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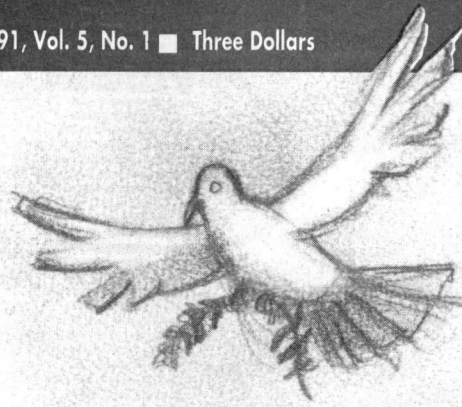
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CITY INVOLVEMENT IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS



CITIES SPEAK OUT ON THE PERSIAN GULF CRISIS

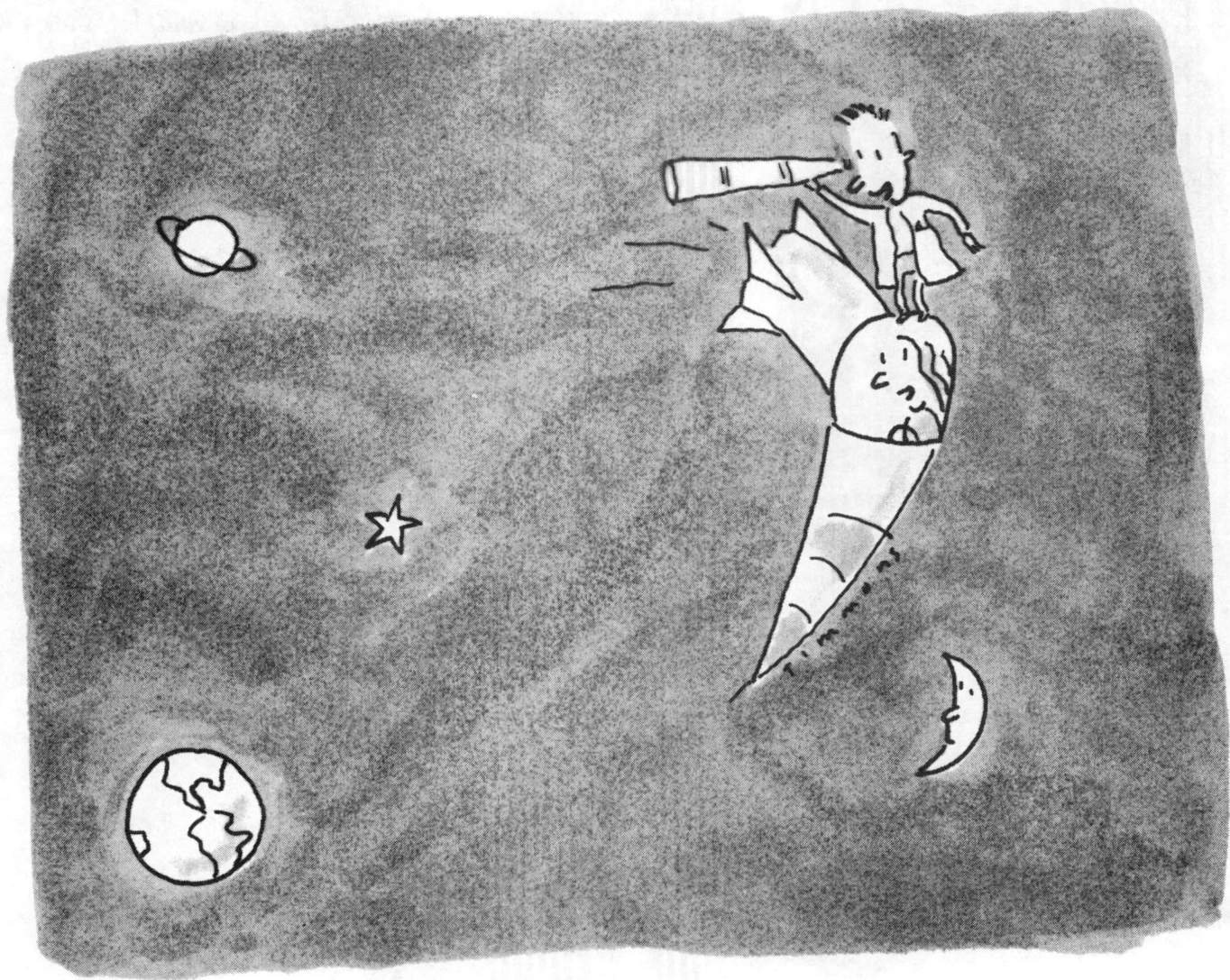
**Local Initiatives:
Can They Meet
the Environmental
Crisis?**

**The Peace Dividend
vs. Calcutta, U.S.A.**

**Nicaragua's
Best Hope for
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**Bridging the
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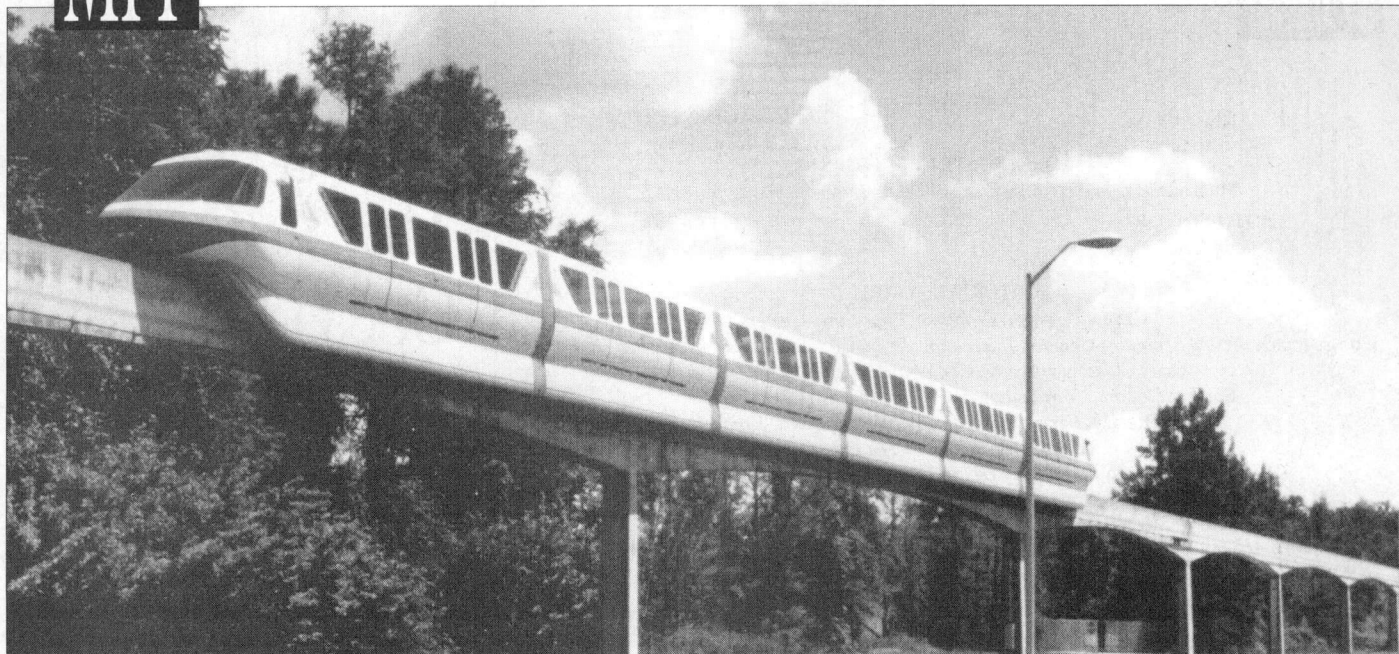
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THE WAY OUT OF THE PERSIAN GULF?

A crash course in energy efficiency, in transportation and other areas, would do far more to protect our national security than a catastrophic war that will have destructive consequences no one can foresee (see page 4).

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From the Publisher

Democracy and Foreign Policy: The Struggle Goes On

A YEAR AGO, THE ATTENTION OF the whole world was riveted on events in central Europe. Like the proverbial dominoes — in this case Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania — one authoritarian regime after another had fallen to the millions of citizens who took to the streets to win their own freedom. Remarkably, in most instances the victories came without violence. Democracy was triumphant. And through the magic of satellites and instantaneous communication, we could be witnesses to it all. Through videotapes and our own VCRs, we could even preserve the historic moments “live-on-tape.”

For most of us who think about such things, the collapse of communism, the end of the Cold War, and the ascendancy of democracy throughout central Europe and in the Soviet Union itself meant we could at long last turn our attention to the unfinished business of building a better world. We could cut our own military spending at least by half — using the \$150 billion per year “peace dividend” to dramatically improve the quality of American life. We could overcome homelessness and hunger, put a national health plan in place, rebuild our cities and our infrastructure, pump billions into education, and clean up our environment. We could also cut the annual deficit, provide debt relief to impoverished nations, and make a major contribution to global environmental restoration and Third World development.

If all this seems fanciful now, it's because few of us can get our minds off the Persian Gulf crisis. The August 2nd Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and the Bush

Administration's response, has posed the very real risk that tens of thousands of soldiers and civilians — American, Iraqi, and Kuwaiti — will die in a Mideast war that, once started, will prove almost impossible to contain and control.

Rather than the "New World Order" — rich in democracy — that President Bush and Secretary of State Baker were trumpeting throughout most of 1990, what we have in the Persian Gulf is a case of old world authoritarianism — devoid of democracy. There is no democracy in Iraq; when dictator Saddam Hussein ordered the invasion of Kuwait, it was done. When President Bush ordered the first 150,000 - 200,000 troops to Saudi Arabia for purposes of defense and deterrence, there was likewise no democratic debate, even though most Americans approved of the President's decision. In the Congress and elsewhere, those few faint voices calling for a genuine public discussion of the issues were dismissed by the President. He was, after all, "Commander in Chief."

Now, at last, following President Bush's November 8th decision to double American troop strength and prepare for offensive military action against Iraqi forces, the country is at least beginning to ask the most important question of all: Under our Constitution, aren't great foreign policy issues — certainly the issues of war and peace — supposed to be democratically debated and decided?

■ Led by Representative Ron Dellums (D-CA), more than 50 members of Congress filed a federal lawsuit seeking a judicial declaration precluding the President from ordering a Mideast military attack without first securing a Congressional declaration of war.

■ Televised hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yielded a stunning array of former high-ranking officials, including Secretaries

of Defense and Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who urged patience in pursuing economic sanctions against Iraq. With the exception of Henry Kissinger, the Dr. Death of authoritarian foreign policy, they all counseled against going to war.

With this issue of MFP, we hope to further encourage the foreign policy debate. Michael Shuman's article, "Conserving Peace Locally" (page 4), shows how cities and citizens must get involved in shaping our foreign policy by pushing ahead with energy policies that reduce our dependence on foreign oil. Otherwise, we're left with a presidential foreign policy in the Mideast that relies on costly weapons and the blood of young Americans. In the article, "Cities Speak Out on the Persian Gulf Crisis" (page 10), MFP reports on the Persian Gulf policy debate that is belatedly getting under way in American cities and towns.

The problem is that Americans, still chilled by 40 years of Cold War, are hesitant to see the connection between democracy and foreign policy. What our

country needs is more — much more — debate and discussion of foreign policy, with ordinary citizens leading the way. Every City Hall in America should be regarded as a legitimate forum for raising foreign policy issues and revitalizing our democracy.

Last year at this time we were marveling at the birth — in some cases the re-birth — of democracy in central Europe. Now, it's our turn to rediscover the extraordinary idea inherent in our own Constitution: To work successfully, our democracy must apply to all matters of public policy, foreign policy as well as domestic policy, and at all levels of American life.

— Larry Agran

CID

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

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

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

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Conserving Peace Locally

Could actions by municipalities have eased U.S. dependence on foreign oil and prevented tragedy in the Persian Gulf?

by Michael H. Shuman

IN LESS THAN SIX MONTHS THE UNITED STATES HAS DISPATCHED nearly half a million troops to Saudi Arabia, a force commitment unseen since the height of the Vietnam War. The slaughter of tens of thousands could begin any day. And even if war is miraculously averted, the "peace dividend" that could have

rescued America's bombed-out cities from a decade of neglect will have been squandered. No matter what happens, the Persian Gulf crisis will be remembered as a great national tragedy — one that could have been prevented through smart local action.

ture nuclear weapons capabilities, his ruthless repression, his long history of aggression — make no sense, if only because so many other countries are as threatening in each of these categories. A half dozen nations, including the "butchers of Beijing" and the white supremacists of Pretoria, already possess nuclear weapons.

Had the Reagan Administration not rolled back light-vehicle efficiency standards in 1986, the United States could have saved as much oil as it imported that year from the Persian Gulf.

Poison gases are now being stockpiled by more than a dozen countries. Fewer than 50 of the world's 160 nations can be deemed even remotely democratic. And aggression remains a regular feature of international life. According to Ruth Sivard's *World Military and Social Expenditures*, 32 wars were under way in 1987, more wars than in any previous year in recorded history. The world is an

exceedingly dangerous place, and no amount of cowboy diplomacy and military posturing — especially if practiced solely by the United States — will ameliorate these troubles.

CROSS PURPOSES

WHY DO WE CARE SO MUCH ABOUT THE IRAQI TAKEOVER OF Kuwait? There are no great ideals at stake; the benign monarchy of the Al-Sabah dynasty was only a tad less autocratic than the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. Geostrategically, Kuwait has a population roughly the size of Houston and a land mass slightly smaller than Massachusetts.

To be sure, there's a good case for preventing further Iraqi aggression. For this, a long-term deployment in Saudi Arabia by United Nations peacekeeping troops or contingents from the Arab League — all organized in strictly defensive positions — would constitute a sensible, sustainable response. And there's a good case to be made for punishing Iraq with a tough trade embargo until it leaves Kuwait. But this objective also could be met through the United Nations, which has successfully orchestrated embargoes in the past against Rhodesia and South Africa.

Many of the other purposes touted for waging war against Iraq—Hussein's ominous chemical weapons stockpiles, his fu-

There is only one reason for the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf that even remotely makes any sense, and it can be summed up in one word — oil. On November 8th, after President Bush announced that our forces would now have an offensive mission, pundit extraordinaire Henry Kissinger told Ted Koppel on *Nightline* that vital U.S. security interests were at stake because the region contains seventy percent of the world's petroleum reserves.

This is not the first time the United States has threatened military action in the Mideast to protect Western access to oil. In the late 1970s President Jimmy Carter created a "rapid deployment force" (RDF) that could be sent on short notice to defend "our oil" from invading hordes of Soviet troops. In 1987 President Ronald Reagan dispatched U.S. warships to the Persian Gulf to protect reflagged oil tankers from Iranian attack, a move that culminated in an Iraqi attack on the U.S.S. Stark. Yet all these militarily questionable deployments were entirely unnecessary.

INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT GUNS

SEVERAL YEARS AGO THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN INSTITUTE CALCULATED that investing a single year's RDF budget in energy effi-

ciency could have ended our dependence on Mideastern oil *permanently*. Net imports of oil in 1986 amounted to 5.4 million barrels per day, and just under 1 million barrels per day were coming from the Persian Gulf. Because motor vehicles consumed some 7 million barrels per day, switching from cars averaging 20 miles per gallon to cars averaging 60 miles per gallon would have virtually eliminated oil imports. Had the Reagan Administration not rolled back light-vehicle efficiency standards in 1986, the United States could have saved as much oil as it imported that year from the Persian Gulf.

Because energy efficiency measures typically cost less than the cost of pumping new domestic oil, they are a far more sensible means for ending U.S. dependence on foreign oil than offshore wells. Super-efficient light bulbs, variable-speed motors, and high-efficiency appliances are also more cost-effective ways of reducing oil imports than nuclear power or coal-fired plants. Today's best lighting technologies alone could save over 90 percent of the lighting energy we now use, displacing 100 large power plants. Similarly, a new analysis of 35 types of improvements to electric motors and their components has found a potential to save about half of all motor input — which is over half of all electricity used in the world — at a fraction of the cost of fueling a coal or nuclear plant.

Investing in energy efficiency also would enable the United States to reduce the grave environmental impacts of burning fossil fuels, running nuclear reactors, or drilling for offshore oil. An 18-watt compact fluorescent lamp, for example, will produce as much light as a 75-watt incandescent lamp for about 13 times as long, saving over its lifetime about \$20 (the cost of buying a dozen incandescent bulbs). By obviating the need for electricity that might have been produced in a coal-fired plant, this same super-efficient lamp will prevent a ton of carbon dioxide and more than 17 pounds of sulfur dioxide from being dumped into the atmosphere. If it saves electricity from a nuclear power plant, this single lamp will displace the production of plutonium that could cause 2,000 cancers or explode in nuclear-bomb form with the equivalent power of 850 pounds of TNT.

A crash program of energy efficiency that rendered both the United States and its allies independent of Persian Gulf oil would do far more to protect our security, "our vital interests," and "our way of life" than a catastrophic war that will have destructive



A crash program of energy efficiency that rendered both the United States and its allies independent of Persian Gulf oil would do far more to protect our security, "our vital interests," and "our way of life" than a catastrophic war that will have destructive consequences no one can foresee.

consequences no one can foresee.

MUNICIPAL PEACEKEEPING

ONCE NATIONAL SECURITY IS REDEFINED TO ENCOMPASS AN intelligent energy policy, the critical role of states, counties, and cities becomes clear. Between 1979 and 1986 the United States obtained more than seven times as much new energy from improved efficiency as from *all* net expansions of its energy supply.

Small local savings, aggregated across the country, give every community the power not only to protect the environment but also to unplug U.S. foreign policy from the volatile Persian Gulf.

During this same period the United States got more new energy from the sun, wind, water, and wood than from oil, gas, coal, and uranium combined. These savings occurred not because of the federal government — which was wasting its money on nuclear reactors, fusion research and synthetic fuels — but primarily because of local and individual actions.

“In the absence of strong federal leadership and a comprehensive federal energy policy,” says Tom Curtis of the National Governors’ Association, “a lot of states are stepping out on their own.” Here are recent examples:

■ For nearly 15 years the California Energy Commission has been promoting tougher energy efficiency standards for appliances, new buildings, and industrial plants.

■ Washington state just passed a housing code that requires new houses to be more than twice as energy-efficient as homes built under a 1977 code.

■ Connecticut has upgraded standards for its state-owned vehicles, requiring them to achieve 45 miles per gallon by the year 2000.

■ Iowa now requires its gas and electric utilities to spend 1.5-2 percent of their operating revenues on energy efficiency measures.

■ The Massachusetts and California legislatures are debating whether to put higher sales taxes on gas-guzzler automobiles.

■ The states of the Pacific Northwest and Massachusetts now require utilities to consider efficiency before allowing new power plants to be built.

Municipal and county governments

have played a role, too. Starting in the 1970s comprehensive energy conservation plans were implemented by such locales as Geneva County (AL), Humboldt County (CA), Carbondale (IL), Franklin County (MA), Fulton (MO), Salem (OR), Philadelphia (PA), and Madison (WI). These programs included block-by-block campaigns to weatherstrip, caulk, insulate, add double-pane windows, and otherwise tighten the thermal efficiency of homes and offices. Some cities like San Francisco require that buildings must meet mandated efficiency standards whenever they are sold or resold.

But there is much more that’s possible. Working either alone or in cooperation with the nearby utilities, local governments can distribute low-flow shower heads, fluorescent lightbulbs, timing devices for lights and machines, and hundreds of other effective gadgets. They can boost the efficiency of cars and trucks used for government, police, or fire services. They can support recycling of aluminum, glass, and paper, and they can insist that government agencies use and purchase only recycled products.

These small local savings, aggregated across the country, give every community the power not only to save money and protect the environment but also to unplug U.S. foreign policy from the volatile Persian Gulf. It may be too late to save energy fast enough to prevent war right now. But we must look toward the future.

Had we taken energy efficiency more seriously a decade ago, Saddam Hussein would be little more than a minor nuisance today. Our failure to act created the monster that threatens us. Now that we know better, we must seize the opportunity to end our dependence on foreign oil once and for all, and spare another generation from the prospect of bleeding on the sands of Saudi Arabia. To paraphrase the words of Bob Dylan, how many deaths will it take till we know that too many people have died?

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

DON'T FEEL ENGULFED

Many Americans are now speaking out against U.S. war policy in the Persian Gulf. Here are some of their best materials available for skeptics:

Institute for Policy Studies, *Crisis in the Gulf*
(available from IPS, 1601 Connecticut Ave.,
NW, Washington, DC 20009).

Michael Zweig, *Organizing Teach-ins for Middle-East Peace*
(available from the International Jewish Peace Union,
P.O. Box 20854, Tompkins Square Station, New York, NY 10009).

A “Teach-In Video” featuring Ron Kovic, Daniel Ellsberg,
Brian Willson, and Danny Sheehan
(available from Operation Real Security, 2076 E. Alameda Dr.,
Tempe, AZ 85282).

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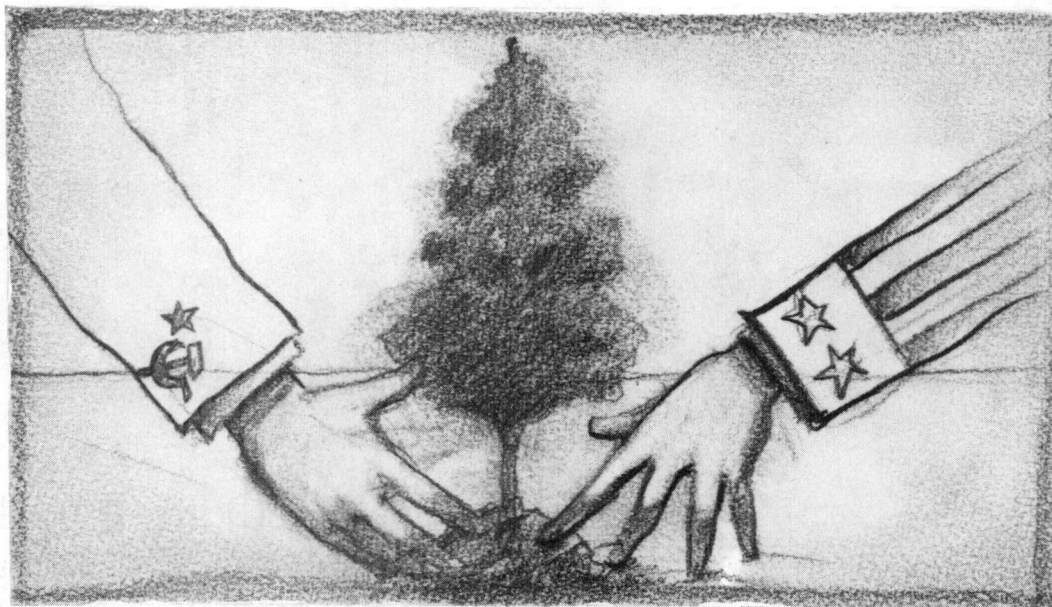
"SANDERSISTAS" IN CONGRESS

WHEN BERNIE SANDERS was mayor of Burlington, Vermont, he had a vision that extended beyond the walls of City Hall. As Greg Guma wrote in the book, *The People's Republic: Vermont and the Sanders' Revolution*, the Burlington city government "promoted cooperation with the Soviet Union to reduce the risk of nuclear war, nonintervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, and 'people-to-people' programs."

During the upcoming two years, the 49-year-old Sanders will bring his brand of activism to Washington, DC. In November, he was elected to Congress — the first socialist to make his way to the House of Representatives in 40 years — by defeating Republican incumbent Peter Smith by a 57-to-37 percent margin.

Vermont Governor Madeleine Kunin told the *New York Times*, "Now the question is whether a man who has made his career fighting the system will be able to be an insider and an outsider at the same time."

SOURCE: "Socialist Vows to Be Capitol Outsider," *New York Times*, November 12, 1990; "Voters in Vermont Will Send Socialist to Fill U.S. House Seat," *Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 1990.



RISING FROM THE ASHES

THE FIRES OF INDEPENDENCE may be burning in Estonia and Latvia, but students from those Baltic republics have had another type of inferno on their minds recently. They spent time during the summer in Yellowstone National Park, studying and mending the burned evergreen forests devastated in the 1988 blazes there.

Among other activities, the Baltic students rebuilt almost two miles of trail, saving the Park Service thousands of dollars in maintenance costs.

The cross-cultural

mission was planned by the Student Conservation Association, and was the first in a series of exchanges involving Eastern bloc nations. In August, American students worked in the national parks of Estonia and Latvia.

"Yellowstone is a new world for us," said Kaja Peterson, a zoology student and supervisor of the Estonians. "It is like our eyes being opened after living in isolation for 50 years."

SOURCE: Todd Wilkinson, "Nature Lends Assistance to U.S.-Baltic Relations," *Denver Post*, July 30, 1990, p. B-1.

A WILLINGNESS TO TALK

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE

October killings of 21 Palestinians at the Al Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem, the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir announced that it would not cooperate with a United Nations mission investigating the tragedy. One Israeli voice, however, expressed different intentions.

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek said he would meet with the U. N. delegation, answer its questions and provide any other assistance that was requested. "It's haughty not to," said Kollek, who prides himself on building bridges between Jews and Palestinians.

Bernie Bower, a spokesperson for Kollek, said the mayor "has no illusions about being happy with the results

of [the U.N.] report and he was not happy with the Security Council resolution [calling for an investigation]. But he doesn't believe you should refuse to talk to people just because you don't like what they think. "

SOURCES: Joel Brinkley, "Jerusalem Mayor Splits With Israel on Inquiry," *New York Times*, October 17, 1990, p. A12; James Dorsey, "Israeli Mayor Offers to See U.N.," *Washington Times*, October 17, 1990, p. 1.

LOPSIDED NFZ LOSS

THE NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE movement would just as soon forget about the San Francisco Bay area when it thinks back on 1989. After a federal judge struck down nearly all of Oakland's NFZ law in April, the electorate in Alameda County (across the bay from San Francisco) voted decisively in June against turning their county into a free zone.

In November's election, NFZ proponents lost still another battle. This time, voters in the city of San Francisco turned down Proposition E, a nuclear free zone measure on the city's ballot. The proposed charter amendment lost by a two-to-one margin.

Proposition E would have amended the city charter to ban the city, with limited exceptions, from conducting business with or investing in any company engaged in any work on nuclear systems or components. It also would have prohibited nuclear weapons work within the city borders, imposed regulations on the transport of high-level

radioactive materials, and created an elected commission to oversee implementation of the measure.

REACHING OUT FOR HELP

IN OCTOBER, THE MAYOR of Leningrad extended his hand to Secretary of State James Baker, hoping to do his part to strengthen economic ties between his city and the U.S.

Mayor Anatoly Sobchak traveled to Washington to discuss "new forms of

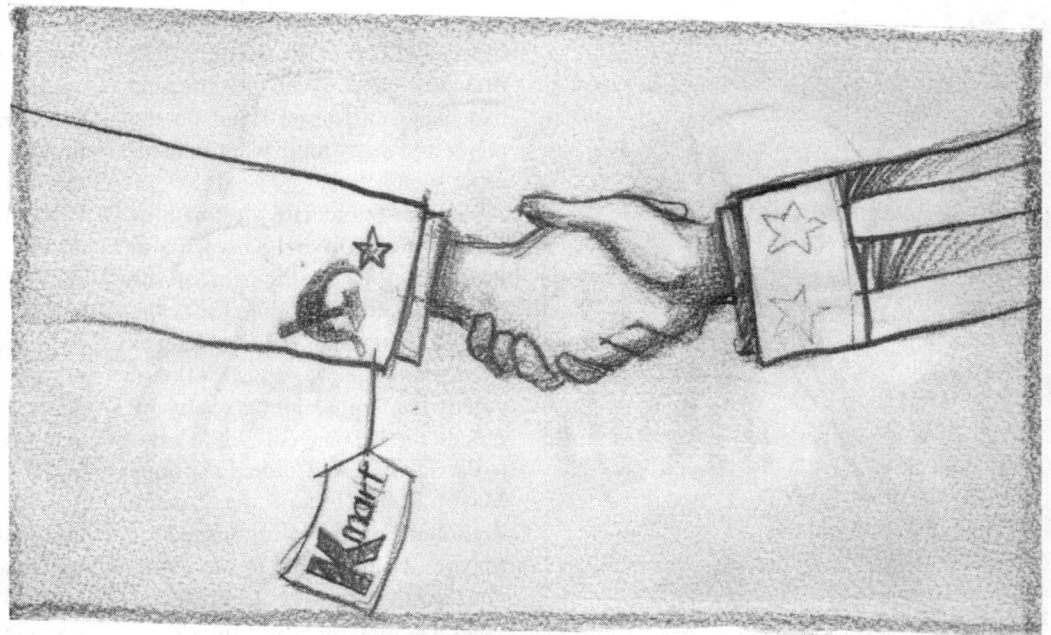
tainty there. "The most important type of assistance [the U.S.] could give us is in support of American companies that want to do business with us," he said.

During his visit, the Leningrad mayor also got a real taste of American capitalism at work when he toured a K-Mart store in Alexandria, Virginia, eyeing color television sets and Spiderman pajamas that have not yet made their way onto store shelves in his own city.

SOURCE: Felicity Barringer, "Leningrad Mayor, in U.S., Seeks Economic Ties," *New York Times*, October 31, 1990, p. A9.

Gent International Trade Fair, Mayor Whalen described Albany as the logical location for business expansion in the Northeast United States. And ears throughout the fair perked up as the mayor spread his message.

"The global economy is now a reality," says Whalen. "As economic and political borders disappear and competition increases, it is our job as mayors to provide our cities with the leadership necessary to benefit from these changes. Improving relations between U. S. and foreign cities is just one way



economic relations" between the superpowers; without it, Sobchak said, the U.S.S.R. could be in further danger of falling into an economic black hole. Specifically, Sobchak wants the U.S. government to guarantee the investments of American companies that are hesitant to invest in the U.S.S.R. during a time of economic uncer-

WHO NEEDS THE BIG APPLE?

WHEN ALBANY, NEW York, Mayor Thomas Whalen recently headed a trade mission to Gent, Belgium, he heralded the theme, "Albany: All the New York You Need." Attending the

to prepare for the challenges of the 1990s and beyond."

According to Whalen, the mission to Gent was preceded by two years of groundwork. "Rome wasn't built in a day," he said, "and neither can international trade be consummated overnight."

SOURCE: Thomas M. Whalen, "Albany: All the New York You Need," *U.S. Mayor*, October 29, 1990, p.16.

Cities Speak Out on the Persian Gulf Crisis

Though the message varied, local officials raised their voices as U.S. troops became entrenched in the Middle East.

AS PRESIDENT BUSH DEPLOYED massive numbers of troops to the Persian Gulf last summer and fall, city officials in the U.S. initially responded slowly to the impending threat of war. However, by the time 1990 drew to a close, some city councils had taken a formal stand on the crisis, and many more were considering such action.

In the immediate aftermath of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and President Bush's shipment of the first troops to the Middle East, the U.S. Conference of Mayors' Executive Committee and Advisory Board voted to support actions taken by the U.S. in the Persian Gulf. In a letter to President Bush, Colorado Springs Mayor Robert Isaac wrote, "As the President of the Conference of Mayors, I am pleased to convey to you the full support of our organization for actions taken by you and the Congress in implementing Operation Desert Shield."

Some cities showed their backing of the U.S. efforts in other ways. For instance, Mayor Edward Lauckern of Auburn (NY) ordered flags placed on light poles through the downtown area of his city to demonstrate support for the troops sent to the Persian Gulf.

However, as the crisis dragged on and the troop strength soared to 400,000, city officials began expressing their concern

about what was occurring in the Middle East. In October and November, city councils started passing resolutions raising doubts about President Bush's policy.

The first of two resolutions approved by the Cambridge (MA) City Council expressed support of the use of economic sanctions (except food and medicine) imposed by the United Nations, and urged that all further action be coordinated under U.N. auspices. The same measure, introduced by Councillor Francis Duehay, urged the President to develop a national energy policy and asked Congress to "keep the proposed military budget cuts in order to release funds for our neglected domestic needs."

A second Cambridge resolution, introduced by Mayor Alice Wolf and approved a month later, called on President Bush "to avoid any unilateral initiatives by the United States to trigger or contribute to a war of aggression against Iraq, and in keeping with this principle, to begin withdrawing troops from the Middle East to de-escalate our role in the conflict."

In Boulder (CO), the City Council took action in response to a citizens' group that was collecting signatures calling upon the council to take a stand on the Middle East crisis. The Boulder resolution recognized that the "citizens of Boulder do not want any men and women killed in an avoidable war," and urged the U.S. to "continue to support the United Nations sanctions and take all reasonable steps to



RESOLVED.

Cambridge Mayor Alice Wolf voted, along with a City Council majority, to support a negotiated settlement in the Middle East.

avoid war in the Middle East.”

The Berkeley (CA) City Council formally voted to support a “statement of concern” signed by 81 members of Congress, which demanded that President Bush “not undertake any offensive military action without the full [Congressional] deliberation and declaration required by the Constitution.” The Berkeley council also affirmed its “strong desire for peace and its belief that the Administration should be seeking every avenue for a negotiated settlement to the conflict.”

Berkeley Councilmember Maudelle Shirek, who introduced the resolution along with Mayor Loni Hancock and Councilmember Nancy Skinner, told MFP that “confronting Saddam Hussein is a very dangerous move. I think the Bush Administration had been wanting to have a military presence in the area, and this was an opportunity to do so.” She added that the huge amounts of money being spent in the Persian Gulf could better be channeled toward “serious problems here at home. The cities are in real economic, social and moral trouble.”

Meanwhile, city officials in various parts of the country raised their individual voices, too. Sacramento Mayor Anne Rudin, in a speech to the United Nations Association, presented alternative ways in which the U.S.’ daily Persian Gulf expenditures could be better put to use:

- \$10 million to underwrite new democracies in Eastern Europe and Central and South America.

- \$10 million for non-military, humanitarian aid to the Middle East and Africa.

- \$10 million for U.N. peacekeeping and debt payment.

- \$6 million for domestic human service programs.

- \$5.7 million to reduce the federal deficit.

Mayor Rudin said, “Suppose

instead of the U.S. spending \$41.7 million per day in direct additional costs for the Persian Gulf military action, the U.S. had spent the money these ways. I somehow think that \$41.7 million a day would have bought us more.”

John Leddy, director of the Support the United Nations Campaign, based in Santa Monica (CA), has written a model Middle East peace resolution that has been circulated to dozens of city councils and calls upon the U.S. to work through the U.N. for a non-violent end to the present

crisis. According to Leddy, some councils resisted taking early action related to the Persian Gulf crisis, “fearing it could be used against them in the November elections as reflecting anti-patriotic sentiment.”

Nevertheless, some city councils decided that the Middle East situation was too important to ignore. As Cambridge Mayor Wolf said, “We in Massachusetts are very busy on a lot of internal problems, but we are also very conscious of and concerned about what is happening in the Persian Gulf.” ■

BOULDER, CAMBRIDGE & THE GULF CRISIS

Here are two Persian Gulf resolutions passed late last year by the city councils of Boulder (CO) and Cambridge (MA):

BOULDER

WHEREAS, the City Council of Boulder, Colorado, recognizes that the citizens of Boulder do not want any men and women killed in an avoidable war. Nor do they want our national wealth, which is needed to solve domestic problems, squandered on such a war; and

WHEREAS, our citizens support United Nations sanctions against Iraq until it leaves Kuwait, makes restitution, and agrees to regional arms control and security measures; and

WHEREAS, we support our citizens in urging our national leaders to support a United Nations sponsored Middle East peace conference to address all conflicts in that region; and

WHEREAS, our citizens wish to urge the federal government to begin a comprehensive energy conservation and efficiency policy and to further the development of renewable energy sources to reduce our dependence on foreign oil.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the City Council of the City of Boulder, Colorado, that:

The City Council of the City of Boulder urges that the United States government continue to support the United Nations sanctions and take all reasonable steps to avoid war in the Middle East.

The Mayor is directed to communicate to President Bush and to the United States Congress this resolution expressing the sentiments of the City Council of the City of Boulder, Colorado.

CAMBRIDGE

WHEREAS: The Cambridge Peace Commission, the department of the city devoted to enhancing opportunities for world peace, has appealed to the City Council and citizens of Cambridge to support the Commission’s efforts to prevent any unilateral action by our government that might provoke war; and

WHEREAS: This City Council has repeatedly called upon our nation’s leaders to strengthen our country by supporting our own human and economic resources; now therefore be it

RESOLVED: That this City Council calls on President Bush to maximize efforts to negotiate a settlement and to minimize the likelihood of war; to avoid any unilateral initiatives by the United States to trigger or contribute to a war of aggression against Iraq, and in keeping with this principle, to begin withdrawing troops from the Middle East to de-escalate our role in the conflict; to insist that all dealings with President Hussein be done on an international basis through the United Nations; and to re-prioritize the use of our tax dollars away from militarism and toward the re-building of our cities and our communities; and be it further

RESOLVED: That this City Council calls on the leaders of all cities and towns in the United States to work with us towards recommitting our tax dollars to our urgent domestic concerns and towards attaining world peace; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the City Clerk be and hereby is requested to prepare a suitably engrossed copy of this resolution to be sent to President Bush.

Local Initiatives: Can They Meet the Environmental Crisis?

Environmental activist Jeb Brugmann looks ahead at the role of a new agency uniting local governments in the battle to save the environment.

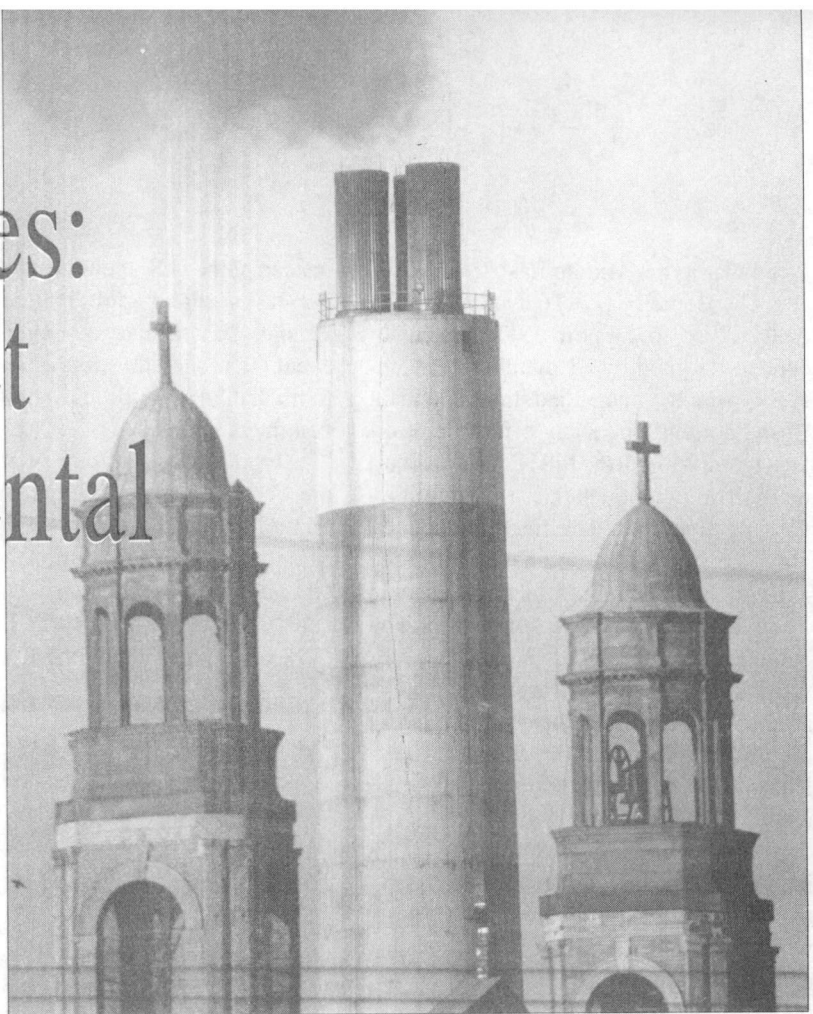


PHOTO: JIM WEST / IMPACT VISUALS

IN SEPTEMBER, REPRESENTATIVES OF MORE THAN 200 MUNICIPALITIES in 41 countries met at the United Nations and formed the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives. The Council's goal: To help cities, towns and counties implement local policies that respond to global environmental problems.

Jeb Brugmann, Acting Secretary-General of the new Council, spoke to MFP about the launching of the agency and its mission to address the global environmental crisis from the ground up. The interview took place in November as the body's Executive Committee was being appointed and a site for its international headquarters was being selected.

Q: Can cities and towns really make a fundamental contribution to the solution of environmental problems?

BRUGMANN: They already are. In the U.S., for instance, municipalities now spend more than half the dollars appropriated by governments in this country for environmental protection. Predictions by the Organization on Economic Cooperation and Development tell us that by the end of the century, that figure should rise to about 65 percent. So the reality is that environmental protection in the U.S. is implemented by local governments, even though that hasn't been the perception.

All environmental problems are the result of some local

action — a polluting factory, inefficient energy consumption, the decision to drive the car rather than ride public transit. We're mobilizing the significant expertise available in local governments to address the root, local causes of environmental problems. The International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, or Local Initiatives, will deal not only with the more traditional problems like solid waste and sewage, but also more global problems that we've usually expected only national governments to handle, like phasing out ozone-depleting compounds and reducing carbon dioxide (CO2) emissions.

Through the International Council, we want to make the world aware of the resources available in local governments to address the environmental crisis, and to help coordinate the work of local governments on an international scale in dealing with the major global environmental threats.

Q: For those local governments that have already launched environmental initiatives and started to tackle these global problems on their own, what does the new agency really offer them?

BRUGMANN: Local governments are part of a global governmental fabric. And just as national governments have environmental agencies, so too should local governments have an agency that assists them in their role as protectors of the environment on both a local and a global scale.

Practically speaking, the International Council will facilitate the transfer and implementation of state-of-the-art environmental practices and techniques from trend setters to the mainstream of local communities. Right now, there are a handful of municipalities in the position to test new and risky strategies for environmental protection. Without a vehicle for the transfer of successful innovations, many years pass before other municipalities, which cannot assume the political or financial risk, begin to adopt proven policies and techniques. We'll be trying to speed this transfer process by supporting the innovation process, identifying and sharing successes and working directly with communities to implement them.

Since we held the World Congress of Local Governments for a Sustainable Future at the U.N., we've received dozens of calls from government and private sector experts who want to serve as technical advisors to communities throughout the world. We will identify areas of need and try to match these individuals with communities and local institutions that could use their help in implementing environmental protection measures.

Q: Does the new International Council also anticipate interacting with existing national and international environmental agencies?

BRUGMANN: Absolutely. We plan to act as the liaison between those working at the local government level and those

Just as national governments have environmental agencies, so too should local governments have an agency that assists them in their role as protectors of the environment on both a local and a global scale.

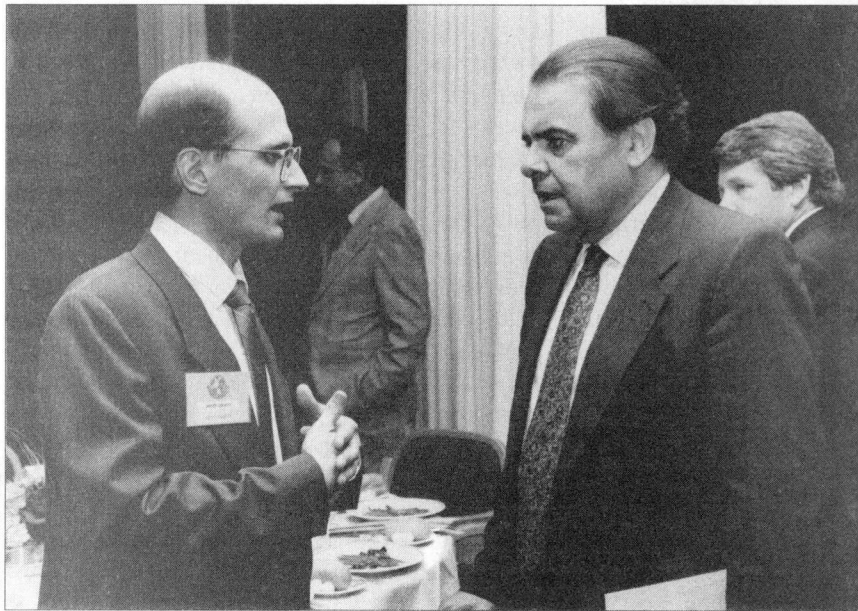


PHOTO: LAURA COLLAN

PRACTICALLY SPEAKING.

Jeb Brugmann (left), Acting Secretary-General of the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, with Enrique Iglesias, President of the Inter-American Development Bank.

working through national and international agencies to define what the global environmental agenda has to be.

This process will begin in the context of the 1992 U.N. Conference on Environment and Development. We must ensure that the voice of local governments is heard at the meeting, and that local governments are prepared to translate the Conference mandates into a local action plan. Initially, we expect to issue a report that describes the wide-ranging environmental protection role being played by local governments in many regions of the world. This will be the basis of an outreach effort to those in national governments and in international organizations, letting them know about the importance of thinking about global environmental problems from a local perspective.

Q: How pro-active do you foresee the International Council becoming?

BRUGMANN: We can no longer afford the random and uncertain process through which local leaders have generally created new approaches to environmental problems. So the Council will sponsor a series of collaborative projects to bring potential innovators together for intensive R&D efforts on specific problems. The exciting part of doing R&D at this level is that the local governments can immediately test results through implementation. Grand new ideas won't sit in some report on a shelf.

One of our lead projects is the URBAN CO₂TM Project. It will bring together teams of technical staff and policymakers from local governments who have been at the forefront of progressive policies in energy use, transportation management, land use and waste management to jointly create — and implement — a framework for dramatic reductions in urban CO₂ emissions. This is something that hasn't been done before. In the past, we'd hear that over in Singapore, some new transportation plan was effectively reducing automobile traffic. And that's about all that most people in local government would hear. Rarely would local leaders and staff work together to analyze how to apply this concept for even bigger gains in their own communities. Now, we're hoping to bring together experts from Singapore and Stockholm, from Mexico City and Los Angeles, to come up with solutions and to help each other put them into effect in their home communities.

Q: What other projects do you hope to get under way in the upcoming months?

BRUGMANN: We're designing a global computer network to provide the vehicle for the continual exchange of information. In various regional offices in the world, staff will select data, reports, technical references and other information about state-of-the-art environmental protection policies and send these on a weekly basis into a master information bank that is accessible to members

on an around-the-clock basis.

Q: Are national governments willing to relinquish some of their environmental protection responsibility to local jurisdictions?

BRUGMANN: In some cases, problems are best addressed through local policies and programs, and national governments should provide minimum standards and play a support role. I already see movement in this direction.

In Norway, for example, the national government has undertaken a wholesale decentralization of its environmental protection functions and given broad new powers to local government. New Zealand recently passed a law requiring municipalities to develop their own sustainable development plans. In Mexico, the new government responded to the awful deterioration of the Mexico City environment by giving environmental protection powers to the city government. As a result, Mexico City has become one of the world's leaders in dealing with urban air pollution and reforestation.

Once minimum national or international standards are set, national governments are often finding that they can get more done through decentralization. Part of our purpose is to support this decentralization trend, where appropriate, with new powers and resources going to the local governments.

Q: Municipal governments will become voting members of the International Council by paying membership dues. Are you confident that municipalities are willing to fund an agency like this?

BRUGMANN: There was a spirit at the Congress in September that municipalities are enthusiastic and willing to make a financial commitment. In creating the dues structure, however, we're being sensitive to the concerns of local governments in the developing countries so they are not excluded from full, active membership because of our fees. We're working on a formula that will take into account the per capita income level and the budget of each municipality in setting its particular dues.

Q: About 200 cities were represented at the conference at the United Nations in September. What are your hopes for the size of the new Council's membership?

BRUGMANN: I would be happy with 1000 members after our first year and a half. We can hardly keep up with the queries and requests we receive from local governments every day, so I think this is quite realistic.

For additional information, contact the International Council for Local Government Initiatives, 763 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02139 USA (Tel. 617.491.6124; Fax 617.661.1089)

A Battle For Hawaii's History

A grassroots movement, joined by city councils throughout Hawaii, has helped prompt a moratorium on the Navy's bombing of historical treasures.

by Richard Trubo

FOR MOST PEOPLE, HAWAII IS A VACATION mecca brimming with beautiful beaches and breathtaking sunsets. But for the Navy, parts of the 50th state are places to practice war.

Kaho'olawe, the smallest of the eight major Hawaiian islands, was once filled with rich ranch land. But during World War II, the Navy assumed control of the island, and ever since, has used the 11-mile-long tropical island for training missions that have left parts of it bombed, battered and barren.

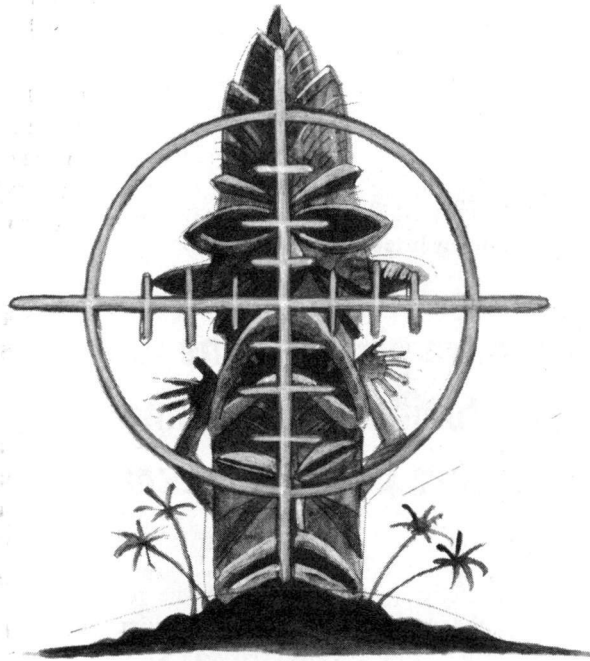
A few years ago, many Hawaiians became fed up with the relentless destruction. To them, Kaho'olawe is a historical and cultural landmark. Although now uninhabited, Kaho'olawe contains hundreds of archaeological sites—some almost 1,000 years old—including temples, shrines and burial sites. A growing number of people, with the support of City Councils and state officials, have rallied behind a "stop the bombing" effort...an effort that may be on the brink of success.

This fall, President Bush ordered a moratorium on the bombing. The federal government is now creating a commission to assess the future of Kaho'olawe, and proponents of the island's preservation are demanding that it be returned to state control and permanent protection.

Pressure upon the White House has come from a number of directions. In Honolulu, the City Council unanimously passed a resolution urging the U. S. and other countries "once and for all time [to] stop the destructive bombing of the island

of Kaho'olawe." The measure, authored by Councilmember Gary Gill, called for the island's return "to the people of Hawaii for peaceful and productive use."

The Maui County Council has passed a similar resolution, and according to Gill, virtually every other county in Hawaii has done the same. Maui Mayor Hannibal Tavares erected a flag on Kaho'olawe, symbolizing the claim his island is making for Kaho'olawe, which sits just five miles across the choppy Alalakeiki Channel from



Maui. When the bombing raids occur, residents and tourists on Maui are shaken by the unnerving reverberations from the military exercise.

"Fifteen years ago, it was a radical step to call for the return of Kaho'olawe to state control," says Gill. "But it has become a safe political stand to take."

In the campaign for a U.S. Senate seat in November, the fate of Kaho'olawe became a major issue. Both Democrat Daniel Akaka, who emerged victorious on election day, and his Republican opponent,

Patricia Saiki, promised to support the permanent ending of the bombing of the island. In the heat of the campaign, perhaps in an attempt to boost Saiki's election hopes, President Bush agreed to a moratorium on the bombing and a study of its future.

Today, even though Kaho'olawe has found its way into the National Register of Historical Places, the Navy insists that it still needs the island for training exercises ("There just aren't other places in Hawaii we can do this type of training," says Naval Capt. Gerald Mittendorff). Although U. S. allies have joined in the bombing raids over the years—leaving many undetonated shells on the island—the controversy has convinced Japan, Australia, New Zealand and England to decline recent invitations to join in the maneuvers, while only Canada has continued to find Kaho'olawe irresistible.

Meanwhile, opposition to the Navy's efforts have been coordinated by an organization called Project Kaho'olawe Ohana ("ohana" means "family" in Hawaiian). A successful lawsuit has given Hawaiians access to the island 10 times a year for educational and religious purposes, and to repair some of the damage that proponents say has been done to the historic sites. More than 4,000 Hawaiians have now visited the island, wading from small boats to the island's shores during the emotional trips.

Activists like Davianna McGregor of Project Kaho'olawe Ohana call the controversial island a "spiritual center" that has taken Hawaiians back to their roots. "It has helped the Hawaiian movement find its soul," she says.

SOURCES: Councilmember Gary Gill, Honolulu City Hall, Honolulu, HI 96813 (808-523-4045); Susan Essoyan, "Hawaiians Fight for Control of Island," *Los Angeles Times*, October 14, 1990.

Answering the Wake-Up Call

With the future of Austin's air force base uncertain, city officials and citizens are exploring the options available for its civilian re-use.

by Michael Closson

WHAT DOES A COMMUNITY DO when a military base in its own backyard is threatened with closure? The typical knee-jerk response is to fight rather than switch — to work to keep the base open. Another option is to explore converting the facility to productive civilian uses.

Currently the citizens of Austin, Texas are confronted with such a choice. In January 1990, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney listed Bergstrom Air Force Base in

With intelligent and creative planning, the cuts can become opportunities for investments in a productive peace-time economy.

that city among those bases he recommended for closure during the next few years. Congressman Jake Pickle, who represents Austin, immediately announced his opposition to the closure proposal. He and other concerned citizens pointed out that the loss of Bergstrom's 6,000 military and 2,000 civilian jobs plus the termination of the base's purchase of several hundred million dollars in local goods and services would seriously damage the city's economy.

A number of other local citizens, however, saw a silver lining behind the base closure cloud. First to respond to the challenge was a coalition of activists who

organized the Austin Economic Conversion Network last summer. Among the network's goals was "finding the highest and best uses of local resources currently devoted to military activities, including Bergstrom Air Base." In its statement of purpose, the coalition asserted, "The reduction in military spending need not be the cause of economic hardship for communities or individuals. With intelligent and creative planning, the cuts can become opportunities for investments in a productive peace-time economy."

This position made sense to a number of local officials as well, including Austin Mayor Lee Cooke. He and some of his colleagues on the city council recognized that among other possible uses, the base had the potential to meet Austin's need for a new airport. As a result, even though Bergstrom was not certain to close, the Austin City Council appointed a citizens' Task Force last September to study the conversion of the base to civilian uses.

In the ensuing months, the Task Force has actively pursued its charge.

First, it sent out a questionnaire to community groups, civic organizations and interested citizens. Among the topics covered in the questionnaire were suggestions for alternative uses of the base, opinions toward its re-use as an airport, and thoughts about the environmental and economic impacts of various alternate uses.

Next, the Task Force held five public hearings in various parts of the city. These hearings met with a mixed response. Several were well-attended, generating lively discussions and creative ideas. One in Montopolis, a largely Hispanic community near the base, was sparsely attended. In fact, some local Hispanic leaders have expressed antipathy toward the entire

planning process, calling it a sham. Some observers of the Austin scene attribute the low level of minority community involvement to a combination of apathy and feelings of powerlessness.

Apathy is not the word to use, however, when describing general citizen response to the issue of a new municipal airport for Austin. In fact, that issue has considerably complicated the question of Bergstrom's re-use.

For several years, Austin's public officials have acknowledged the need for a new airport and recently established 1996 as the target date for completing one. Prior to the announcement of Bergstrom's potential closure, a new site at Manor, 19 miles northeast of downtown Austin, had been identified and bonds approved for its development. The site has also been endorsed by state and county officials. But the possible availability of Bergstrom, seven miles southeast of downtown, has confused the issue. Bergstrom's development as an airport would quite likely be less expensive than the Manor site. But critics of Bergstrom's re-use as an airport base their opposition on concerns about noise and traffic congestion plus the possible negative impacts on the surrounding lower income communities. In short, the base conversion issue has become intermingled with the future airport issue and the result is quite a political football.

In the midst of this imbroglio came the announcement in late October that Congress had passed new base closing legislation. The bill, an attachment to the Defense Authorization Act, mandates the establishment of a new base closure commission similar to the one which in 1988 succeeded in initiating the closure of 86 military installations across the country. And it outlines a complex decision-making process designed to thwart partisan politics over closure recommendations. Though cumbersome, it is likely to result in the closure of dozens of additional military bases during the next five years.

The new legislation's impact upon Bergstrom is uncertain. All bases around the country are theoretically up for grabs again and Secretary Cheney's tentative list, on which Bergstrom appeared, is null and void. The Austin base may not appear on a new list at all or it may not happen until 1995.

In this uncertain climate, the Austin Task Force has continued to move forward. Once their public hearings were completed, Task Force members visited several bases currently undergoing conversion planning as a result of the 1988 closure decision. These included Pease Air Force Base in New Hampshire and Norton Air Force Base in southern California. The Task Force's final job is to write a report by the end of January 1991 recommending conversion options for Bergstrom. With the future disposition of Bergstrom Air Force Base likely to remain up in the air for some time, any decision regarding the base may come too late for Austin officials to locate the new airport there. In that case, a number of other potential uses would receive more prominent attention. Among those proposed have been: an aircraft maintenance facility, a race track, a retirement community, an amusement park, various educational uses, a movie studio, and affordable housing. Some of these alternative uses would be compatible with an airport and worth exploring in any case. In fact, his-



OFFICIAL USAF PHOTOGRAPH

UP IN THE AIR.

The future of Bergstrom Air Force base remains in question.

tory shows that most successfully converted military bases develop a mix of compatible uses.

To date, the city of Austin appears to be doing a good job dealing with the complex and ambiguous issue of Bergstrom's future. City officials have attempted to shape events rather than waiting for the axe to fall. They have stimulated quite a broad-based community dialogue on the issue. And they have come up with a number of re-use ideas rather than focusing solely on the airport option. In short, Austin has answered the wake-up call. Now the challenge confronting the city is to continue to vigorously and creatively deal with Bergstrom's uncertain future.

Michael Closson is executive director of the Center for Economic Conversion in Mountain View, California.

Calcutta, USA

Can a Peace Dividend Heal the Cities?

A report calls upon mayors and other local officials to assume a leadership role in spending federal dollars on municipal needs.

MANY OF AMERICA'S CITIES HAVE never faced such critical problems: homelessness, unemployment, poverty, a health-care crisis, environmental deterioration, racial conflict. Reflecting upon conditions like these, the *New York Times* has referred to today's cities as Calcutta, U.S.A.

A report issued by the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament seems to agree, concluding that the policies of the '80s have left cities "hard-pressed to meet the coming decade's challenges without major funds transfer."

The situation, however, is not hopeless, according to the report—if local officials are willing to take the initiative. "Mayors and elected officials can take the lead in educating their constituents about the opportunities for an expansive civilian peace dividend. They can forge a new partnership with management, labor and the community that would show where new markets for a converted economy exist in infrastructure investment. This partnership can be accomplished through 'peace dividend committees' which can marshal the array of industries and occupations that have a direct stake in rebuilding America."

The report, titled "A Future for America and Its Cities: The Peace Dividend and Economic Conversion," was issued last summer and co-authored by Jonathan Feldman, Robert Krinsky and Seymour Melman.

And it made recommendations for the annual spending of \$165 billion in federal funds on housing, education, infrastructure repairs and other pressing needs. (See box below.)

The report profiled New York City as representative of dozens of metropolitan areas that are coping with severe social and economic burdens. It found that in New York, 83 percent of the city's schools are in disrepair, 14 bridges are at least partly

THE "SAVE AMERICA BUDGET"

THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR Economic Conversion and Disarmament has offered the following recommendations on the reallocation of military spending. The figures represent annual federal outlays:

COMPREHENSIVE HOUSING PROGRAM
\$ 30 billion

DEPT. OF EDUCATION EXTRA SPENDING
\$ 30 billion

REPAIR OF ROADS, BRIDGES, WATER & SEWER
SYSTEM
\$ 26 billion

OTHER EDUCATION NEEDS
\$ 23 billion

RADIOACTIVE WASTE CLEANUP
\$ 17.5 billion

TOXIC WASTE CLEANUP
\$ 16 billion

MISCELLANEOUS HEALTH COSTS
\$ 12.5 billion

ELECTRIFICATION OF U.S. RAIL SYSTEM
\$ 10 billion

closed for repairs, and more beggars are on Broadway now than during the Great Depression.

A solution, said the report, "is to redirect federal spending away from military programs that consume half our tax dollars and toward new spending in municipal infrastructure projects."

SOURCE: National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament, 1621 Connecticut Ave., N.W., #350, Washington, DC 20009 (202-462-0091).

PHOTO: GEORGE COHEN / IMPACT VISUALS



National League of Cities: "Cut Defense Spending!"

Former CIA chief tells local officials that inner cities look military-ravaged.

LAST OCTOBER, AS U.S. SOLDIERS BECAME ENTRENCHED IN THE PERSIAN GULF, A NATIONAL League of Cities' task force was urging Congress to significantly slash its military budget.

NLC's Board of Directors Task Force on Economic Conversion called for a 30 percent real reduction in defense spending during the upcoming five years. And it asked that 60 percent of those savings be channeled toward deficit reduction, with the remaining 40 percent reinvested in the country's economic security.

Members of the League of Cities task force, chaired by Lubbock (TX) Mayor Pro Tem Joan Baker, conferred in Washington with officials from Congress and the Pentagon. They also met with former CIA Director William Colby who told them that despite Operation Desert Shield, the U.S. could reduce military expenditures by 50 percent over the next five years. Colby said that some of America's inner cities look as though they had suffered a military attack, adding:

"As Americans begin to understand the massive military waste [in Congress' new defense authorization bill and budget agreement], they will understand the promise of a peace dividend. When they understand that we spend 60 percent of federal research and development funds on defense, but Japan spends only 5 percent on defense, they will understand why productivity, education, and public infrastructure are so much better there."

Joining Baker were other NLC Board members: Councilmember Jack Hebner of Spokane (WA), Councilor Carol Day of Gorham (ME) and Councilor Scott Scanland of Bosque Farms (NM).

SOURCE: Frank Shafroth, "NLC Task Force to Seek 5-Year, 30% Cut in Defense Spending," *Nation's Cities Weekly*, October 29, 1990, p. 5.

Economies of Scale:

Can Sister Cities Still Outdo the Feds in Aiding Nicaragua?

With Nicaragua's economy in a state of dire collapse, sister cities and citizen groups are, by default, becoming Nicaragua's best hope for material aid and survival.

by Sheldon Rampton
researched by Gini Waddick

IN FEBRUARY, WHEN THE U.S.-BACKED UNITED NICARAGUAN Opposition (UNO) scored a surprising election victory over the Sandinistas, President Bush euphorically declared that "democracy has triumphed." Now the White House is doing its best to pretend that Nicaragua no longer exists.

UNO won office with grandiose promises that it could abolish inflation within 100 days. To bolster these claims, Bush posed for campaign photographs with UNO presidential candidate Violeta Chamorro. If she won, he promised, the U.S. would cease its sponsorship of the contra war, lift the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua, and send economic aid.

The war is over. The embargo has been lifted. In May, Congress approved Bush's request for a "Dire Urgent Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Bill" allocating \$899 million in aid to Nicaragua and Panama. The size of the aid package prompted *Nation's Cities Weekly*, the official organ of the National League of Cities, to complain that "foreign aid is more important than reinvestment in American cities and towns," and to suggest that cities seeking federal assistance should "either secede and become a foreign nation . . . or become a savings-and-loan institution and declare bankruptcy."

But Nicaragua's economy continues to deteriorate. On election day in February, the exchange rate for Nicaraguan cordobas was 57,000 per dollar. By October, it had climbed to 1.5 million cordobas — inflation of over 2,500 percent within an eight-month period.

"Inflation is creating economic chaos," reported Hazel Tulecke of Yellow Springs, Ohio, after an August visit to her sister city of El Jicaró. "Last year I stayed with our friends Evangeline and Justo Pastor and their three children. I learned from them how to keep their family store during the busy morning hours. Now, even in the morning, business is at a slow trickle. Evangelina says, 'There are too many stores in town now. Everyone is trying to make some money. But nobody has money to buy things with.'"

Immediately following the elections, outgoing Sandinista President Daniel Ortega described U.S. offers of economic aid to the new government as a "promising step" away from past policies of military intervention, but many Sandinistas and supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution expressed fear that U.S. aid would be

aimed at dismantling popular revolutionary projects inside Nicaragua.

The prospect of federal dollars flowing into Nicaragua also alarmed many within the U.S.-Nicaragua sister-city movement, which was born in opposition to U.S. war policies. New Jersey sister-city organizer Jim Burchell urged sister cities to counteract the \$300 million that Congress approved for Nicaragua with a campaign to raise \$300 million in "genuine grassroots aid aimed at strengthening democracy rather than destroying it." Other groups attempted to channel a portion of the government money into sister-city medical aid projects, but met with a rebuff from the feds.

In reality, the federal government's touted aid package is simply not flowing. By October, Nicaragua had received only \$60 million, and the U.S. was holding back the rest of the aid to pressure UNO into abandoning a much bigger claim.

According to a successful 1986 lawsuit filed by the Sandinista government before the World Court of the United Nations, the U.S. owes Nicaragua \$17 billion in reparations for its role in sponsoring the contra war. The *New York Times* reported on September 30 that "the Bush Administration has begun exerting sharp new pressure" and "has informed Mrs. Chamorro that future United States aid to Nicaragua will depend on her willingness to abandon the claim."

Inside Nicaragua, however, abandoning the World Court claim would be massively unpopular and would further destabilize the faltering new government. Analysts from all political perspectives agree, moreover, that Nicaragua needs much more than \$300 million to undo the damages it has suffered during the war. Alejandro Bendana, a former official with the Sandinista foreign ministry, argued that the U.S. is "awfully good at wrecking economies, but not in building them back up." As the country sank deeper into misery, one UNO official suggested that the new government "might as well call up Daniel Ortega and give him back the country."

WHEN THE GOING GETS TOUGH...

THE SANDINISTAS' DOWNFALL CAME IN THE wake of political changes in eastern Europe, which undercut Nicaragua's prospects for continued socialist-bloc aid. With prospects

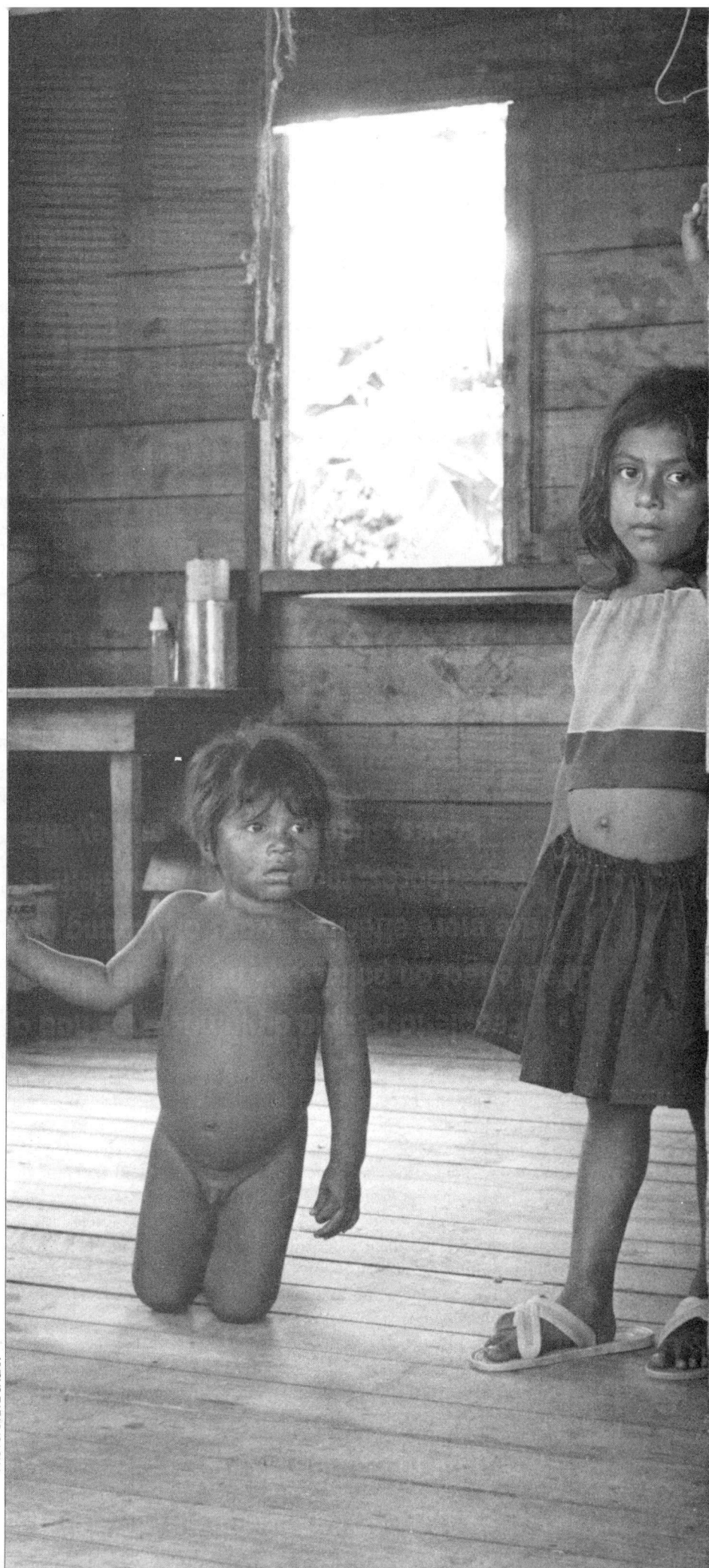


PHOTO: STEVE CAGAN

for U.S. government aid also dimming, sister cities and grassroots solidarity groups are emerging as the best hope for a way out of Nicaragua's economic crisis.

Most of these groups were surprised and disappointed by the Sandinista defeat, and after the election, some observers predicted that they would abandon Nicaragua. Some solidarity groups reported declining member donations after the election, prompting the *New York Times* to publish an article titled "For Sandinistas' U.S. Friends, 10 Years of Ideals are Dashed." It claimed that

firewood and reduce pressure to cut trees in environmentally-sensitive forest areas.

■ Project Minnesota/León (PML) continues to send approximately \$100,000 in aid annually, and Trechsel sees a "great need for providing larger sums of money for developing self-sustaining businesses." Currently PML supports a technical institute for mechanics; a sewing business that supports a women's rehabilitation project for prostitutes; a rural carpentry collective that makes furniture; and a sewing cooperative.

■ The organization Quest for Peace is currently sending one seagoing container to Nicaragua per week, typically carrying contents valued at \$250,000, including food, clothing and medical supplies. Rather than give these donations away at the Nicaraguan end, Quest encourages Nicaraguan groups to sell them at inexpensive prices as a way of providing seed capital for development projects such as community-run businesses. Coordinator Bill Callahan says Quest also serves as a carrier of last resort for "six or seven" sister-city projects that have been unable to make their own shipping arrangements.

■ Clean water projects remain a major priority for many sister-city projects, including Hartford-Ocotol, Norwalk-Nagarote, and Minnesota-León. "It's interesting that all factions of the political spectrum in Nicaragua — and in fact throughout the world — agree that the single biggest need in the third world is clean water," commented the fall newsletter of Friendship City Projects in Boulder, Colorado.

The Boulder project is collaborating with Port Townsend, Washington, to raise \$22,000 for construction of a water system in Teotecacinte, a small village near their mutual sister city of Jalapa. Port Townsend sent a delegation in September to help lay pipes, and John Lichty, a medic who traveled with the group, made an assessment of the community's health needs, reporting instances of "staph and other skin infections; chronic bronchitis and respiratory infections due to smoke from wood cook stoves; and dysentery from the ever-present bacteria, pesticides and animal feces in the rivers where they bathe, do their wash and obtain drinking water."

■ The New Haven/León Sister City Project and the Gettysburg/León Sister City project recently sent a shipment of 1,000 pounds of seeds donated by the Agway Seed Company in Pennsylvania. In 1990, New Haven residents also donated 60,000 articles of clothing to social services agencies in León, which sell the clothes at nominal prices and use the proceeds as seed capital to build homes, schools and other development projects.

Despite this continuing vitality, many groups are expressing new concerns brought on by the changes in Nicaragua. Some have experienced functional problems in delivering aid. Political concerns are also affecting the direction of aid programs.

GETTING THERE FROM HERE

"CUSTOMS IS A HASSLE RIGHT NOW AS A RESULT OF CHANGING personnel within the government," said Quest For Peace's Bill

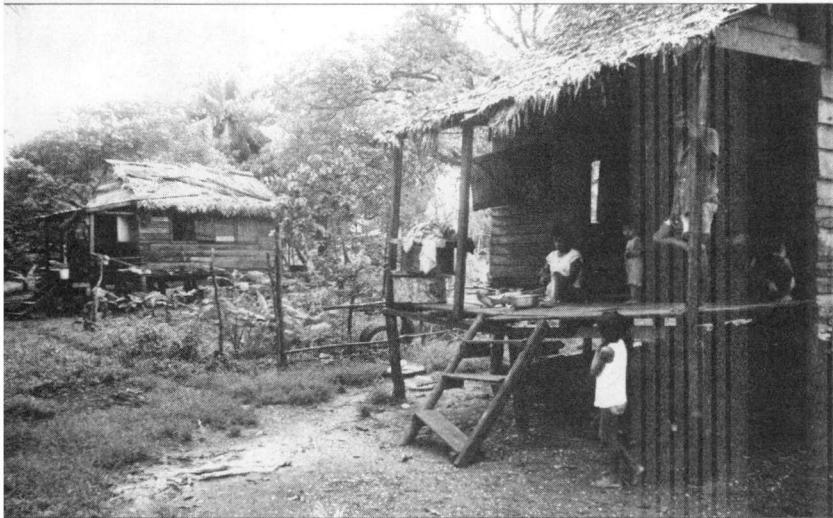


PHOTO: STEVE CAGAN

solidarity activists "now find themselves back in their cramped and dreary offices...stunned by defeat, deserted by their constituency and searching for a new outlet for their dreams."

The sister-city movement, however, has not shown signs of decline. "There was a discussion among our group about whether to continue shipping material aid," said Jules Lobel of the Pittsburgh/San Isidro Sister City Project. "We made a commitment not to abandon the Nicaraguan people, especially now when needs are so much greater than ever before."

"You can't stop! Nicaraguans need so much," agreed Nancy Trechsel of Project Minnesota/León. "It's a shame that the apathy of the American people is hurting Nicaragua at a time when they need our help so badly."

Since the elections, at least six sister-city projects have hired personnel inside Nicaragua to coordinate their material aid and exchange projects. The number of delegations and the quantity of aid appear to match the levels that existed under the Sandinista government. Increasingly, groups are shifting their emphasis from "donating supplies" to supporting long-term projects aimed at fostering sustainable economic development.

Some current sister-city projects include:

■ Burlington, Vermont's sister city program with Puerto Cabezas has raised \$13,340 and plans to raise an additional \$89,000 over the next three years to help design, develop and operate a community-run fruit tree nursery. In addition to providing food, the project will produce a source of fast-growing

Callahan. "Under the Sandinistas, groups that sent aid to Nicaragua enjoyed a general exemption on customs duties for charitable contributions. Now, that general exemption is gone, and shipments are evaluated on a case-by-case basis." Import duties have risen sharply, and although the new government has not shown any outright hostility toward material aid projects that began under the Sandinista government, Callahan warned that "it may be too early to tell."

Bob Pettit of the Ecumenical Refugee Center in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which sponsors a "Godparent Project" to assist orphans in Nicaragua, suggests that groups can avoid the added import charges by working with Nicaragua's private sector and talking with the new government to obtain "letters of agreement" that duties will be waived. "It helps if you can make sure the consignee is a group that UNO agrees to work with," he said.

"In some localities, the new government officials are actually more cooperative than the former administration," stated Presbyterian missionary Karla Ann Koll. "This seems to depend on which faction of the UNO coalition is dominant, the integrity of the particular officials involved, and their distance from the central government."

CHOOSING SIDES?

THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENTS HAS RENEWED DISCUSSION OF when and how sister-city projects should be "political." Prior to the election, groups could sidestep the question by arguing that "we help the people, regardless of their government." Now, Charles Curtiss of the sister-city project between Baltimore and San Juan de Limay talks of the "contradictions and constant challenges" involved in trying to decide "who the leadership of a sister city is. Does this leadership group truly represent the entire community? Are women included in this group? Are people included or excluded on the basis of their political affiliation? Do the services that one is trying to provide for the 'whole community' really serve everyone?"

Shortly after the February election, the Sandinistas met with groups providing long-term technical assistance to Nicaragua to ask them to relocate technicians to the 40 municipalities where the Sandinistas won control of local governments. The Sandinistas fear that these municipalities will be unlikely to receive much support from the central UNO government, and will be in even greater need of the aid provided by solidarity groups. Municipal groups also started nongovernmental organizations to carry on some of the sister-city relationships and attract funding for community development projects, bypassing city councils now under UNO control. Sister-city projects are being asked to choose *whom* they will work with, and the choices are not easy.

"Many of us who joined the sister-island association a few years ago were very much in sympathy with the plight of the Nicaraguan people," stated Kim Esterberg of the sister-island project linking Bainbridge Island, Washington and Ometepe. "We saw an idealistic people involved in a revolutionary process

that was under siege from the most powerful country on earth, ours. . . . We have learned that their world is not as simple as we may have made it, and that they represent many points of view. The elections which we carefully observed on Ometepe in February with 20 people from Bainbridge gave us a good look at a very democratic process and demonstration of the will of the common people, many of whom had to walk miles and wait hours in line to cast their secret ballots. On Ometepe there was a clear signal that the people were ready for a change. They rejected the Sandinistas and hoped that the new coalition would bring a better life."

But Esterberg is "very disturbed" by the changes that have occurred in Ometepe since the election. "We have found out that the new government is attempting to seize lands that the Sandinistas had distributed to peasant cooperatives. . . . I know the people on one such cooperative very well: 'Cooperativa Carlos Diaz Cajina.' They live on the slopes of Cerro Madera. . . . We asked Christine Marinoni, our long-term volunteer from Bainbridge, to check on them and find out what had happened since the elections. We have found that they are in trouble. The government will no longer buy their crops, and apparently there is no other market. Without income from their products they will lose their cooperative and the land will be made available to the previous owner."

Some activists, such as Stephen Solnit, have argued that the new situation obligates sister cities and other groups supporting

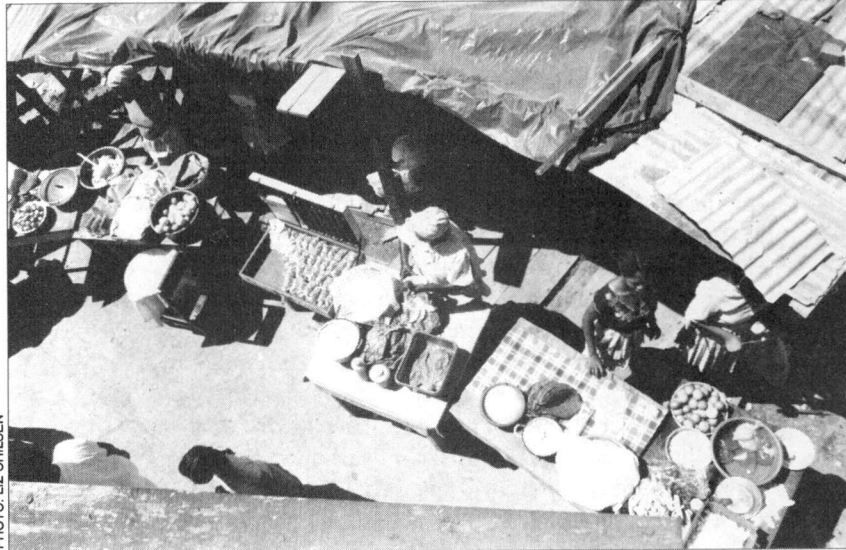


PHOTO: LIZ CHILSEN

Nicaragua to play an unambiguous, partisan role in support of the Sandinista Front, which "will now be the only political force that really defends the interests of the Nicaraguan people."

Others, such as Nancy Trechsel of Project Minnesota/León, argue that "the solidarity groups that have been politically oriented are the ones that have been having problems following the election. We seem to be able to function the same way as always because we're non-partisan." But PML Coordinator Carol Slothower has very partisan memories of election day, when the change of governments "changed completely" the lives of young



PHOTO: STEVE CAGAN

people in León: "One was studying biology at the university; two others planned careers in medicine; others were studying food science, psychiatry, engineering and dentistry. . . . They saw their bright futures fade away with the Sandinista defeat. UNO's platform includes 'privatizing' education as well as medical care and other social services, and these young people knew they could never pay for a university education."

"Medicine is the place where an ideological struggle is going on more than in any other area of material aid," said Callahan of Quest for Peace. "When the election result became known, it was clear that there would be massive changes in the Nicaraguan Health Ministry, aimed at privatizing and dismantling the health care system that the Sandinistas had built up. We knew we couldn't prevent that from happening or slow down the discussion of it inside Nicaragua. As a result of these changes, we've cut 90 or so medical centers loose and stayed with 85 We've also switched our health emphasis from curative care to preventive medicine, supporting things such as potable water systems as a solution to health problems."

TEACHER, TEACH THYSELF

"ORIGINALLY, THE PEOPLE WHO BEGAN DOING MATERIAL AID HAD a vision that through participating in aid projects, people in this country would become more aware of what the war was doing to people in Nicaragua," Callahan said. "Now that the war has ended, that vision is gone, and there isn't a new vision to take its place yet."

In their eagerness to oppose the U.S.-backed contra war and to support public education, health care and other gains of the Nicaraguan revolution, many U.S. groups were reluctant to echo U.S. criticisms of the Sandinista party that seemed to offer justification for U.S. military attacks. Now the Sandinistas themselves are undertaking that criticism, calling for democratization of party structures and criticizing party leaders for separating themselves from the poor whose needs are central to the revolution's social goals.

According to Rene Mendoza, writing in the Nicaraguan magazine *Envio*, this separation has caused "local and national reality" to be "delineated through two different discourses." At the local level, "family and economic problems, problems of basic necessities such as water, are the order of the day. At that level politics are no obstacle; all can be reconciled. The other is national (and necessarily international), a politicized discourse in which political party 'platforms' are debated; words such as militarism, religion, national liberation go out into the air and never touch ground."

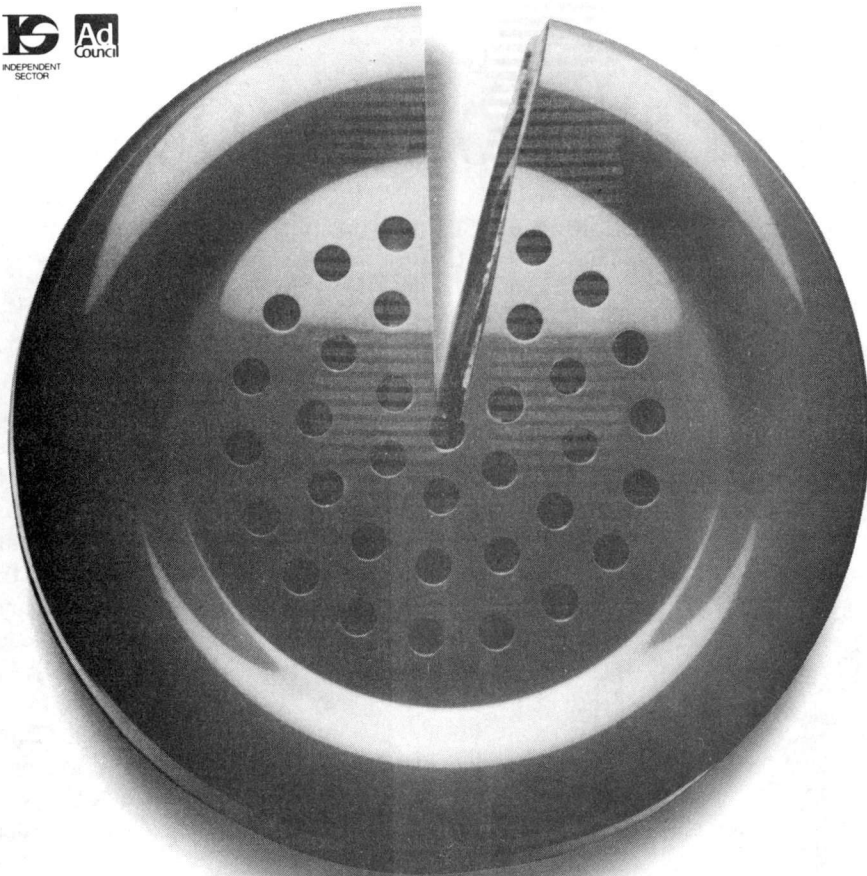
By inserting themselves into Nicaraguan reality at the local level, sister-city projects have avoided foundering on political ideology. During Hazel Tulecke's August visit to El Jicaro, she learned that the village's new UNO mayor is Jorge Rodriguez, "one of our most conservative friends" and a veterinarian with whom they had worked on a previous agricultural aid project. Tulecke noted, moreover, that Rodriguez's party affiliation didn't stop him from going in person to prevent UNO from taking away land titles awarded to small farmers under the Sandinista government. "Jorge himself had received land from the Sandinistas — as had his relatives," she said.

As they struggle to cope with Nicaragua's increasingly complex political and social realities, sister-city organizers such as Kim Esterberg are finding that the country's deepening need "brings out in me at least those same urges to social justice which brought me to Nicaragua in the first place."

It is likely, therefore, that material aid projects will continue to shape the movement's vision. "Can solidarity work increase in favor of the Nicaraguan people in their time of greatest need?" asks Phil Mitchell, a United Methodist missionary and member of Casa Baltimore/Limay.

"It's critical at this point to have a commitment to the poor, who are facing a more critical situation than before," said Jules Lobel of the Pittsburgh-San Isidro Sister City Project.

"We have a responsibility to make amends for the destruction that the U.S. has created in Nicaragua through its sponsorship of the war," said Callahan. "The U.S. policy is aimed at stamping out the gains of the Nicaraguan revolution. Its policy is now designed to let Nicaragua become so impoverished that people's dreams will be wiped out. We're in a new phase — a sophisticated, more complex struggle. Our goal in doing aid should be prevention of the crushing of dreams." ■



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The Polish Path Toward Democracy

U.S. mayors demonstrated their commitment toward assisting their newly-elected counterparts in Poland.

MARCH 20, 1950. On that date, meaningful local governments in Poland ceased to exist. As part of the principle of "unity of power," local officials were relegated to doing little more than making sure that central directives were implemented.

Forty years later, as democracy — and active local governments — make their way back to Poland, U.S. mayors are lending a hand to make the transition as smooth as possible. In October, four American mayors spent 10 days in Poland, where they conducted training sessions for more than 100 Polish mayors elected last May. The goal: To explain the intricacies of local governments, including their structure, finances and delivery of public services.

The participating U.S. mayors were William Althaus of York (PA), Cardell Cooper of East Orange (NJ), Ted Mann of Newton (MA) and Carol Whiteside of Modesto (CA). And their discussions covered topics ranging from environmental protection to transportation to creating workable coalitions.

The financial side of running a city seemed to be foremost on the agenda of many of the Polish mayors. As yet, no Polish cities have created a budget, still awaiting the federal government's "devolving" of its power and finances.

In recent months, many state-owned governments under the old communist system have been turned over to the Polish mayors. The U.S. visitors recommended that the Poles undertake a detailed assessment of the new property they have inher-

ited. In one of the most lively discussions, the Polish mayors asked their U.S. counterparts for information about the role the private sector can play in local governments, based on the American experience.

The mayoral meetings were organized by the U.S. Conference of Mayors in the aftermath of the Conference's annual meeting last June, when a resolution was passed that pledged support for a smooth transition toward local democracy in eastern Europe.

At the October meetings in and near Cracow, Mayor Whiteside told the Polish officials that they will have to guide their citizens toward accepting the new reality that local governments now exist to serve the public rather than acting as a force of repression. She urged that city business, including council meetings, be accessible to the media and the public.

Mayor Althaus cautioned the Polish mayors of what might await them, noting that they may have to "pound on the table" in Warsaw to convince the federal government to acknowledge the fundamental problems at the municipal level.

According to Tom Cochran, executive director of the Conference of Mayors, "There were questions, over and over, about our U.S. municipal taxing authority. One Polish mayor said all he could tax were 'dogs and peddlers.' National legislation is now being considered by the new Polish government which will give the Polish mayors more taxing authority."

Added Cochran, "Speaking from the experience of an organization that has spent almost six decades working with American mayors, we have learned that the most effective leadership training for mayors is by mayors."

SOURCES: U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (202-293-7330); Guy Smith, "USA & Polish Mayors: First International Mayors Leadership Institute in Cracow and Rzeszow," *U.S. Mayor*, October 29, 1990, p. 9; Tom Cochran, "To the Mayor," *U.S. Mayor*, October 29, 1990, p. 2; Kay Scrimger, "Conference of Mayors Plans Mayoral Leadership Training for Polish Mayors in Cracow and Rzeszow," *U.S. Mayor*, September 24, 1990, p. 9.



PHOTO: U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

MAYOR'S DELEGATION.

From left, Mayors Mann, Cooper, Althaus and Executive Director Cochran. Not pictured, Mayor Carol Whiteside.

Local Officials Demand an End to Nuclear Testing

When a radiation leak occurred at the Soviet testing site, it gave rise to a groundswell of demands for a ban on testing.

LAST SPRING, A MEMORIAL WAS UNVEILED near Semipalatinsk, a city in the central Asian republic of Kazakhstan in the Soviet Union. The memorial, which overlooks the Soviet nuclear test site in Semipalatinsk, commemorates the sacrifice of people throughout the world who have died because of the use and testing of nuclear weapons.

The erection of that memorial is just one sign that the Soviet people have increasingly become leaders in the international movement for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. And much of that energy has emerged in Semipalatinsk and surrounding communities, whose citizens have suffered the tragic consequences of decades of Soviet nuclear testing.

Less than two years ago, the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement (NSM) was born, named after the test sites in the U.S. and the Soviet Union. As Soviet poet Olzhas Suleimenov has said, "The U.S. test site in Nevada and the Soviet site in

Semipalatinsk have created similar ecological and human catastrophes and have become the objects of widespread protests by citizens."

NSM is a grassroots campaign that was launched after a radiation leak occurred from the Semipalatinsk test site. As many as 20,000 Soviet citizens have marched through the streets of cities like Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, waving signs and flags to protest testing.

SPRINGING A LEAK.

The 1970 Baneberry underground test in Nevada resulted in a cloud of radioactive dust 10,000 feet above the surface.

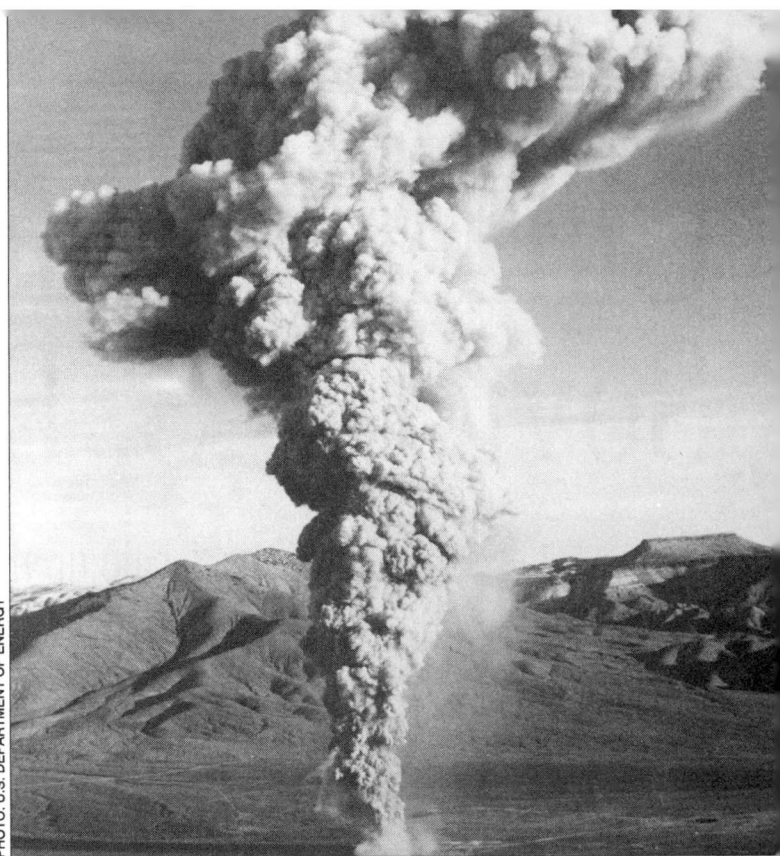


PHOTO: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

The U.S. test site in Nevada and the Soviet site in Semipalatinsk have created similar ecological and human catastrophes and have become the objects of widespread protests by citizens.

"No defense reasons can justify the silent nuclear war of the government against its own people," said Suleimenov. Local officials have responded to the anti-nuclear efforts. Last spring, the Kazakhstan Assembly unanimously approved a resolution calling upon the Soviet government to shut down the Semipalatinsk test site. The mayor of Kurchatov Village has called for the conversion of the Soviet's nuclear

weapons design facility — the equivalent of the U.S.' Lawrence Livermore Laboratory — to peaceful applications. The Soviet government has apparently heard the outcry. Nuclear tests have been suspended at Semipalatinsk, and there is talk of the Soviet test site being relocated to a remote Arctic island.

In May, NSM and the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War jointly hosted the International Citizens Congress for a Nuclear Test Ban in Alma-Ata. The three-day meeting attracted 300 delegates from more than 20 nations, and urged an end to nuclear testing.

Commenting on the Soviet citizens he met, Dr. Daniel Young, president of Physicians for Social Responsibility, said, "We saw in these courageous people the sort of energy that has not been much in evidence in our own country since the 1960s. . . . We must reawaken that energy here to stop U.S. testing and our endless pursuit of 'nuclear superiority.'"

SOURCES: Jackie Cabasso, "International Citizens Call for End to Nuclear Testing," *The Test Banner*, Fall 1990, p. 10; *PSR Reports*, Summer 1990; James Lerager, "Soviet Victims of Nuclear Testing," *Earth Island Journal*, Fall 1990, p. 16; John Burroughs, "Kazakhs Know Peril of Nuclear Testing," *Newsletter of the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy*, September 1990, p. 1; Associated Press, "International Rally Backs Nuclear Test Ban," *Boston Globe*, May 27, 1990.

Citizen Initiatives Form a Soviet-U.S. Bridge

Cities and citizens "scale up the solutions" to the common problems faced by the superpowers.

by David D. Hunt

AS THE COLD WAR THAWS, PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES AND the Soviet Union are pursuing meaningful exchanges in an attempt to deal with emerging problems that affect both countries.

American citizens, for example, are reaching out to new independent groups of Soviet citizens concerned about the environment. Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have some of the world's worst pollution, so severe in some places that it is reducing life expectancy. At the same time, the Second World

Climate Conference in Geneva just identified the United States as the largest polluter among rich nations. Faced with common environmental problems, formal and informal groups in the two countries are sharing success stories and exchanging information and technology.

What can these nations do together to make themselves more secure economically and environmentally in an interdependent world? And how will the rapid and revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union affect citizen diplomacy?

"We now have an even greater opportunity to continue our friendships, to gain understanding of the changes that they're going through in the U.S.S.R., and to offer assistance in any way we can," says Jane Cummins, staff associate for the League of Oregon Cities and a director of the Salem-Simferopol Sister City Association.

The trend for many U.S.-U.S.S.R. exchanges is toward longer visits by private citizens from all walks of life. Whole families are participating in exchanges. Internships and work assignments are becoming more frequent, and school links are still a top priority. Pen pals offer an inexpensive way to establish connections.

The success of this diversity of exchanges depends on reliable international communication, which is finally being achieved

People-to-people diplomacy has had a direct effect on politics. What we need now are more effective ways of sharing our experiences, through film, newsletters, books, slides, displays, and events.

through electronic mail. The San Francisco/Moscow Teleport has linked computers in the two countries, offering a fast, reliable and inexpensive means of communication for cities.

Karen Lewis of Seattle lived for 18 months in Soviet homes, a trip she arranged through sister-city contacts. "People-to-people diplomacy has had a direct effect on politics. It makes such a difference in how we relate to each other and to different cultures," said Ms. Lewis. "There's a worldwide desire to know each other better. What we need now are more effective ways of sharing our experiences, through film, newsletters, books, slides, displays, and events." Sister city promoters are attempting to reach a wider audience in both countries. As Mark Satin, editor of *New Options* newsletter, puts it, "Very little of the enthusiasm [about citizen diplomacy and sister cities] is being communicated into the mainstream."

Another area of concern is the increasing friction between the official and unofficial levels. "When you say people-to-people, you have to keep repeating it so they understand that you don't mean just mayor-to-mayor," says Bob Broedel of the Tallahassee-Krasnodar program.

Sister cities are a hybrid form of diplomacy, requiring both governmental sanction and citizen participation, at least on the American side. Most sister-city programs are run by an independent non-profit association in cooperation with city hall. Clarifying the goals and roles of each group will minimize potential conflict.

Frequently, Soviet participants misunderstand the way exchanges are paid for by the U.S. side. Soviets usually host American delegations lavishly from official funds, while Americans often pay the expenses for their Soviet guests out of their own pockets or through tedious fundraising efforts.

Some American hosts have felt as if there was a "gimme syndrome," in the words of Paul Von Ward, president of Delphi International Group, a consulting and business services organization. Soviets are so used to depending on allocations from the state, so the argument goes, that now they expect allocations from the capitalists. Most guests are well-intentioned, but explicit dialogue about arrangements and expectations is necessary before travel plans are made. Communication is the key to preventing misunderstandings. Business and trade ventures promise to raise money for exchanges and to ease Soviet economic woes, but they face the difficulties of a volatile Soviet economy and uncertainty about Soviet laws and governmental structure. Also, Mary Wright-McIntosh, sister cities coordinator for the City of Eugene, suggests that "sister cities are not intended to be the economic arm of government. Business is only a byproduct."

Steve Kalishman of the Gainesville-Novorossiisk program disagrees. "We should help the Soviets develop trade and their own industry, and teach individuals how to prosper in a market economy," he says. "They're trying to be businesspeople, but



they don't know how to do it."

Harriett Crosby, president of the Institute for Soviet-American Relations, warns that "Soviets' values are fundamentally different from ours. We have to be very sophisticated, so that our well-intentioned efforts don't backfire and produce the reverse of what our intentions are."

There are now 71 official U.S.-U.S.S.R. sister-city pairs with 50 more developing, according to Sister Cities International. Soviets call them "brother cities," and they created the first "twinning" during World War II between Leningrad and Coventry, England. President Eisenhower introduced the concept to the U.S. in 1956. Until eight years ago, there was only one active U.S.-U.S.S.R. link, Seattle and Tashkent. Sister cities have multiplied during Gorbachev's tenure, and they are expected to remain an important force in the years ahead. Proponents of U.S.-Soviet cooperation believe that today's challenges require that we not only understand each other but that we also scale up the solutions to match the size of the problems. David Aschauer, an economist with the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, has documented a backlog of nearly \$1 trillion in U.S. public spending needs that will arise during the next decade, including \$200 billion to clean up aging nuclear weapons plants.

At the same time, the Soviets are learning that while it is very important to have "glasnost," to be able to speak out about problems, action is still necessary in order to solve them. This means it will become increasingly important for U.S. and Soviet cities to work together on major projects of shared interest.

The areas of possible cooperation seem limitless. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union need to wean their economies away from the military. Both need a "peace dividend," trade, a clean environment and well-educated, healthy citizens. Both must forge a way of life that doesn't exhaust either the human or the natural resources of our planet. Can we work together? Thousands of Americans and Soviets are proving we can.

SOURCES: Sister Cities International, 120 South Payne St., Alexandria, VA 22314 (703-836-4815); Institute for Soviet-American Relations (ISAR), 1601 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 301, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202-387-3034); United Towns Organization, 2, rue de Logelbach, 75017 Paris, France (Tel. 47.66.75.10); Mark Satin, New Options, Inc., P.O. Box 19324, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202-822-0929); San Francisco/Moscow Teleport, 3278 Sacramento St., San Francisco, CA 94115 (415-931-8500).

David D. Hunt, a contributing editor of MFP, is the founder of the Salem-Simferopol Sister City Association.

U.S. Mayors: Keep the Sanctions in Place

F.W. de Klerk's trip to the U.S. ran into some strong anti-apartheid sentiment from Boston Mayor Flynn.

WHEN SOUTH AFRICA PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk met with President Bush last September, he asked for the removal of economic sanctions against his country. But while de Klerk was conferring in the White House,

ered 50,000 "ballots," collected in all sections of the U.S. as part of the Africa Fund's "End Apartheid — Vote for the People" campaign. Flynn also presented Congressman Gray with a resolution approved by the Conference of Mayors, condemning apartheid and calling for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa.

The resolution "supports the demand of the South African people for full democracy based on one person, one vote in a unified and nonracial South Africa." It also calls upon President Bush to "refrain from attempting to lift sanctions until [democracy] has been enshrined in a new South African constitution."

In explaining his opposition to apartheid, Mayor Flynn noted that "Boston was one of the first cities in America to divest its interests in South Africa. We sent a resounding message to the rulers of the apartheid regime that the prejudice they encourage and the oppression they support will not be tolerated. In doing so, Boston struck a blow for liberty that is consistent with our belief in a free and equal society."

An executive order in Boston also bans all city departments from buying Shell Oil and Royal Dutch/Shell products until these companies relinquish their holdings in South Africa.

According to Mayor Flynn, "The fight for justice goes on. And it will not be finished until human rights are accepted in South Africa and wherever else rights are denied."

SOURCE: U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (202-293-7330); Raymond L. Flynn, "Conference of Mayors Supports Sanctions Against Apartheid Government of South Africa," *U.S. Mayor*, October 8, 1990, p. 3.

Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn was in another part of Washington, D.C., carrying a far different message: Keep the sanctions in force until democracy is fully established in South Africa.

Mayor Flynn, vice-president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, spent time on Capitol Hill, where he met with House Majority Whip William Gray and deliv-

FIGHTING FOR JUSTICE.

Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn called upon President George Bush to refrain from attempting to lift sanctions.

A Message of Thanks

Lawaaikamp extends its gratitude for the support it has received from its sister community in the U.S.

IN MOST SISTER CITY PROGRAMS, THE stakes aren't as high as they are in the link between Saint Paul, Minnesota and Lawaaikamp, South Africa.

Saint Paul tied the knot with the black township of Lawaaikamp three years ago, largely to help apply international pressure to keep the township's residents from forced removal to lands more distant from white communities.

Thanks to grassroots letter-writing campaigns in Saint Paul—and an extraordinary and successful effort by Saint Paul Council President Bill Wilson to bring both sides together to negotiate an agreeable solution to the township's problems—the white government finally relented. Lawaaikamp became a Free Settlement Area and its residents have been allowed to stay.

Zolile Hugo, secretary of Lawaaikamp's civic association, thought it was important to say thanks to the people of Saint Paul. So in September, he traveled to Minnesota, the first official guest from Lawaaikamp to visit Saint Paul. Hugo met with community leaders to discuss and seek aid for the pressing housing needs in Lawaaikamp, where people live in corrugated iron shanties without plumbing and other amenities.

"We took the government by surprise once (in saving the township)," Hugo said. "Now once more we have to convince the government that we are a responsible project, that it comes from the ground (the people), that we must provide different housing options for what we can afford."

The Saint Paul-Lawaaikamp Sister Community Project has launched the Brick Project, in which Saint Paul schoolchildren are carving messages into green brick,

which is then fired. The bricks will be sent to Lawaaikamp, where they will serve as cornerstones for 500 proposed new houses.

According to the project's sponsors, "[O]ur best form of aid is a symbolic presence in Lawaaikamp that says, 'We in Saint Paul are watching Lawaaikamp. No injustice to her citizens will go unnoticed or unprotested.' The bricks provide that symbol."

How significant have Saint Paul's ef-

forts been in the struggle of Lawaaikamp's citizens? Kobus Pienaar, a lawyer who helped the township in its legal battle, said, "To break the camel's back, we needed lots of straws. A large number of straws came from Saint Paul, and they came at the right time."

SOURCE: Saint Paul Department of Planning & Economic Development, 25 W. Fourth St., Saint Paul, MN 55102 (612-228-3208); Joe Kimball, "S. African Villager Brings Thanks to St. Paul," *Star Tribune*, September 26, 1990.

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Finding Common Ground

Meeting on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, city leaders looked for accessible solutions to shared problems.

The national governments in Washington and Mexico City often write policy that affect border cities detrimentally.

IF FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS CAN'T OR WON'T solve the problems that affect the communities along their common border, then maybe the cities themselves need to take international relations into their own hands.

That was one of the messages emerging from the first United States-Mexico Border Mayors' Conference, convened in

El Paso and Juarez in September, and attended by mayors from 22 border cities in the two countries.

"The national governments in Washington and Mexico City often

write policy that affects us detrimentally and occasionally positively," said El Paso Mayor Suzie Azar. "If we can become involved more, we can make more of it positive."

Environmental, economic and public safety issues headed the agenda of the two-day meeting, which alternated between the Juarez City Hall and the University of Texas (El Paso) campus.

Both large and small cities were represented, with the smaller ones aware that, without aggressive action, the problems of the bigger cities will eventually spread throughout the border communities. "(Larger cities) have experience that we in the smaller communities would like to avoid," said Mayor Ema Lea Shoop of Yuma, Arizona. "When the larger cities along the border take action against illegal activities, they are moved to smaller towns. And that's where we need help."

The mayors approved a six-point

resolution, whose elements included:

- A recognition that public health concerns are binational, and that more formal mechanisms for cooperation must be developed to address health issues affecting the border.

- A need for municipal, state and federal agencies to cooperate in preserving water quality along the border, while intensifying efforts to ensure proper toxic-waste disposal.

- Support of regular meetings between city tourism agencies.

- The continued expansion of economic industrialized programs to attract new companies.

- The need for the elimination of non-tariff barriers to foreign trade, and the importance of promoting well-planned ports of entry that will positively impact the border communities.

- The importance of joint efforts by border cities to solve law-enforcement problems such as automobile thefts.

Proponents of the conference believe that the mayors could work together to bypass the logjam that often occurs because of federal red tape. "The federal government tends to bog down everybody," said University of Texas at El Paso political science professor Richard Bath. "There's a lot of places where we could have joint efforts and forget the federal government."

Brownsville and Tijuana are expected to be host cities for a second conference sometime in 1990. In the meantime, a Border Mayors' Caucus Staff Committee was formed to follow up on issues raised at the September meeting.

SOURCES: City of El Paso, 2 Civic Center Plaza, El Paso, TX 79999; Bill Diven, "Border Mayors Ready to Affect International Ties," *Albuquerque Journal*, September 7, 1990; Janet Perez, "Border Leaders: What Can We Do for Each Other?," *El Paso Times*, September 6, 1990.

Denver Looks South of the Border

Mayor Frederico Pena has Mexico as a top priority in his drive to open up new markets for Denver's business community.

DENVER MAYOR FREDERICO PENA HAS carried his message of "import-export evangelism" worldwide since taking office in 1983. He has traveled as far as West Germany, the Netherlands, England, Japan and Singapore.

But recently, Mayor Pena has recognized that some of the greatest trade possibilities may be as close as Mexico. And it took some coaxing from Francisco Gonzalez de Cassio, the Mexican consul general, to convince Pena that a trade mission to Mexico would be productive.

Pena is a longtime proponent of Denver's increasing role in the international marketplace. But he is a more recent convert to the opportunities — and the perfect fit — between his city and Mexico, in large part due to Denver's geographical proximity and large Hispanic population. Says Pena, "People in Mexico perceive me as one of the leading Hispanic elected officials in the United States. There's a natural connection there."

Even before the mayor's visit in October, some Denver businesspeople had already recognized that Mexico could be an important trading partner. In 1988, for instance, Colorado businesses exported \$54 million worth of manufactured goods to Mexico. In the same year, Colorado's agricultural exports to Mexico totaled \$42 million.

But everyone agrees there is much more room to grow, thanks to initiatives in Mexico that include a dramatic reduction in trade tariffs, an increased level of permissible foreign capital investment and a more stabilized peso.

"As a city that is building the world's largest international airport, Denver is poised to expand its role as a major partner in new trade opportunities" with not only Mexico but throughout the hemisphere, Pena said.

The mayor's delegation to Mexico included representatives of 22 private-

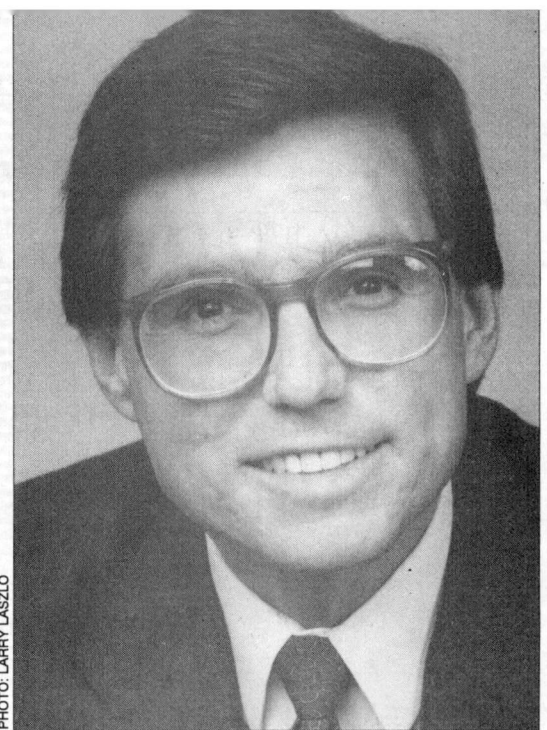


PHOTO: LARRY LASZLO

INTERNATIONAL MAYOR.
Denver's Frederico Pena.

sector companies whose interests ranged from aviation maintenance and electrical engineering to telecommunications and transportation. And Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari addressed the group during its visit — a dramatic turnaround for a country that once had one of the world's most closed economies.

Among the most enthusiastic members of the mission was Jane Withers, who smiled broadly while strolling the Paseo de la Reforma, the main thoroughfare in the world's largest city. Withers is president of Denver's Hub Cap Annie, a discount hubcap company, and in her search for new markets, she was delighted to see that most cars in Mexico City do not have hubcaps. "Only two out of 10 cars out there are fully clothed," she said.

Stephen Schovee, a Denver venture capitalist and another member of the trade mission, said he expects to alert Colorado investors that "Mexico is open for business. We've looked to eastern Europe for overseas manufacturing. Now we're looking to Mexico."

SOURCES: Mayor Frederico Pena, City of Denver, Denver, CO 80202 (303-640-2721); Thaddeus Herrick, "Denver Business Delegation Finds an Open Door in Mexico," *Rocky Mountain News*, October 19, 1990; Steve Caulk, "Pena Touts Mexico, Canada Trade," *Rocky Mountain News*, August 3, 1990.

MAYORS SEE CITIES AS AMERICA'S LIFEBLOOD

IF AMERICA IS GOING TO PROSPER IN THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE, IT SHOULD LOOK TO ITS CITIES as the lifeblood and driving force that can make the nation competitive.

That message grew out of the Urban Summit, a three-day meeting convened by New York Mayor David Dinkins and attended by 35 U.S. mayors in November.

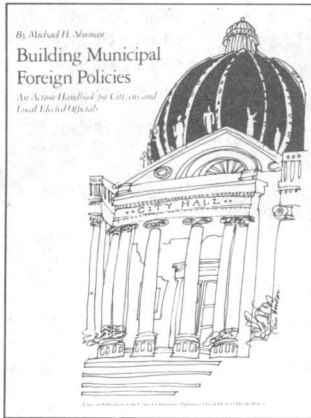
The conference attendees issued a statement of goals, proclaiming, "Cities have always been the centers of commerce and the ports of opportunity." But the mayors observed that if the nation allows the problems of its cities to go unattended, the U.S. will lose a strategic advantage in the world marketplace. America will prosper in the international environment only if the U.S. can "depend on a vital urban community." They added that "the fate of the nation is joined to the fate of its cities."

As part of a plan to protect the country's global economic leadership, the mayors pledged to create coalitions aimed at "restructuring our troubled educational system," and at lobbying for increased federal support for early childhood education.

SOURCE: William Barnes, "35 Mayors Call for New Urban Partnerships," *Nation's Cities Weekly*, November 19, 1990, p. 1.

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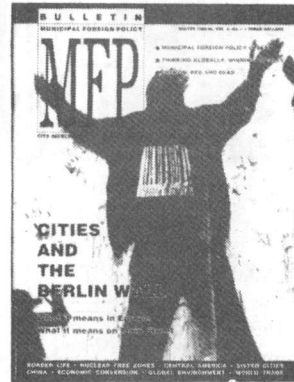
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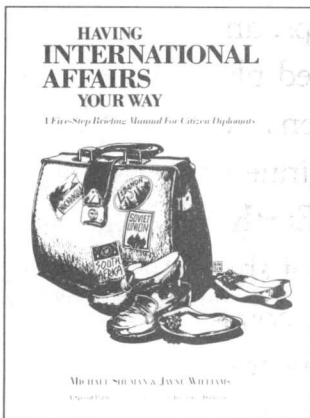


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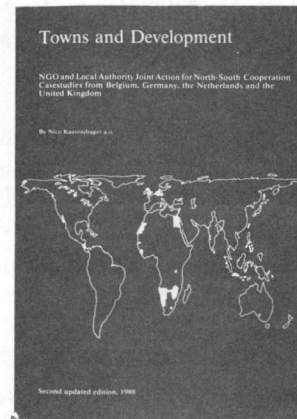
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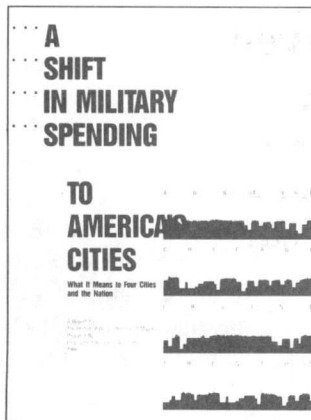
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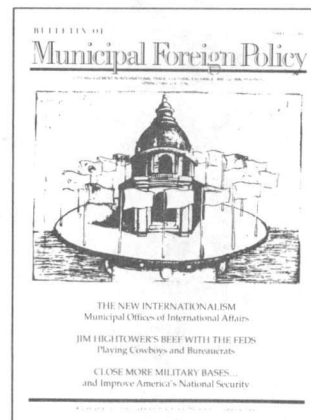
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■ **INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE (IDC)** is holding its 40th anniversary conference January 23-25, 1991 in Washington, DC. The theme is: "From Cold War to Cooperation: Outlines of a New World Order." IDC is the largest and oldest forum on U.S.-Third World relationships. It is non-partisan, but clearly internationalistic. A number of major sessions at the conference will consider the cutting edge of people's movements, particularly those fostering more mutual relationships between the South and North. Local and national leaders are expected from virtually every state and from a great many countries. Expected will be a broad mix of practitioners, non-governmental and governmental leaders, academics, students and journalists. For information: IDC, 1401 New York Ave., NW Suite 1100, Washington, DC 20005. FAX (202) 538-1374 and Phone (202) 638-3111.

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Earning Wings

by John Simon

YOU CAN ALWAYS COUNT ON THE Scrooge spirit to surface at the beginning of a new year. The overbearing glow of the holidays has passed and in its place is the vision of unpaid bills dancing in our heads.

But there is one saving grace to the end of the season-to-be-jolly; it will be 11 months before we will be forced to watch that Frank Capra classic, "It's a Wonderful Life."

Everyone, of course, adores this Christmas tear-jerker. How can you resist Jimmy Stewart as George Baily — the man who couldn't pay *his* bills? George eventually learns through a miracle that he is the richest man in his hometown, Bedford Falls. And then there's a youthful Donna Reed, already practicing for her Nickelodeon re-runs as the perfect wife, and Clarence the angel who jumps off the bridge just as George is about to commit suicide (Of course, as you all know, George saves him and the rest is cinematic history).

Personally, I have a soft spot for the movie, but enough is enough. In the world of cable TV, not only are we subject to "It's a Wonderful Life" on a host of local channels, but now it beams into our homes from Chicago, New York, Atlanta, and every other Ted Turner wanna-be determined to kill us with Capra's kindness.

I'll have to admit that one scene, which I must have stumbled upon at

least 16 times last year always has a singular kind of resonance with me. George Baily, reaching the bottom of his proverbial "barrel," is in a fit of intoxicated madness brought on at Mr. Martini's bar. George turns to his guardian angel Clarence and mutters "If it hadn't been for me, everyone would have been a lot better off." He soon learns nothing could be further from the truth.

Getting into the sentimental spirit, I can't help but wonder what the world would be like without municipal foreign policy. Just like George Baily, people who work locally to influence global affairs might have considerable impact on how the world turns, but so often they go unappreciated.

■ I wonder where the township of Lawaai-kamp in South Africa might have been if it hadn't been for the city officials in Saint Paul, Minnesota who helped apply pressure on the white apartheid government to save the township and improve living conditions there.

■ I wonder how much more of our vanishing rain forests would be decimated if it hadn't been for 60 cities in the Netherlands that have chosen to sharply reduce their use of tropical timber.

■ I wonder how much of the ozone will be saved by cities like Portland, Denver, and Irvine, that have helped to limit the use of CFCs and other ozone-eating compounds within their city limits.

■ I wonder how many lives have been saved by the actions of the city of Bremen, West Germany that has formed partnerships with villages and communities in India and Africa to

provide safe water and appropriate energy resources.

■ I wonder how much better prepared we are to face the post-Cold War future because of mayors like Baltimore's Kurt Schmoke, Atlanta's Maynard Jackson, or Boston's Raymond Flynn, who speak out for claiming the peace dividend.

■ I wonder how U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations might be changed by the actions of Nome, Alaska, a city that has taken the initiative to build trade alliances between itself and the Soviet far east.

■ I wonder how public perception of our national policy in the Middle East might be enhanced because of thoughtful resolutions passed by cities like Boulder, Colorado and Cambridge, Massachusetts.

■ I wonder how sister-city relationships all over the world have helped to build a citizen diplomacy that brings us, every day, closer to peace on Earth.

It seems that everywhere cities are taking steps to build a future where people in other parts of the world will be a lot better off. In doing so, they enrich the lives of their own citizens as well.

I know this scene by heart. At the end of the movie George Baily realizes he has done a world of good in Bedford Falls. The townsfolk gather around him in this living room. His kid brother Harry steps forward and raises a glass. "To my big brother George, the richest man in the world."

Well, I raise my glass to the practitioners of municipal foreign policy, who are richer, by far, for their efforts.

I can hardly wait until next December. ■



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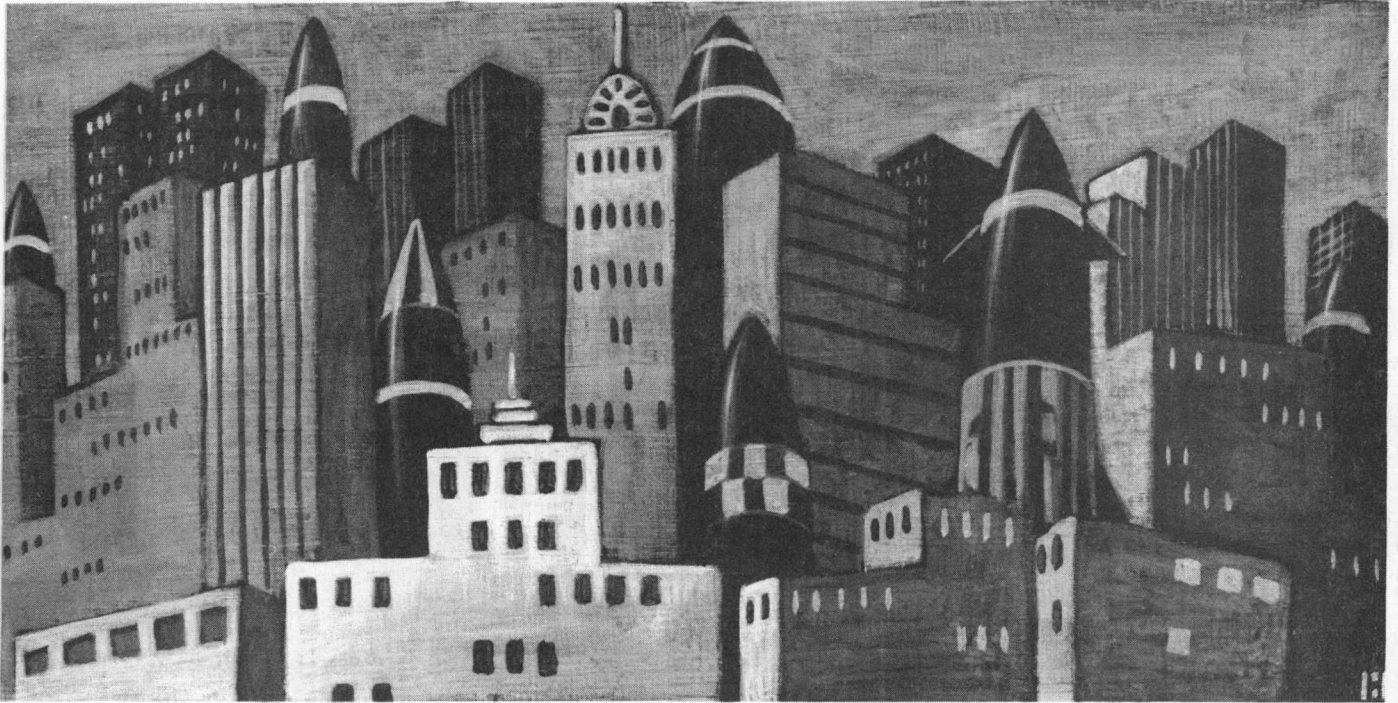
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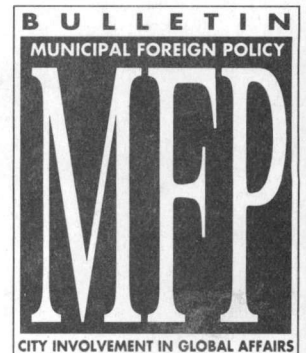
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