web of improved Soviet-American relations that will endure for decades.

DEVELOP THE THIRD WORLD

While President Bush exhausts his foreign policy on covert actions against Soviet "proxies", most of the world will be sadly neglected. We will

If we care about preventing wars, we must care about preventing and resolving conflicts in the Third World nations where most wars are now occurring.



continue to fret about democracy for three million Nicaraguans, while refusing to support the fragile democracies of 143 million Brazilians, 31 million Argentineans, and 20 million Peruvians, all of whom desperately need American assistance to relieve the monstrous burdens of debt hanging over their economies.

If we care about democratic and human rights on the planet, we must care about the democratic and human rights of the majority of the world's people living in the Third World. And if we care about preventing wars, we must care about preventing and resolving conflicts in the Third World nations where most wars are now occurring.

Sometime in the next four years, you should get your community to start promoting sustainable economic development with a sister town or village in the Third World. Help send some local doctors, teachers, builders, and other professionals to a Third World link to provide economic assistance. You might also establish a mini-Peace Corps and send your brightest high school kids there for a summer of service. Or you might establish a revolving loan fund for small-scale development projects — \$50 loans for farmers can help them bring their produce to market.

PROMOTE ENERGY EFFICIENCY

Flanked by his old oil industry friends on one side and his rabidly pro-nuclear-energy Chief of Staff, former New Hampshire Governor John Sununu, on the other, Bush is likely to overlook the cheapest way to eliminate American dependence on imported oil — energy efficiency. The Rocky Mountain Institute has calculated that since 1979 the United States received seven times more energy from efficiency improvements than from all net expansions of nuclear

power, coal, oil, and gas put together.

America's local governments have already played a critical role in promoting efficiency, but they have not drawn public attention to the contribution of efficiency to national security. Were the United States to spend one year's cost of deploying the Navy to defend "our oil" in the Persian Gulf on the best energy efficiency measures available, it could eliminate altogether U.S. dependence on imported oil, and eliminate the need for having a dangerous Rapid Deployment Force. On these grounds alone, cities can justify pushing their conservation programs farther and faster.

SET UP AN OIA

Last but not least, your community should undertake these activities with improved local foreign policy institutions. Let's commit ourselves to setting up some kind of Office of International Affairs (OIA) in our cities with real staff, money, and power. If 100 American cities set up OIAs, each funded with \$1 million, we could double the size of the *entire* U.S. peace movement.

Implementing these foreign policies at the local level will require difficult, for some even Herculean, organizing efforts. Yet this agenda suggests the limitations of the exhortations we hear so often from the peace movement. Yes, we should continue educating our neighbors, writing our Congressmen, and taking to the streets, but there is so much more we can do.

The challenge over the next four years is not just how to get Bush and Quayle to implement the policies we want and undo the policies we don't want. The bigger challenge is to harness the creativity of our communities, launch our *own* foreign policies, and make sure Bush and Quayle stay out of the way. ■

BULLETIN OF MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

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LET'S HEAR IT!

What's going on in
your city?

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

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DIVESTITURE: ONE CITY'S EXPERIENCE

by Jack McLean
Commissioner, Tallahassee, FL

ROBERT BURNS' WORDS, "THE BEST LAID plans of mice and men often go awry," could well explain the Tallahassee (FL) City Commission's effort to establish a policy to divest from corporations doing business with the South African government — a policy that recently ran up against the city's commitment to major economic development.

In an effort to be more responsible stockholders in corporations, the City Commission adopted a policy that prohibits investing city funds in U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa. Even as we adopted the divestiture policy, we were considering how we might diversify the local economy — presently driven by state government and two universities. While public sector jobs are plentiful in the community, there is a shortage of private sector jobs.

So, the City Commission established the Economic Development Commission (EDC) — a ten-member body charged with attracting new private industry to Tallahassee.

The largest potential employer that the EDC attracted was General Dynamics — a corporation which, teamed with Tadiran, had recently won a U.S. Army contract for the production of military radios. Bringing General Dynamics and Tadiran to Tallahassee involved a substantial local government investment in the form of land and building lease subsidies, and was, by far, EDC's most zealous effort. It was estimated that at full production, General Dynamics and Tadiran combined would employ over 700, and would bring new technology to Tallahassee that would benefit the city's universities, engineering school, community college, vocational-technical school, and, most importantly, the citizens.



We learned
from the
experience.
We want jobs
and economic
diversification,
but not at any
price.

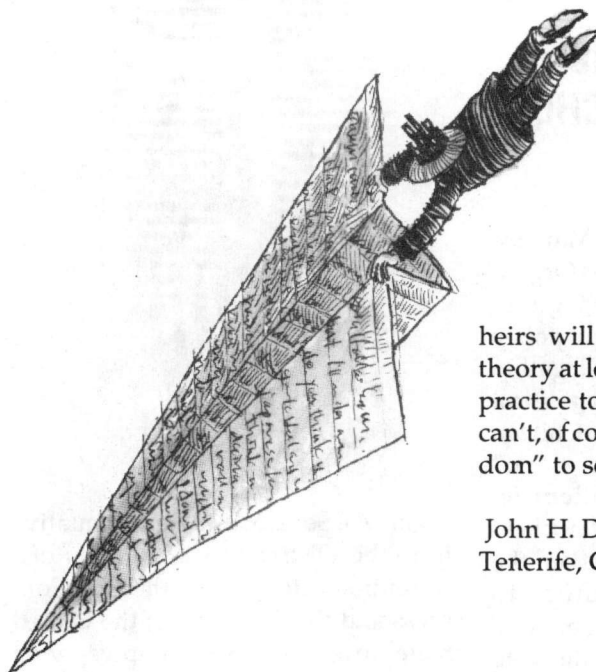
It was only after we had signed all the paperwork that the city was informed that Koor Industries Ltd. — Tadiran's Israel-based parent company — may be doing business with the government of South Africa and, in fact, had an active office in Johannesburg.

By the time the City Commission became familiar with Tadiran's corporate history, our options were limited. The City Commission had two choices, neither of which were desirable: We could drop the deal and risk liability suits resulting from the already executed agreements, or finalize the arrangement at a greater social cost than we had imagined.

Fortunately, a city investigation concluded that Koor Industries Ltd. of Israel no longer had an office in South Africa and that Tadiran was fully in compliance with the federal Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. Based on the findings — and on Tadiran's willingness to guarantee its compliance with federal regulations and the City of Tallahassee's divestment policy — the City Commission approved proceeding with the agreements. Both General Dynamics and Tadiran would be coming to Tallahassee.

We learned from the experience. The City Commission has developed a more structured and comprehensive industrial recruitment process. This process, while promoting economic diversification, takes into account our city's social and international concerns. It places special emphasis on evaluating a company's policy on apartheid and its compliance with the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. A company interested in locating in Tallahassee that asks local government for any concession or subsidy must demonstrate that its policies and practices are in accordance with all city policies. We want jobs and economic diversification, but not at any price. ■

LETTERS



HIROSHIMA IS NOT NUCLEAR-FREE

Dear Editor, **I**n the Autumn 1988 issue of the *Bulletin*, an article about an address given by Takeshi Araki, the Mayor of Hiroshima, appears in a section entitled "Nuclear-Free Zone Briefs."

This is misleading, as it suggests that Hiroshima is a Nuclear Free Zone, when in fact it is not. Moreover, the local government in Hiroshima has resisted calls from the grassroots anti-nuclear movement in Japan to declare the city a Nuclear Free Zone.

For more information on the NFZ movement in Japan (the largest in the world), contact the Network for a Nuclear Free Japan and Pacific-Asia, Masaru Nishida, Rm 601 80-nenkan, Hosei Univ., 2-17-1 Fujimi, Chiyodaku, Tokyo 102 Japan.

Albert Donnay
Director, Nuclear Free America
Baltimore, MD

FREEDOM'S JUST ANOTHER WORD

Dear Editor, **A**s a card-carrying Quaker, I can't throw stones at glass houses, because the American Friends

Service Committee has a long history of "relief and welfare" activities in former colonies, but without changing the basic economic structure. So when I caught the "From Charity to Justice" headline in the latest issue of the *Bulletin*, I thought to myself, "Good! Now the next step is from Justice to Freedom!" Because the simplest and most radical — and thus the only acceptable (for me) — solution would be simply to turn the clock back to 1492 and pull all the conquerors and "developers" and "educators" and doctors and nurses and multinationals — and naturally all the helpful soldiers — out of those countries and, as the saying goes, "give it back to the Indians." That is, leave them alone to do their thing.

Which is, of course, impossible. But I would like you to be aware, at least, that "development" is not — however odd it may sound to you — what these people want. When a Friend asked an Aymaran from Peru, his answer was unequivocal: "Freedom." (*Friends Journal*, May 1, 1985). Simple? Yes! So simple that it's impossible to achieve. But they won't stop wanting the impossible — and I hope that Thomas Jefferson's intellectual

heirs will take that into account, in theory at least if they can do nothing in practice toward that goal. And they can't, of course; nobody can give "freedom" to someone else.

John H. Davenport
Tenerife, Canary Islands

ANTI-PLASTIC

Dear Editor, **I**n a recent *Bulletin* "Brief," you mentioned a movement to ban "ozone-eating plastics." I have been on my own anti-plastic campaign due to the carcinogens released during manufacturing but have little knowledge of their effect on the ozone. Can you please advise me on where to obtain additional information on this issue?

Sandy Petersen
Willington, CT

For additional information, contact Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste, P.O. Box 926, Arlington, VA 22216 (703-276-7070); or Friends of the Earth, 530 7th St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-543-4312).

The *Bulletin* of Municipal Foreign Policy welcomes letters to the editor. Short letters are more likely to be published, and all letters are subject to editing. Volume precludes individual acknowledgment. Send to: Letters to the Editor, *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, 17931-F Sky Park Circle, Irvine, CA 92714.



EUROPEAN MAYORS ASSIST ANTI-PINOCHET FORCES

Last summer, Pierre Mauroy, President of the United Towns Organisation (UTO), a Paris-based group promoting municipal foreign policy throughout the world, led a delegation of 15 European mayors "of all political tendencies" to meet their Chilean counterparts and encourage a "no" vote in the summer referendum on Chilean President Augusto Pinochet.

While it's unclear whether the group's efforts contributed to Pinochet's ultimate loss, it's perfectly clear that UTO's interest in the vote perturbed some of the Chilean local officials. According to *UTO News*, opposition to the delegation's work was natural: One delegate "spoke of the feeling of unease that he found in some of the 350 'mayors' appointed by the present regime, unease at being at the head of citizens who had not chosen them as representatives."

SOURCE: UTO News (June-August 1988) 2, rue de Logelbach, 75017 Paris, France.

63 MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS SHOOT DOWN STAR WARS

More than 60 percent of voters in 63 Western Massachusetts towns approved a resolution opposing the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) that was put on the ballot by the Coalition to Stop Star Wars. The non-binding measure passed in every town in which it appeared, even in the 18 towns that voted for George Bush and in Pittsfield, home of a General Electric facility heavily dependent on Star Wars contracts.

The Star Wars resolutions called

upon "the Senator and Representative from this District to vote in favor of a resolution calling upon the U.S. Congress and the President of the United States to adopt a policy of: preserving space as an arena for peaceful, cooperative exploration and scientific discovery among all nations; halting the militarization of outer space and the development, testing, and deployment of the Strategic Defense Initiative; and reinvesting taxpayers' money to support such needs as housing, education, health care and environmental protection."

Frances Crowe, coordinator of the Western Mass Coalition to Stop Star Wars, hopes "that the Congressional delegation will translate these votes into action at the national level."

SOURCES: Albert Donnay, Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th Street, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-462-1039). Frances Crowe, Western Mass. Coalition to Stop Star Wars, 3 Langworthy Road, Northampton MA 01060 (413-584-8975). Excerpted from NFA's The New Abolitionist/Nuclear Free America, November 1988.

GOVERNOR SUNUNU SILENT ON UN RESOLUTION

When President-elect George Bush appointed New Hampshire Governor John Sununu to be his Chief of Staff, a storm of controversy erupted when it was revealed that Sununu was the only governor in the

country not to sign a declaration condemning the United Nations' resolution equating Zionism with racism. Sununu, of Arab descent and a member of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), explained that he had refused to sign the statement because governors should not be speaking out on foreign policy.

But Sununu's memory is a bit short. After all, as governor, he had signed a declaration commemorating Bastille Day and Captive Nations Week. Just last June, he issued a proclamation condemning Israel's "vicious and unprovoked" 1967 attack on the USS Liberty, which killed 34 U.S. sailors. And at the NAAA's national meeting in 1984, he urged Arab-Americans to become politically active "to make sure we can influence the process to build an evenhanded policy [in the Mideast] that promotes peace and justice."

Perhaps reminders of earlier activities like these prompted Sununu to have a change of heart. Before long, he announced his opposition to the UN resolution — and the controversy disappeared.

SOURCE: Fred Barnes, "What's Sununu?", New Republic, 12 December 1988, p. 12-13.

A NEW KIND OF BURDEN-SHARING

After agreeing to spend \$300 billion the government didn't have in the pursuit of a military magic bullet, the 100th Congress packed its bags in late October and abandoned a plethora of problems for American cities.

Congress "ended a year in which the federal government called fighting the war on drugs on city streets the number one priority, but made that war a non-priority in terms of funding," said *Nation's Cities Weekly's* Frank Shafroth. "As in each of the last eight years, municipal programs took disproportionate cuts, while federal

spending and the federal deficit are projected to increase."

The budget agreement finally approved "meant that the federal government will not provide full funding to the nation's cities and towns to implement either the new homeless program or the new anti-drug legislation," Shafroth wrote.

Perhaps even worse news for America's cities was Congress' failure to act on the nation's huge budget deficit. In *City & State*, Ellen Perlman wrote, "The federal government might be playing a 'shell game' in its attempts to reduce the federal budget deficit by transferring financial burdens to the state and local levels."

Speaking to the National Economists Club last October, Iris Lav, Assistant Director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, noted that the federal contribution to state and local budgets has dropped from 26 percent to 17 percent. Federal belt-tightening will therefore fall to state and local policymakers, most of whom are legally obligated to balance their budgets.

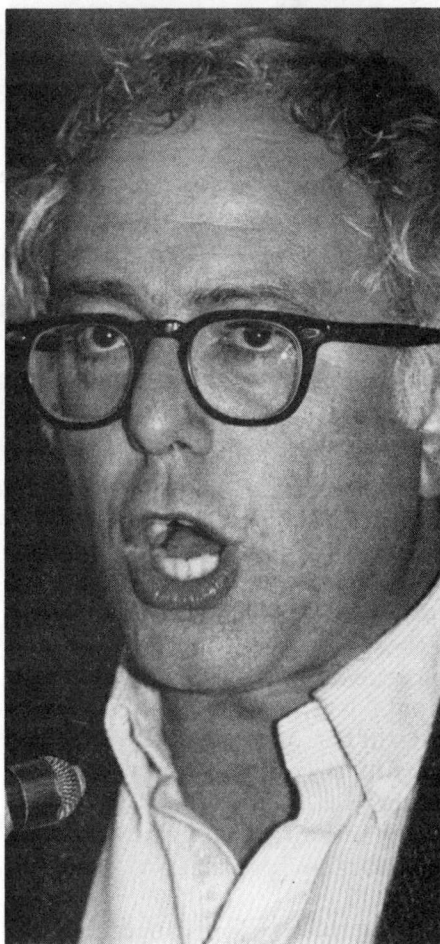
SOURCES: Ellen Perlman, "Locals Warned of Deficit Burden," *City & State*, 7 November 1988; Frank Shafroth, "The 100th Congress Ends Year That Was," *Nation's Cities Weekly*, 7 November 1988.

MAYOR SANDERS USES DIPLOMACY EXPERIENCE IN CAMPAIGN

It used to be rare for a local official running for higher office to claim foreign affairs experience. But Burlington, Vermont, Mayor Bernie Sanders has been one of many officials to prove the common wisdom wrong.

Sanders told *Nation's Cities Weekly* that his campaign for the House of Representatives is "similar to" Jesse Jackson's campaign for president earlier this year. But Jackson's foreign

policy experience is only slightly more extensive than Sanders'. In fact, Sanders probably has more experience than many federal officials. He was the highest U.S. official to attend Nicaragua's first post-revolution birthday party; he helped establish a sister city in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua; and he just signed an agreement establishing a sister city tie with Yaroslavl, a city 150 miles north of Moscow.



Mayor Bernie Sanders

Sanders, running as a socialist and an independent, also adopted the unusual campaign tactic of running around Vermont with the Soviet Mayor of Yaroslavl in the days before November 8th.

"There was great press coverage," says Rachel Levin, Sanders' campaign manager. "We weren't sure what was

going to happen. But the press got great pictures of Bernie and this Soviet Mayor all over Vermont — in small towns, in little rock quarries, all over. None of the other campaigns even touched the issue.

"Bernie's willingness to sit down with people, here and in other countries, and talk to them explains his success," Levin says. "He just really believes that people ought to get together and talk about the things that really concern them."

In the end, Sanders narrowly lost his November bid — finishing second by four percentage points in a three-person race.

FRIENDS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT

According to the U.S. State Department, foreign policy is more important to the states and cities than ever before, particularly in the areas of trade, education, cultural relations, and ethnic ties. In two recent publications, the State Department notes:

- 47,388 foreign students studying in California will spend approximately \$288 million in the current school year.

- 22 states maintain offices in Japan for the purpose of encouraging international trade.

- Georgia has 17 cities with 31 international sister city affiliations.

- Foreign tourism is now a \$50 million-plus industry in Wyoming, contributing six percent of the state's total tourist revenues.

- The U.S. Department of State has passport offices in 13 U.S. cities.

- The city of Seattle's Office of International Affairs has a budget of \$220,000 and a staff of five to oversee its trade policies and 13 sister city programs.

SOURCE: "Update from State," May-June 1988 and November-December 1988, published by the U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

TOO MUCH PENTAGON FLUFF

How many men and women does it take to fight a war? Apparently fewer than the Pentagon currently employs. An internal study ordered by Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci as he neared the end of his term concludes that the Pentagon could cut its staff by 12 percent — eliminating 7,300 jobs from its offices throughout the world — and not jeopardize the nation's security. As well as saving \$300 million a year, these cuts would eliminate the waste and bureaucracy that, according to the report, would harm America's ability to fight a war.

No word yet on whose jobs may be on the line at the Pentagon, but the Xerox machines may soon be getting a workout copying the resumés of several thousand nervous Pentagon workers.

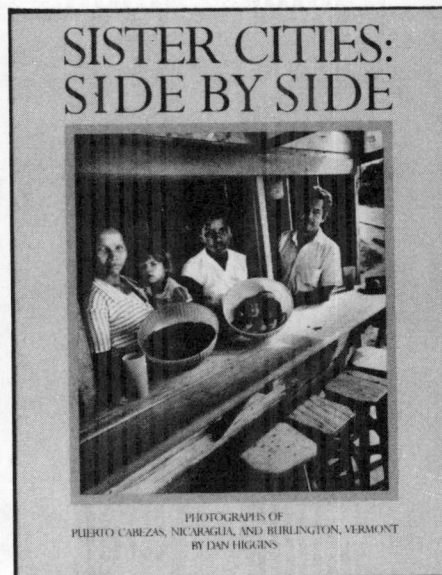
FACE TO FACE WITH OUR FRIEND, THE ENEMY

Not every sister city relationship is blessed with the business savvy that characterizes the relationship between Burlington, Vermont, and Puerto Cabezas in Nicaragua. But, then, most cities aren't Burlington — a college community in which students, businessfolk and others donated their time and money to a book documenting the bond between their hometown and people on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, several thousand miles away.

That book, *Sister Cities: Side By Side*, is a collection of photographs juxtaposing images from the two cities. Kids from Edmunds Elementary School can be seen alongside their counterparts in Puerto Cabezas's Escuela Publica. Municipal workers in both cities pose before their respective town halls. And the guys at B & B Taxi

in Burlington (sweaters, parkas, boots, crew cuts) stand astride their cabs, as do the drivers at Taxi de Puerto Cabezas (short-sleeve shirts unbuttoned to the navel).

It's through sister city projects and news-gathering efforts like this one that we've come to know the Nicaraguans, both the similarities and differ-



ences. It's not just the bevy of captured turtles dying on the beach at Puerto Cabezas as opposed to the boats and bicycles near the Burlington waterfront. It is, as Alexander Cockburn says in his foreword to the book, the poverty of Puerto Cabezas compared to the wealth of Burlington. "These images," writes Cockburn, "make up the syntax of political and economic reality."

But there's clearly more than despair here. The dedication at the front of *Sister Cities: Side By Side* expresses the hope that readers will "share with other communities the riches and benefits that we in Burlington have gained by coming to know the people of Nicaragua." We have.

SOURCE: *Sister Cities: Side By Side*, \$14.95 from Green Valley Film and Art, 209 College Street, Burlington, VT 05401. All proceeds support future projects of the Sister City Program and the ongoing educational work of Green Valley Film and Art.

WALKING ON WATER MADE EASY

Last summer, Greenpeace sailors bravely ventured into Lake Michigan to collect samples and demonstrate that the city of Milwaukee's Metropolitan Sewerage District was dumping toxic metals at levels prohibited by the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement, signed by the United States and Canada in 1987. The Greenpeace analysis revealed illegally high levels of cadmium, chromium, copper and nickel.

Greenpeace charges that Milwaukee and the Wisconsin state government will have to "go to the source of the problem — the metal-platers and other industries dumping toxic substances into the sewer system."

SOURCE: Greenpeace's "Greenlink," 29 September 1988. For more information, contact Jeff Howard (312-666-3305).

PERU TRAIN CRASH KILLS WIFE OF JERSEY CITY MAYOR

On a 1 December trip intended to celebrate the newly established link between Jersey City, New Jersey, and Cuzco, Peru, Jersey City Mayor Anthony Cucci's wife, Anna Cucci, and the wife of the mayor of Cuzco, Doris Mayorga Chacon, were killed when the one-car trolley they were riding in derailed and plunged down a ravine.

Mayor Cucci and Jersey City Councilmember Jaime Vazquez were injured in the accident, which occurred on the way to the ruins of Macchu Picchu.

The delegation signed the sister city treaty two days later. But Cucci — speaking on Peruvian television from his hospital bed in Cuzco — told reporters he intended to return to Peru "to continue the work of people-to-people exchanges." ■

SECURITY... AT A SMALL PRICE

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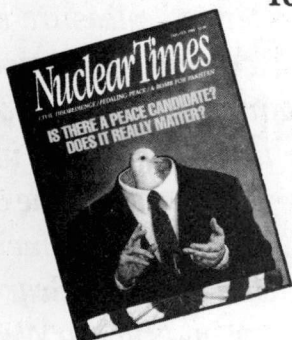
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THE IOWA COMES TO NEW YORK

And the Pentagon Comes to Main Street

An Interview with John Miller

There's a specter haunting the harbor of New York City – the specter of garbage barges, tourist ferries, pleasure boats and nuclear missiles combining in a curious, post-modern mélange. It's a vision that terrifies many New Yorkers. And, if New York City activist John Miller is correct, it's an image made possible by the greed and shortsightedness of some of his fellow citizens and their local officials. Miller, who is a member of the Steering Committee of the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor and coordinator of its Task Force on Nuclear Weapon Accidents, says the nuclear missiles that might one day adorn New York Harbor are part of a Defense Department plan to bring nuclear-armed warships into cities on the East, West, and Gulf coasts – to “homeport” the ships instead of docking them in ports around the world.

Homeporting's supporters contend that bringing warships into New York Harbor will infuse the local economy with jobs and federal dollars. But as Miller points out in the following interview, the project may actually cost New York's taxpayers millions, and at the same time expose the city to the harrowing risks of a nuclear accident.



Peter Norman

Why would the Navy want nuclear-armed ships sailing around the waters of New York City?

It's classic Pentagon strategy: Spread a military program around communities and Congressional districts throughout the country, and local Congressional representatives — afraid of alienating local voters whose jobs might be at stake — won't dare vote against it. The strategy has worked with uncounted nuclear and conventional weapon systems, and it's an important element in the United States' bloated military budget.

And this is what the Navy's doing in New York City?

With some twists. Instead of a single weapon or weapon system, the homeporting plan would insure support for the Navy itself, especially its unprecedented peacetime expansion from 480 to 600 ships. And, while homeporting supporters talk a lot about future economic benefits, local communities are being asked to help foot the bill. Before they were chosen, communi-

ties had to guarantee how much they were going to pay. Here in New York, the city sold the land to the Navy at a reduced price and will pay for road and other improvements. The city and state have also paid to dredge the harbor and clear the site.

How do these bills go over with New York taxpayers?

Not very well. People here see a greater need for funds for the homeless or the horrendous drug problem than for a Navy base.

One of the plan's biggest defenders said, "It was no longer a matter of a Navy decision, Congressional funding, Navy condemnation of the land and then construction." When word got out that the homeport was actually going to cost money, the Navy found itself in the midst of a public affairs contest.

How does the Navy respond to their project becoming a "public affairs contest"?

They play hard-to-get. When he was Secretary of the Navy, John Lehman said the

While homeporting supporters talk a lot about future economic benefits, local communities are being asked to help foot the bill.

Navy would not go where it was not wanted. So, we in the New York Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor and other opponents set out to demonstrate that a nuclear-armed battleship is unwelcome in New York. We are targeting areas where local government has some authority over the project, while continuing to lobby in Washington to delete funding for strategic homeporting as wasteful and unnecessary. We're fighting in court against what we believe is the Navy's inadequate Environmental Impact Statement and we continue to hold demonstrations at the site.

Surely the Navy doesn't come out and say that it wants homeporting because it needs cash?

No, they talk about military strategy. The Navy's Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, Vice Admiral William Cowhill, told Congress in 1983 that homeporting disperses the fleet, making it less vulnerable to a Pearl Harbor-style conventional attack; that new homeports would help establish an expanded infrastructure; and, finally, that homeporting in diverse locations would permit the Navy to train in a variety of environments and reduce transit time to critical areas in a crisis.

But critics like myself believe the Navy's political purpose looms larger than any military one. A draft General Accounting Office report concluded that the Navy's strategic and operational need for the new homeports is questionable. And then-Senator Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) called the plan "pure unadulterated politics," aimed at gaining Congressional support for the Navy.

So, homeporting, you believe, is just pork-barrel politics?

Not pork-barrel politics in the traditional sense. There is also some evidence that homeporting is an attempt at silencing Congressional and local critics of military spending. By going after sites in the Northeast, Northwest and San Francisco Bay the Navy hopes to gain support from Congressional delegations and local officials traditionally critical of the military. Navy Secretary Lehman called the dispersal plan a

"consciousness raiser" for legislators who might not have paid adequate attention to naval issues.

When did the Navy begin these efforts at "raising consciousness"?

In late 1982, three states — Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York— submitted proposals to base the Iowa Surface Action Group at seven potential sites. In mid-1983, the Navy picked Staten Island, in the middle of New York Harbor, as the East Coast home of the Iowa and its support ships — a cruiser, three destroyers and two fast frigates. The Navy and supporters of the homeporting project crowed that over 9,000 new jobs would be created — a figure, by the way, quickly disowned by the Navy.

Amid all this official hoopla, a coalition of peace, environmental and community groups — as well as skeptical local politicians — got together to deflate most of the economic claims. A close look showed that the homeport would contribute little, if anything, to the economy.

So, this coalition set about trying to show that, instead of bringing millions into New York, homeporting would drain the city?

Exactly. But the chief point of contention is the safety of bringing nuclear weapons into New York Harbor. Though the Navy refuses officially to confirm or deny whether the nuclear weapons will be brought into the harbor, nuclear and conventionally-armed Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles and other nuclear weapons are a part of the Iowa Surface Action Group's arsenal. The city officially admits that nukes will be brought into the harbor. We believe that basing nuclear weapons in the middle of densely populated New York City is as absurd — and as dangerous — as placing MX missiles on subway cars.

How do city officials respond to the safety issue?

Mostly they dismiss the possibility. But at one point they said that, in the event of an accident, residents could protect themselves with a handkerchief clasped tightly to the mouth.

Navy Secretary Lehman called the dispersal plan a "consciousness raiser" for legislators who might not have paid adequate attention to naval issues.

Have you had any luck in getting the city to investigate your concerns about safety?

Everybody agrees that an accident involving a nuclear explosion is nearly impossible. What we're debating is the effect of a fire and/or conventional explosion within a nuclear warhead dispersing radioactive plutonium.

On October 1, 1987, the BOE — the New York City Board of Estimate — unanimously passed a resolution requiring a study of the impact of a nuclear weapon accident at the proposed Navy homeport in Staten Island. Over the spring and summer, the city released two drafts. They both say that a nuclear weapon accident could occur aboard a ship and affect the general public. Though they say the plutonium from a nuclear weapon accident would only travel 2,000 feet, they create an emergency zone of one-half mile from the ships and describe evacuation and other emergency plans.

Two thousand feet?

That's what they say. Dr. Michio Kaku — one of our advisors, and a physics professor at the City University of New York — has said that the city is trying to repeal the laws of physics. Even Pentagon documents say that radiation from a nuclear weapon accident could spread "many miles downwind." And in the face of this kind of threat, the first draft suggests that handkerchiefs held tightly over one's mouth and nose can provide protection against plutonium.

What was the public reaction to the plan?

Over 100 people testified against the plan at a public hearing mandated by the BOE. During the hearing, the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor (CNFH) conducted a mock evacuation of the hearing room and handed out handkerchiefs.

While the city was working on its study, the CNFH did its own analysis of the consequences of a nuclear weapon accident in New York Harbor. Plutonium is highly toxic and if inhaled can cause lung, liver and lymph cancer, genetic defects and other illnesses. Each nuclear warhead is believed to contain at least five kilograms of plutonium. An independent study by biologist Dr. W. Jackson Davis commissioned

by CNFH found that a fire destroying one nuclear weapon could spread the radioactivity in dangerous concentrations as far as 65 miles from Staten Island.

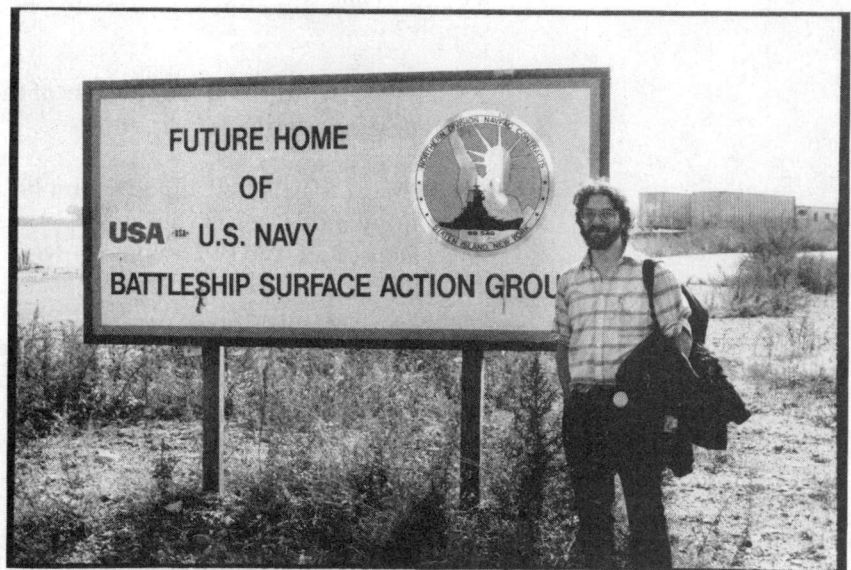
Using conservative Nuclear Regulatory Commission methodology, he showed that up to 30,440 people could die from cancer as a result of such an accident.

Obviously, the handkerchiefs are no good. But couldn't city officials put forward a more reasonable emergency plan?

I don't think so. CNFH prepared a study with an expert board of advisors that concluded that such an accident could not be effectively planned for. New York City's size, population density, and geography make it doubtful that the city government could mobilize the resources for the large numbers of evacuees and possible radiation victims seeking help.

Whatever the scale of the accident, the mere announcement of a radiological problem — maybe even the merest mention of any disaster at the homeport — would result in a large self-evacuation from many

At one point city officials said that, in the event of an accident, residents could protect themselves with a handkerchief clasped tightly to the mouth.



John Miller outside proposed home of the Iowa.

parts of the city, creating a hazardous situation on its own and interfering with any attempts to assist people in the affected areas. Emergency numbers would be swamped with people seeking information; roads would be blocked with people seeking to escape radiation they can't even see; hospital emergency rooms and special radiation decontamination centers would be be-

Senator Barry Goldwater called homeporting "pure unadulterated politics" aimed at gaining Congressional support for the Navy.

sieged with emergency workers who would be expected to help with the evacuation but would, of course, check first on the safety of their families and then — maybe — report for duty.

How do you explain the city's plan being so out of touch with reality?

The city plan appears to take Navy information and assurances at face value. That's a dangerous assumption given the Navy's predilection for secrecy and its track record concerning both nuclear accident planning and reporting. Even assuming the Navy's good faith, an accident resulting in a radiological release may occur so quickly that timely notification may not be possible. And that means that all this talk about evacuation plans is meaningless.

The city's emergency plan glosses over too many very important, fundamental problems. Can an urban area be decontaminated after a radiation accident and at what cost? What effect would an accident have on the city's economy? On its status as a cultural and tourist center? On its water supply?

Are all the city's officials supporters of the homeporting plan?

No. Local officials have lined up on both sides. Mayor Ed Koch is a strong supporter of the homeport, and so are some powerful members of the city council, as well as most Staten Island officials. Governor Mario Cuomo has endorsed the project but is relatively silent on the controversy surrounding it. Against the homeport are a number of city councilmembers, Controller Harrison Goldin and Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins. Several other local politicians have straddled the issue, unwilling to vote to actually kill the project, but responsive to some constituent concerns about nuclear safety. And while the entire New York City Congressional delegation initially supported the homeport — except for Congressman Ted Weiss — in June 1986 eight New York City representatives voted on the floor of the House to delete funds for the homeporting program.

Have you had much luck in working with

city officials?

We've had mixed results. In mid-June, 21 city councilmembers — a majority — signed a letter urging the council's budget negotiators to delete city funds for the homeport in the mayor's budget proposal. It said "Any federal project that is going to be built should carry its own costs....This one, in our opinion, should not be built because it would introduce nuclear weapons into the most densely populated area in the country."

However, when the budget came to a vote, only 14 voted to delete the \$13.4 million from the city's capital budget; seven members either switched their position or abstained after intense pressure from city and Staten Island officials.

So what action is the city going to take on homeporting the Iowa?

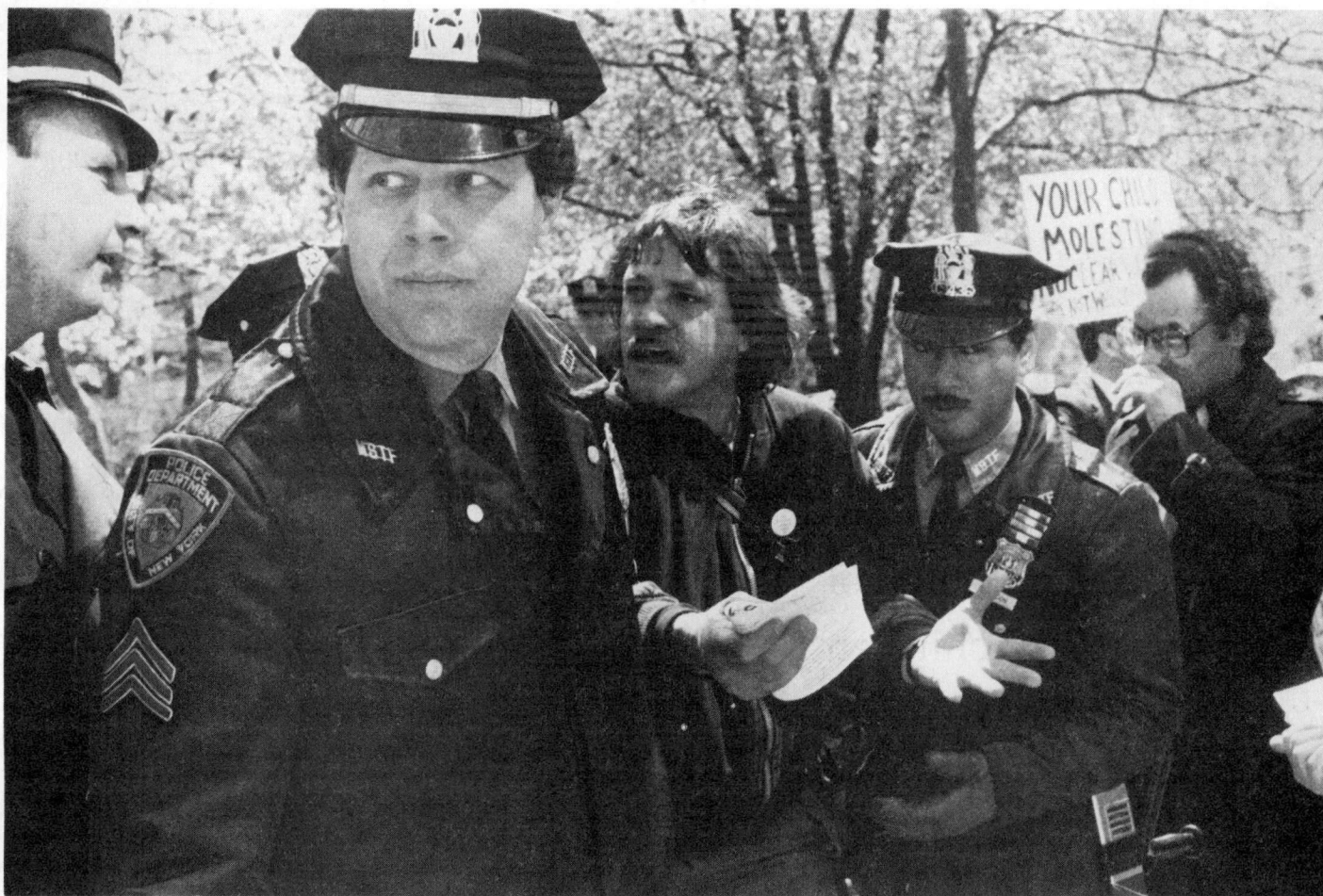
On September 29, the Board of Estimate decided to put off indefinitely a vote to approve the emergency plan. The postponement was at the request of the mayor and the heads of the city agencies that prepared the plan after the city realized it would probably lose the vote on the plan as currently written.

The city is now revising its plan. Meanwhile, we are preparing for next year's budget battle when the city will have to confirm spending \$11 million on road and bulkhead improvements related to the base. Next year will also see a mayoral election and many of us will be working with others dissatisfied with Mayor Koch's leadership on a range of issues.

What do you see happening in Congress on homeporting over the next year or so?

We will be trying to generate some activity in Congress over the coming year. Since voting to allow the homeporting program to go ahead, Congress has been reluctant to take up the subject again. But with increasing pressure on the military budget, we believe we can convince them that a second look is necessary.

One specific thing we are doing is to try to have some of the new homeports listed by the national base-closing commission.



Demonstrator arrested protesting New York City Hall ceremony welcoming U.S. Navy Fleet led by the Iowa.

This was set up by Congress and the Pentagon as a way to overcome some of the political obstacles to closing domestic military bases. The commission will put together a list of up to 20 facilities, which Congress and the President can then accept or reject in its entirety. If the list is accepted, those bases will be closed or in the case of the homeports, not opened. Also, some of our allies in Congress have asked the GAO to study the true costs of operating the homeports. The GAO has already shown that the Pentagon's estimates of the cost of construction are far too low. We believe that when the cost of operating the bases is tallied, the waste involved in opening the homeports will be self-evident.

What can local activists do to influence the way Congress and local governments act on the issue?

This homeporting program makes no sense for a whole range of reasons: militarily, economically, from a disarmament stand-

point and more. I think with a well-targeted campaign of political pressure and public awareness, combined with the squeeze on the federal budget, we can win this battle against militarizing our communities.

As the Bulletin went to press, a Presidential Commission on Base Realignment and Closure released a list of 86 bases it proposed closing. A Navy base in Brooklyn was among those slated for closing. But its ships and personnel will be moved to the proposed homeport for nuclear warships at Staten Island. "Things have gotten worse," John Miller told the Bulletin. "The base will now be even bigger.

"We haven't given up, though," Miller said. "Several pieces of the national homeporting program were cut out entirely by the commission -- San Francisco, Galveston, and Lake Charles, Louisiana."

John Miller is the principal author of the study, "No Safe Harbor: The Consequences of a Nuclear Weapon Accident in New York Harbor." Copies of the report and Dr. Jackson Davis's study are available as a set for \$25 from CNFH, 135 W. 4th St., New York, NY 10012.

Well-targeted campaigns of political pressure and public awareness, combined with the squeeze on the federal budget can win this battle against militarizing our communities.

LIFE AFTER JOAN

Last Halloween, while millions of American children were trick-or-treating, thousands of Nicaraguan youngsters were struggling to recover from a devastating hurricane that had ravaged their war-torn country. The storm destroyed 60,000 houses and left 300,000 Nicaraguans homeless. Throughout the country, Hurricane Joan toppled power poles, ruined crops, washed away seeds, and wiped out bridges and roads.

HURRICANE
DOESN'T
DAMPEN
SISTER CITIES'
HELPING HAND



ANN photo

President Daniel Ortega put a comprehensive civil defense plan into action, but it still wasn't enough. One news report estimated that the hurricane's torrential rains and 135-mile-an-hour winds caused more damage in 24 hours than seven years of civil war.

On Halloween evening, representatives from U.S.-Nicaraguan sister city programs met in New York City to lend a helping hand. Foreign Ministry official Alejandro Bendaña flew up from Managua to describe Nicaragua's critical needs to a gathering attended by leaders of such groups as Oxfam America and Witness for Peace that were interested in joining the relief effort. Bendaña showed them videotape footage of the hurricane damage and offered a list of Nicaragua's most immediate needs: canned food, antibiotics, water purification tablets, painkillers, and blankets.

The sister city programs quickly shifted into high gear. Other projects were put aside to concentrate on the hurricane relief efforts. "The response here to the storm has been excellent and immediate," says Sara Lee of the Boulder-Jalapa sister city program.

Probably no town was hit harder than Bluefields, a fishing community located on the Atlantic coast and populated largely by the Afro-Caribbean black population of Nicaragua. "Every building in the town was damaged," says Roy Wilson of the Seattle-Managua sister city program. "It's a town of 40,000 people, and every house was badly hurt or demolished."

Hillary Stern of the Washington, D.C.-Bluefields Sister City Committee notes that even before the hurricane, Bluefields was a very isolated area, accessible only by river and plane.

"Because it was so isolated, shortages there were more severe than in the rest of Nicaragua," she says. In the aftermath of the hurricane, the situation became desperate. The only river leading to it was flooded, forcing Bluefields residents to rely on relief flights from Cuba in the days immediately after the storm struck.

As the U.S. sister city programs mobilized, many held special fundraisers to aid hurricane victims. Volunteers from Burlington, Vermont, sponsored a benefit concert. In Portland, the sister city program placed a half-page advertisement in *The Oregonian*, appealing for hurricane relief. Citizens of Boulder collected beans, as well as cash, to be shipped to Nicaragua. Ultimately, thousands of dollars and barrels of goods were collected. Powdered milk. Tents. Cooking oil. Medication. First-aid kits. As fast as arrangements could be made, hu-

manitarian supplies were airlifted and trucked to Central America. U.S. volunteers signed up for reconstruction brigades that would travel to Nicaragua to help rebuild the nation.

"This disaster comes at a time when medical and food supplies are already low," says Liz Chilsen, executive director of the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua.

To make matters worse, the U.S. government turned its back on helping the hurricane victims, even through indirect channels like the International Red Cross. Stan Henson of the Arcata (CA)-Camopoa sister city program says that the U.S. government may have cynically decided that the hurricane played into the Reagan plan of "destabilizing Nicaragua and bringing its economy to its knees."

President Ortega announced that he would not accept direct donations from the U.S. government, though he would take funds from the U.N., the Pan-American Health Agency or international relief agencies recognized by the Nicaraguan government. He had similarly rejected U.S. funds that Congress had appropriated last April as part of the contra aid package — specifically, \$17.7 million targeted for "children's survival assistance" to be distributed via the Agency for International Development. "We understand why he's not accepting [U.S. government] 'blood money,'" says Roger Clapp of the Burlington-Puerto Cabezas Sister City Program. "Why should he accept their money when Reagan is still waging a war against his people?"

Since the storm hit, the Associated Press reported increased contra activity, including a rebel ambush of military and civilian vehicles assisting victims of the storm — an attack that killed eight civilians and two soldiers. According to Susan Lyons of the Brooklyn-San Juan del Rio Coco Sister City Project, the contras also attacked a bus taking children and their parents to a San Juan health clinic from a nearby town; several of the occupants of the bus were killed or injured.

"Clearly, the contras aren't interested in helping the people recover from the hurricane," says Tim Calvert of the Portland-Corinto Sister City Association.

In planning their relief shipments to Nicaragua, the sister city programs have had to work around the U.S. trade embargo. Hillary Stern says that though her program would like to send construction tools to help repair the hurricane damage, these items

might be intercepted since they could be considered as possibly violating the embargo.

Many participants in the sister-city relief programs believe such interference is unconscionable. "Convoys will be going down," says Nancy Trechsel of Project Minnesota/Leon. "If our government isn't going to help, then private concerns have to — and the government better get out of the way and let us assist these people."

MADISON MAYOR URGES HURRICANE RELIEF

Mayor Joe Sensenbrenner of Madison, Wisconsin, joined with other local and state officials in urging Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson, a conservative Republican, to support efforts to aid Nicaraguan victims of Hurricane Joan. In a letter dated October 27, Mayor Sensenbrenner and other signers told the governor that the peoples of Wisconsin and Nicaragua have maintained good relations for more than 20 years through a sister state relationship.



"Whatever political differences may exist between the governments of the United States and Nicaragua should be set aside at this time," the letter stated. "Please do everything in your power to lend your support and the support of your office to these humanitarian citizen efforts which are based upon a desire to help in a time of need."

In addition to Mayor Sensenbrenner, the letter was signed by State Senators Walter John Chilsen and Joseph Strohl, State Representative Tom Loftus, and Dane County Executive Rick Phelps. All signators to the letter are Democrats except for Chilsen, a Republican. Some conservative Wisconsin Republicans threatened a recall campaign against Chilsen (a 22-year legislative veteran) in the aftermath of his signing of the letter, but at press time, no organized campaign against the state senator had been mounted.

Governor Thompson has declined to make any gesture toward supporting Nicaraguan assistance, other than suggesting that interested Wisconsin citizens could make contributions to the American Red Cross.

The Road to the Supreme Court?

TWO COURTS WITH TWO FINDINGS ON LOCAL CONTROL OVER STATE MILITIAS

YOU MIGHT THINK THAT A DIRT AND gravel road wouldn't attract much attention. But if the road is in Honduras — and if it's being built by U.S. National Guard troops — a lot of people are extremely interested, including governors, legislators, judges, journalists and activists.

Since 1984, about 50,000 National Guard soldiers have traveled to Honduras for their annual 17-day training exercises. Many of these "weekend warriors" are building a major road in the north-central part of the country. Others, however, are training in "artillery units" alongside Hondurans. Then there are the "civic action" soldiers, who are under orders to win the hearts and minds of the people by providing medical care, handing out clothes, and organizing kids' baseball teams.

But as we have reported in previous issues of the *Bulletin*, if several governors had their way, these National Guard troops would not be venturing into Central America at all. In the past two years, Governors Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts and Rudy Perpich of Minnesota have taken the battle to court.

In late October, Governor Dukakis lost the latest round in his legal maneuvering when an appeals court refused to overturn a lower court decision that had rejected Massachusetts' attempts to keep its Guard out of Central America. In January 1988, Dukakis filed suit to stop thirteen of the Guard's "public relations" specialists from being assigned to Honduras and Panama for two weeks. But in May, U.S. District Judge Robert Keeton affirmed the constitutionality of the Montgomery Amendment, a law passed by Congress in 1986 asserting that governors could



Honduran children watch Missouri National Guard build road in Yoro province. The Guard has carried out a series of almost continuous joint maneuvers with Honduran troops since 1983.

not refuse such troop assignments due to "any objection to the location, purpose, type or schedule of such activity."

Dukakis challenged the decision in the First U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, arguing that the Constitution's "militia clause" granted governors the authority over training their militia. But the appeals court issued a one-sentence order supporting the original decision: "Having examined the briefs of the parties . . . and having had the benefit of oral argument, we affirm the judgment on the basis stated in the district court's well-reasoned opinion."

Things have worked out better in the Midwest, where in December an Eighth Circuit Court judge upheld Minnesota Governor Perpich's claim. The court declared unconstitutional the Montgomery Amendment, putting it at odds with the First Circuit.

The Administration's attempt to limit state authority over National

Guard troops was, the court said, a violation of previous U.S. Supreme Court rulings and "departs from an unbroken pattern of congressional deference to reserved state authority."

Six states — Massachusetts, Colorado, Iowa, Maine, Ohio and Vermont — supported Minnesota in its appeal. In addition to Perpich and Dukakis, Governors Madeleine Kunin of Vermont and Richard Celeste of Ohio have been outspoken state leaders opposing National Guard training missions in Central America.

In the months ahead, the Supreme Court may be called upon to resolve the conflicting rulings. Alternatively, the United States government might ask the Eight Circuit to rehear Governor Perpich's suit *en banc*, with a larger number of appellate justices deliberating on the case.

SOURCES: Jack Tuneheim, Minnesota Attorney General's office (612-296-6196); Peggy Moore, St. Louis Pledge of Resistance (314-727-4466); Massachusetts Attorney General's office (617-727-2200); Associated Press, "Dukakis Loses Appeal on National Guard," Washington Post, 26 October 1988, p. A14.

Of Death Squads and Depopulation

EL SALVADOR'S
BLOODY,
"VIBRANT
DEMOCRACY"

Time for Cities to
Speak Out

by Victoria Sanford

During a recent visit to El Salvador, U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz complimented that country's "vibrant democracy." But a recent El Rescate report, "Chronology of Human Rights Violations in El Salvador, January to June 1988," noted a 38 percent increase in human rights violations in El Salvador between February and May of last year. The report also found that, for the entire period, more than 96 percent of those assassinated by government death squads were civilians — some 15 percent of whom were children and three percent judges or magistrates.

"Chronology" findings were based on the reports of 24 institutions and media sources, including Americas Watch, the Legal Aid Office of the Archdiocese of El Salvador, and the *New York Times*.

Those who do not die at the hands of government-sponsored death squads often languish in the nation's jails. According to a report from the Judicial Review Commission, El Salvador ranks third among Latin American nations that refuse prisoners — formally or otherwise — the right to a trial. In July 1987, El Salvador had yet to try 92 percent of its prison population.

Meanwhile, the United States funds and trains the Salvadoran police.

U.S. aid to El Salvador, which might be expected to ameliorate the human rights situation there, seems rather to have added fuel to the wild fire of abuses. Since 1980, the United States has invested \$3 billion in El Salvador, much of it in military aid. In 1987, for example, the U.S. provided \$608 million, about 105 percent of El Salvador's contribution to its own economy; about three-quarters of this aid went directly to fighting the war or repairing its effects.

And that should give the elected leaders of U.S. cities and towns cause for concern. Money that might have prevented human rights abuses in America's cities — to fight AIDS, provide housing, or build schools — has instead supported massive human rights abuses in El Salvador.

That money has, apparently, made matters worse, rather than better.

see *Bloody*, page 26



Corinne Duker / Impact Visuals

Salvadoran military stand guard as buses of Salvadorans from Mesa Grande Refugee camp in Honduras cross the border into El Salvador. Approximately 1,200 Salvadoran refugees who had been away from their homeland for eight years took part in the repatriation.

HOW BALTIMORE SAVED A SALVADORAN LOCAL OFFICIAL

On a Tuesday afternoon early last fall, El Salvador's Treasury Police arrested Dimas Casco Herrera, Village President of El Varillo, a rural town of 500 people who live in tin shacks with no running water. The police accused the 40-year-old local official of aiding Marxist guerrillas, bound his thumbs behind his back, handcuffed him, and transported him to a provincial prison.

"They threatened to kill me and my family," Casco Herrera said later. "They put a rifle right here, behind my ear."

El Salvador's government death squads have killed tens of thousands of people like Casco Herrera in the nation's cities and its remote villages, all in the name of preserving what the Reagan Administration calls "democracy." Part of the strategy has been to "depopulate" the countryside — to wipe out the villages that are home to peasants who support anti-government guerrillas.

El Varillo, though, represents something of a setback for the military-backed government of El Salvador: It is one of 22 villages which — despite bombings, arrests, and forced relocations that have attempted to rob guerrillas of their peasant base — have risen anew from the ashes.

Had the pattern of the early 1980s held, Casco Herrera might never have seen his resurrected village again. His body would have simply wound up in a ditch.

But he was spared. Though his captors left him blindfolded during three days of beatings and interrogations, Casco Herrera says they let him know there was outside pressure to keep him alive — pressure he

see **BALTIMORE**, page 26

Baltimore

continued from page 25

now knows came from activists and local officials in Baltimore, Maryland.

Kim Daubman, who works with Baltimore's El Salvador Friendship City Project, says her group was "able to activate a large network of people" — including city councilmembers and Congressional representatives and Senators — who called the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador, sent telexes and lobbied for the release two days later of Casco Herrera.

"It helps when you have a city official calling the U.S. Embassy," Daubman says. "It doesn't hurt when people like me call. But it really helps to have an official call."

And that, says Daubman, was what drew Baltimore's Central America Solidarity Committee to city hall in the first place. Working with city officials, she says, "really gives our organization more credibility when we're protesting human rights violations or depopulation in the countryside."

Daubman says the idea first came to her group through the work of the national organization, New El Salvador Today (NEST). "They called us up and said, 'We've got this great idea.'"

Baltimore City Councilmember Jody Landers says the relationships have a clear advantage for the Salvadorans. "Apparently there have been a number of bombings and arrests in the countryside," Landers says. "And where the villages have formed these linkages with outside communities, they are more likely to survive."

Landers is quick to point out that the El Varillo tie is an unusual one — even for an internationalist city like Baltimore. "Most sister cities are formed for greater economic ties," he says. "This one was distinctly political and social." And he gives credit for the success of the relationship to Baltimore's activists. "It's not something the city does. Citizens breathe life into these projects."

SOURCES: Baltimore-El Salvador Friendship City Project, 1443 Gorsuch Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-467-9388).



Cecila Vasquez of Ciudad Delgado, El Salvador looks away from the bodies of her husband and son, who were forcibly taken from their home and murdered.

Bloody

continued from page 24

As political scientist Kenneth E. Sharpe noted in a June 1988 *Miami Herald* article, "The [Salvadoran] government has failed to change the official institutions that allow or encourage such brutality. Despite millions of U.S. AID dollars spent to reform the judiciary, the court system and police are still so corrupt, fearful or themselves involved that no officer has been punished for involvement in political murders. Last October, a military amnesty wiped out any chance of justice by dropping charges against all those involved in army massacres and military-connected death-squad actions."

The time has come for a change in U.S. policy toward El Salvador. House Resolution (HR) 277 does just that. It calls for talks instead of continued bombing, and for three-quarters of U.S. aid to support economic and social programs. Co-sponsored by Representatives Barbara Boxer (D-CA), Joseph P. Kennedy II (D-MA), Jim Leach (R-IA), George Miller (D-CA), and Joe Moakley (D-MA), HR-277 would help the United States

address the real roots of the war — poverty and injustice. As long as these remain, there can be neither peace nor democracy in El Salvador.

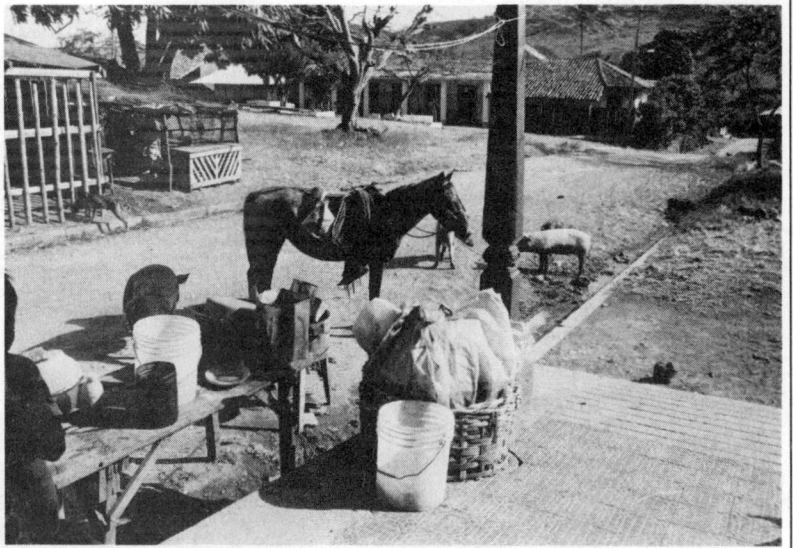
City and state government officials can support HR-277 through local resolutions. Other kinds of resolutions are helpful, too. Santa Cruz, California, recently resolved to support the National Union of Earthquake victims of El Salvador (UNADES). Port cities can educate the public and post billboards to increase public visibility of shipments of munitions and explosives destined to victimize Salvadoran civilians.

A final way to change U.S. policy is through sister cities. Six American cities — Columbus (OH), Madison (WI), Baltimore (MD), Berkeley (CA), Takoma Park (MD), and Cambridge (MA) already have ties with Salvadoran towns. By helping community members see for themselves the impact of U.S. policy, these sister city relationships can educate Americans about the plight of El Salvador.

El Rescate ("The Rescue") is a project of the Southern California Ecumenical Council, established in 1981 to assist Central American refugees. It provides emergency legal and social services, and chronicles human-rights abuses in the region. Victoria Sanford served as an *El Rescate* intern last summer. For further information, write to *El Rescate* Human Rights Department, 2675 West Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90006 (213-387-3284).

Nicaraguan Sister City Briefs

Since late October, U.S.-Nicaraguan sister city programs have channeled most of their energies into helping Nicaraguan cities devastated by Hurricane Joan (see article on page 20). The following entries describe other projects that these sororal links have underway.



Liz Chihem

Main Street Comalapa, Nicaragua, sister city of Worcester, MA

ARCATA (CA) - CAMOAPA

Arcatans are now planning to build a low-cost housing project with small cottages for Camoapa. With money being raised now, the Californians will travel to Camoapa in early 1989 to begin discussions on the project.

A van donated by an Arcata bookstore will be driven to Camoapa in March loaded with educational supplies.

Several schools in Arcata have continued to expand their pen-pal programs with counterparts in Camoapa.

A musician/woodworker from Camoapa spent the month of August in Arcata, performing concerts in schools and homes.

CONTACT: Stan Henerson, Arcata/Camoapa Sister City Project, P.O. Box 1042, Arcata, CA 95521 (707-822-7130).

BOULDER (CO) - JALAPA

A Boulder volunteer will be living for a year in Teotecacinte, a town just outside Jalapa. Using his skills as a former Peace Corps volunteer, he will be working on developing a water system for the community.

An infant nutrition project is providing Jalapa residents with medicine, rehydration packets, and educational materials about infant health.

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

BROOKLYN (NY) - SAN JUAN DEL RIO COCO

Brooklyn residents are now raising money to build a new water system in San Juan del Rio Coco. The goal: \$40,000. By late 1988, Brooklyn residents had collected about one-third of that amount, enough for delegations to travel to San Juan in the spring and summer to begin digging the trenches for the water network.

At present, San Juan is relying on an inadequate water system contaminated by sewage. The new system will be gravity-fed and draw water from a cleaner source about a mile out of town.

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

BURLINGTON (VT) - PUERTO CABEZAS

In September, Burlington citizens shipped nearly seven tons of material aid to Nicaragua, mostly medical equipment and school supplies. Several other sister-city projects contributed their own supplies to this shipment, including Washington (DC)-Bluefields, Lexington (MA)-Waspan, and Montclair (NJ)-Pearl Lagoon.

During a trip to Puerto Cabezas in September, Roger Clapp spent time at an agricultural co-op on the outskirts of town, delivering materials donated by

Burlington residents to establish an egg-production program. He also distributed sports equipment to eight community baseball teams.

Burlington and Puerto Cabezas residents established ham radio contact on September 20.

Joy Cohen, a Vermont artist, is overseeing the weaving of a quilt by people from Burlington, Puerto Cabezas, and Yaroslavl, Puerto Cabezas's sister city in the Soviet

per, contact *Barricada* at P.O. Box 20928, Oakland, CA 94620).

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

MINNESOTA - LEON

In April, twelve Leon teen-agers and their chaperons are expected to spend three weeks in Minnesota, including two weeks in the Twin Cities and one week in outlying areas. In June, a group of young Minnesotans will visit Leon for two weeks.

Minnesota residents are raising money to finance completion of a new pharmacy at the El Jicaral Rural Health Center. By late 1988, the floors and walls of the center had been finished, and funds were being collected to build the roof.

Two new program coordinators from Minnesota are expected to leave for Leon in early 1989 to live with a family there for at least a year.

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



Boys outside a health clinic in Barrio Rigüero, Managua. The clinic is equipped with dental equipment donated by Wisconsin residents.

Liz Chisem

Union. Each city is contributing nine patches to the project, and Cohen will be stitching them together.

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

MADISON (WI) - MANAGUA

Wisconsin residents shipped 120 bicycles to Managua in December — the first such shipment from the state. The bikes will be renovated in the "Bikes Not Bombs" shop in Managua and then sold for a nominal fee to Nicaraguans for basic transportation. At present, health-care workers have a priority in getting these bikes to help them deliver medical care in rural areas.

In October, Ruth Warner, co-editor of the English language edition of *Barricada Internacional*, visited Madison. She told Wisconsin residents, "What we are trying to accomplish is to provide a different version of what is happening in Nicaragua." (For information about subscriptions to the English-language edition of the newspa-

NEW HAVEN (CT) - LEON

In early November, two \$7,000 water chlorinators were shipped to Leon thanks to a joint purchase by Leon's three U.S. sister links — New Haven, Berkeley, and Minnesota. Cribs and seeds were also sent with the shipment.

A twelve-passenger van has been donated to the people of Leon for transporting people and materials for sister-city projects and other programs. The vehicle was purchased in Costa Rica.

A nine-person delegation spent part of November in Leon, where the group studied literacy programs. In January, a health-care group will be traveling to Nicaragua, and in March, a brigade of Yale University students will travel to Leon to paint a day-care center with materials donated by a New Haven paint store.

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

PORTLAND (OR) - CORINTO

The sister city program sold Christmas cards depicting murals in Portland and Nicaragua. One of the murals is on display in a Managua children's library and conveys a message of international solidarity.

In mid-February a construction brigade from Portland will travel to Corinto to work on the renovation of a hospital.

This summer, Oregon students will go to live with families in Corinto.

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

PROVIDENCE (RI) - NIQUINOHOMO

In October, a summer brigade returned to Providence from Niquinohomo, where they had worked on installing electricity and plumbing in a new school that Rhode Island volunteers helped build in Justa Romero, a rural town near Niquinohomo. The three-room structure is the first school in the town.

This January, a 10-to-15-person brigade will go to Niquinohomo to help construct a variety of ongoing projects, including roads, a water system, and a playground. Coordinating these projects will be Nomi Hurwitz, a Providence resident who has been living full-time in Niquinohomo since last July.

CONTACT: Martha Bebinger, Providence-Niquinohomo Sister City Project, 69 Lenox Ave., Providence, RI 02907 (401-861-5427).

SEATTLE (WA) - MANAGUA

In November and December, a 16-person Seattle delegation spent ten days in Nicaragua. The delegation was accompanied by a camera crew from the NBC-affiliate television station in Seattle that was videotaping footage of hurricane damage. While in Managua, the visitors toured schools, hospitals and clinics.

The sister city program is now collecting sports equipment — including baseballs, bats, gloves and bas-

ketballs — for distribution to children in Managua.

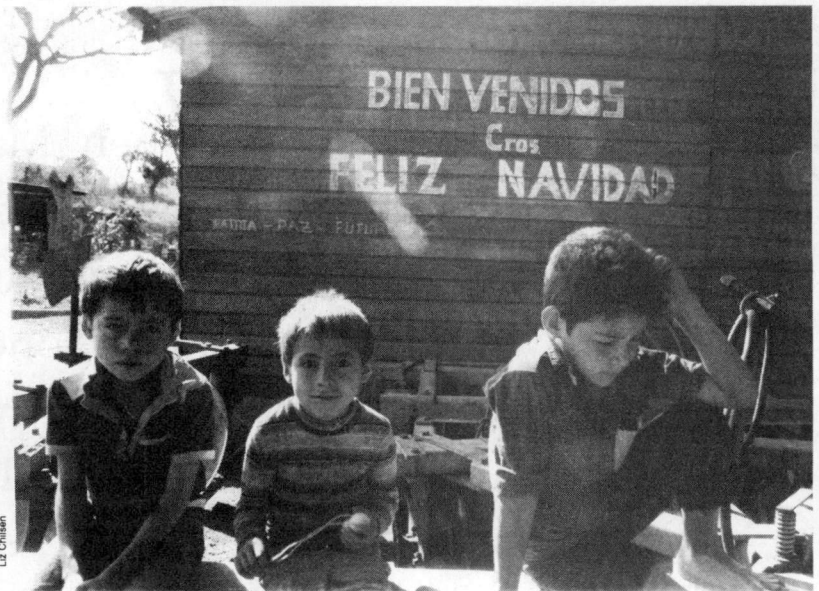
A student from Managua is studying English in the state of Washington and is attending classes at Seattle Community College.

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

WISCONSIN - MANAGUA

This January, four Wisconsin water scientists are expected to work at Managua's Center for Aquatic Investigations on water improvement programs and studies on Lake Managua.

The Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua has established a legal defense fund for Trade for Peace, a Madison-based organization that is resisting the U.S. trade embargo. A Trade for Peace leaflet notes that its "civil disobedience sales of Nicaraguan postage stamps, arts and crafts, and unroasted coffee have enabled hundreds of people throughout the United States to take a stand for peace and against war with Nicaragua." Last



Children outside Coöperative Luciano Vilches which is supported by donations from Wisconsin sister cities projects.

August, U.S. Customs agents raided the home of a member of Trade for Peace, seizing Nicaraguan stamps, paintings and coffee — as well as the organization's business files. One defense being used by Trade for Peace is that the World Court has ruled that the embargo violates treaties between Nicaragua and the United States.

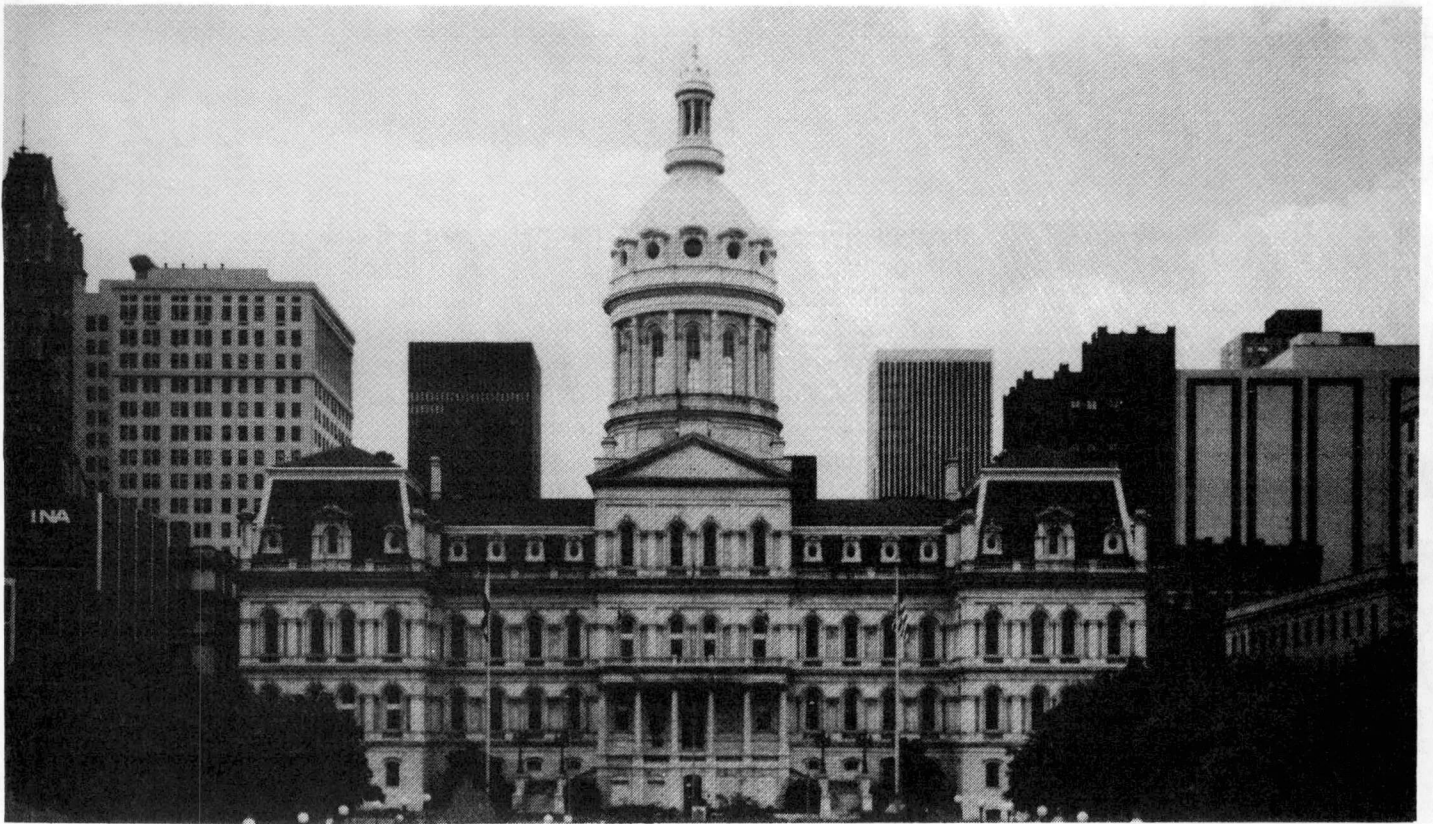
CONTACT: Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua, P.O. Box 1534, Madison, WI 53701 (608-257-7230).

Dealing with Reality

BALTIMORE COMMISSION BRINGS THE
PEACE MOVEMENT TO CITY HALL

When Mayor Clarence Burns appointed seven citizens to the new Baltimore City Development Commission (CDC) in July 1987, he unwittingly sanctioned one of the most ambitious municipal foreign policy projects in the nation.

According to Rev. William Burke, CDC's chair, Mayor Burns "wasn't that enthused" about the commission's proposed tasks — advising the city on the impact of military spending, developing economic conversion policies, and lobbying for military spending cuts at the federal level. "Of course, he liked the idea of getting unspent military funds for the cities," Burke says, "but he saw [the commission] as pie-in-the-sky."



Now Mayor Burns is gone, and the commission has issued its first report, warning in no uncertain terms that unless the city begins concrete planning for economic conversion, it will "be ill-prepared for the changes and trends of the 1990s."

Strong words for a panel designed initially to advise the city council on the local economic impacts of the arms race. But in its short life, the Baltimore City Development Commission has already become a center of the city's peace and justice movement.

Although the commission has widespread support, says Burke, some people are skeptical whether a single city, fighting virtually alone, can turn the tide of rising military spending and recapture billions of federal dollars for essential social programs. "The biggest stumbling block is, 'Are we dealing with reality?'"

Expanding Community Participation

One undeniable success of the commission has been its bringing newcomers into a community debate on U.S. foreign and military policy.

"It gets people involved in issues

of peace and justice, even the low-income people," says one of the commission's chief architects, Sister Katherine Corr. "Some people say the poor just want to get food on the table. But the Development Commission has helped them see that these [national and foreign policy] issues are immediate things that need to be addressed. You see people growing and waking up and saying, 'Hey, these affairs do affect our city.'"

The commission's creation of a fruitful dialogue among citizens and local officials grew out of a fairly mundane original task — to report annually on the flow of dollars out of Baltimore and into the Pentagon. Commission hearings could have bogged down in obscure debates over accounting procedures, but instead provided witnesses and groups with a pulpit to describe the lurid impact upon Baltimore of rapid increases in federal military spending.

Michael Lemov, the city's legal representative in Washington, D.C., told a commission hearing in late 1987 that "the immense increase in military spending between 1980 and 1987 has been funded almost entirely by sharp reductions in federal domestic pro-

grams relating to health, housing, education, welfare and job training, which are essential to cities such as Baltimore."

Figures like those, Sister Corr believes, have persuaded citizens that their community can no longer be silent on national and international issues, and explain how the Baltimore City Development Commission has become more than a debating society. It has, says one of its supporters on the City Council, Jody Landers, become a "pro-active rather than reactive office."

Report Calls for New National Priorities

The commission's first report, released in October 1988, gave activists the evidence they needed to mobilize Baltimore's citizens against the arms race. Though the report was addressed to Mayor Kurt Schmoke, it should also have been dropped on the desk in the Oval Office.

It called on the city's lobbying office in Washington to push for redirection of \$50 billion in "unobligated" military funds to meet social problems in the nation's cities. The



*You see people
growing and
waking up
and saying,
“Hey, these
affairs do affect
our city.”*

commission's report also recommended:

■ that the mayor provide funding for the commission to hire a full-time staff person and increase his support for the Washington, D.C., lobbying office in its work to redirect the unobligated military funds;

■ that the commission work more closely with city officials and Baltimore's Congressional representatives;

■ that the commission involve more non-governmental organizations in its programs; and,

■ that Baltimore host a conference at which leaders from cities across the nation might share their insights into the problems of rising military spending.

Council President Mary Pat Clarke, who helped create the commission, was unsure if the mayor would act on the the study, but believed the city could, without added expense, encourage the lobbying office to proceed with its efforts to redirect the unobligated funds.

Councilmember Landers agreed. While the mayor prepares the budget, Landers said, "We can influence him."

The Commission's Mission

Some of the driving forces behind the panel's creation have articulated a real sense of mission for their efforts. Sister Corr told an April 1988 hearing, "We in Baltimore can move this whole nation." In a recent press release, she wrote that "Baltimore's Development Commission hopes to serve as a model for other cities to follow."

The Commission is largely the result of the energies of Baltimore Jobs With Peace activists like Corr, who worked with Councilmember Landers, then-Councilmember Tom Waxter, and Council President Clarke.

Landers says he lent his support to Jobs With Peace "because I can see the need for domestic spending on pro-

grams that help our people — like senior services and housing. And I can see this money going out of the city and into military spending. I've personally felt for a long time that far too much money is wasted in the military budget. And when I see the needs in our city, I just can't justify that waste."

Nor could Jobs With Peace activists. Beginning in 1982, they pushed local officials to analyze the impact of military spending on Baltimore. That same year, they helped pass a charter amendment calling for a city finance department report on the impact of military spending on Baltimore and publication of the findings in five local newspapers. The amendment also called on the federal government to cut nuclear and conventional weapons spending, as well as to eliminate spending for "programs in support of foreign military intervention," says Corr.

But shortly after the city's department of finance began reporting, a dispute arose between the department and Jobs With Peace. Activists criticized the department's formula for calculating the "Pentagon Tax" — the amount of money leaving Baltimore for the Pentagon versus the amount of Pentagon dollars flowing back into the community. After serious wrangling, Councilmember Landers recalls, Jobs With Peace activists hit the streets again in the spring of 1986 — this time determined to take over the reporting job themselves by gathering support for a citizen's commission that would oversee the annual military impact study and its publication.

Nearly 20,000 voters signed petitions to qualify "Question O" for the November 1986 ballot, and 61 percent of Baltimore's voters supported Jobs With Peace's proposal to institutionalize the peace movement at city hall.

SOURCE: Katherine Corr, Baltimore Jobs With Peace, 100 South Washington Street, Baltimore, MD 21231. For a copy of the Citizen's Development Commission Report of Baltimore, Maryland, write to Rev. William Burke, Chairperson, Development Commission, City Hall, 100 N. Holliday Street, Baltimore, MD 21202.

ECONOMIC CONVERSION BRIEFS

The following items chronicle local and state efforts to convert military production to more socially beneficial production. These updates were provided by Louise McNeilly of the Center for Economic Conversion (CEC). For additional information, contact the name or organization listed at the end of each entry, or CEC at 222-C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041 (415-968-8798).

LOCAL EFFORTS

BURLINGTON (VT)

The City Council asked the Community and Economic Development Office (CEDO) to "assess . . . the vulnerability of General Electric's Burlington operations and the opportunities for potentially converting them to non-military production." Following this decree, CEDO is making preliminary contacts with the management and union of GE, the city's largest private employer and taxpayer, and plans to move ahead with a study. CEDO is also identifying possible funding sources and experts to conduct the investigation.

CONTACT: Doug Hoffer, Community & Economic Development Office, Room 32, City Hall, Burlington, VT 05401.

KING COUNTY (WA)

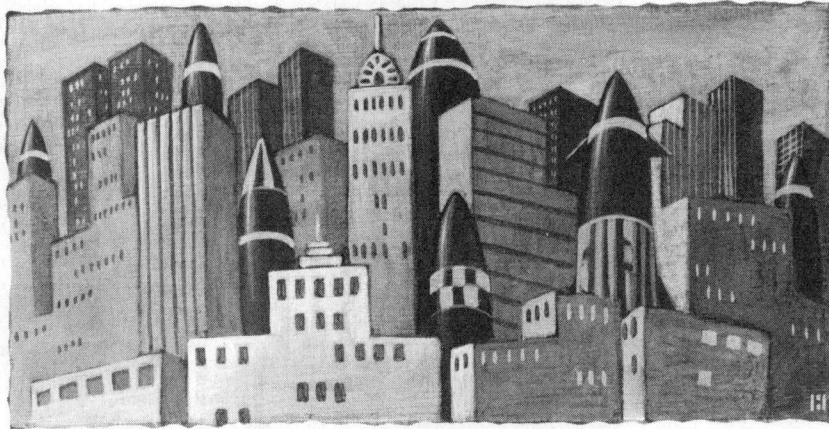
On October 19, the County Council passed an amendment to the King County Economic Development Plan, which requires the county "to conduct research to identify the potential impacts of military spending cutbacks, and recommend steps to diversify the local economy and markets for local firms, to prevent business and job loss." The following month, the County Council, at the urging of Gary Grant, its Chair, agreed to create a committee with citizens, labor, and business representatives to discuss implementation of diversification ideas. At press time, the Council still had not appointed the panel members.

CONTACT: Sara McCoy, SANE/Freeze, 5516 Roosevelt Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206-364-9112).

State Efforts

MASSACHUSETTS

State representatives and community groups worked together to write the Economic Diversification Corporation Act, which the legislature is expected to take up in early 1989. SANE/Freeze has started a petition drive in support of this conversion legislation, and in the fall, Representative David Cohen led a group of state representatives who publicly endorsed the legislation at a press conference. The state's Joint Commission on Economic Conversion, established in 1987 by a budget amendment, will probably play an active role in the campaign for effective diversification legislation.



Meanwhile, conversion proponents in Massachusetts are participating in the Lieutenant Governor's efforts to create a Blueprint 2000 plan, a strategic program aimed at helping the state diversify as it heads into the next century. Rec-

ommendations for the document include establishing Massachusetts as a model of diversification.

CONTACT: Shelagh Foreman, SANE/Freeze, 456 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617-491-7809).

PENNSYLVANIA

The state's House Labor Relations Committee unanimously approved the Economic Adjustment Act. But when the Act moved to the House Appropriations Committee, it became temporarily stalled because of budget discussions.

The proposed act would create "alternative use" committees to explore ways of revitalizing industries or communities impacted by layoffs. These panels would be comprised of individuals from management, labor and community organizations.

CONTACT: John Goldberg, Pennsylvania Jobs with Peace, 924 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215-925-3758).

When the Khian Sea left Philadelphia in September of 1986 with 28 million pounds of toxic ash from that city's municipal and industrial incinerators, few suspected it would spend more than two years at sea in search of a dumping ground.

But so it did. Port authorities in 11 countries, from Central America, the Caribbean, West Africa and the South Pacific, met the Khian Sea — re-christened the Felicia last summer and the Pelicano a few months later — with a welcome usually reserved for pirates and scurvy. A Greenpeace spokesperson believes that, in late November, the ship's crew finally opened its holds and let Philadelphia's aluminum, arsenic, chromium, copper, lead, mercury, nickel, zinc, and toxic dioxins flow into the Indian Ocean.

But Philadelphia isn't alone. The Environmental Protection Agency estimates that cities send 2.2 million tons of the toxic stuff outside the U.S. every year. And Los Angeles Reader reporter Jim Crogan reports that his favorite town has its eye on the Philippines.

the Philippines L.A.'s Dumping Ground

With landfill space in Southern California at a premium, the City of Los Angeles's Bureau of Sanitation has long sought other ways to dump the gunk that goes from wastewater treatment plants into the few available solid waste dumps. Of particular concern is residue from the Hyperion Plant in the coastal city of Playa del Rey, which averages 6,000 tons a week.

The city hauls most of its sludge to the BKK landfill in West Covina at a rate of \$27 per ton. Cost? More than \$162,000 per week in dumping charges alone.

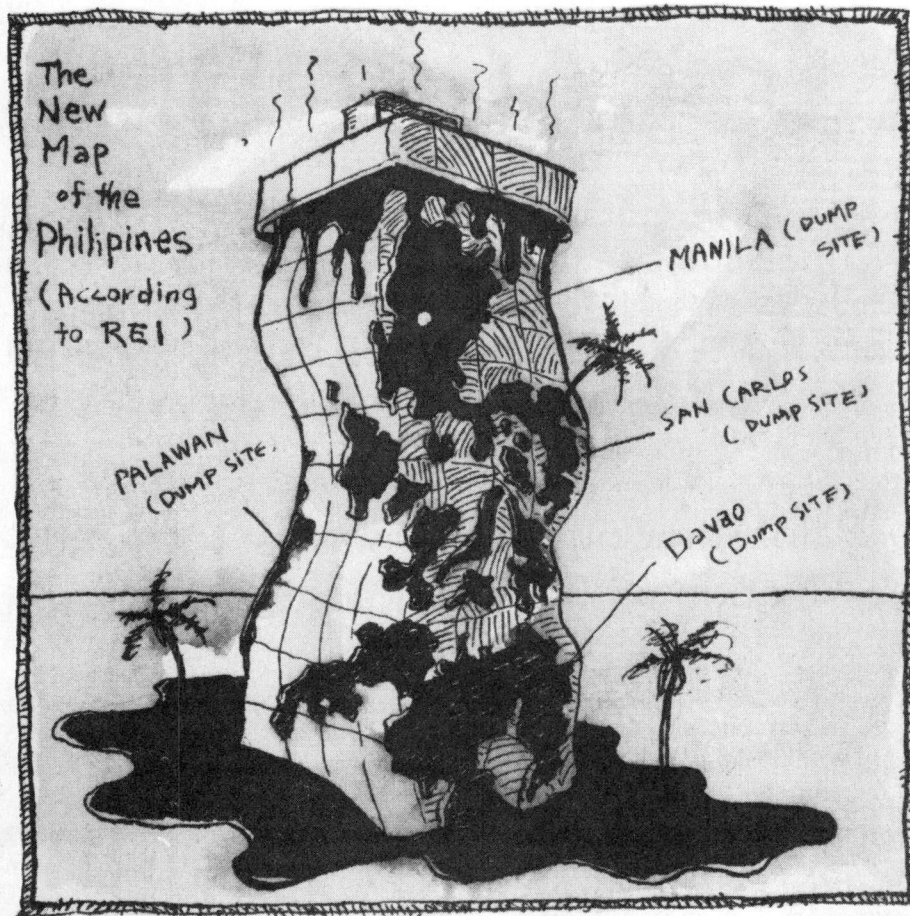
Instead of simply dumping the sludge in local landfills, one enterprising entrepreneur, Manuel Diaz, a geologist and vice-president of Recycled Energy Inc. (REI), proposes that the

city ship its sludge to the Philippines.

Until 1988 the city was permitted to dump the black, smelly, cakelike remains into the Santa Monica Bay. However, a consent decree signed between Los Angeles, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the State of California officially ended that practice as of December 31, 1987.

In 1982 the city began building a Hyperion Energy Recovery System (HERS) at the Playa del Rey location. Estimated to cost \$250 million (the bulk of the initial cost underwritten by federal and state grants), HERS was supposed to burn the sludge and produce electricity to run the entire plant. Six years and more than \$400 million later, the plant and the so-called "innovative Carter-Greenfield burn process" have yet to work.

*Flush
twice, it's
a long
way to
Manila.*



After many delays, the latest projected start-up date is summer 1989, but the indications are strong that the process may never work as designed.

"The city should cut its losses," said Diaz.

"HERS has never worked and it will probably never work, because the sludge keeps jamming the equipment. The city should not keep pouring money into that project," he added.

Under Diaz's proposal, the city would contract with REI for the processing, shipment, transfer and burning of sludge. To handle the job, REI first needs to draw most of the water out of the sludge, turning it into briquettes. The leftover waste water would be filtered and returned to the plant's dumping system. REI would ship the briquettes to the Philippines, where they would be transported to a mass-burn facility in the municipality of Ubay on the island of Bohol.

REI, says Diaz, would install the briquetting, separation, and filtering equipment at Hyperion at no charge to

the city. The total processing cost is estimated at \$130 per wet-cake ton, based on an average shipment of 5,000 tons. "Any lesser amount would make it economically impossible to do," Diaz says. The City of Los Angeles now spends \$27 per ton for dumping or \$87 per ton to fix the sludge chemically for use as landfill. REI's price, although considerably higher, would provide the city with a "permanent solution."

Once the sludge is burned, electricity would be produced and sold to the National Power Corporation in the Philippines, in much the same way that HERS was supposed to function here. The burn equipment, says Diaz, could not be set up in Los Angeles because of air-quality standards.

"The Philippines also has air-quality standards for mass-burn, but they are not as stringent as L.A.'s," Diaz said. "Plus the government has promised to give a contract to any company that can provide electricity to the national power company."

Contacted in Los Angeles, the Philippine Consulate referred any comment on Diaz's proposal to Manila.

Although REI's proposal offers a permanent, albeit expensive, solution to L.A.'s sludge problem, it raises the uncomfortable specter of the city dumping waste on a Third World country. A similar proposal was scuttled last year that would have shipped waste to Guatemala for use as compost.

"These kinds of solutions [such as REI's] have technical, economic and political problems," says Dr. Frank Grant, a consultant working as a planning manager in the city's Wastewater Program-Management Division. "No one wants to be seen as being the 'asshole' of Los Angeles," he added.

"Look at what happened with the proposal to haul sludge to Guatemala," Grant continued. "This promoter came over and put the package together. We made the initial contacts, and even took trips down there. It got closer and closer to being a done deal and then the Guatemalan ambassador announced that his country wouldn't do it. Somebody didn't like the idea of L.A. dumping its sludge there," he said.

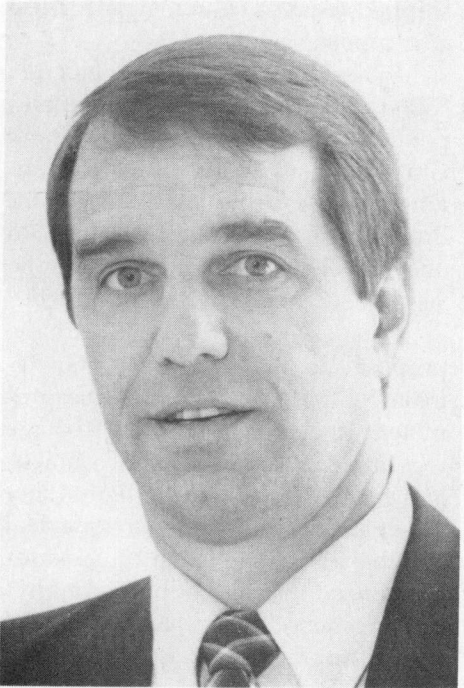
Grant is skeptical of Diaz's proposal because it is another "innovative process. L.A. already has one innovative process it's trying to get working," he remarked. Grant added his department is approached by "guys all the time who can do these things on a small scale." Still, Grant has not seen Diaz's proposal and says officially he will "look at anything."

Diaz is undaunted. His company has applied for a permit on the process and will submit an official proposal to the city in sixty days. Diaz says REI will soon set up a small prototype of the "dewatering equipment" in Ontario—a city about 50 miles east of Los Angeles—capable of 150 cubic feet of sludge per eight-hour shift.

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A LOCAL THUMB IN THE GLOBAL DIKE

Palo Alto Could Become First City in the Nation with a CFC Recycling Program



Terry Trumbull
Chair of Palo Alto CFC Task Force

Our basic philosophy is that we're only trying to move things along where the marketplace isn't working.

CFCs, OR CHLOROFLUOROCARBONS, MAY NOT YET BE AN ENDANGERED SPECIES, but as we reported in the Summer 1988 issue of the *Bulletin*, some cities are fed up with the lethargy of federal policy-makers and have decided to try dealing with this global environmental threat themselves.

Consider Palo Alto, California. In early 1988, alarmed at the role that CFCs have in causing significant declines in ozone layers in both the Northern and Southern hemispheres, the City Council there passed an ordinance (effective in June 1989) banning CFC-based restaurant packaging such as hamburger containers and Styrofoam-type coffee cups.

But as pleased as environmentalists were by Palo Alto's action, most feel that more is needed and that Palo Alto has addressed only a small part of the problem.

Vicci Rudin, assistant to Palo Alto's city manager, has compiled figures that support that view: Foam packaging accounts for only two percent of all CFC use in the city. The main culprits are automobile air conditioners (20 percent), residential and commercial refrigerators using Freon (11 percent), and industrial solvents (17 percent).

As a result of these findings, the City Council authorized a study in October to examine the feasibility of recycling materials that contain CFCs. A volunteer panel, supported by two city staff members, has until April to complete the study.

Terry Trumbull, chair of the city's task force on CFCs, said industry can relax. "Most everything we'll do will be more educational than regulatory," he said.

"Our basic philosophy is that we're only trying to move things along where the marketplace isn't working. Our job is primarily consciousness-raising," Trumbull said.

If Palo Alto eventually moves ahead with the proposed recycling program, it would become the first city in the nation to do so. Rudin says that Palo Alto has been a leader in recycling, and if this latest venture is feasible, the city is likely to pursue it. "Industry representatives already tell us the [recycling] technology exists," she told the *Bulletin*. "One of the things to be determined is whether the city can afford it."

SOURCES: Vicci Rudin, Palo Alto city manager's office (415-329-2392); Terry Trumbull, Palo Alto CFC Task Force (415-321-2211); Tracie L. Thompson, "Palo Alto's Unique Plan to Save Ozone Layer," San Francisco Chronicle, 26 October 1988, p. A2.

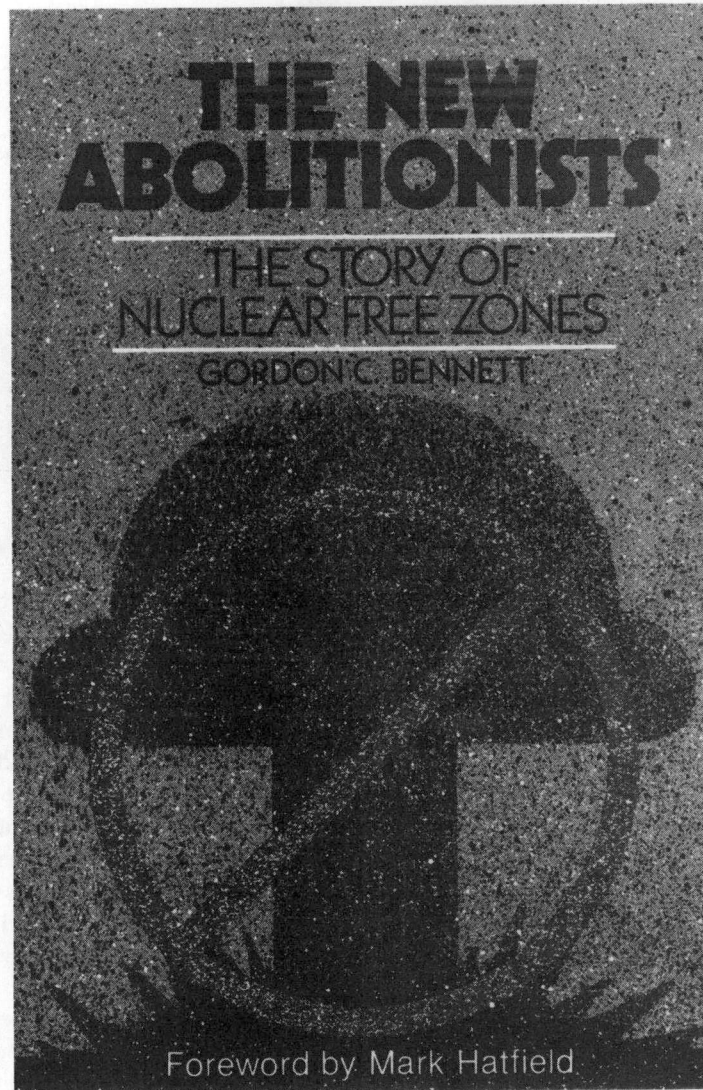
A BOOK OF HOPE

Our Nation needs to become more knowledgeable on the many facets of the arms race, and books like *The New Abolitionists* aid tremendously in this educational process.

Senator Mark Hatfield

The New Abolitionists provides a wide-ranging introduction to the grassroots Nuclear Free Zone movement.

Nuclear Free America



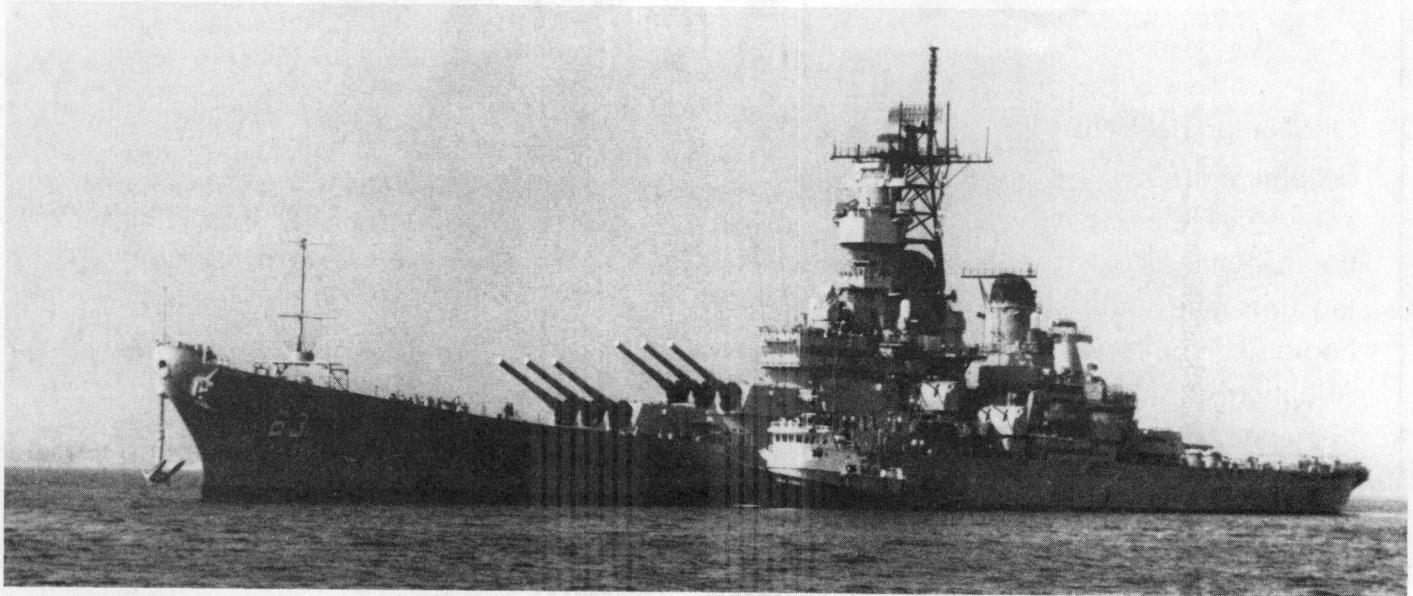
"Hope is the capacity to live with danger without being overwhelmed by it; hope is the will to struggle against obstacles even when they appear insuperable" – so wrote the American Catholic Bishops in their Pastoral Letter on war and peace. *The New Abolitionist* is a book of hope and deserves wide reading.

Bishop Leroy T. Matthiesen

Cities from the size of Chicago to small rural villages have said NO to the research, production and/or housing of nuclear weapons. In this important book, Gordon C. Bennett traces the origin of the Nuclear Free Zone movement in Europe and the United States. The cases presented in this book provide excellent examples of the importance and the success of nonviolent, citizen-sponsored initiatives. Bennett not only outlines a philosophical and theological rationale for NFZs and examines possibilities for a nuclear free world, but offers many practical suggestions for others to become actively involved in altering the destructive course of the nuclear arms race. / Quality paper \$9.95

The Brethren Press·1451 Dundee Avenue, Elgin, IL 60120

THE MISSOURI WINS PYRRHIC VICTORY



Official U.S. Navy Photo

In the November election, San Francisco voters endorsed Proposition S by a 51-to-49 margin, affirming a 1987 memorandum of understanding between the city's Board of Supervisors and the Navy for berthing the battleship Missouri and nine support vessels in San Francisco's Hunters Point shipyard. That agreement called upon the city to provide \$2 million in immediate funding to deepen the channels for the 58,000-ton Missouri. Despite passage of this measure, however, the fate of the homeport is still very much in doubt.

Voters simultaneously rejected Proposition R, a competing measure endorsed by San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos that called upon the federal government to pay all berthing expenses and guarantee at least 351 civilian jobs for the city.

The day after the election, Agnos announced that he would adhere to the voters' wishes and implement Proposition S "to the best of my ability as a democracy dictates when the majority makes its will known." But citing the closeness of the vote tally, he added, "The people were ambivalent.

Mayor Agnos
is expected to
make a good faith
effort to negotiate,
but some opponents
expect him to
make demands
the Navy finds
intolerable.

Proposition S got no mandate."

After the election, the Navy issued a statement proclaiming, "We look forward to moving ahead with this program." Though Mayor Agnos is expected to make a good-faith effort to negotiate a final homeporting agreement with the Navy, opponents of the Missouri expect him to try to strike the best possible deal with the Pentagon, and perhaps make demands that the Navy finds intolerable. For instance, Agnos may insist that small businesses and artisans be able to continue using the site — a demand unacceptable to the Navy.

Other factors further complicate bringing the Missouri north from its temporary base in Long Beach in Southern California. For instance:

■ In the same November election, two new Supervisors were voted into office, giving Agnos a board majority opposed to the homeport (the previous board had a pro-Missouri majority who put Proposition S on the ballot).

■ Congress has not yet allocated funds for the San Francisco homeport and will not do so until the Navy submits a formal plan and cost analysis.

And when that happens, opponents of the Missouri will have strong support from Bay Area Congressman Ron Dellums, Chair of the House Arms Services Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities.

■ The regional Water Quality Control Board has still not granted permits for dredging the harbor because of an inadequate environmental impact report. No license will be granted until the Navy provides more data, especially about toxic contamination of the Hunters Point area.

The election campaign saw expensive and heated debate over how the homeport would affect local housing, jobs, traffic, and the environment. Former Mayor Dianne Feinstein led the pro-Proposition S campaign, claiming that the presence of the Missouri would bring prosperity to the city, including thousands of new jobs. Her allies cited a Chamber of Commerce study indicating that though the Missouri would initially cost the city \$2.2 million, plus an additional \$1 million in annual dredging costs for the next two decades, the local economy would benefit significantly from the Navy's \$137 million payroll.

But opponents of homeporting argued that the economic advantages were exaggerated, and that proponents ignored the fate of small businesses operating in the Hunters Point.

The Navy would like to see the U.S. Missouri in San Francisco by 1990. But opponents like Steve Bloom of Nuclear Free Northern California say, "I'm fairly confident that Missouri homeporting will never happen." That position was bolstered in late December when a federal commission, as part of its recommendations on U.S. military base closures, suggested that the Navy scrap its homeporting plan for Hunters Point, advising that the Missouri be based in Long Beach or Pearl Harbor instead.

SOURCES: Arms Control Research Center, 942 Market St., Suite 709, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415-397-1452); Steve Bloom, Nuclear Free Northern California, 4042 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611 (415-653-5027); Carl Nolte, "S.F. Gives the Missouri a Narrow Win," San Francisco Chronicle, 10 November 1988, p. A1; Carl Nolte, "A Lot of Obstacles to Clear Before Missouri Is Home," San Francisco Chronicle, 11 November 1988, p. A1.

JUNEAU SINKS THE NAVY'S FLOTILLA

WHO WOULD HAVE GUESSED THAT A town of 30,000 people thousands of miles from Washington, D.C., could take on the U.S. Navy — and win? But that's what happened in October, when city officials in Juneau, Alaska, put the homeporting issue on the ballot, convinced that local residents would support the Navy's plans to take over the community's harbor. However, the plan backfired and voters rejected the proposal by a 53-to-47-percent margin.

The issue surfaced after Defense Department and Navy officials visited Juneau to investigate whether the city would be a suitable homeport. The Navy was looking at ten other Alaskan communities as possible sites, too, but perhaps no city fathers were as enthusiastic as Juneau's — from Mayor Ernie Polley to the city Assembly to the Juneau Economic Development Council. Municipal officials placed the issue on the ballot as an advisory measure, convinced that voters would endorse the plan and give Juneau an inside track when the Navy finally made its decision.

In the weeks before the election, the Economic Development Council funded a pro-homeporting study that outraged opponents of the referendum. "It didn't examine the social, economic and ecological effects of homeporting," said Theresa Scott of Juneau Citizens Against Homeporting. "We pointed to For-est Service reports on the damage

that would occur to the area being considered for homeporting."

Throughout the campaign, environmentalists were among the most outspoken homeporting opponents. They pointed out that proposed homeporting sites would cause environmental damage that would affect commercial fishing, tourism, and guided sport fishing and hunting. They also argued that the housing of nuclear weapons would entail health risks and pose moral problems for the community.

As part of its campaign, homeporting opponents sent letters-to-the-editor to the local newspaper, appeared on public radio and TV stations, and collected signatures for a newspaper advertisement requesting a "no" vote on the ballot proposition.

Observers expect that the election result will probably kill the homeporting proposal in Juneau. Even though the vote was advisory, city planner Murray Walsh says that community sentiment was strong enough that the city will probably stop courting the Navy. In fact, the Juneau Economic Development Council, a newly-elected mayor and several members of the Juneau Assembly have said they will abide by the advisory vote, and will not respond favorably to any future homeport initiatives from the Navy.

SOURCE: Theresa Scott, Juneau Citizens Against Homeporting, 310 Irwin St., Unit C, Juneau, AK 99801 (907-586-2864); "Alaskan Capital Is First to Sink Navy Homeport," Washington Post, 6 October 1988.

The proposed homeporting sites would cause environmental damage affecting fishing, tourism, and hunting.

In Search of a Just and Lasting Peace

The debate over the rights of Palestinians to a homeland reached America's cities in this November's election with varying outcomes. In Massachusetts, for instance, voters in two state representative districts voted on the issue, with Palestinian supporters winning one of the ballot measures.

In Cambridge and parts of Somerville, voters approved the Palestinian homeland measure by a 53-to-47-percent majority. The Cambridge/Somerville measure called upon Congress and the President to work toward "a just and lasting peace" in the Mideast by demanding that Israel "end its violations of Palestinian human rights and its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza." It also urged the U.S. to stop its foreign aid that supports Israel's occupation of those areas. Finally, it called for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza "with peace for all states in the region, including Israel."

CITIES
DIVIDED
ON
ADVOCACY
OF
PALESTINIAN
STATE



Soldiers attacking women in Ramallah

In neighboring Newton, Massachusetts, voters rejected a ballot measure that was more mildly phrased than the policy question in Cambridge and Somerville. It called for the recognition of two states — Israel and Palestine — but did not urge the curtailing of aid to Israel for its actions in the occupied territories. But the measure went down to defeat by more than a two-to-one margin.

In the Massachusetts campaigns, opponents included mainstream Jewish organizations and Congressmen Barney Frank and Joseph Kennedy. Lined up on the other side were both Arab and progressive Jewish leaders, who used the U.S. Bishops' message on the Middle East to sway voters to their viewpoint.

In California, the Palestinian issue was on the November ballot in both San Francisco and Berkeley. San Francisco voters soundly defeated a citywide proposition that called for U.S. "recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and statehood in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza side by side with the state of Israel with guarantees for the security of

*One
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measure as
"very radical
and very
pro-Arab."*

both states." Opponents of the measure collected 68 percent of the votes.

In Berkeley, an even more lopsided vote (71-to-29 percent) defeated a ballot measure that called for the establishment of a sister city relationship between Berkeley and Jabalia, a refugee camp inhabited by 60,000 Palestinians on the Gaza Strip. The measure reached the ballot in response to action by the Berkeley City Council last March, in which city leaders voted 6 to 3 to reject such a sister city tie (see the Summer 1988 issue of the *Bulletin*).

Though this was the first time that voters had spoken out so directly on the Palestinian issue, press coverage on the matter was minimal. The *Boston Globe* initially reported that the Cambridge measure had been defeated, but then issued a short formal correction in the following day's edition. The newspaper quoted one mainstream Jewish leader who described proponents of the measure as "very radical and very pro-Arab."

SOURCES: San Franciscans for Palestinian Israeli Peace, 801 Sutter St., Suite B, San Francisco, CA 94109; Coalition for Palestinian Rights (617-661-9167); Alexander Cockburn, *The Nation*, 5 December 1988, p. 590-591.

PENTAGON CUT WOULD HELP CITIES, MAYORS' STUDY CONCLUDES

A U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS' study released in October found that a \$30 billion transfer from military to domestic programs — a 10 percent cut in the Pentagon's current budget — would improve the quality of life in the nation's cities and towns by boosting the nation's GNP and creating nearly 200,000 new jobs.

The Conference President, Mayor Arthur Holland of Trenton, New Jersey, applauded the 50-page report,

National security means more than weapons. It means strong families and strong neighborhoods. Measured in these terms, our national security has been breached.

entitled "A Shift in Military Spending to America's Cities."

"The results are...clear," Holland said. "Investing in the cities is really investing in America. What works for the cities works for the nation."

Irvine, California, Mayor Larry Agran, who authored the Conference's National Priorities Resolution originally calling for the study, said the report added weight to his charge that both presidential candidates had ignored "real national security."



From left, Mayors Agran (Irvine, CA), Holland (Trenton, NJ) and Sawyer (Chicago, IL)

"The candidates speak often of their commitment to strong national security. But to most Americans — including many of America's mayors," Agran said, "the candidates speak a foreign language. They talk of national security only in the narrowest terms. They speak of Trident submarines, MX missiles, and Star Wars. In short, they equate massive, even wasteful, military spending with national security."

"Mayors worry about national security, too," Agran said. "But to us, national security means more than weapons. It means strong families and strong neighborhoods in economically vibrant communities. It means good-paying jobs in modern industries that are competitive in the global marketplace. It means health care and education, child care, and transportation worthy of our citizens. It means decent, affordable housing for every

American. "Measured in these terms, our national security has been breached. Our cities are under siege."

Chicago Mayor Eugene Sawyer agreed, saying increases in military spending have come at the expense of America's cities.

"The lack of federal funding in recent years has directly and indirectly caused many of the social ills we are experiencing in our urban areas today — housing, economic development, education, job training, mass transit, health and social services cutbacks . . . cities teeming with drug-related crime and our jail cells overflowing."

The study was produced by Employment Research Associates (ERA) of Lansing, Michigan, and documents the likely impact of a \$30 billion annual transfer — \$150 billion over five years (1986-1990) — from military spending to what Agran called "programs of proven effectiveness in our

cities and towns."

Marion Anderson, ERA's Executive Director, said "A Shift in Military Spending" is very different from previous studies of the military impact on the domestic economy.

"Other reports have said, 'It would be very nice if you could hire new teachers,'" Anderson said. "Well, we're not just showing that you can hire new teachers if you cut military spending. We're showing the impact of those new teachers spending money in the economies of four cities and in the national economy."

The study analyzed how a national shift in budget priorities would affect the economies of Trenton, New Jersey; Chicago, Illinois; Irvine, California; and Austin, Texas. These cities were deemed to be representative of the country: Trenton because it represents the nation's older established Northeastern cities; Chicago because it represents the Midwestern industrial heartland; high-tech Irvine, California, which is in the heart of a militarily-dependent region; and Austin, Texas, an economically diverse Southwestern city.

"To our knowledge, nothing like this has ever been done," Anderson said of the study. "It has a specificity based on real data and based on real cities, not just some generic city."

In focusing on urban economies, however, the Conference study has not missed the forest for the trees. At the end of five years, the study concludes, the transfer of \$30 billion to domestic priorities could provide each year the construction or renovation of nearly one million homes, the hiring of 387,000 new teachers, aides and support staff, the enhancement of rapid transit systems, new public health projects, and a wide array of child care, senior service and job-training programs.

For a copy of "A Shift in Military Spending to America's Cities," send \$10 to Employment Research Associates, 115 W. Allegan Street, Suite 810, Lansing, Michigan 48933 (517-485-7655). Bulk discounts are available.

What a \$30 Billion Pentagon Cut Would Mean for Four Cities

THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS report calculates the following expected economic changes after a proposed \$30 billion-a-year shift from military to social spending:

CHICAGO — "Both Chicago's unemployment rate, and the share of its households living below the poverty level, are well above the national average. The city's aging transportation and housing infrastructure is in need of extensive renovation...."

"The change envisioned in this study would more than double existing federal support to Chicago and Cook County in the areas of housing and community development, education and job training, mass transit, and health and social services."

Overall, Chicago would show "a substantial gain in its Gross Regional Product and a net annual gain of 20,020 jobs."

AUSTIN — In the midst of the oil boom of the late 1970s and early 1980s, Austin grew dramatically. Falling oil prices in the mid-80s, however, pushed city and county governments to the wall.

The report concludes that Austin and surrounding Travis County would "fare well" following the proposed military spending cut. In spite of declining military spending in the region — Travis County is the site of a large military base — Austin would receive millions in new federal funding: \$17.5 million for housing and community development; slightly more than that for primary and secondary education; \$3.5 million for employment training; \$1.5 million for mass transit programs; and nearly \$700,000 for public health projects.

TRENTON — Like Chicago, Trenton's "share of its population living below the poverty level is above the national average." Unlike Chicago, Trenton can claim no real growth this decade.

Because of its "special problems" — the city is an industrial city in an era of declining industries — the report concludes that "Trenton could make impressive gains with this redirection of federal priorities to meet urban needs...Net employment changes are small but positive" — a net gain of about 95 jobs per year — and the federal government would send to Trenton more than \$10 million in new federal funds for health care, child care, job training, mass transit, schools, and housing.

IRVINE — "Irvine...is located in Orange County, a very militarily dependent region...[H]igh rates of [real estate] development and population growth in the Irvine-Orange County area have put a severe strain on the region's physical infrastructure, especially transportation and low-cost housing."

The study concludes that, while Irvine would have "a loss in economic activity, and a net annual loss of 72 jobs," a shift in federal spending from military to social programs would also help solve transportation problems that "are among the worst in the nation."

Further, "[t]he net economic losses highlight the need to think about economic conversion planning for militarily dependent regions....," the study concludes. In Irvine, any "negative effects" from the proposed shift could be "minimized by advance planning."

THE RE-OPENING OF THE AMERICAN MIND

SACRAMENTO MAYOR CHALLENGES CITIZENS TO REDEFINE NATIONAL SECURITY

IN CALIFORNIA'S CAPITAL CITY OF Sacramento, a lively debate has emerged over national budget priorities. Between last October and December 1989, fifteen community groups are sponsoring a series of nine public forums on "Redefining Na-



Sacramento, CA Mayor Anne Rudin

tional Security," encouraging citizens and community leaders alike to re-examine national priorities and set a new agenda for the country.

One of the most enthusiastic supporters of the series has been Sacramento's mayor, Anne Rudin. She issued a proclamation recognizing the importance of the program, and

Cities have
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acknowledging the contributions made toward peace by the sponsoring groups. She also briefly addressed the first of the nine-program series.

Mayor Rudin told the *Bulletin*, "Cities have suffered from the myth that America depends on costly, redundant and superfluous military weapons systems to make our nation strong." She also noted, "We mayors have struggled to find funds with which to rebuild our transportation systems and physical infrastructure; to care for and educate our children; and to help our cities and our constituents achieve economic security. We see our nation slipping in the world's economy because of decreasing productivity in marketable commodities. We see jobs lost and research and development funds diverted to production that does nothing to enhance our lives."

The fifteen community groups helping to sponsor the event include the Sacramento area chapters of the Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), the League of Women Voters, Beyond War, the American Association of University Women, and the World Affairs Council. The forum is spearheaded by Dr. Edward Rudin, program director of Sacramento's PSR affiliate and the mayor's spouse.

SOURCE: Mayor Anne Rudin, City Hall, 915 I St., Sacramento, CA 95814 (916-449-5300).

VOTERS APPROVE FOUR NEW NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES

By margins ranging from 14 to 24 percent, voters around the country created four new nuclear-free zones (NFZs) on November 8, bringing to 160 the total number of NFZs in the United States.

The largest NFZ majority came in Oak Park, Illinois — next door to nuclear-free Chicago — where voters overwhelmingly endorsed a non-binding advisory question that directs the city council to adopt an NFZ resolution. Oak Park, you may recall, achieved fame in 1985 when it became the first city in America to ban handguns.

Albert Donnay of Nuclear Free America called the victories in Oakland and Humboldt County, California, "of greatest significance for the NFZ movement" because the measures are legally binding.

"In addition to zoning out nuclear weapons and banning the transportation of nuclear materials," said Donnay, "both also include tough nuclear-free investment and purchasing provisions that bar any public investments in, purchases from, or contracts with companies involved in the production of nuclear weapons."

The Oakland ordinance, as well as that adopted in Wasco County, Oregon, also prohibit nuclear reactors and the storage and transportation of nuclear wastes.

Money Mattered

The Oakland NFZ campaign is the first to overcome opposition from nuclear weapons manufacturers — some \$70,000 worth in just the last two months. Proponents, led by the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Oakland, also

overcame vocal opposition from the local Chamber of Commerce, the Port Authority, Mayor Lionel Wilson, and all but one member of the City Council, Wilson Riles, Jr.

In addition, the Oakland coalition is the first to defeat Warn/Claussen/Glaub, the North Hollywood (CA)

The Oakland NFZ campaign is the first to overcome opposition from nuclear weapons manufacturers.

consulting firm that ran previous successful anti-NFZ campaigns: in Cambridge, Massachusetts (1983); in Ann Arbor, Michigan (1986); in Sonoma County, California (1986); and in Palo Alto, California (1987).

The Oakland victory, however, did not come cheaply. The Coalition spent \$60,000 over 15 months — more than twice that spent by any other NFZ campaign. But Steve Bloom, spokesperson for the Coalition, said that "for a large town, we didn't actually raise and spend all that much."

According to Bloom, NFZ opponents did not spend their money

wisely: "Nearly half of their money went to Warn/Claussen/Glaub. The amount they actually spent on constructive political stuff here in Oakland was pretty modest."

No one, of course, expects the nuclear industry to give up. Bloom points out that "nuclear free zones are aimed at nuclear weapons manufacturers, and they know it. Sooner or later, they're really going to go after every one of these NFZ campaigns."

And when they do, Bloom predicts, heavy spending — and campaigns to raise the big money — will become as important around the nation as they proved to be in Oakland on election day.

"We need to figure out how we too can raise substantial amounts of money," Bloom says. "If we can make the financial thing a little more equal, we can win almost every time."

Win Some, Lose Some

Even though voters overall supported nuclear free zones by 53% on election day, there were four defeats. The largest, longest, and hardest fought campaign was in Sonoma County, California. The proposed NFZ ordinance was written to pose no threat to existing weapons manufacturers, but it was nevertheless strongly opposed by a coalition of military contractors from around the country.

Donnay says that the contractors, led by Hewlett Packard, "spent \$150,000 on a six-week barrage of misleading advertising and mailers that reached every household in the county."

Citizens for a Healthy Economic

Future (CHEF), backers of the initiative, responded with an 18-page tabloid that reached 100,000 people in the last week of the campaign, but it was not enough to counter claims that the modest initiative would produce "massive job losses," "unilateral disarmament," and "needless bureaucracy."

Despite being outspent by more than five to one, NFZ supporters still

THE WINNERS

Humboldt County, California	59% to 41%
Oakland, California	57% to 43%
Oak Park, Illinois	67% to 33%
Wasco County, Oregon	62% to 38%

THE LOSERS

Ferry County, Washington	34% to 66%
Pinole, California	46% to 54%
Sonoma County, California	45% to 55%
Ukiah, California	45% to 55%

managed to win 45 percent of the vote — five percent more than the last NFZ initiative received in 1986. Although CHEF is not planning to try again at the county level, local activists are analyzing the results precinct-by-precinct to focus future NFZ organizing efforts on those towns and cities that were most supportive.

In Ferry County, Washington — the only other initiative that faced organized opposition — the main issue was not the prohibition of nuclear weapons, but rather of uranium mining. Although the county was already nuclear-free, local mining and business interests, cultivating local fears about radical "Earth First" environmentalists, claimed that the real intent of the initiative was to prohibit all mining.

SOURCE: Albert Donnay, Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th Street, Baltimore MD 21218 (301-235-3575). Parts of this story were excerpted from stories appearing in the November 1988 issue of NFA's New Abolitionist.

NFZ PROPONENTS IN MARIN GEAR UP FOR BALLOT BATTLE

IN MARIN COUNTY, IT'S BACK TO business as usual as far as county purchases are concerned. Yes, voters of Marin did pass a nuclear-free-zone ordinance in 1986 prohibiting purchases from nuclear weapons manufacturers, and, yes, a Peace Conversion Commission still exists. But after a political showdown last summer in which four of five peace

commissioners resigned, the county is now buying products from independent distributors — even if the products are made by nuclear weapons manufacturers.

The original ordinance forbade the city from buying light bulbs from General Electric, for instance, because of GE's involvement in building nuclear weapons, but it forgot to prohibit the city from buying the same bulbs at local hardware stores. A supplemental measure closed this loophole. But as we reported in the autumn 1988 issue of the *Bulletin*, Marin's Board of Supervisors voted in August to nullify the supplemental ordinance and most of the peace commissioners immediately resigned.

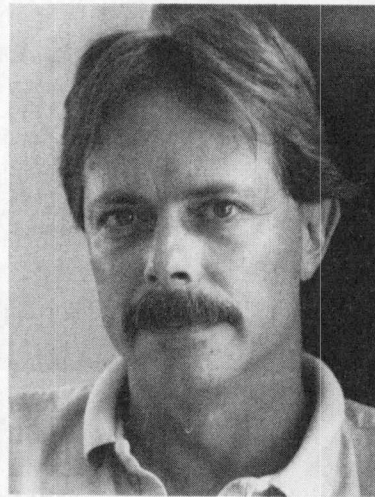
Since August, the supervisors have appointed new commissioners, most of whom appear more sympathetic to the board's own anti-NFZ viewpoint. They include the former auditor-comptroller of Marin County and a conservative architect from the San Rafael Cham-

ber of Commerce. As former commission chair Richard Raznikov says, "I don't think the commission will be functioning in any meaningful way. Absolutely, the county is now making third-party purchases, buying whatever it wants, and saying there's no reasonable alternative to doing so."

Undaunted, proponents of a strong nuclear-free-zone ordinance are planning to go back to the electorate with a new, more comprehensive ballot measure. As 1988 drew to a close, Marin's NFZ advocates were studying ordinances in other communities and consulting with local legislative analysts. By early 1989, they expect to draft a new ordinance and begin the petitioning process — with the goal of getting on the November 1989 ballot.

Meanwhile, the former commissioners have no regrets about their decision to resign. "We drew the line very clearly in the public's mind about what was going on," says Raznikov. "There's a broader disillusionment with local government in Marin, and with the supervisors and the county administrator in particular. I think things are evolving in a way to present an opportunity to make some changes locally."

SOURCE: Richard Raznikov, 1005 A St., Suite 405, San Rafael, CA 94901 (415-453-8400); Marin NFZ Association, 444 Scenic Road, Fairfax, CA 94930; Nuclear Free America, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575).



Richard Raznikov

Ed Smith

Nuclear-Free Zone Briefs

Since the last issue of the Bulletin, Nuclear Free America has reported the following developments in nuclear-free zones in its publication, The New Abolitionist.

BERTRAM (IA)

The Town Council unanimously approved an NFZ resolution in June, the second to be adopted in the state of Iowa. The measure opposes both nuclear weapons and nuclear waste disposal. NFZ proponents are also working to erect NFZ signs in the community.

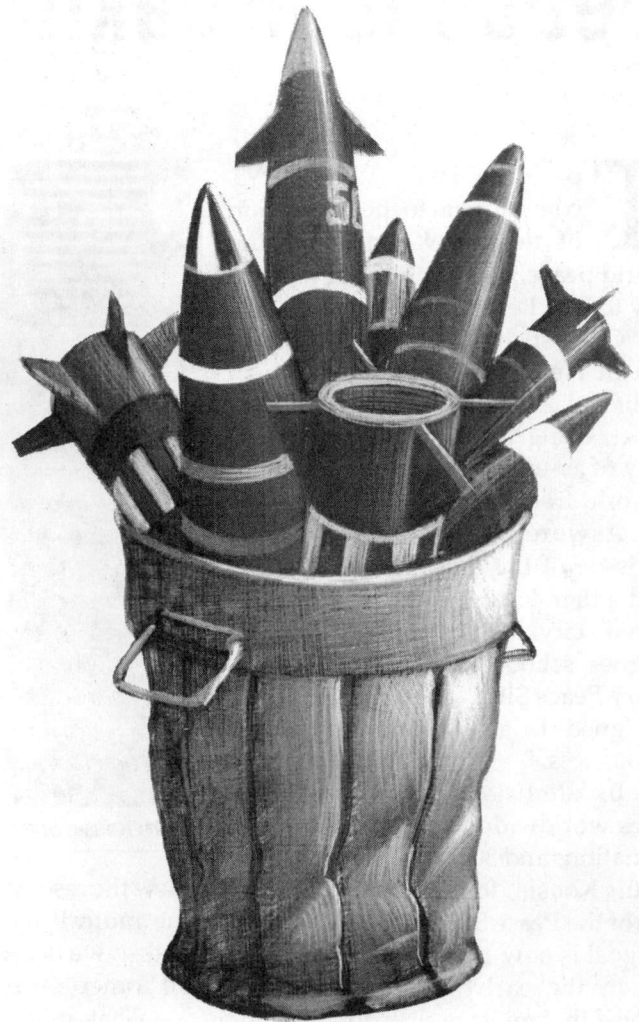
HOMER (AK)

City Attorney Bob Hahn thwarted Nuclear Free Homer's attempt to place an NFZ initiative on last June's ballot. In a five-page memorandum, Hahn claimed that the initiative would violate the Alaska constitution and could not be enforced. He added that the federal government has the power to make decisions over the presence and safety of facilities dealing with atomic energy, and that this power could not be transferred to the voters of Homer.

A similar ruling was handed down in Kodiak Island (AK), where Borough Clerk Gaye Vaughan refused to certify an NFZ referendum petition. Except for the substitution of the name "Kodiak Island," the petition was identical to the one sponsored in Homer. If approved, the measure would have prohibited the production, deployment, launching, maintaining or storage of nuclear weapons or their components. Vaughan claimed that "the Borough Clerk can only certify a petition application if the proposed ordinance 'would be enforceable as a matter of law.'"

PRINCETON (MA)

At its annual town meeting last May, the citizens of Princeton (population 900) voted to adopt an NFZ resolution. The measure barely squeaked by, with a vote of 52 to 51. The resolution calls for a ban on the development, testing, manufacture, storage or transportation of nuclear weapons.



WEST CHESTER (PA)

In September, West Chester's borough councilors voted 6 to 1 to override the mayor's veto of an NFZ ordinance they had approved two weeks earlier. The ordinance bans the manufacture, storage and production of nuclear weapons and waste.

This was actually the second time that the councilors had adopted an NFZ measure, but when it was passed (and then vetoed by the mayor) in 1987, the city leaders could not muster the five votes necessary to override the veto. In the most recent confrontation between the mayor and the council, the mayor labeled the NFZ ordinance as a "symbolic and unwise attempt to interfere with the federal government's right and duty to provide for nuclear deterrence."

SOURCE: The New Abolitionist, October 1988, published by Nuclear Free America, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575).

Peace Is Breaking Out All Over

TO SYMBOLIZE THIS CITY'S commitment to the prevention of nuclear war and to seeking world peace, we have proclaimed our city to be a Peace Site."

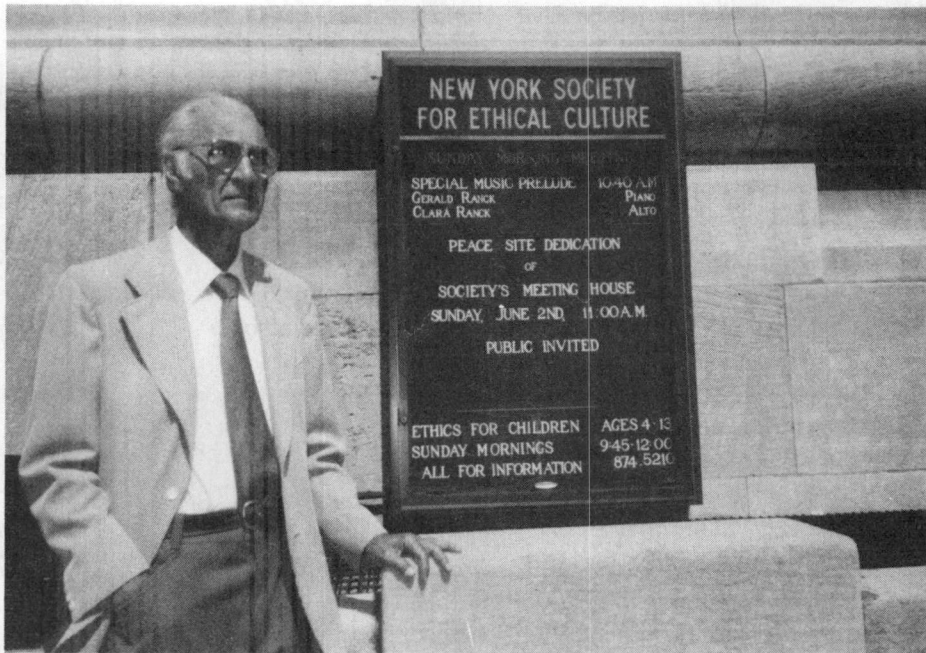
Cities such as Newark and Princeton in New Jersey, and Berkeley in California, are taking those words to heart, using the declaration as their way of asserting their commitment to a world free of war.

As we reported in the Winter 1987-88 issue of the *Bulletin*, city councils and other local entities have designated city halls, churches, synagogues, schools and YWCAs as honorary Peace Sites — a symbolic action designed to raise community consciousness.

By late 1988, the number of Peace Sites worldwide had grown to 417 in 12 nations and 30 states. According to Louis Kousin, founder and coordinator of the Peace Site concept, the overall goal is now 1,000.

In the early 1980s, Kousin observed that military sites dot the landscape in the U.S. and throughout the world. Why not, he asked, dot the landscape with Peace Sites? Gradually the idea caught on with all kinds of people. In July, Democratic Presidential candidate Michael Dukakis sent a letter to Kousin endorsing Peace Sites: "The concept of Peace Sites in places of work, recreation and residency is an original and realistic way of impressing upon American citizens the important role they can play in attaining world peace."

In a recent *New York Times* article, Mayor Emanuel Luftglass of Somerville, New Jersey, recalled that in 1986, when the Borough Council designated Somerville's Borough Hall as the first government building Peace Site in the world, "There was a bit of concern among council members that some residents, especially veterans, would



Louis Kousin at Peace Site dedication of New York Society for Ethical Culture.

view the resolution as an expression of the radical left and antiwar groups, and so we dedicated the Peace Site to all Somerville military veterans."

That initial anxiety was apparently unwarranted, however; the following July 4th, local veterans' organizations themselves dedicated a second Peace Site in the city, known as Veterans Point.

Mayor Luftglass has written to Mikhail Gorbachev to recommend that the Soviets adopt Peace Sites, too. Luftglass told the *Times*, "A municipal Peace Site symbolizes little government pushing big government to support peace and to take an anti-nuclear stand," says Luftglass. "To young people, who fear a nuclear holocaust, the Peace Site signifies that local officials care about human beings and are concerned about global issues."

Meanwhile, Minnesota Commissioner of Education Ruth Randall has sent letters to all school superintendents in the state, urging them to "consider the benefits of declaring

your schools as Peace Sites." This came on the heels of a Peace Site/World Law program at Longfellow International/Fine Arts Elementary Center in Minneapolis, during which Dr. Randall joined with 500 elementary schoolchildren in declaring Longfellow a Peace Site. A permanent Peace Site banner has been installed there — the first public school in Minnesota to receive such a designation.

According to Lynn Elling, chair of World Citizen, Inc., Dr. Randall also sent a copy of a book titled *Planethood*, co-authored by Benjamin Ferencz, former U.S. prosecutor at Nuremberg, to each school superintendent in Minnesota. The book makes the case for replacing war with stronger international cooperation, more international law, and a strengthened World Court and United Nations.

SOURCES: Louis Kousin, *Peace Sites International*, 435 N. Union Ave., Cranford, NJ 07016 (201-276-2838); Lynn Elling, *World Citizen, Inc.*, 3721 48th Ave., S., Minneapolis, MN 55406 (612-729-5133); "Dukakis Hails Peace Site Idea in Letter to Kousin," *Cranford Chronicle*, 28 July 1988, p. 7; Patricia Squires, "Somerville: Peace Sites a Goal," *New York Times*, 29 May 1988, p. 11.

SOLIDARITY, ST. PAUL STYLE

In the last 30 years, about 3.5 million black South Africans have been uprooted and moved against their will. In most cases, these removals are part of the white government's campaign to confine blacks, 73 percent of the population, to 13 percent of the land. Last September, Chris Heunis, the country's Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, announced that more than 250,000 blacks would soon be relocated.

But as part of the United States-South Africa Sister Community Project, St. Paul, Minnesota is steadfastly trying to undermine that government edict. Linking itself with the people of Lawaaikamp, a black township whose people are threatened with relocation, St. Paul has exerted enormous moral and political pressure to prevent them from being uprooted.

As we reported in the autumn issue of the *Bulletin*, the 1,800 residents of Lawaaikamp were threatened with a May 31 eviction, but chose to resist that order. That deadline passed, and since then, the Supreme Court in Capetown issued summonses to 122 Lawaaikamp families, demanding that they show a good reason why they should not be evicted. Each of these summonses has been responded to by an attorney for the township's people, and a final ruling was expected by the court in late 1988 or early 1989.

At the same time, the white landlords stopped taking rent from Lawaaikamp residents — apparently to convince the court that the residents are non-rent-paying and illegally occupying the land.

Meanwhile, St. Paul continues to apply whatever leverage it can to help the citizens of Lawaaikamp. A pro-Lawaaikamp rally was held at College of St. Thomas in St. Paul in late November, with St. Paul Mayor George Latimer as the keynote speaker. The



St. Paul Mayor George Latimer (left) talking by phone to members of Lawaaikamp Civic after sister city relationship was formalized by a council resolution.

event was part of a South Africa Awareness Week at the campus.

Some junior and senior high schools in St. Paul have also given students a three-day course on Lawaaikamp. The sister-community project encouraged the students to write letters to Senator Edward Kennedy and Rev. Jesse Jackson, asking them to speak out publicly on behalf of the people of Lawaaikamp.

Meanwhile, new links established by the U.S.-South Africa Sister Community Project are getting off the ground. In October, Louisville, Kentucky, formally became sisters with Kleinskool; and in November, Milwaukee joined up with Potsdam.

In Louisville, Alderperson Reginald Meeks led the drive to lend the city's support to Kleinskool. For 60 years, blacks and "coloreds" have been living harmoniously in Kleinskool, going to the same schools and intermarrying. But the South African government has ordered blacks to leave (individuals of mixed

blood apparently can remain). In the process, husbands and wives of different racial backgrounds would be split up.

After Louisville's Board of Aldermen voted unanimously to link with Kleinskool, Alderperson Meeks placed a call to the South African township, pledging the support of the Kentucky city. Since then, residents of Louisville have written letters to the South African ambassador to the U.S., "alerting him that we are watching," according to Brenda Cross, an aide to Alderperson Meeks.

Meanwhile, other U.S. cities — including Philadelphia, Houston, Birmingham, Atlanta and Wichita — are also considering forming sister community ties in South Africa. For more information, contact the U.S.-South Africa Sister Community Project at 2601 Mission St., Suite 400, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415-824-2938).

SOURCES: Sue Hurley, St. Paul Department of Planning & Economic Development, 25 W. Fourth St., St. Paul, MN 55102 (612-228-228-3208); Alderperson Reginald Meeks, City Hall, 601 W. Jefferson, Louisville, KY 40202 (502-625-3919).

Seattle's Duane Dietz and Dwight Wilson, in Tashkent, put up the last of the 20 banners depicting birds of the Northwest.



A Lasting Symbol of International Friendship

The idea was conceived early in 1984: A Peace Park built in Tashkent as a gift of love and labor from Americans to the Soviet people. This past September, more than four years later, the park was formally dedicated — becoming the largest project for a Soviet-American sister city to date.



Tashkent Mayor Shukurulla Mirsayidov flanks Peace Park volunteers Dane Spencer and Mary Lynn Myer. Dane and Mary Lynn are taking a break from grouting tiles, an activity which took hundreds of hours.

Throughout last summer, seven teams of Americans — 171 people from Seattle, the state of Washington, and from ten other states, a team that included teachers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, retired folks and even a woman who was homeless — took turns working side-by-side with about 300 Soviet volunteers in constructing a lasting symbol of international friendship. Most of the Americans had paid all or part of their \$2,500 in expenses for the three-week trip by selling Peace Park “bonds” to friends and neighbors.

Last spring, two large white cargo containers left Seattle, filled with Washington Douglas fir, Oregon incense cedar, California redwood, tools, and miscellaneous supplies, headed for Tashkent, Seattle’s sister city and the fourth largest city in the Soviet Union. In anticipation of their upcoming trip to Tashkent, the American volunteers studied Russian and heard lectures on Soviet history. Many attended classes that prepared them for immersion into a culture different from their own.

The elements of the Peace Park are rich with symbolism: The water running through it that represents life, the earth mound showing that Seattle and Tashkent are part of the same planet, and the Friendship Grove of fruit and flower trees representing the fruitful relationship between the two sister cities.

When the park was finally completed, joint dedication

ceremonies were held in the two communities, with about 1,200 people (including 40 Americans) gathered at the Tashkent Peace Park and about 350 people congregated at the Seattle Center. A telephone hookup allowed Seattle Mayor Charles Royer to talk with Tashkent Mayor Shukurulla Mirsayidov during the ceremonies.

The entire project was jointly sponsored by Ploughshares, the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee, the Seattle chapter of Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility, and the Washington chapter of the American Society of Landscape Architects.

“This was a real coup of cooperation between the two cities,” recalls Rosh Doan, a physician who oversaw training of the U.S. volunteers.

Already, there is talk of other Peace Parks. Dwight Wilson, Executive Director of Ploughshares, says that sister city programs and citizen diplomacy groups should recognize Peace Parks as “a tremendous way to bring people together, to educate people, and to make a public statement about where the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are moving in our relationship. It would almost be a disservice to the planet not have more Peace Parks.”

SOURCES: Seattle/Tashkent Peace Park Project, 509 10th Ave., E., Seattle, WA 98102 (206-328-8813); Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee, 630 Randolph Place, Seattle, WA 98122 (206-324-6258).

MOBILE MAYOR STILL IMMOVABLE

Mayor Outlaw Sees Soviet Sister Cities as Communist Plot

IN MANY WAYS, MOBILE, ALABAMA, and Rostov-on-Don in the Soviet Union seem like perfect candidates for a sister-city relationship. They're both river ports, and Rostov's nearby Sea of Azov is about the size of Mobile Bay. Rostov's Tsimlyansk reservoir, which connects the Don and Volga rivers, is similar to Mobile's Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway.

But Mobile Mayor Arthur Outlaw doesn't see it that way. As we reported in the autumn issue of the *Bulletin*, Outlaw has refused to sanction the sisterly link between the two cities — and he's not budging. That has left the relationship in limbo and caused consternation among Mobile's sister-city supporters who have already played host to visitors from Rostov.

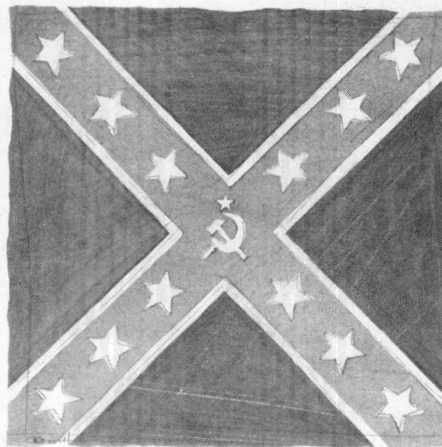
Although Rostov's city fathers have approved the sisterly tie, Mobile's City Council has declined to do so, with councilmembers politically loyal to Outlaw holding out to stay on the good side of the mayor. While four members of Mobile's seven-person council support the sister city connection, five are needed to seal the relationship.

Outlaw, a conservative Republican, has strong views about Soviet-American relations. Not long ago, according to a visitor to Outlaw's office, the mayor hinted that Lenin was running the Soviet Union from his grave, and that sister cities were one of the Soviet strategies for taking over America without firing a shot.

"Mayor Outlaw has been to the Soviet Union," says Debbie Jones, a spokesperson for the Mayor. "He opposes communism. He opposes what communism stands for. While he supports Mikhail Gorbachev and his efforts to bring international peace

to the world, until that happens, Mobile does not need to stand in the position of international peace-maker."

In these days of *glasnost* and Reagan-Gorbachev summits, Outlaw's stance has angered Mobile residents like Jay Higginbotham, chair of the advisory board for Society Mobile-



Rostov-on-Don. "This is something that Outlaw should not be able to sweep under the rug and forget. It's too important an issue for one man to be able to do that."

Mayor Outlaw is expected to run for re-election next June, and the sister city controversy could become a campaign issue. Higginbotham says the matter is "becoming increasingly embarrassing to the mayor, particularly when so many other mayors in the country, including those of his own party, are participating in these programs. We suspect he'd just like all of this to go away."

If Outlaw is correct, the matter has already gone away. Jones calls the Mobile-Rostov relationship "a dead issue. It died last summer, at least a good seven or eight months ago," she says.

Nor is there public support for resurrecting the controversy, Jones says. "We've received phone calls, letters, and postcards from all across the country that are in support of Mayor Outlaw's position," she says. "A handful of people in Mobile support the relationship, and the Mayor's position is let them do it on their own. There will be no government sanction for a relationship between Mobile and Rostov-on-Don."

But Higginbotham disagrees. Since Outlaw first publicly opposed the sister city relationship, interest in the program has soared in Mobile, Higginbotham says. The mailing list of the sister city group has climbed from 15 to over 200 in just a few months and, with or without a formal sanction, supporters are planning an ambitious series of exchanges between the two cities.

"We're not giving up," Higginbotham says. Between February 19 and 25, his organization will host "Rostov-on-Don Week in which we're going all-out to educate the people of Mobile about Rostov."

The week-long festivities will include exchanges between libraries, schools and newspapers in the two communities and, Higginbotham predicts, a mid-week council vote on the issue. "Right in the midst of all that, we're going to ask them to vote, one way or another, on this sister city project."

The Mayor's office predicted no vote would take place, that a formal relationship between Mobile and Rostov-on-Don was "no longer under consideration."

SOURCE: Society Mobile-Rostov-on-Don, P.O. Box 1827, Mobile, AL 36633; Mayor Outlaw's Office (205-434-7241).

BRIDGING THE BERING STRAIT

Jim Stimpfle is a dreamer. For years, he knew that Soviet citizens lived right across the Bering Strait from his own home in Nome, Alaska, but icy East-West relations kept the two worlds light years apart. Still, Stimpfle did not give up hope.



SEVERAL YEARS AGO, WHILE STANDING ON A BEACH IN NOME, the 40-year-old real-estate salesman patiently waited for the wind to change to an easterly course. Then he released a helium balloon carrying chewing tobacco, shaving cream and other gifts he hoped would somehow reach people in Siberia.

No one knows for sure whether Stimpfle's package ever reached his nearby comrades, but now, fortunately, there are some new options opening up. No, there are not yet commuter flights across the Bering Sea. But as the Cold War thaws, exchanges between the two areas are proliferating.

An airline company might soon find the Nome-to-Provideniya corridor irresistible. Last June, a "friendship flight" took 82 Alaskans, including Governor Steve Cowper, for a day-long visit to Provideniya, a Siberian port city. The Soviets are opening up Provideniya and two other Bering Sea ports to U.S. fishing vessels, allowing them to buy supplies and to fish in Soviet waters. And in September, more than two dozen Soviet leaders and journalists traveled from Provideniya to Nome, spending two days in Alaska.

Governor Cowper has been a driving force behind this bridge-building across the Bering Strait. In October, he

announced that the first U.S. sister-state agreement with a Soviet territory had been signed by his Chief of Staff Garrey Peska in the Soviet city of Khabarovsk. The agreement calls for increased trade between the two countries. Cowper said that the accord should "lead to new business opportunities for Alaskans and a greater understanding of our two systems by people from both countries. Alaska is breaking ground for the rest of the country in reducing tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union."

The signing of the agreement capped a ten-day trade mission by five Alaskan business leaders and three state officials designed to promote increased trade and improved relations. Ron Sheardown, president of Greatland Exploration, Ltd., received considerable interest for a proposal to ship ore from Nome for processing in the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, when the Provideniya delegation arrived in Nome last September, Jim Stimpfle was there to greet them, saying, "Maybe some day our common border will be guarded by friendship alone."

SOURCES: Governor Steve Cowper, State Capitol, Juneau, AK 99811 (907-465-3500); Hal Spencer, "At Last, Warm Glances Across the Bering Strait," New York Times, 14 July 1988, p. 8.

Cities of the Future

U.S.-SOVIET SISTER CITY PROGRAMS PLAN AHEAD AT THIRD CONFERENCE

by Steven Kalishman

LEADERS OF THE U.S.-SOVIET community relations movement mapped the course for the next five years of city-to-city diplomacy at the Third Annual U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference in Gainesville, Florida, last November. Billboarded as a "graduate leadership seminar" on sister cities, the conference brought together the pioneers of the movement for in-depth sessions on the future of U.S.-Soviet community relations.

Conference participants discussed: the history and current status of the U.S.-Soviet community relations movement, which has experienced phenomenal growth in the past two years; trade and business relations; press bridges between media in U.S. and Soviet cities; planning for the fourth annual sister cities conference in Tashkent; and the formation of the "U.S./U.S.S.R. Community Relations Council." Dialogue centered around the goals expected to be achieved by the year 1993:

- ▲ 100 official pairings and 50-100 new prospects;
- ▲ an active U.S.-Soviet Community Relations Council;
- ▲ an extensive electronic communications network;
- ▲ a trilateral assistance program, in which Soviet and American teams help developing countries;
- ▲ normal U.S.-Soviet relations; and,
- ▲ a joint U.S.-Soviet educational program for affiliations in early stages

Billboarded as
a "graduate
leadership seminar,"
the conference
brought together
the pioneers of the
movement for
in-depth sessions
on the future of
U.S.-Soviet
community
relations.

of development.

Bob Broedel of the Tallahassee-Krasnodar Sister City Program conducted a workshop on networking through electronic communications. He strongly encouraged activists to get modems for their home computers and subscribe to PeaceNet, an electronic mail service.

Showing the value of electronic communications, Broedel received two telex messages from Moscow during the conference. One message was from the Tass news agency, which proposed a joint initiative to document the history of U.S.-Soviet community relations. The other message was from the Novosti Press Agency, which submitted questions to the conference organizers for a story appearing in the Soviet press.

Novosti translated and transmitted a message of greetings from the "Friends of Tallahassee" citizen support group in Krasnodar to the conference participants. The message expressed appreciation for "your activities aimed at achieving the lofty goal of bringing the Soviet and American peoples closer together. Importantly, your conference is held in Gainesville, Florida, where a 'new wave' of the sister cities movement was born upon your initiative. We hope that in the future Cuba and Florida will become sister regions."

Guest speakers at the conference included: Gainesville City Commissioner Courtland Collier, who led the

second Gainesville delegation to Novorossiisk in 1983; Mayor James Dixon of Dixon, Illinois, hometown of Ronald Reagan and paired with the Siberian community of Dickson; Gainesville Mayor David Coffey, who led a delegation to Novorossiisk in September, 1988; Mike Roberts and

the Gold Lake Ranch in Boulder, Colorado. Representatives of 30 U.S. cities affiliated with Soviet cities explored ways to work together to achieve official recognition. By May of the next year, the Second Annual U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference in Seattle brought together 275 representatives,



Left to right, Judith Dixon (Dixon-Dickson) Mayor James E. Dixon (Dixon-Dickson) and Jane Fleetwood (Jacksonville-Murmansk) at Gainesville Conference

Amy Laakman, videographers who accompanied delegations from Tallahassee and Novorossiisk, respectively, to produce video documentaries shown at the conference; and David Hunt, a founder and coordinator of the Salem-Simferopol Sister City Committee.

Sponsoring programs of the conference were the Detroit-Minsk, Gainesville-Novorossiisk, Jacksonville-Murmansk, Salem-Simferopol and Tallahassee-Krasnodar links, and the Chicago Center for U.S.-U.S.S.R. Relations and Exchanges, which coordinates the Chicago-Kiev relationship. Also at the conference were directors of the Dallas-Riga, Atlanta-Tbilisi, and Dixon-Dickson programs and international observers from Stockholm, Sweden, and Delhi, India.

The First U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference was held in April 1986, at

including a Soviet delegation that included the mayors of Tashkent, Odessa, Vilnius and Baku, the secretary of the Moscow City Council, experts on trade, and sister city officials. The 1988 conference, attended by 25 delegates, was deliberately less formal and more of a "nuts-and-bolts" session.

The Fourth Annual U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference is scheduled for Tashkent in May-June 1989. Representatives from 50 pairs of sister cities and territories are being invited to spend four days at the Tashkent conference, followed by a four-day visit to their Soviet partners. Salem, Oregon, is expected to make a bid to host the fifth annual conference in 1990, at the time of the Goodwill Games in nearby Seattle. ■

Steven Kalishman is a founder and director of the Gainesville-Novorossiisk Sister City Program.

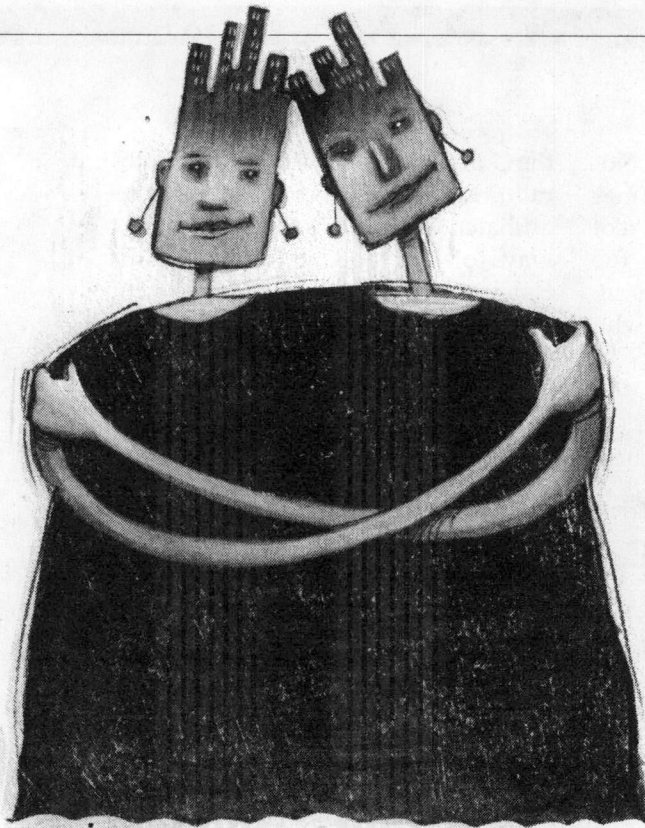


Soviet-American Sister Cities

Signed Agreements
as of 24 October 1988

Atlanta (GA) - Tbilisi
 Baltimore (MD) - Odessa
 Boulder (CO) - Dushanbe
 Cambridge (MA) - Yerevan
 Corning (NY) - L'vov
 Davis (CA) - Uman
 Detroit (MI) - Minsk
 Duluth (MN) - Petrozavodsk
 Eugene (OR) - Irkutsk
 Gainesville (FL) - Novorossiisk
 Houston (TX) - Baku
 Jacksonville (FL) - Murmansk
 Modesto (CA) - Khmel'nitskiy
 Oakland (CA) - Bellingham (WA) -
 Nakhodka
 Portland (OR) - Khabarovsk
 Richmond (IN) - Serpukhov
 Salem (OR) - Simferopol
 Santa Barbara (CA) - Yalta
 Santa Cruz (CA) - Alushta
 Seattle (WA) - Tashkent
 Sonoma (CA) - Kanev
 Spokane (WA) - Makhachkala
 State of Alaska - Khabarovsk Region
 State of Iowa - Stavropol Region
 Tallahassee (FL) - Krasnodar
 Trenton (NJ) - Lenin District, Moscow
 Worcester (MA) - Pushkin





U.S.-SOVIET SISTER CITY BRIEFS

ATLANTA (GA) - TBILISI

Since April 1988, when Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta and Mayor Irkali Andradze of Tbilisi signed an agreement linking the capital cities of the two Georgias, citizen exchanges have flourished, including many not officially sponsored by the sister city committee.

Last October, Kathryn Liss led a group of peace activists on a two-week tour of Soviet Georgia. The delegates stayed in the homes of members of the Georgian Peace Committee and, according to Liss, experienced "the unbelievable generosity and hospitality for which Soviet Georgians are known." A reciprocal visit is planned this April.

Physicians for Social Responsibility is arranging a physicians' exchange and a television "spacebridge" to discuss issues of common concern. Friendship Force is promoting an adult homestay exchange for next fall. Emory University, which was represented at the 70th anniversary of the University of Tbilisi, has begun negotiations for various exchanges. Sister Cities International provided a grant for two-week homestays for ten Atlanta and ten Tbilisi students last summer, and the exchange is expected to expand to a one-month stay next summer. Speaker phones were installed in student classrooms for group discussions by telephone last fall.

As a joint venture, Mayor Andradze has proposed

reciprocal arts and crafts salons, in which goods from one Georgia community would be sold in the other.

CONTACT: Sister City Program, Office of the Mayor, City of Atlanta, GA, 30335 (404-527-7000).

BELLINGHAM (WA) - OAKLAND (CA) - NAKHODKA

Oakland and Bellingham have developed the first official "three-way" U.S.-Soviet sister city affiliation with the Pacific Coast port of Nakhodka. This unique relationship has been approved for a two-year trial period by the Association for Relations Between Soviet and Foreign Cities and by Sister Cities International. If Bellingham and Oakland can devise a plan for sharing Nakhodka, the "troika" will become permanent.

The Oakland-Nakhodka Sister City Program, one of the five original Soviet-American affiliations, was established as a result of the Nixon-Brezhnev summit meeting in Moscow in 1972. Three years later, officials of both cities signed an "Agreement of Friendly Relations," which provided for exchanges in the areas of port activities, science, technology, culture, education and sports.

The Bellingham-Nakhodka relationship grew out of the Ground Zero Pairing Project in 1983. The following year, participants in Bellingham sent scrapbooks describing their city. Newspapers in the two cities carried an exchange of articles in 1986, and in 1988 a Nakhodka yacht participated in an ocean-racing event in Bellingham Bay.

Bellingham's initial ties with Nakhodka actually predate the sister city initiative by seven years. In 1976, a Bellingham corporation formed a joint venture with the Soviet Ministry of Fisheries to create Marine Resources Company International (MRCI), the only 50-50 Soviet-American joint venture then in existence. Established as a fishing enterprise, it has expanded its operations to include international seafood marketing, ship provisioning and repair, and representation in the Soviet Union of U.S. manufacturers of timbering and fishing equipment. One of the offices of MRCI is located in Nakhodka, which is an important Soviet Pacific port with a population of about 200,000.

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

DETROIT (MI) - MINSK

The Detroit-Minsk Sister City Program has sparked tremendous interest in the state of Michigan for trade with the Soviet Union, particularly with Minsk and other cities in the Byelorussian republic. This March, businesspeople in 13 Byelorussian and 15 Michigan cities will hold a trade conference via a live television "spacebridge." The State of Michigan, the Michigan Growth Corporation, the City of Detroit, the Detroit Central Business District, and Wayne County are sponsoring the event, which is being funded by the State of Michigan.

"Michigan is getting into trade with the Soviet Union in a big way," said John Cherveney, a founder and director of the sister city program. "Things are really starting to open up, and the sister city program has been the catalyst." Cherveney, who now heads the Commerce and Industry Division of the Detroit-Minsk Sister City Program, says Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, IBM, Whirlpool and other corporations are actively exploring trade with Byelorussian companies such as VRAS, a robotic plant that produces 2,800 refrigerators a day. At \$186 each, 90 percent of the refrigerators are sold for hard currency in 73 countries. Whirlpool and VRAS want to open a factory in Western Europe as a joint venture, with financing by Detroit banks.

Detroit companies are opening twelve automated car

washes, twelve "Coney Island" restaurants and four automated bakeries in Minsk. Other Michigan companies are selling 30 tons of baby food and 10 tons of dehydrated potatoes to Minsk companies for hard currency every day. And the City of Minsk is proposing to invest in a joint venture with a Michigan company to build a factory in Detroit, which would produce consumer goods to be sold in both cities. The factory would also be a "business laboratory" for Minsk engineers to receive middle management training.

Direct trade with Minsk became possible with the recent enactment of a new Soviet law that allows cities and local enterprises to deal directly with foreign companies.

CONTACT: John Cherveney, Detroit-Minsk Sister City Program, 1504 E. Lafayette, Apt. 61, Detroit, MI 48207 (313-259-3804).

DIXON (IL) - DICKSON

The City Council of Dixon, Illinois, hometown of Ronald Reagan, has resolved unanimously to establish a "Friendship City" relationship with Dickson, Siberia, a frontier town of 5,000 that shares "the same name and the same desire for mutual understanding and friendly relations."

During a week-long visit last August, Dickson Mayor Nikolai Kartamyshev told a standing-room-only crowd at Dixon High School, "Our city council decided to approve the idea of an exchange with Dixon." He expressed hope that the two communities would be influenced by partnership, friendship and peace. Mayor Kartamyshev and Nikolai Vishnevsky of Novosti Press invited the publisher of the *Dixon Telegraph*, William Shaw, to visit Dickson as their guest. Vishnevsky said the media must help promote citizen diplomacy if it is to succeed. Shaw accepted the offer.

The Dixon-Dickson relationship began when Siberian journalist Boris Ivanov read a story about Dixon, Illinois, in a Soviet weekly magazine. A letter from the mayor, a school teacher, a meteorologist, a helicopter pilot and other Dickson citizens was sent in January 1987 to the mayor and people of Dixon, wishing them "happiness and peace for the coming year." In March, Mayor James Dixon wrote back, proposing a people-to-people exchange.

In conjunction with the August visit by the Dickson delegation, the newspaper *Sovetsky Taimyr* printed its second annual English language issue dedicated to the relationship with the people of Dixon. The paper contained stories about the first American in Dickson, the opinions of "Dickson Youngsters on America," excerpts from pen-pal

letters, and interviews with the delegates to Dixon.

CONTACT: Mayor James Dixon, City Hall, P.O. Box 386, Dixon, IL 61021 (815-288-1485).

DULUTH (MN) - PETROZAVODSK

An exhibition of 123 photographs taken in Duluth and Petrozavodsk on the same day last summer are being published as a book, which will be available in early 1989. Duluth's contribution — 63 photos picked to represent the city in all its moods on a June day — was selected from more than 4,000 entries by 37 amateur and professional photographers. The photos were displayed in Petrozavodsk from July to October 1988, and have been shown at various locations in Duluth since then.

When the exhibition first opened, identification labels were intentionally left off the photos, which were mixed together. The most frequent comment from the public was that they could not tell which photos were taken in Duluth and which were shot in Petrozavodsk. The photo exchange was organized by the Duluth Sister City Commission and its counterpart in Petrozavodsk.

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

GAINESVILLE (FL) - NOVOROSIISK

Gainesville and Novorossiisk, sister city partners since 1982, are now becoming business partners as well, under the new Soviet law that allows cities and local enterprises to deal directly with foreign companies without going through Moscow. The first joint venture will be a Gainesville pizza parlor in Novorossiisk.

Mayor Valeri Prokhorenko and two Novorossiisk city councillors met with officers and members of the Chamber of Commerce in Gainesville early last year. Mayor Prokhorenko suggested that the two cities could benefit tremendously by initiating trade relations. He then invited a Gainesville delegation to meet with business leaders in Novorossiisk, to continue the dialogue toward economic exchanges. Last September, Gainesville Mayor David Coffey led a five-member official delegation to Novorossiisk to help celebrate its 150th birthday, and the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the city from the Nazis. During the week-long visit, the two mayors signed an

agreement stating, "The two cities pledge to undertake joint activities to encourage commerce and trade."

While in Novorossiisk, Mayor Coffey, along with a Gainesville attorney who directs the sister city program, met with the president of the Novorossiisk Shipping Company, the director of the Abrau-Durso winery, the heads of the cement and construction industries, the general manager of the Pepsi and beer factory, representatives of private cooperatives, and the Novorossiisk City Council. Gainesville companies were invited to build and operate a resort hotel on the Black Sea, and to open the pizza parlor as a joint venture with the Novorossiisk Restaurant Trust. Plans are also in the works for a "Black Sea" restaurant to open in Gainesville with Novorossiisk chefs. Cement, fine wines and champagnes, tea and fish oil from Novorossiisk will be traded for Gainesville faucets, computers and mining equipment.

The Novorossiisk Shipping Company has agreed to transport goods between the two cities, and wants to send its merchant marine academy graduates to Gainesville to study English. The company has also proposed a joint manufacturing venture in one of its shipyards.

CONTACT: Steven Kalishman, 9421 SW 61st Avenue, Gainesville, Florida, 32608-5542 (904-376-0341).

MODESTO (CA) - KHMELNITSKY

Modesto and Khmelnsky are expanding their successful educational relations program with a student exchange planned for this summer. Ten Khmelnsky students ages 16 to 21 have been invited to visit Modesto next June, and ten Modesto students will live in Khmelnsky in July. The Soviet guests will stay in the homes of their Modesto counterparts, who will then be going to Khmelnsky the following month. The Modesto students will divide their time between Soviet homes and hotels. Each city will send two or three chaperons with its group.

The Modesto students were chosen from a group of applicants in December. Participants agreed to attend Russian language and culture classes during the semester prior to their trip. A Khmelnsky professor who has been teaching Russian language courses at Modesto Junior College has been invited to conduct the course.

Both groups of students will have an opportunity to visit summer camps in their sister cities.

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

ROCHESTER (NY) - NOVGOROD BUFFALO (NY) - KALININ

The New York cities of Rochester and Buffalo are working together through a group called "Linkages" to develop permanent relationships with the Soviet cities of Novgorod and Kalinin, respectively. The Buffalo-Rochester Community Chorale Concert Tour has scheduled performances next July in Kalinin, Novgorod, Moscow and Leningrad. The chorale will consist of 40-50 singers from both cities. Organizers of the tour hope it will strengthen the ties between the paired cities and establish personal contacts between pen-pals.

Mayor Sergei Kiselev and a delegation from the Kalinin City Council have been invited to visit Buffalo next June. Buffalo and Kalinin have agreed to sign a formal sister cities document.

Rochester Mayor Thomas P. Ryan, Jr., has invited Novgorod Mayor Alexander Alexandrovich Buzin to visit Rochester at his earliest convenience to discuss a similar arrangement between those cities.

SALEM (OR) - SIMFEROPOL

A Simferopol delegation, led by Deputy Mayor Genadi Saponenko, held face-to-face meetings in Salem last October to discuss mutual exchanges and activities involving education, municipal affairs, business and trade, medicine, media, sports, tourism and music. Among the four delegates was Vikentij Shcheludkovskij, the first secretary of the City Party Committee, who is also a member of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. It was the second Simferopol delegation to visit Salem.

At a meeting with the Salem-Simferopol Sister City Committee in City Hall, Deputy Mayor Saponenko unexpectedly proposed that the two cities jointly publish a book in English and Russian, to be called *Sister Cities: Salem and Simferopol*. The cities also agreed to exchange formal delegations in 1989. The Salem group will visit Simferopol for the "Day of the City" festival on June 4, and the Soviets will arrive in September for the Oregon State Fair.

Simferopol officials confirmed that this April, sixteen high school soccer players from the "Tavria" team will visit Salem. The students will stay in the homes of the Salem soccer players they met last summer in Simferopol.

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

TALLAHASSEE (FL) - KRASNODAR

The Tallahassee-Leon County Planning Department is helping to design a boulevard in Krasnodar to be named "Tallahassee Avenue" as part of the "concrete plans of exchange and cooperation" provided for in their recently-signed sister city agreement. The cities are also planning to exchange medical and university delegations, trade goods, and open a restaurant in a Krasnodar hotel as a joint venture.

The official agreement was signed last September during a visit to Krasnodar by Mayor Frank Visconti and 16 other Tallahassee residents. Mayor Visconti, a Tallahassee business owner, has become personally involved in promoting business, trade, and tourism between the two cities, and will be returning shortly to Krasnodar on a business trip. He envisions numerous links between newly-forming private "cooperatives" in Krasnodar and Tallahassee entrepreneurs, working independently or through the Chamber of Commerce.

A television crew from the Tallahassee CBS affiliate, WCTV, accompanied the delegation to Krasnodar and three other Soviet cities to produce a one-hour special called "Common Ground: A Citizens' Summit." Featured in the documentary program was the signing ceremony in Krasnodar, which made Soviet national news, and a similar event in nearby Novorossiisk, sister city of Gainesville, Florida. A group from Gainesville was in Novorossiisk at the same time to sign their official agreement. The documentary aired in Tallahassee last October.

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

WORCESTER (MA) - PUSHKIN

Leaders of civic and cultural organizations in Worcester visited Pushkin last November to formulate concrete plans with their counterparts for a variety of exchanges in 1989. The Soviet Sister City Project also sent a representative with the group. This was the second Worcester delegation to visit Pushkin. The group was invited by Mayor Yuri Nikiforov, who led the first Pushkin delegation to Worcester in May 1988.

In September, the world famous Moscow Circus visited Worcester as part of its first U.S. tour in 10 years. The Sister City Project and Circus Fans of America co-sponsored a reception for the performers.

CONTACT: Cindy Wood, Soviet Sister City Project, 21 Crown Street, Worcester, MA 01609.

DEUKMEJIAN ON THE GO

LIKE SO MANY OTHER U.S. governors, California's George Deukmejian probably wishes he could speak Korean. Not to mention Chinese, Japanese, and Tagalog.

Deukmejian is one of the growing number of governors who have learned that trips to the Far East can have big economic payoffs, increasing

Deukmejian is one of the growing number of governors who have learned that trips to the Far East can have big economic payoffs.

foreign investment at home and pumping up sales of local products overseas. In July and August, Deukmejian spent two weeks in Australia, the Philippines, South Korea and Hong Kong, coping with airports, motorcades, business lunches, and boisterous receptions, to sell everything from California electronics to wine. The governor was accompanied by an enormous entourage of representatives from the state's departments of business, transportation, housing, and food and agriculture, as well as the directors of the state's offices on international trade, investment, and visitors.

As we reported in the Summer 1988 issue of the *Bulletin*, 30 governors

have headed up recent trade missions to Asia. But Deukmejian approached his trip a little differently by intentionally bypassing Japan during his travels. James Robinson, a spokesman for the governor, explained, "You can spend all your energies scratching out another one percent market share in very competitive Japan or you can choose to go extend your efforts to more wide-open economies."

Australia, for example, has a booming economy, and a lot of its newly-created capital is being invested internationally. Between 1980 and 1987, Australian corporations invested over \$16 billion in the United States, making it the fourth largest foreign investor here.

Of course, it's not all work for the touring governors. While in Manila, Deukmejian got to visit the Malacanang Palace, where he "oohed" and "aahed" over one of the Philippines' most impressive tourist attractions — Imelda Marcos' collection of 3,000 pairs of shoes!

Then there's also the occasional glitch. While in South Korea, the California governor had to do his talking to President Roh Tae Woo by phone, since the Korean leader was out of the city when Deukmejian hit town.

SOURCES: Governor George Deukmejian's office (916-445-2841); United Press International, "Deukmejian Starts His Trip Down Under," San Francisco Chronicle, 25 July 1988, p. A11; John Eckhouse, "Deukmejian's No Politics' Pacific Trip," San Francisco Chronicle, 26 July 1988, p. A1; John Eckhouse, "Governor's Asian Whirl," San Francisco Chronicle, 3 August 1988, p. A7.

Japanese Real Estate Investment Not Expected to Spread

ARE REAL ESTATE INVESTORS FROM JAPAN LIKELY TO LAND IN YOUR CITY? Probably not, unless you have already been invaded by Japanese dollars. A survey of mid-sized Japanese companies found that they are not intending to move into smaller cities.

"The theory that cities such as Chicago, Dallas, Atlanta, Minneapolis and San Diego will benefit significantly from Japanese investment is just that, a theory," says Michael Evans, chairman of the National Real Estate Advisory Group of Arthur Young International, which conducted the study.

In 1987, the Japanese purchased more than \$12 billion of U.S. real estate, with most investments made by a few buyers. Although Evans says a group of mid-sized firms are now ready to pour money into America, they are expected to concentrate upon real estate in Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Honolulu and Washington, D.C. — the initial beneficiaries of Japanese investments.

In June, Evans made a presentation in Tokyo to 250 executives, emphasizing the investment potential of Chicago and Florida. But he points out that because the "first tier" of Japanese companies didn't buy real estate in those cities, it's doubtful that the second-tier will do so, either. "The Japanese are not pioneers," he explains.

SOURCE: John Eckhouse, "Survey Says Japan Investors Stick to Major U.S. Cities," San Francisco Chronicle, 24 June 1988, p. C1.

The Rising Tide of Foreign Investment

Jobs, Tax Revenue and New Markets – But at What Cost?

In his debate with Senator Lloyd Bentsen, Vice President-elect Dan Quayle argued that record foreign investment in the United States is a measure of the high level of foreign investors' confidence in the American economy. Some in the audience laughed — not because, as Mr. Quayle claimed, they are unpatriotic, but because high levels of foreign ownership of American real estate and manufacturing seem frankly un-American to many Americans, whether Democrats or Republicans.

Nevertheless, in the wake of deep cuts in federal support for the nation's cities and towns, a cattle-call of local governments have rushed into foreign trade. It's time to take a hard look at the cold realities of rising foreign investment in the U.S.

Frank Shafroth approached the dilemma in his 5 December 1988 column in Nation's Cities Weekly. We invite you, in upcoming issues, to share your insights with us.

by Frank Shafroth

ON TUESDAY, 22 NOVEMBER, A STATE-OWNED FRENCH conglomerate, Pechiney S.A., announced the buyout of Triangle Industries, Inc., of New Brunswick, New Jersey. Triangle is the world's largest consumer packaging and container producer.

Earlier this month, officials of Grand Metropolitan, a British company, flew to Minneapolis to meet with city officials to discuss their multibillion-dollar buyout bid for Pillsbury.

For the nation's cities and towns, foreign investment offers jobs, increased real estate taxes, and new markets. But at what cost?

The issue is dependence. The greater the foreign investment, the less control this nation and its municipalities hold over their future.

The decline in the value of the dollar has made it cheaper for foreign governments and corporations to buy American goods, business, and property.

This continues a trend which began in 1983—the last year in which the United States was the world's leading creditor nation. It is now the greatest debtor nation. Data now indicate that foreign interests own 10 percent of the nation's national debt, 10 percent of its manufacturing base, and 20 percent of bank assets. Foreign investors own 33 percent of prime commercial real estate in Washington, D.C., 39 percent in Houston, and 46 percent in Los Angeles.

There can be little question but that this torrent of foreign

investment has been important to the nation and vital for many cities and towns. It has produced capital investment at a time when domestic savings available for investment are at record lows, and it has been critical to financing our record debt. It has demonstrated confidence in our nation and its domestic economy.

Yet it raises two related questions. First, how long will foreigners be willing to continue these unprecedented investments and at what cost? And second, what kinds of jobs are these?

In an open letter to President-elect Bush, William Eberle and Richard Gardner, the co-chairmen of the Aspen Institute program on "The U.S. and the World Economy," wrote, "The day you take your oath of office, you will assume responsibility for our net indebtedness to foreigners, which will then total nearly \$500 billion. Almost no matter what you do, in your first year in office that debt will grow by at least \$120 billion.... [B]y 1995 our total net indebtedness to the world will be close to \$1 trillion and our annual payments on it will exceed \$70 billion."

As long as foreigners and foreign central governments are confident that they will make a return on their investments, they will keep investing. Confidence is the key. If confidence erodes and the investment not only slows down, but reverses, the results could be disastrous.

If there is a perception that the dollar will drop sharply, the Federal Reserve will have no choice but to increase interest rates. Already American taxpayers pay twice as much for our federal government's long-term borrowing as the Japanese.

Secondly, what kind of investment and job opportunities do these investments bring?

Just as more and more American companies have set up manufacturing or assembly plants in Mexico to take advantage of cheaper labor costs but retained the best paying jobs for Americans, so too there is evidence that the most highly skilled jobs of foreign investors remain in foreign hands. Foreign investment and ownership are producing more jobs in America's communities, but what kind of jobs will they lead to?

Or as Edward Lincoln of the Brookings Institution said, "Japan's investment...is a challenge to us. If we can't meet it, we deserve to work for the Japanese."

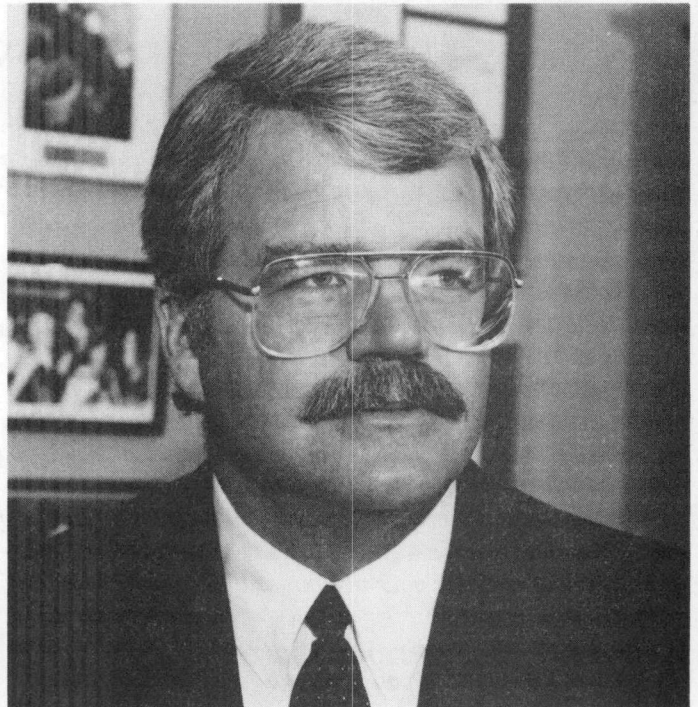
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A VOTE FOR MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

by *George Miller*
U.S. Congressman
7th District, California

MANY STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AROUND THE COUNTRY are taking stands on the critical foreign policy issues facing America. From resolutions condemning the nuclear arms race to the establishment of sister cities, U.S. municipalities are making important statements on decisions that deeply impact all of our lives.

Some say that municipalities should remain silent so that the U.S. speaks with one clear, federal voice on foreign policy. Others argue that states and localities do not have the expertise or ability to consider seriously foreign affairs issues.



All levels of government, like all Americans, should feel obligated to participate in the debate over foreign policy goals.

I strongly disagree.

All levels of government — like all Americans — should feel obligated to participate in the debate over foreign policy goals. They should challenge U.S. policy in South Africa, share their concerns about human rights abuses in the Soviet Union, and comment on the Administration's trade practices, because these questions have a profound effect on the lives of their constituents. And if a state or local government disagrees with a particular foreign policy, it has a right, if not an obligation within our democratic system, to seek change. This is the very essence of our democracy.

Those who say that foreign policy should be left to the Executive Branch alone seem to have quickly forgotten the Iran-contra affair. As the scandal proved, it is the

Constitution that is the first to be trampled if we allow a handful of government officials to formulate and execute a policy without the free and open exchange of ideas.

There is a second important reason for states and localities to play a role in foreign policy-making. That reason is economics. Because of the enormous deficits of the past eight years, essential federal programs have faced severe cutbacks. State and local governments have worked hard to pick up the financial slack, but often the burden is too great.

So when they see homeless families walking their city streets, state and local leaders want to know where funds which could be spent on housing programs are going. When they then see over a billion U.S. tax dollars financing an illegal war against Nicaragua, U.S. foreign policy quickly takes on a critical local character. As dollars for highways, mass transit, education and environmental protection are siphoned off to wasteful and counterproductive foreign policies, states and localities feel the impact. It is up to them, and all those who share their position, to speak out.

Foreign policy activism on the part of state and local governments is a refreshing and critically important development. It truly is a sign of democracy at the grassroots level, and a signal to national leaders that Americans will not sit silently while the debate on foreign policy priorities passes them by. ■

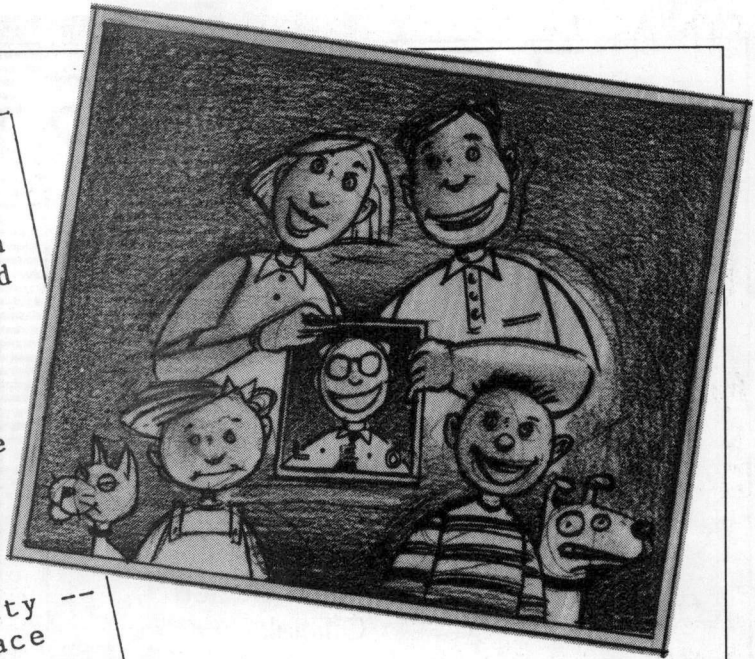
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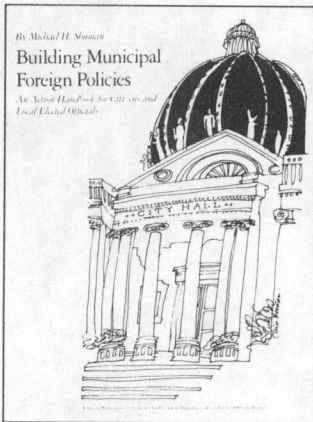
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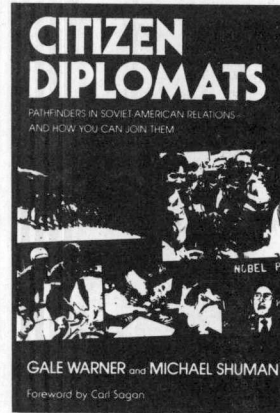
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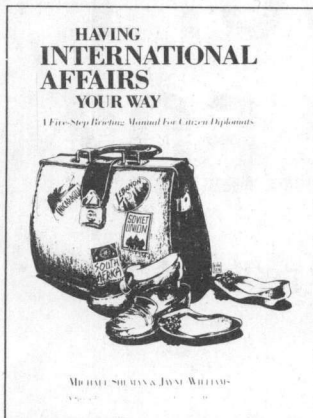
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If the consent of the citizens is required to decide that war should be declared, nothing is more natural than that they would be cautious in commencing such a poor game, decreeing for themselves all the calamities of war...

Immanuel Kant



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