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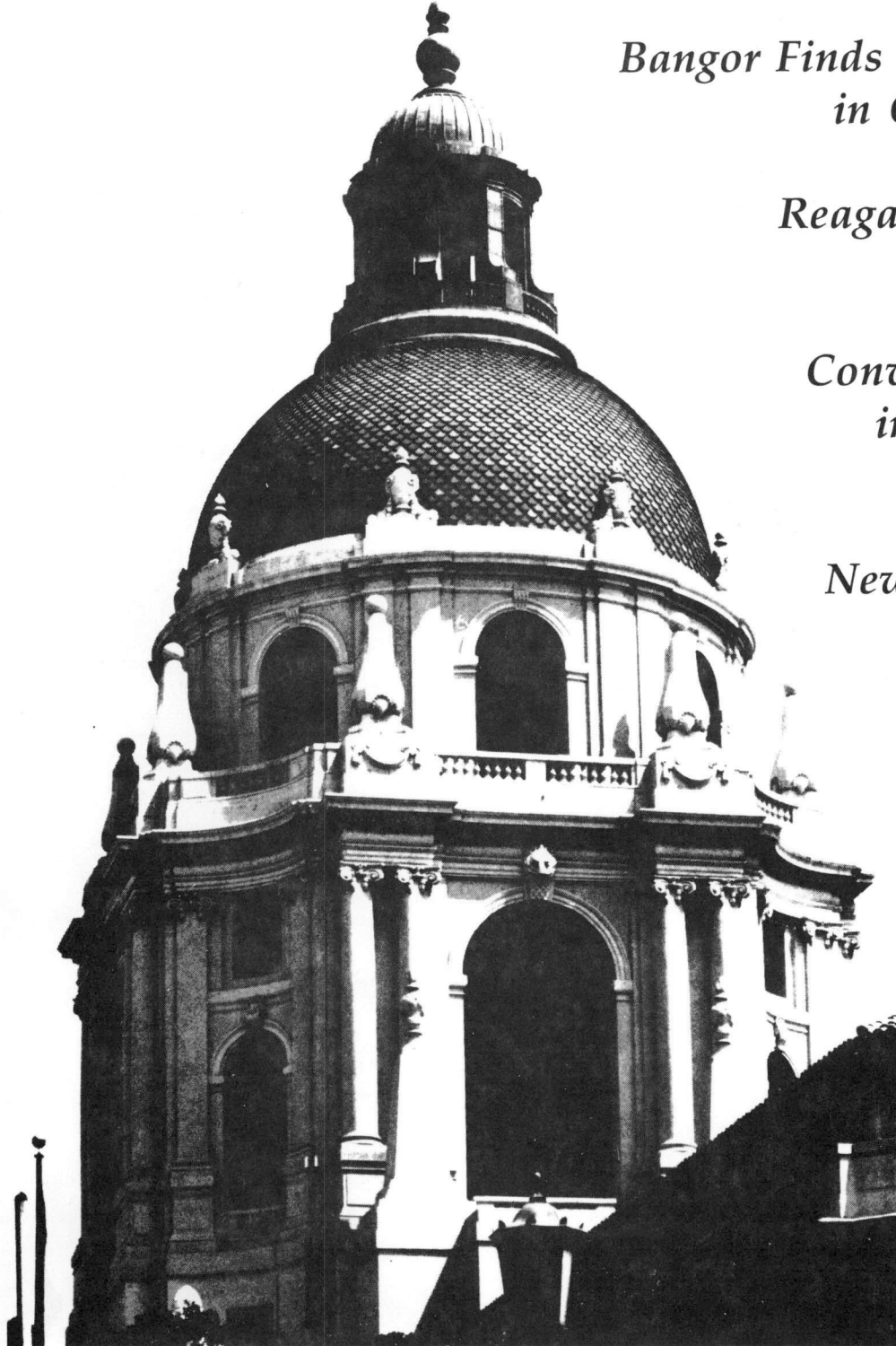
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BULLETIN OF
Municipal Foreign Policy

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND GLOBAL POLITICS
WINTER 1987-88, VOL. 2, No. 1



*Bangor Finds Economic Prosperity
in Closed Military Base*

*Reagan's Neighbors Reject
Star Wars*


*Conversion Issues Raised
in San Diego Mayoral
Election*

*New Partnership Forged
in Nevada Desert*

*Mayors Join Forces
to Battle Apartheid*

*Detroit Becomes
27th Sanctuary City*

*Nuclear-Free Zones
Score Well on
Election Day*



"The state . . . in order to expand domestic markets, facilitate common defence, and so on, encourages the weakening of local communities in favour of the national community. In doing so, it relieves individuals of the necessity to cooperate voluntarily amongst themselves on a local basis, making them more dependent upon the state. The result is that altruism and cooperative behavior gradually decay. The state is thereby strengthened and made more effective in its work of weakening the local community."

- *British Philosopher Michael Taylor*



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Ban Nuclear Testing

In the forty years since two small nuclear bombs killed 200,000 civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the United States and the Soviet Union have amassed the largest destructive arsenals humanity has ever known. Their nuclear stockpiles now contain so much explosive power that, if a Hiroshima-sized blast went off every second, the bombs would last for nearly two weeks.

The prospects of this arms race proceeding without a catastrophe are bleak. According to the *Canadian Army Journal*, of the 1,587 arms races between 600 B.C. and 1960, all but ten ended in war. Thomas Powers, senior editor of *The Atlantic*, notes that "many Russians cite Chekhov's famous principle of dramaturgy: If there is a gun on the wall in the first act, it will fire in the third."

Americans certainly have come to appreciate the dangers of a nuclear war. According to a 1984 poll by Daniel Yankelovich's Public Agenda Foundation, 89 percent of Americans believe that nuclear war is mutually suicidal and 68 percent believe that war will result if the arms race continues. Yet despite the risks and despite the protests, the Reagan administration insists that the arms race must go on.

Last March, Robert Barker, assistant to the Secretary of Defense for atomic energy, told Congress that "we are never going to be finished" testing nuclear weapons. According to Barker, we will always need new nuclear weapons to keep up with ever changing Soviet targets, tactics, and weapons. "Neither we nor the Soviets in my view are going to be finished," he said.

Never mind that a permanent arms race is sooner or later likely to incinerate civilization. Never mind that the permanent arms race is forcing both the United States and the Soviet Union annually to squander more than half a trillion dollars on nonproductive mili-

tary activities, destroying their economies and leaving their cities to rot. Never mind that the permanent arms race is violating both superpowers' commitments, made in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, to ban nuclear testing and to disarm, and that these violations will inspire the Qadafis and Khomeinis of the world to acquire their own nuclear weapons. The arms race must go on — forever.

The "Threat" of Test Ban

In November 1986, the U.S. Department of Energy gave a \$550,000 contract to RDA Logicon, a Virginia-based defense contractor, to help lobby Congress and the public against a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT). This contract was merely the latest step in a four-decade long campaign against the CTBT waged by the leading scientists, businessmen, and politicians whose power and profits depend on the nuclear arms race.

Those campaigning against the CTBT are terrified that it might cut off the arms race — and they're right. New weapons, particularly those necessary for the "Star Wars" Strategic Offense Initiative, could be cut off. Those warheads already stockpiled could no longer be tested, reducing confidence that they would work as planned. As Caspar Weinberger argued while he was Secretary of Defense, "Over one-third of all nuclear-weapon designs introduced into our stockpile since 1958 have encountered reliability problems, and 75 percent of those were discovered and subsequently corrected thanks to actual explosive testing."

What would our national security be today had we adhered to a CTBT in 1958 and assumed that many of our warheads might not work? We still would have been able to respond to any Soviet nuclear aggression with a devastating second-strike; destroying

the Soviet Union 14 times instead of 20 would have hardly been a mortal blow to deterrence. What we would not have been able to threaten would have been a successful surprise attack on Soviet military targets. In other words, 30 years of nuclear testing have only served to bolster a first-strike strategy that is immoral and provocative — a strategy that increases the risks of a crisis or computer error escalating into a full-scale nuclear war.

It's not too late to stop the arms race now. A CTBT today would halt Star Wars, render existing nuclear weapons unreliable, and make first-strike planning impossible. Just as the Reagan administration has tenaciously spurned a CTBT because "we are never going to be finished" with the arms race, it now falls upon us to demand with as much tenacity a CTBT, precisely because it *will* reverse the arms race.

And there is no better place to begin this demand than in our cities. In the early 1980s, 900 of America's cities and counties demanded a "mutual, verifiable freeze," forcing the Reagan administration to begin taking arms control seriously. As Strobe Talbott wrote in the journal *Foreign Affairs*, "It was largely to blunt the so-called freeze movement and to stem the growing opposition to the MX that the Administration belatedly came forward with its START proposal in May 1982."

Now America's cities and counties must take a stand again. Only this time, we need to go beyond one-time, nonbinding resolutions. Imagine if every one of the 900 jurisdictions supporting the freeze had also sent and supported 900 full-time lobbyists in Washington, D.C., each pressing Congress to adopt various parts of a freeze — a halt on new nuclear weapons deployments such as the MX and Trident D-5, limitations on Star Wars funding to only laboratory research, strict adherence to SALT I and SALT II, and, of course, a ban on additional

nuclear testing. The results could have been a virtual revolution in American arms control policy.

Now is the time to try anew.

The Role of Cities

In this issue of the *Bulletin*, you will read about some 700 mayors and city council members who signed the Nevada Declaration, demanding an immediate end to nuclear testing and swift negotiation of a CTBT. Issued last December at the National League of Cities Congress in Las Vegas, Nevada, the Nevada Declaration makes clear that a test ban is a local issue for at least three reasons:

First, as the sworn protectors of local welfare, local governments must take some responsibility for preventing the ultimate peril to their citizens — nuclear war. As the local officials from 98 cities declared on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, "We take the experience of Hiroshima as our own and consider it not as a mere incident of the past but as a warning to the future of humankind."

Second, since nuclear testing went underground in 1963, some 62 tests — roughly one-in-seven — have involved "radiation accidents." Of these, 24 tests have dispersed radiation downwind — nine in what the U.S. government has called "massive" releases. No one knows for sure how much radiation from testing has been released on the American public, particularly on those living near the Nevada test site. But one thing is certain: No dosage of radiation is safe and only by banning nuclear tests will we eliminate this continuing threat to the health of Americans in every city.

Finally, even if nuclear warheads never explode, the economic costs of continued testing are wrecking our cities' economies. Since 1945, the United States has conducted nearly 20

nuclear tests annually, each costing between \$6 million and \$70 million. Every dollar going for testing — as well as the billions more going for programs made possible by testing — is money being stripped away from programs for the homeless, AIDS patients, better schools, and new highways and bridges.

In the autumn of 1986, Congress cut \$3.4 billion from General Revenue Sharing and then, three weeks later, put the same amount into Star Wars development. How can any fiscally responsible official argue that a CTBT is not a local issue?

We encourage local elected officials and other citizens to support the Nevada Declaration and begin organizing their cities to promote a CTBT.

Beyond sending lobbyists to Washington, D.C., numerous other approaches are available: You can distribute educational booklets to every citizen, as San Francisco did for the freeze. You can put up billboards, as London did to protest civil defense measures. You can establish a peace research institute, as the states of California and New Jersey have. You can cut off municipal investments and contracts to corporations involved in nuclear testing. And you can help the victims of testing radiation exposure sue the federal government for restitution.

Even if these measures seem too ambitious, your city can still join the nearly 200 cities that have passed non-binding resolutions supporting a CTBT.

The possibilities are limited only by our imagination and political will. The time has come to mobilize our local governments to ensure that we become mightier than the arms race that remains poised to exterminate us.

— Michael H. Shuman

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ON THE COVER

City Hall, Pasadena, California. There are three active sister city programs in Pasadena, creating international ties with Mishima (Japan), Ludwigshafen (Germany) and Jarvenga (Finland). Late last summer, Japanese visitors erected Peace Poles throughout Pasadena symbolizing the desire for peace among peoples of the world. The effort was sanctioned by the Pasadena Board of Directors, one of whom is Rick Cole, a member of the Local Elected Officials Project of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy.

IRVINE MAYOR CALLS FOR A CITY-BASED FOREIGN POLICY

This October, Larry Agran, Mayor of Irvine, California, and executive director of the Local Elected Officials Project of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, made the following remarks at a Riverside Church Disarmament Program National Teach-In in New York City. The conference drew about 500 activists from throughout the United States.

For Americans, this summer offered a tale of two foreign policies. The Iran-contra hearings revealed one kind of American foreign policy — an official policy of secrecy and duplicity; a policy as undemocratic as it was unconstitutional; a policy that ultimately had as its objective the killing of Nicaraguan citizens and the violent overthrow of their popular Revolution.

Meanwhile, during this same summer, thousands of American citizens were busy establishing formal and informal ties with Nicaraguan cities and the Nicaraguan people. Working with and through their own *city* governments, these Americans were sending millions of dollars in truly humanitarian aid to Nicaragua — medical supplies, essential equipment, and teams of technical volunteers. Remarkably, there are now 57 American cities that have established sister-city relationships with Nicaraguan cities. And dozens of other sister-city relationships are in the formative stages.

So we have official contra-terrorist aid on the one hand; and, on the other hand, we have American cities directly aiding the Nicaraguan people. What is going on here? What's going on, I believe, is that against the backdrop of a vicious — even murderous — official foreign policy, new and constructive forms of democratic foreign policy-making are struggling to be born. At the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, we are both tracking and fostering these citizen-based and city-based foreign policy initiatives. Our conclusion is an encouraging one: American cities are now becoming a major force in influencing American foreign policy.

Consider these facts:

- In the early 1980s, the Reagan Administration was forced to drop its simple-minded nuclear war/civil defense planning when 120 American cities refused to cooperate. Today, nearly 150 cities have gone beyond non-cooperation. They are self-declared nuclear free zones; by operation of their own local law, they are disengaging from the nuclear arms race.

- There is another example from the early 1980s. When the bilateral nuclear weapons freeze campaign took hold, it did so first in small towns in New England, then in larger communities, and finally involved more than 900 cities

adopting initiatives, referenda, and resolutions endorsing a freeze. Let's remember — and take credit for the fact — that the freeze campaign forced a hostile Administration to resume meaningful arms control talks with the Soviet Union, talks that are at last yielding some tangible benefits.

- More recently, nearly 100 cities led the way in divesting tens of billions of public dollars from firms doing business in South Africa. Universities and state governments followed. And, in 1986, a previously unresponsive Congress was convinced to override President Reagan's veto and abandon so-called "constructive engagement" in favor of economic sanctions.

By the day, and by the dozens, American cities are taking dramatic action. They are divesting from the arms race. They are establishing themselves as sanctuaries for Central American refugees. And they are forming enduring economic and cultural ties with cities and citizens in so-called "adversary" nations like the Soviet Union and Nicaragua.

All of this is more than just a curious collection of random events. There is now a clear movement underway. American citizens are taking foreign policy into their own hands. In the cities where they live and work, citizens are building what we call "municipal foreign policies." These city-based foreign policies are legal; they are democratic; they are often bold and imaginative; and they are increasingly effective in influencing the shape and direction of federal foreign policy.

The municipal foreign policy movement draws its growing strength from two principal sources. The first of these is the tradition of democratic idealism that has always existed in America's cities. Cities have always played a vital role in the great social movements that are the touchstones of our American democracy. The American Revolution was rooted in our cities. America's cities were instrumental in the struggles to end slavery, advance the cause of trade unionists, secure voting rights for women and, more recently, win full civil rights for black Americans.

The second source of strength for the municipal foreign policy movement — of more recent origin — is the growing opposition to the crushing economic burden of the arms

race. Throughout all of American history — until 1950 — there never was a permanent arms establishment. Now there is. Beginning with President Truman — and led and supported by every President and every Congress since — our national politicians built an entrenched warfare state, in the process relentlessly draining our cities of the tax dollars and intellectual resources essential to urban progress.

Here is what it has all come to: Driven by nuclear weapons testing and development, America's share of the global arms race now exceeds \$300 billion per year — well over one-third of our entire national treasury. The true price of our twisted federal priorities is painfully evident in our cities and towns, where our streets and bridges crumble; where our factories rust; where our school children lapse into ignorance; where displaced farm families seek refuge; and where homelessness, hunger, and poverty are on the rise.

Those of us who govern America's cities are not blind to the irony of our own hand in shaping the grim reality we face.

Cities such as my own provide the universities, research laboratories, and manufacturing plants that consume the energy of our youth and the genius of our scientists in pursuit of increasingly deadly weapons. Thoughtful local elected

officials know that we cannot go on like this. We must — we absolutely *must* — recapture the resources now squandered on armaments to rebuild our cities as national repositories of civilization, culture, and social progress.

As mayor of my city, every year I watch thousands of graduating scientists and engineers from the University of California at Irvine and other nearby colleges — these young, bright people — head straight for employment in nearby weapons industries, there to devote their days to developing exotic weapons that are of no benefit whatsoever to either our consumer economy or to our global community. Each June, at commencement time, I reflect on the shame of it all — sacrificing an entire second generation to the Cold War and the tedious tasks of the arms race. How much better off these graduating students would be — and how much better off we all would be — if our tax dollars were invested in projects of social uplift: doing biomedical research; developing comprehensive health care systems; discovering innovative technologies for environmental reclamation; designing roads and transit systems that really work; and figuring out housing technologies that allow us to shelter more people at a more reasonable cost.

Just as we who today dwell in America's cities are not blameless as regards our circumstances, we are not powerless either. This is the good news: Each day, more of us discover the enormous potential inherent in the municipal foreign policy movement — a movement that offers our generation the hope and the belief that we can actually succeed in pulling down the whole rotten structure of the Cold War, replacing it with decent, democratically derived

foreign policies worthy of the American people and worthy of the ideals we hold dear.

As director of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy's Local Elected Officials Project, I'm pleased to report to you that we are already hard at work to reach this goal. With help from SANE/Freeze and peace activists across the country, our Local Elected Officials Project will issue a major policy declaration on the occasion of the 64th Annual Congress of the National League of Cities, to be held in Las Vegas, Nevada this December 12th through 16th. Initially signed by 500 or more mayors and city councilmembers from throughout America, we believe that the declaration — which is known as "The Nevada Declaration" — can serve to galvanize many thousands of municipal foreign policy activists who, in turn, will focus their energies on ending all nuclear weapons testing as the surest, shortest path toward reversing the arms race. (See page 15 for full text of The Nevada Declaration.)

We believe that just as the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s became a functioning and well-funded part of every state government and every local government, so too our peace movement must build its permanent home in the City Halls of America.

■ ■
When we succeed in ending all nuclear testing — and I believe with hard work we *will* soon succeed — we won't stop there. We are determined to build permanent institutions for municipal foreign policy-making. We believe that

just as the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s became a functioning and well-funded part of every state government and every local government, so too our peace movement must build its permanent home in the City Halls of America. This is already happening in cities such as Seattle and Chicago and Cambridge, where offices of international affairs — sometimes called peace commissions — are in place, funded, and growing.

Imagine for a moment if in America every City Hall and every city budget devoted just one percent of its resources to matters of peace and international relations. Suddenly, the peace movement would multiply its resources one-hundred-fold! Cities and citizens would routinely be engaged in establishing sister-city relationships; they would enjoy the benefits of trade and cultural exchange; they would debate and decide for themselves whether to become urban sanctuaries for political refugees; whether to adopt prisoners of conscience; whether to become nuclear free zones; whether to divest public funds from South Africa, or from the arms race; whether to establish plans for the economic conversion of local weapons plants. They would decide whether to send paid municipal lobbyists to Washington, D.C., or even to the United Nations to press for arms reduction agreements, cuts in weapons spending, and stepped-up support for programs of urban and rural assistance. And these internationalist cities would be free to affiliate with other cities around the world — forming a kind of United Nations of Cities — that would weave webs of contacts helpful in restraining national leaders, thereby reducing the risks of war and enhancing the prospects for

genuine peace, prosperity, and progress.

I know that in struggling to achieve decent foreign policies, there are bound to be times of deep discouragement. The prevailing policies that we challenge are at once so evil and their proponents seemingly so powerful. By comparison, our own resources seem so limited. But it is important to remember the lessons of recent history: The American people, principally organized in cities, ended U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War; we later forced divestment from racist South Africa; and now we are managing to keep this

Administration from undertaking an all-out invasion of Nicaragua.

And it will be we, the American people, who bring about a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and reversal of the arms race. Through our cities and our City Halls, we will fashion our own municipal foreign policies — policies that are reflective of our own decent instincts. And in the process we will rediscover the power and the glory of democratic self-government.

Thank you. □

AMERICAN PURPOSE CRITIQUES “CALHOUN’S HEIRS”

Few organizations are as anomalous as the World Without War Council. With offices in Berkeley, Seattle, and Chicago, the Council is essentially a neoconservative peace group, promoting peace through nonviolence and world law, but only after the United States has acquired sufficient nuclear and conventional armaments to overcome the Soviet evil empire. One of the Council's offshoots is the James Madison Foundation, which produces a bimonthly newsletter called American Purpose. In the July/August issue, the newsletter's editor, George Weigel, an enthusiast for both Star Wars and the Nicaraguan contras, waxes critical about municipal foreign policy in an article called "Calhoun's Heirs, or the Balkanization of American Foreign Policy." Weigel's article and a response follow. The subtitles are ours.

Of the possible arguments that the Bicentennial of the Constitution might have engendered, perhaps one of the least likely is the question of who, in our federal system, is responsible for U.S. foreign policy. That, at least, seemed settled two hundred years ago. Having had some experience, on tax issues, with the chaos that came from state and local governments dealing with foreign countries, the Framers of the Constitution of 1787 gave the national government sole powers over the design and conduct of foreign relations. If there were to be constitutional debates over foreign policy during this bicentennial biennium, one would have anticipated brisk arguments over

the War Powers Act, or the congressional role in the foreign policy process, or the doings, covert and otherwise, of the intelligence agencies. But governors and foreign policy? Mayors and foreign policy? City councils and county commissioners and foreign policy? That was settled long ago.

Or so it seemed.

It now appears that we have been misinformed on all of this. The issue has by no means been settled. Thus argued Michael Shuman, president of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy in San Francisco, in an important and disturbing article in the winter 1986-87 issue of *Foreign Policy*. "More than 1,000 U.S. state and local governments of all political stripes are participating in foreign affairs," writes Shuman, "and their numbers are expanding daily."

These local authorities are passing nuclear freeze resolutions, declaring themselves nuclear free zones, divesting billions of dollars in firms working in South Africa, refusing to cooperate with civil defense planning, establishing sister city relationships with Managua, adopting Jobs with Peace memorials against the defense budget, defying the Immigration and Naturalization Service, promoting foreign trade through state-based export financing, designing global education and nuclear awareness curricula for the public schools, refusing landing rights and port facilities to aircraft and ships of unfavorable nations, dispatching tons of supplies to Nicaragua, and refusing permission for their National Guards

to participate in training exercises in Honduras. It is often observed, with reference to the Congress, that the United States is the only country with 535 secretaries of state. Mr. Shuman's list of municipal foreign policy activities suggests that 535 is orders of magnitude too low.

Mr. Shuman is an enthusiastic supporter of these and other developments. "Americans seeking more foreign policy clout are increasingly finding the tools in their own backyards — the half-million local officials who are rarely more than a telephone call or a public meeting away." Moreover, the local officials in question have been "surprisingly receptive" to citizen requests for municipal foreign policies and have formed two organizations to forward their aims: Local Elected Officials of America (LEO-USA) and (but of course) Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility. Mr. Shuman would draw the line at "cities, counties, or states exporting weapons, ammunition, and 'military' support equipment." But he finds the main thrust of the municipal foreign policy movement sound and, in any event, irreversible: "Unless America becomes a police state, municipal foreign policies are here to stay."

About all of which, a few observations are in order.

Predictable Ideological Patterns

As the Atlantic Council of the United States warned in its recent study, *U.S. International Leadership for*

the 21st Century: Building a National Foreign Affairs Constituency, we Americans are, on the whole, woefully ignorant of the rest of the world. Initiatives by state and local governments to enhance public understanding of the cultural, economic, political, and security ties of the United States to the world — if they are truly educational, which is to say, not propagandistic — ought to be welcomed. So, too, as we have often argued in these pages, are exchange programs that both strengthen mutual understanding and, in the case of totalitarian states, support those independent people who are struggling for a measure of intellectual, cultural, religious, and/or political freedom. We shall defer to the experts on whether or not state-financed export programs could short-circuit the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. In general, though, one has to applaud those localities that are aggressively seeking to compete in the world marketplace.

But are these the primary objectives of the municipal foreign policy movement?

Not according to Larry Agran, mayor of Irvine, California, and [former] president of LEO-USA. The objective, says Agran, is quite straightforward and simple: "We want to take foreign policy back from the federal government."

To what ends seems clear from a survey of the municipal initiatives noted by Mr. Shuman's article. The initiatives fall, in the main, into a predictable ideological pattern. When one factors out the trade issues, exchange programs (many of them highly politicized, but let's be generous here), and the rare occasion of protests against the USSR (e.g., New Jersey and New York denying landing rights to Soviet planes after the KAL 077 [sic] shootdown), virtually every other item on the municipal foreign policy agenda is an effort to challenge, impede, or block one or another policy of the present administration. The anti-civil defense efforts of the early 1980s and the majority of nuclear awareness education programs today are compo-

nents of the broader anti-U.S.-weapons-modernization movement once simply known as "the freeze." Local government "sanctuaries," sister city arrangements with Managua and with guerrilla-occupied San Antonio Los Ranchos in El Salvador, and the resistance to National Guard training in Central America, are of a piece with a certain view of the politics of that tortured region.

Now one can argue, in a free society, for the superior wisdom of the nuclear freeze as a means to peace, just as one can argue that the Sandinista regime should be left alone, in power and unobstructed, in Nicaragua. Those arguments ought to be engaged, briskly, within the bounds of civil and democratic debate. But what is so eminently democratic about bending local government agencies created for entirely different purposes to the foreign policy agenda of one — usually small but vocal — segment of the community? Do state governments really have any business re-opening the nullification controversy of the 1820s and 1830s, with latter-day John C. Calhoun announcing that they will enforce no federal law or regulation which they deem geopolitically inappropriate, morally unworthy, or otherwise distasteful? Consultation with state and local officials on matters of direct concern to their responsibility is surely wanted and might make for a more coherent foreign policy. But consultation is one thing and balkanization is another.

Divided We Fall

Mr. Shuman's vision, in which "Americans continue to embrace participatory over representative democracy," may be attractive to those whose policy preferences were rejected by the American people in 1980 and 1984 and who now seek to advance their agendas by other, municipal means (If we can't elect a president, why not a mayor?). But to others this vision appears depressingly similar to the anarchic arrangements that paralyzed the Holy Roman Empire and eventu-

ally led to its dismemberment and collapse. Surely it in no way resembles what the Framers envisioned in 1787. And wouldn't the hamstringing of President Reagan set the pattern for the hamstringing of President Nunn, President Bradley, President Biden, President Gephardt, President Dole, President Kemp, or anyone else?

The argument being made here is not for elitism as against populism. More than ten years after Vietnam, the United States remains a deeply divided community when facing questions of its right role in world affairs. Rebuilding agreement on an American foreign policy able to address, simultaneously, the goals of peace, security, and freedom will not be imposed from the top down by a president or a council of the wise. It will happen, if it happens at all, through a long process of civic debate involving both the government officials and the "attentive public" as it gathers in the country's thousands of nongovernmental organizations. The proliferation of municipal "foreign policies," many of which represent nothing more or less than a certain familiar kind of "peace" politics now translated to city hall, will more likely exacerbate, rather than bridge, our current divisions.

Thus the central issue is not ideological but constitutional and procedural. A United States of squabbling local fiefdoms, each primarily concerned about its own foreign policy agenda, is a United States singularly unlikely to take effective leadership for peace and freedom in the world.

If the true agenda of the municipal foreign policy movement is simply a variant on post-Vietnam neoisolationism, the movement should say so. Then there can be a substantive argument. If the intent is something else, then the movement's enthusiasm for the constitutional theories of John C. Calhoun and the decision-making practices of the Holy Roman Empire is singularly misplaced.

George Weigel, *American Purpose*, July-August 1987, Volume 1, Number 6, pp. 41-43. Reprinted with permission of the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation. Published by Heldref Publishers, 4000 Albemarle St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016. Copyright © 1987.

MICHAEL SHUMAN RESPONDS . . .

George Weigel supports strengthening the hands of "people who are struggling for a measure of intellectual, cultural, religious and/or political freedom," but only if they are lucky enough to reside in "totalitarian states." It never dawns on him that when it comes to foreign policy, as Professor Richard Falk of Princeton University has noted, we all live in repressive states, it's simply a matter of degree. Never mind that a supermajority of the American public consistently has supported a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze and opposed aid to the Nicaraguan contras. When our elected officials in Washington, D.C., decree a policy, Weigel insists that we march obediently in goose-step. No questions, please, until the next election, because that's the constitutional design.

Weigel's tortured, top-down conception of democracy might have been applauded by some of the Framers of our Constitution, including Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, whose name Weigel has fittingly appropriated for his own organization. But other of the Framers such as Thomas Jefferson believed in a bottom-up, participatory democracy. And this tension between the Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians was as little resolved in 1787 as it is today.

Diversity is Legal

It was never "settled long ago" that local governments would have no role in the development of foreign policy. The First Amendment guaranteed the rights of cities to speak out on any matter, including those related to foreign policy. The Fifth Amendment gave local government officials a broad privilege to travel freely, even to nations abroad on behalf of their local interests. As a federal court in Baltimore recently held, the Constitution does not forbid city officials from deciding in which firms to invest their

pension funds or with which firms to enter contracts—even if their decision is based on the international behavior of those firms.

The Tenth Amendment to the Constitution—the cornerstone of our federalist system—ensured that any powers not explicitly given to the national government were reserved to the states and therefore to the cities as well.

A number of foreign policy powers were indeed explicitly given to the

It is not America's cities that have fostered division in our foreign policy but rather the Reagan administration and others sharing Weigel's neoconservative views, who are bent on promoting an extremist agenda enjoying little public support.

national government. The Constitution forbade state and local governments from assembling their own army or navy, declaring wars, entering treaties, violating national treaty commitments, and levying duties on imports and exports. But few municipal foreign policies fall into any of these forbidden categories.

Weigel's response to my detailed argument in *Foreign Policy* on the legality of municipal foreign policy—that "the Framers....gave the national government sole powers over the design and conduct of foreign relations"—is facile and wrong. However surprised the Constitution's Framers would have been by municipal foreign policy, they would have been even more surprised by the ways international affairs

are now influencing every jurisdiction in America. No city can escape radioactive fallout from a nuclear war, climate shifts from a global greenhouse effect, illegal immigration from Mexico, or factory closures from the latest flood of Japanese imports.

Had the states'-rights Framers known how seriously international affairs would be impinging on local affairs today, it is hard to imagine their leaving state and local governments powerless to respond. Fortunately, they didn't. They left enough give in the Constitution—particularly the First, Fifth, and Tenth Amendments—to protect most of today's municipal foreign policies. My arguments in *Foreign Policy*, therefore, were rooted in a detailed appraisal of constitutional law, not in John C. Calhoun's discredited theories of nullification.

Besides a vague, undocumented reference to the Framers' original intent, Weigel cannot muster a single legal argument against municipal foreign policies. Thus Weigel has hardly made the case that the "central issue is not ideological but constitutional and procedural." The central issue is ideological—one's ideology of democracy: Should we be "against populism," as Weigel is, or should we favor a foreign policy for all of us?

Neocons über Alles

Weigel's ideological blinders have left him confused about what to make of municipal foreign policies. He applauds local programs that are "truly educational, which is to say, not propagandistic." He endorses exchange programs aimed at mutual understanding, providing that those involving the Soviet Union, Nicaragua and other "totalitarian states" link up primarily with dissidents. And he's agnostic on state and local trade programs. Since, as readers of the *Bulletin* know, these programs constitute most cities' activism in foreign affairs,

where's his argument? (These activities, by the way, were what Mayor Agran was referring to when he said, "We want to take foreign policy back from the federal government.")

Weigel's concern seems to be that some municipal foreign policies do not mirror his own neoconservative views. If cities were distributing pamphlets to their citizens about the merits of Star Wars and the contras, Weigel would be satisfied that this was "truly educational." But because cities have sought to join the "anti-U.S.-weapons-modernization movement" — horrors! — they are in fact just propagandizing their citizens. And since cities refuse to rally around Weigel's Cold War hatred of the Soviet Union and, instead, have linked up with all strata of Soviet society — not just dissidents, but children, scientists, artists, teachers, and even officials — they are "more likely to exacerbate, rather than bridge, our current divisions."

If municipal foreign policies seem to be exacerbating national divisions, it is because they are giving expression to views that the Reagan administration has tried to ignore or repress. Few municipal foreign policies represent "the foreign policy agenda of one — usually small but vocal — segment of the community." Instead, cities have articulated the views held by more than two-thirds of all Americans — to halt the arms race, to stop aid to the contras, to strengthen the United Nations, to divest from South Africa, and to scrap foolish nuclear war/civil defense programs. It is not America's cities that have fostered division in our foreign policy but rather the Reagan administration and others sharing Weigel's neoconservative views, who are bent on promoting an extremist agenda enjoying little public support.

Contrary to Weigel's assertion of radical uniformity, municipal foreign policies do not "fall...into a predictable ideological pattern." In the earliest initiatives of the 1950s and 1960s, cities sought to punish firms trading with the Soviet Union and states confiscated inheritances that were otherwise going to Eastern Europeans. Today, as

mentioned, most municipal foreign policies fall into the ideologically neutral categories of trade and cultural exchange, which Weigel applauds.

For the other, more controversial municipal initiatives, there is no danger of what Weigel calls "anarchic arrangements that paralyzed the Holy Roman Empire and eventually led to its dismemberment and collapse." As I emphasized in the *Foreign Policy* article, if Congress believes that certain municipal actions are endangering national security, it can pass specific laws to halt them. If the danger to national security is so urgent that Congress could not act quickly enough, then the President can issue an

Municipal foreign policies will render U.S. foreign policy more democratic, more efficient, more accountable and more creative.

executive order. These provide plenty of safeguards against any weakening of our union.

Municipal Engagement Over Military Interventionism

Unlike Weigel, both the President and the U.S. Congress have increasingly seen the desirability of allowing diverse municipal foreign policies. The Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and State are regularly assisting states and cities with their trade policies. President Reagan has enthusiastically endorsed sister city programs, especially those with the Soviet Union. When Congress deliberated over a divestment bill in September 1986, it passed a resolution stating its intent that the bill not preempt local and state divestment initiatives.

Contrary to Weigel's assertion that thousands of municipal initiatives in foreign affairs will render the "United States singularly unlikely to take effective leadership for peace and freedom

in the world," a growing number of political leaders — local, state, and even national — are recognizing that diversity is our strength, not our weakness. As I have argued in the *Bulletin*, municipal foreign policies will render U.S. foreign policy more democratic, more efficient, more accountable and more creative:

- More democratic because they give expression to majority viewpoints that Ronald Reagan and George Weigel would prefer silenced.

- More efficient because they delegate the nuts-and-bolts of complex trade, human rights, or border issues to the hundreds of thousands of people who are truly expert in them.

- More accountable because they move foreign policies from behind the cloaks of covert action and top secrecy and instead place them in the hands of city officials whom everyone can see.

- And more creative because they inspire officials and citizens alike to find better approaches to Weigel's laudable goals of "peace and freedom" than first-strike nuclear weapons and aid to contras.

Nothing reveals Weigel's misunderstanding more than his branding the movement as "simply a variant on post-Vietnam neoisolationism." The movement we describe regularly in the *Bulletin* is anything but isolationist. It eschews the naive, anti-communist military interventionism of the Vietnam war, but in no uncertain terms it endorses cultural, economic, and diplomatic engagement with peoples and leaders abroad.

If municipal foreign policies wind up "hamstringing" future Presidents — whether President Jesse Jackson or President Pat Robertson — then more power to them. One only wishes municipalities had been more successful in hamstringing President Kennedy's Bay of Pigs, President Johnson's Vietnam War, President Nixon's overthrow of Chilean President Salvador Allende, President Carter's efforts to hospitalize the Shah of Iran, and President Reagan's Iran-contra scandal. □

FOREIGN POLICY-MAKING, CALIFORNIA STYLE

In an article entitled "California Has A Foreign Policy?," reprinted below, Arnold Hamilton, a state Capitol correspondent for the San Jose Mercury News, writes that the state legislature "can't resist" foreign policy-making. The article originally appeared in the August 1987 issues of the California Journal (pp. 383-84). The subtitles are ours.

Just minutes after swearing-in ceremonies last December, California's 40 state senators plunged headlong into the weighty affairs of government.

It wasn't that they were preoccupied with frighteningly sluggish state tax revenues. It wasn't that they were alarmed by the skyrocketing costs of state health programs. And it wasn't that they were scrambling to resolve a year-long impasse over the site for a new Los Angeles prison.

What transformed a normally placid, two-day organizational session into a wild-eyed fit of demagoguery was none other than Iranscam — a.k.a. Contragate — the arms-for-hostage deal between the U.S. and Iran in which money was laundered to rebels seeking to topple the government of Nicaragua.

Saying they were tired of being labeled "less than patriotic" whenever they dared oppose President Reagan, liberal Democrats urged passage of a sharply-worded resolution that would have put the California Senate on record as expressing "disapproval and profound disappointment" in the "secretly arranged" arms shipment to the "known terrorist government" of Iran.

"We are sick and tired of the (GOP) castigation," boomed Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti. "Yeah, this is a political shot. The Republicans have negotiated for ransom. The Republicans have acted in a way other than they talk."

After hours of intense partisan rhetoric, a coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans helped derail the resolution. But the skirmish over Gippergate would not be the last foray of the 1987-88 session into the murky world of foreign affairs.

As if the international court of public opinion hangs on its every pronouncement, the California Legislature stands ready, able and more than willing to pontificate on any and every conceivable world issue.

The Charmin Theory of Politics

From the absurd to the sublime, state lawmakers have churned out more than 100 foreign policy resolutions in the last four-and-one-half sessions — 13 this year alone — in an often incoherent display of ideologies and opinions that would make even the most strident Red-baiters and liberals blush with embarrassment.

It is state government in its most curious form. Why does a legislature, struggling with the demands of an exploding population on state services, indulge itself in international affairs at an average cost of \$3000 per resolution?

First, there is the Charmin theory of legislative foreign policy.

"We have a joke around here that they have to print those resolutions on two-ply perforated so when they get to Congress, they'll know what to do with them," says Republican Assemblyman William Baker of Walnut Creek. "We have absolutely no expertise, no knowledge, no staff that prepares us for foreign policy issues, but...lack of knowledge has never slowed us down yet."

Others suggest that deep-seated needs are met by stretching legislative influence throughout the world.

"It's like scratching your nose," offers Senate Majority Leader Barry Keene of Vallejo. "You feel better afterwards."

But to some lawmakers, it is simply smart politics.

"Our foreign policy has worked very well here in California," insists Senator Bill Campbell, a Hacienda Heights Republican. "We have not yet gone to war with Arizona, Nevada or Oregon, and we've got reasonably good relations with Mexico."

"However, we do have a few problems with Catalina from time to time."

Publicizing Atrocities

In reality, the foreign policy initiatives often do represent an exercise in pragmatic politics. Most resolutions are born not out of ideology or moral indignation, but of a constituent's plea that the plight of an oppressed people be highlighted or an atrocity remembered.

For example, in September 1983 Americans were outraged when a Soviet military fighter destroyed an unarmed Korean Air Lines jet, killing all 269 aboard. To liberals and conservatives alike, it was an unwarranted, inexplicable act of aggression against a civilian airliner that accidentally strayed into Soviet airspace.

While Governor George Deukmejian ordered flags on state buildings flown at half-staff to honor the victims, Democratic Assemblyman Mike Roos went to work on a resolution urging President Reagan and the Congress to "condemn the Soviet Union for its willful breach of interna-

tional law and treaty obligations" and to consider "appropriate sanctions."

For Roos, it was important the Legislature approve the resolution quickly, not only because it put lawmakers on record as condemning the act, but also because he wanted to carry the anti-Soviet statement to a weekend rally of Korean-Americans in his Los Angeles district.

The destruction of the Korean Air Lines jet also underscored the potential for embarrassment when state legislators, used to dealing with fruit fly eradication projects, insist on bullying themselves onto the international stage.

Not long after Roos' resolution sailed through the Assembly and Senate, one of the Legislature's most conservative members, Republican Senator John Doolittle of Citrus Heights, drafted an anti-Soviet diatribe that, upon amendment in the Assembly, urged the president and the Congress to take "appropriate action" to prevent Russian athletes from participating in the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles.

Less than five months later, a contrite Senate, chagrined by the worldwide media clamor, reversed field when the resolution of another Republican senator, Ken Maddy of Fresno, passed, welcoming all nations to join in the games and urged Californians to be "gracious hosts" to those attending.

While most resolutions help fill congressional dumpsters or decorate walls in the offices of special-interest groups, not all forays into foreign affairs are futile. In fact, some expressions of righteous indignation have not only resulted in good politics but also in good public policy, in the view of many lawmakers.

It was only last September, for example, that Deukmejian signed into law landmark legislation ordering the withdrawal of more than \$11 billion in state investments from companies conducting business in South Africa. In what was believed to be the largest divestment action by any state, the government said the new law sent a message to the white-minority government in Pretoria that "a great and free people are not going to fall silent to racism and to brutal oppression."

Spouting Constituents

And this year, San Jose Senator Dan McCorquodale and Palo Alto Assemblyman Byron Sher secured the signatures of 40 lawmakers on a letter to the International Whaling Commission, opposing Japan's request to kill 875 whales for research purposes.

McCorquodale, expanding his role as Senate Natural Resources and Wildlife Committee chairman to new horizons, is supporting a continued moratorium on whaling in an effort to protect the species from extinction and to protect a fledgling California industry: whale-watching.

"We're trying to protect Humphrey," deadpans McCorquodale, referring to the lovable spouter who mistakenly swam up the Sacramento Delta two years ago. "He

may be in that 875 whales to be killed. He was around long enough to be a California constituent, even though he didn't go through my district.

"We've issued a release (on the letter). We don't know whether he's read it or heard about it yet, but we want him to know we're with him on this issue."

Conservatives and liberals may argue over the philosophical slant of resolutions. And Republicans and Democrats may debate whether world affairs measures are noble or a waste of time and money. But on one point, nearly everyone in the Legislature seems to agree: State-initiated foreign policy is on the decline.

"Maybe it's a sign of the times," says Senator Campbell, a veteran of ten legislative sessions. "I remember at one point in the '70s, we were taking a position on everything. We're a lot more selective now. I think the respective rules committees try to encourage people to back off if it's not an issue of critical importance to constituents in their area. There's a feeling we ought to leave the real controversial issues to Congress."

Assemblyman Baker says he believes the current Legislature is more concerned with state issues, such as mental health, than with using the legislative platform to promote personal ideology.

"Most of the Sandinistas have gone to Congress," he says, referring to former Democratic legislators Howard L. Berman and Mel Levine. "They loved playing politics. It isn't as bad as it used to be, but it's still pretty outlandish.

"We still fight the Middle East war here."

This year's foreign affairs resolutions have been noticeably less strident than past journeys into the international arena. Divestiture remains the most popular buzzword. The plight of Soviet Jews remains a hot topic, as does the memory of the Holocaust. And American prisoners of war in Indochina remain on the front-burner of the Legislature's — if not the public's — consciousness.

But as if to remind everyone that the old, off-beat days of legislative foreign policy could re-emerge with only the slightest spark, there is Democratic San Jose Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, a veritable flower child of the '60s, introducing his "Peace Package" for the fifth straight year.

He continues to push for designation of August 6th — the anniversary of the U.S. dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima, Japan — as "Peace Day" in California. He continues to promote a student exchange program between California and the Soviet Union in an effort to shatter the barriers of distrust between the superpowers. And he continues to fight for creation of elementary and high school programs that will teach students "about the implications of nuclear-age problems."

"I'm still surprised by some of the things that crop up," says Senator Keene. "The attitude of most of us is, 'There's no reason not to pass it.' But I think we just question whether it has a great deal of weight, significance or effect. I suppose, in the end, it's just ritualistic." □

ON THE LIGHTER SIDE . . .

III SHAVING FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Old Presidential candidates don't die, they just turn to television commercials. If you've been away from your TV recently, you may have missed George McGovern sitting in a barber's chair and touting Bic Razors. "If only my campaigns were as smooth as your Bic," he proclaims.

We don't mind McGovern's entry into entertainment; after all, we're all in the midst of hard times. But while Ronald Reagan continues to shave billions of federal dollars from city programs to help pay for Star Wars, couldn't George at least do a couple of arms control spots for balance?

III THOU SHALT NOT NUKE

The *Los Angeles Times* recently reported that Thomas Siemer, a 57-year-old anti-nuclear activist from Columbus, Ohio, was arrested by Vatican police as he ran shouting toward the altar at St. Peter's Basilica during a High Mass by Pope John Paul II. Siemer told authorities that he wanted to tell "the Holy Father and church to morally ban [nuclear weapons] for all generations by a law of the church." A Vatican spokesperson later said that Siemer appeared to be mentally disturbed. Who's crazy?

III THEY ALMOST LOST DETROIT

Remember Oliver North? The Lieutenant Colonel who made Olliemania a national phenomenon for a week or two last summer? Well, although North may be all-but-forgotten by almost everyone outside the Special Prosecutor's office, his testimony before the Special Congressional Committee on his emergency war plans for the United States stirred up enough ire in the Detroit City Hall to prompt a resolution by Councilmember Mel Ravitz.

The resolution noted that "North and other presidential administration officials developed a plan to suspend the Constitution and take over power from local government officials at times of mass popular opposition to U.S. invasion of a foreign country." It added that "a plan to take power from this City Council in such a circumstance would be a violation of our Constitutional and democratic rights and an affront to our patriotism." It finally called upon President Reagan to "renounce and rescind any such plans."

So far there has been no response from the President. Not to worry, though. Invading Grenada was one thing. Subduing Detroit would be an entirely different matter.

ARMS CONTROL

NEW PARTNERSHIP FORGED IN NEVADA DESERT

Pledging themselves to "do whatever it takes to defend our communities," nearly 200 activists and local elected officials were arrested by Nye County sheriffs during a protest at the Nevada Nuclear Weapons Test Site Sunday, December 13.

Facing cold winds that drove the temperature at the test site to below 10 degrees, the activists and local officials listened to music and speeches by mayors and councilmembers from California, Illinois, Minnesota, New Jersey, and Texas before 167 activists and 11 local elected officials stepped across the test site perimeter. Some 200 others participating in the two-hour demonstration were not arrested.

Nye County sheriffs arrested Inglewood, California Councilmember Daniel K. Tabor; Oakland, California Councilmember Wilson Riles, Jr.; Santa Monica, California Mayor James Conn and Councilmembers David Finkel and Dennis Zane; West Hollywood, California Councilmembers Helen Albert and John Heilman; Willmar, Minnesota Councilmembers Richard Hallerman and Wayne Roelofs; Jersey City, New Jersey Councilmember Jaime Vasquez and Austin, Texas Councilmember George Humphrey.

While all were cited for trespassing at the test site and released within hours, the Nye County district attorney's office announced last April that test site demonstrators would not generally be prosecuted.

The demonstration coincided with the 64th Congress of the National League of Cities in Las Vegas, Nevada and grew out of a two-month organizing effort surrounding "The Nevada Declaration" [see opposite page]. That statement, signed by more than 700 local elected officials, calls for an end to the arms race and the redirection of resources to America's cities and towns.

Riles, among other speakers, underscored the connection between the arms race and the declining vitality of American society.

"The nuclear weapon is the central part of American foreign policy and the defense budget is absorbing all the resources of this country, stealing them away from the streets of Oakland and other communities," Riles said. "We've got homelessness, we've got poverty, we've got

joblessness. We cannot afford this kind of policy any longer."

Demonstration organizers from Westside (Los Angeles) SANE/Freeze were pleased with the presence of local elected officials. Working phone banks every night for a month leading up to the December action, SANE/Freeze recruited and transported the 300 activists to the test site—in addition to contacting the local elected officials who participated in the event.

Westside SANE/Freeze organizer Maggie Murphy pointed out that more than half of those at the demonstration engaged in civil disobedience—an unusually high

"The participation of city officials was inspiring. Their presence really lent the action a lot of credibility."

- Maggie Murphy

percentage, which she attributes to the presence of local elected officials.

"There were many people I'd seen before at the test site," Murphy said. "And though they'd never taken civil disobedience before, they did this time because of the city officials. The participation of city officials was inspiring. Their presence really lent the action a lot of credibility."

LEO Project organizer Tim Carpenter agreed.

"This action marked the coming together of local elected officials and peace and justice activists," Carpenter said. "We've begun a partnership that will lead to a comprehensive test ban."

SOURCES: Ted Vollmer, "Public Officials Arrested at A-Test Site," Los Angeles Times, 14 December 1987, p. 28; "Santa Monica Mayor Among 167 Arrested at Nuke Facility," Los Angeles Herald Examiner, p. A12; Major Garrett, "California officials among 167 arrested at Nevada Test Site," Las Vegas Review Journal, p. 1; Mary Manning, "167 Arrested at Test Site," Las Vegas Sun p. 1; Will Swaim, *The Local Elected Officials Project*, 17931 Sky Park Circle, Suite F, Irvine, California, 92714, (714) 250-1296.



THE NEVADA DECLARATION



We, America's mayors and city council members, the local elected officials closest to the daily concerns of the American people, call upon the President of the United States to order an immediate end to all nuclear weapons testing, providing that the Soviet Union agrees, once again, to do the same. We call upon the President to negotiate seriously with the Soviet Union and to swiftly conclude a permanent Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

We issue this Declaration in Las Vegas, Nevada, in the shadow of the Nevada Test Site, where over 800 nuclear explosions have disfigured the landscape and poisoned the desert. Forty-two years ago, the first nuclear test in the American southwest led to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing 200,000 Japanese civilians. Since then, the United States and the Soviet Union have stockpiled more than 50,000 nuclear weapons, enough to annihilate humankind.

In issuing this Declaration, we remember that 1988 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Limited Test Ban Treaty which ended Soviet and American above-ground nuclear testing. We remember, too, that in the Treaty both governments made a solemn, written promise that this was to be but a first step toward a comprehensive ban on all nuclear weapons testing. That promise, reaffirmed in the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty of 1968, was never kept.

We are here to say that we will not permit one generation of broken promises to be followed by another.

With advances in seismic verification technology and the Soviet Union's recent initiative proposing on-site inspection, the world can now be confident that a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban could not be secretly violated. A Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty will remove the linchpin of the arms race and render the evolution of new nuclear weapons systems impossible. Only one obstacle remains—political will.

As local elected officials sworn to safeguard the health and welfare of our communities, we have seen what our parents in the pre-atomic age could not have imagined. The nuclear arms race has dissolved the convenient distinctions between combatants and non-combatants, between friends and foes, between offense and defense. In this new order—of testing, deployment and barren arms reduction talks followed by still more testing—even the greatest “successes” seem simply to move us from one level of insecurity to another. Increasingly, real peace eludes us; we are always fighting wars or preparing for them.

Even if never used, nuclear weapons are already wreaking havoc on our cities and towns. Radiation released from accidental and intentional “ventings” at the Nevada Test Site have visited disease and death upon hundreds, perhaps thousands, of innocent Americans—many who were our neighbors, others who resided in remote communities.

Added to the human suffering is the military's devastating drain on America's cities. We know that nuclear weapons testing is the engine of the arms race, driving the Pentagon's budget to \$300 billion each year. The true price of these twisted federal priorities is evident

in our cities and towns, where our streets and bridges crumble; where our factories rust; where our school children lapse into ignorance; where displaced farm families seek refuge; and where homelessness, hunger and poverty are on the rise.

If we are to have any hope of saving our cities from ruin, the end to all nuclear weapons testing must come now.

We are not blind to the irony of our own hand in shaping this grim reality. Our cities provide the universities, research laboratories,

and manufacturing plants that consume the energy of our youth and the genius of our scientists in the pursuit of increasingly deadly weapons. We can—and must—recapture the resources now squandered on armaments to rebuild our cities as national repositories of civilization, culture, and social progress.

We urge a vigorous debate in America's cities on military and foreign policy. We reject suggestions that we are unqualified to speak out on these matters. As victims of the arms race, we know the importance of reversing it. There is, therefore, no place more appropriate for the discussion of these great issues than City Hall, where every American has a voice.

Cities have always played a vital role in the development of American democracy. The American Revolution was rooted in the cities. America's cities were instrumental in the struggles to end slavery, secure voting rights for women and, more recently, win full civil rights for black Americans.

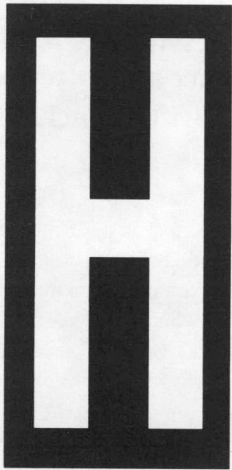
In the 1980s, cities have played a leading role in the making of American foreign policy. More than 900 cities, towns and counties passed resolutions supporting a nuclear freeze, and forced a resumption of Soviet-American arms control talks. Similarly, nearly 100 cities divested from firms doing business in South Africa, convincing a reluctant Congress and a hostile Administration to abandon “constructive engagement” in favor of economic sanctions.

Now, as mayors and city council members—as America's local elected officials—we speak out again, this time to bring a permanent end to nuclear weapons testing and, beyond that, an end to the arms race that is stealing our children's future.

As local elected officials and as citizens, we yield to no one in our patriotism. We believe in a strong America. But we know that spending billions of dollars on military overkill weakens our national security. We know that a credible national defense begins with strong families and strong neighborhoods that thrive in economically secure cities and towns. If we are to be faithful to these fundamental American values the testing of nuclear weapons must stop, now and forever. ▲

We know that a credible national defense begins with strong families and strong neighborhoods that thrive in economically secure cities and towns.

HONOLULU SAYS ALOHA TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS



awaai is much more than beautiful beaches and hula skirts. Last August 6, the city council chambers of Honolulu commemorated the 42nd anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima by affirming its commitment to work toward a “complete and verifiable bilateral freeze to the testing of nuclear warheads and their delivery systems, and the production and deployment of new nuclear weapons.”

The same resolution — introduced by Councilmember Gary Gill and approved by a 7-0 vote — also called upon the United States and the Soviet Union to renew negotiations to reduce the number of nuclear weapons, with the ultimate goal of abolishing them completely. The tens of billions of dollars saved by these reductions, it added, should be redirected toward “the strengthening of the civilian U.S. economy and for the provision of goods and services meeting urgent domestic human needs.”

The council also encouraged Honolulu residents to “seek to establish personal relationships with individual Soviet citizens through travel, letters, and other forms of communication.”

In remembrance of the first military use of nuclear weapons on the people of Hiroshima, Councilmember Gill joined citizens in ringing a Peace Bell — a gift to Honolulu from Hiroshima, which is one of the Hawaiian capital’s sister cities. Organizers of the event pasted together pages from a Honolulu telephone directory to form a “Memorial Wall” (reminiscent of the Vietnam Memorial wall in Washington, D.C.) to symbolize the likely victims of any nuclear bomb ever falling upon Oahu.

The council also encouraged Honolulu residents to “seek to establish personal relationships with individual Soviet citizens through travel, letters, and other forms of communication.”

SOURCE: Gary Gill, Honolulu councilmember, City Hall, Honolulu, Hawaii 96813 (808-523-4000); and “Ringing for Peace,” Honolulu Advisor, 6 August 1987.

WEST HOLLYWOOD PASSES "3-2-1" RESOLUTION ON MILITARY SPENDING

West Hollywood, California, has become the first local government to pass a resolution called "3-2-1" to voice its dismay over runaway Pentagon spending. Originally proposed in workshops sponsored by the Local Elected Officials Project of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, the resolution calls upon "the President and members of Congress to cut military spending by at least \$60 billion and redirect those funds on a '3-2-1' basis to achieve deficit reduction (\$30 billion), the re-enactment and enlargement of general revenue sharing (\$20 billion), and the reallocation of remaining funds to other public purposes as determined by the Congress and the President (\$10 billion)."

The resolution asks for \$60 billion in

federal cuts from at least three different sources: cutting waste and fraud; replacing costly and ineffective offensive weapons (such as the MX missile) with defensive weapons and strategies; and making Japan and the NATO allies pay a greater share for their own defense. Each of these three activities would lower military spending and increase national security.

The resolution emphasized that uncontrolled growth in military spending had caused "unparalleled cuts in essential programs for cities, including the termination of general revenue sharing, a mainstay for local police, fire and other public services." It continued, "True national security begins with strong families and strong neighborhoods that thrive in economically secure cities and towns."

According to West Hollywood Councilmember Abbe Land, "West

The resolution calls upon the President and members of Congress to cut military spending by at least \$60 billion.

Hollywood has a strong commitment to work to stop the arms race and to decrease arms spending by the federal government."

SOURCE: Abbe Land, City Hall, 8611 Santa Monica Blvd., West Hollywood, CA 90069 (213-854-7400).

REAGAN'S NEIGHBORS REJECT STAR WARS

Following the lead of their city council, voters in Santa Barbara, California — the President's current hometown — passed a ballot measure calling for a prohibition on the testing and deployment of strategic defense systems in space. Measure N passed 56.6% to 43.3% and was the first of its kind in the country. It called for scrapping the Strategic Defense Initiative, also known as "Star Wars," and for reinvesting the savings into job retraining, human services, and domestic economic development programs.

Measure N was passed by a low-budget, grassroots campaign initiated by Citizens Action for Nuclear Disarmament (CAND), a local affiliate of SANE/Freeze. Despite opposition from the local newspaper, argued Greg Cross, chair of CAND, "we succeeded because of the thorough job of door-to-door campaigning we did, as well as getting early support from the mayor, key city council members, and civic leaders." Literature was dropped at every door in over

half of the precincts, and SANE/Freeze members in every precinct displayed yard signs.

"Our victory shows that the average citizen sees through the sham of 'Star Wars'," said Cross, "and that people want real security, the kind that comes from a healthy economy, not from thousands of nuclear warheads."

"Measure N has great political significance for the 1988 elections in California," said Chris Brown, Executive Director of Southern California SANE/Freeze. Brown hopes Measure N will send a message to Senator Pete Wilson, up for re-election in 1988 and an enthusiastic supporter of Star Wars. The campaign may also serve as a model for a statewide effort to defeat this year's pro-Star Wars proposition sponsored by High Frontier, the right-wing lobby organization headed by General Daniel Graham.

SOURCE: PeaceNet; Greg Cross, CAND, 629 State Street, Santa Barbara, CA 93101 (805-966-9745); Chris Brown, Southern California SANE/Freeze, 425 S. Fairfax #304, Los Angeles, CA 90036 (213-938-2344).

MAYOR ANDREW YOUNG CRITICIZED FOR TRAINING GUATEMALAN POLICE

Where do the troops of the notorious National Police of Guatemala turn when they need training? Much to the chagrin of human rights activists, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations under President Carter, has offered the services of his city's police academy.

For the Guatemalan government, which is now trying to change its image of brutality after electing its first civilian president in 20 years, the offer of help from Mayor Young, a widely recognized civil-rights advocate, was a political coup. But many human rights groups remain skeptical about Guatemala's human rights progress. In 1985, Americas Watch — a Washington, D.C.-based human rights monitoring group — ranked the country as the hemisphere's worst human rights violator, fingering the National Police with much of the responsibility.

According to one study, between 50,000 and 75,000 Guatemalans were killed between 1978 and early 1985 — primarily civilians — and the National Police was one of the main perpetrators. Even today, says Holly Burkhalter of Americas Watch, "[t]here are continued high levels of killings in Guatemala, and some appear to be political."

The *Amnesty International Report 1987* notes "some improvement in the human rights situation" in Guatemala since the election of President Vencio Cerezo in 1985. But the report adds, "There was minimal progress in determining responsibility for the tens of thousands of cases of torture, 'disappearance' and extrajudicial execution of people from all sectors of Guatemalan society which had occurred during the previous two decades of military government." By mid-1987, Amnesty International had counted 455 murders and disappearances since Cerezo took office.

The controversy began when Guatemalan Interior Minister Jose Rodil requested Atlanta's assistance in professionalizing the country's National Police. Mayor Young agreed to try to help. Last August, while visiting Guatemala, he assured Colonel Julio Caballeros, the commander of the Guatemalan National Police, that he would find a way to provide training assistance to his forces. "Our problem is locally we don't have the money," the mayor said. "We will look for federal or private funding to see what we might do to help."

When Mayor Young returned to Atlanta, he under-

scored that no deal had yet been struck with Guatemalan officials over precisely how the city would help train the National Police, and how many officers might be trained. "There is a possibility that, in our police academy, there might be some room for some officers to join in some aspects of our training."

He attempted to rebuff critics by arguing that such support was imperative to build new democracies. "I would

For the Guatemalan government, which is now trying to change its image of brutality after electing its first civilian president in 20 years, the offer of help from Mayor Young, a widely recognized civil-rights advocate, was a political coup.

hope to get the Democratic Party committed to working with democracies like Guatemala, the Philippines and Argentina." At a news conference, Mayor Young emphasized: "If there's hope for democracy and peace in Central America, it is in directing your attention to where democracy is trying to work."

Despite support from some of the community, including the *Atlanta Constitution* editorial board, many local opinion-leaders could not accept that training the National Police in Atlanta was the way to achieve "democracy and peace." Columnist Steven Donziger complained that "the Guatemalan police have little experience combating crime but plenty of experience committing it."

In the *Atlanta Constitution*, Frank Cummings, an Atlanta University professor and one of the driving forces opposing the mayor's actions, wrote, "An agreement by Atlanta officials to provide police training would be a cruelly ironic slap in the face to the tens of thousands of Guatemalans who still do not know where their parents, their own children, their brothers and sisters are — but who know beyond any reasonable doubt that it is not the National Police who will help find them."

"Young would do well to consider what happened in the city of Phoenix last year [1986] when a group of policemen from El Salvador arrived for training. The Salvadorans were sent home when Amnesty International reported three of the trainees were linked to death squads. The city council and Salvadoran refugees in the area were outraged."

Donziger added, "When Young speaks on foreign affairs, he has a responsibility to the people of Atlanta not to lend his name or the credibility of the city to an unworthy cause. He should say no to the Guatemalans until they replace the law of the jungle with the rule of law."

At last report, Mayor Young was attempting to raise money for the police training from private Atlanta companies that do business in Guatemala. Observers say that although the training itself is expected to take place at the Atlanta police academy, the mayor can implement the program without city council approval as long as city funds are not being used. Several members of the city council have expressed opposition to Mayor Young's plan.

An agreement by Atlanta officials to provide police training would be a cruelly ironic slap in the face to the tens of thousands of Guatemalans who still do not know where their parents, their own children, their brothers and sisters are — but who know beyond any reasonable doubt that it is not the National Police who will help find them.

- Frank Cummings

SOURCES: Personal communications with Frank Cummings (404-681-0251 ext. 335) and Holly Burkhalter of Americas Watch (202-546-9336). Written sources included: Frank Cummings, "Young Offer of Police Training Not What Guatemala Needs," *Atlanta Constitution*, 26 July 1987, p. B1; Larry Copeland, "Young Assures Guatemalans of Police Training," *Atlanta Constitution*, 5 August 1987, p. A1; Gustav Niebuhr, "Young's Pledge a P.R. Coup for Guatemala," *Atlanta Constitution*, 6 August 1987, p. A1; Steven Donziger, "Atlanta Will Be Embarrassed By Its Connection With Guatemala's Police," *Atlanta Constitution*, 6 August 1987, p. 19; Jim Galloway, "New Democracies Need Help, Young Says," *Atlanta Constitution*, 8 August 1987, p. A28; Salim Muwakkil, "Is Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young Saving Souls, Or Is He Selling His Own?," *In These Times*, 7 October 1987, p. 6.

MAYOR KOCH SAYS HIS EYES WERE OPENED IN NICARAGUA

New York Mayor Ed Koch, once a vocal critic of Daniel Ortega and the Sandinistas, visited Nicaragua last November and apparently experienced a change of heart. After his nine-person delegation completed their three-day stop in Managua, he reported: "Am I more supportive of [the Sandinistas] than before I came here? The answer is yes."

Koch met with the Nicaraguan president and later told the press, "Ortega, I believe, deeply wants peace." But the mayor also spoke highly of some of Ortega's opponents, including senior contra leaders: "They are genuine patriots. You can't consider them mercenaries."

As a Congressman before becoming mayor, Koch frequently attacked the Somoza regime, and held House committee hearings on human rights abuses in Nicaragua. Two of the witnesses who testified at those hearings — Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann and Fernando Cardenal — are presently Cabinet members in the Sandinista government. But not long after Ortega assumed power, Koch became a critic of the new leaders as well. In fact, as recently as the opening hours of the mayor's trip — in a dinner at the American embassy in Managua before the mayor's meeting with Ortega — Koch said that the Sandinistas "are engaged in somewhat the same repres-

sion as that engaged in by Somoza."

But his feelings apparently changed. Much to the disappointment of the State Department, Koch left with a much softer impression of the Sandinistas. During his meeting with Ortega, Koch urged the Nicaraguan head of state to open Managua's political detention center to outside inspection — a request that Ortega said he would consider.

"I'm proud of my relationship with Nicaragua," said Mayor Koch. "I have a real sense of kinship."

SOURCE: Stephen Kinzer, "Koch: Nicaragua Deserves Support," New York Times, 8 November 1987, p. 3.

DETROIT BECOMES 27th SANCTUARY CITY

More than a century ago, before the Civil War, the city of Detroit supported blacks who had fled the violence and oppression of slavery in the south. Now, with that historical precedent in mind, Detroit Mayor Coleman Young has declared his city a "sanctuary" for Salvadoran, Guatemalan, and Haitian refugees, becoming the 27th such sanctuary city (see related box).

Mayor Young took the action after learning that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service had granted refugee status to fewer than three percent of all Guatemalans and Salvadorans requesting it, deporting the remainder to their home countries, where their lives were in jeopardy.

Mayor Young "called upon the people of the city of Detroit to reaffirm our commitment to human rights and justice, and to reaffirm the American tradition of providing refuge to persons who have fled their native country for fear of persecution on the basis of their beliefs, race and religions, or membership in a particular social

group."

The mayor also noted that "the city of Detroit supports the proposition that Central American and Haitian refugees should have access to all city administered social services, to the extent permitted by law."

On a related matter, the Detroit City

Council passed a resolution written by Councilmember Mel Ravitz supporting the Arias Peace Plan for Central America "in the hope that it will give some relief from war to the El Salvadoran people."

SOURCE: Councilmember Mel Ravitz, City Hall, Detroit, MI 48226 (313-224-3270).

LIST OF SANCTUARY CITIES *

Berkeley, CA	Fargo, ND	Saint Paul, MN
Boulder, CO	Ithaca, NY	San Francisco, CA
Brookline, MA	Los Angeles, CA	San Jose, CA
Burlington, VT	Madison, WI	Santa Barbara, CA
Cambridge, MA	Minneapolis, MN	Santa Cruz, CA
Davis, CA	Oakland, CA	Santa Fe, NM
Detroit, MI	Olympia, WA	Swarthmore, PA
Duluth, MN	Rochester, NY	Takoma Park, MD
East Lansing, MI	Sacramento, CA	West Hollywood, CA

* The state of Wisconsin has declared itself a sanctuary state. The state of New Mexico and the city of Seattle also declared themselves sanctuaries but later rescinded their declarations.

SOURCE: Penny DeLeray, National Sanctuary Defense Fund, 942 Market St., Room 708, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415-362-8366).

CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR WELCOMES CONTRAS

In September, California Governor George Deukmejian leapt into controversy when he met with Nicaraguan contra representative, former Somocista Adolfo Calero. Flanked by Assembly Republican leader Pat Nolan in his cabinet room in the state Capitol building, Deukmejian urged Californians to support the rebels against the Sandinista government. Afterward, Deukmejian told the press that the contras "are very strong supporters of democracy. They have been unfortunately oppressed."

Others in the California state legislature were clearly irritated. While Republican legislators gave the rebel leader a standing ovation, most Democrats remained seated and silent as Calero was received on the Assembly floor. "The evidence is overwhelming

and irrefutable that the contras are engaged in terrorist attacks against

Deukmejian told the press that the contras "are very strong supporters of democracy. They have been unfortunately oppressed."

civilians," said Democratic Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly. "It's an embarrassment, an outrage, and it ought to be stopped."

After visiting the Capitol, Calero spoke to supporters at the Sacramento Community Center, as anti-contra

demonstrators marched outside. The protesters included Duncan Murphy, an activist who had stood beside Brian Willson when Willson was struck by a train and had his legs severed during an anti-contra demonstration at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. "We're waging peace with our bodies and our lives," said Murphy.

Calero called Willson "a fanatic [who had] better go to a psychiatrist. There are people in some Asian countries who will wet themselves with gasoline and then light a match, no? There are fanatics in that part of the world and fanatics in this part of the world."

SOURCES: "Contra Leader at State Capitol—Deukmejian Urges Support," San Francisco Chronicle, 11 September 1987, p. 8; Ilana DeBare, "Foes, Allies at Contras' Capital Rally," Sacramento Bee, 11 September 1987, p. B1.

CALIFORNIA LOCAL OFFICIALS ENCOUNTER "SCHOLARS" IN MANAGUA

For those following public debates over U.S. policy in Nicaragua, three of the more unlikely supporters of the contras have been David Horowitz, Peter Collier, and Ronald Radosh. Horowitz and Collier were once self-styled radicals who founded *Ramparts* magazine, and Radosh was a liberal history professor at City College of New York. In recent years, all three have cashed in on their 60's credentials by serving as spokespeople for the New Right. Horowitz and Collier wrote articles in 1984 explaining why they were voting for President Reagan, and Radosh published a book arguing that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were guilty as charged of atomic spying.

It was therefore with some astonishment that California Assemblyman Tom Bates and Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock bumped into all three at the Intercontinental Hotel in Managua, Nicaragua, while the Californians were on a visit to Berkeley's

sister city in Leon (*see* related story on page 20). According to *Nation* columnist Alexander Cockburn, the two "observed an altercation at the checkout desk between a clerk and Horowitz, Collier, and... Radosh... [A]fter listening to the altercation, in which the clerk was refusing to release the trio's baggage until the bill was paid, he heard Horowitz insist that this bill was being picked up by the United States Information Agency. Bates remarked ironically that the U.S. [Information Agency] could not have paid for three more objective reporters, to which Horowitz replied, 'There's no intent for us to be objective.' He had earlier indicated his scholarly detachment with the cry 'I hope to God the contras overthrow this fucking regime.' Finally a white limousine arrived from the U.S. Embassy, carrying an official who paid the bill and bore the trio off."

SOURCE: Alexander Cockburn, "Beat the Devil," *The Nation*, 31 October 1987, p. 475.

U.S. - Nicaraguan Sister City Briefs

Below are summaries of activities of some of the 87 U.S.-Nicaraguan sister city (and state) programs. Further information on each program is available from the listed contacts.

BERKELEY (CA) - LEON

During September and October, Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock headed up a 20-member delegation on a ten-day visit to Managua and Leon, Berkeley's sister city. Vice-Mayor Rosemary Corbin of Richmond (CA) and state Assemblyman Tom Bates were part of the group.

The delegation delivered \$2,000 in money and supplies to stock an epidemiology lab at the University of Leon, which had been partially destroyed by the contras. The donation was made by six East Bay hospitals and is part of a \$10,000 donation from Berkeley residents to rebuild the lab, which conducts tests of water and food supplies for contagious diseases.

While in Nicaragua, the Berkeley delegation met with Tomas Donaire, Mayor of Leon, as well as Rosario Murille (wife of Daniel Ortega and head of the Cultural Workers Union), members of Nicaragua's National Assembly, and representatives of the conservative opposition party.

"We were deeply moved by the people we met and their willingness to share with us their day-to-day lives," said Mayor Hancock. "We met with children in schools, talked with people in town plazas, and discussed the war and the Arias Peace Plan with rural farming families on a cooperative located near the war zone."

CONTACT: Mayor's Office, 2180 Milvia St., Berkeley, CA 94704 (415-644-6484).

BOULDER (CO) - JALAPA

A delegation of about ten Boulder citizens will spend two weeks in Jalapa this January. As with a similar educational tour last July and August, the Colorado residents will live with Nicaraguan families and meet with governmental, nongovernmental, union and church representatives. They will also visit several other Nicaraguan towns.

A delegation of Jalapa residents is expected to travel to Boulder early in 1988, probably in February or March. Government officials, teachers, businessmen and church leaders have been part of this exchange in the past, and a preschool director and a tailor are expected to participate in this year's trip.

Boulder residents are also now collecting and shipping to Jalapa sewing supplies — needles, thread, cloth, sewing machines — to support 17 men and women who are organizing a cooperative to make clothing for their community's residents. The Colorado citizens also periodically send school supplies to a preschool that the people of Boulder built for the children of Jalapa.

CONTACT: Sara Lee, Friendship City Projects, P.O. Box 7452, Boulder, CO 80306 (301-449-8180).

MADISON (WI) - MANAGUA

Last July, the Madison City Council voted to adopt Managua as its sister city, formalizing ties between the capital cities of Wisconsin and Nicaragua.

The Madison City Council approved a resolution stating that Madison has "a tradition of supporting grassroots democracy and providing assistance to victims of political strife around the world. . . . The City of Managua and the City of Madison have many features in common, including lakes, a university and both are capital cities."

The resolution also observed that Managua suffers from "scarcities of medicine, food, clothing and other life-saving materials . . . due to economic hardships, war, inflation and an economic embargo." The council urged the citizens of Madison to work with the people of Managua "in furthering humanitarian, cultural and other exchanges between the two cities."

Last August, Managua Mayor Moises Hassan came

to Madison, and met with his counterpart, Mayor Joseph Sensenbrenner. Mayor Hassan said he hopes the sister-city relationship will open two-way communication between the two communities: "We benefit once people know the truth about what's going on in Nicaragua."

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

MINNESOTA - LEON

As part of its long-standing relationship with the department (state) of Leon, the state of Minnesota recently sent a medical group from Children's Hospital in Minneapolis to visit Nicaragua last November. The eight-person delegation included pediatricians, nurses and respiratory therapists.

The previous month, twelve Nicaraguan young people (ages 14-20) spent three weeks in the Twin Cities and in other parts of Minnesota. They were greeted at ceremonies in the state Capitol, toured schools, went to museums and a newspaper office, and visited the homeless. They also planted a "peace tree" in a local park.

Next March, about 20 Minnesota young people will travel to Leon for two weeks. Other projects by Minnesota residents include raising funds to support the construction of a well at a rural health center in Leon. Since 1984, two Minnesota residents have lived full-time in Leon to coordinate the activities of the sister-state program.

CONTACT: Nancy Trechsel, Project Minnesota/Leon, 2401 Russell Ave., S., Minneapolis, MN 55405 (612-477-6366).

NEW HAVEN (CT) - LEON

Construction will begin in 1988 on a day-care center in Leon that has been designed by New Haven architects and funded by New Haven citizens. Child-care experts from New Haven have also provided input on running the 24-hour-a-day facility.

A delegation of contractors and tradespeople from New Haven traveled to Leon in January to help refurbish its Museum of the Americas. A group of artists in the Connecticut city is donating an exhibit to the museum.

In December, a nurse practitioner from New Haven spent two weeks in Leon as part of the sister-city project's health task force. In 1987, about \$100,000 worth of medications were sent to the Nicaraguan community.

New Haven residents are also helping to equip a science lab at a Leon high school, donating equipment such as test tubes and Bunsen burners, and helping to build lab benches.

CONTACT: Alan Wright, New Haven-Leon Sister City, 965 Quinnipiac Ave., New Haven, CT 01513 (203-467-9182).

PORT TOWNSEND (WA) - JALAPA

In March, more than 20 Port Townsend residents will travel to Jalapa to work on a park project that has been in the planning stages for about two years thanks to help from local architects. Bill Dentzel, a Port Townsend resident, built a wooden children's carousel that was shipped to Jalapa last fall for a park there.

Tentative plans also call for the entire state of Washington to build a park next to a Nicaraguan children's hospital.

Since the sister relationship began, Port Townsend residents have also helped Jalapa design and install a sewer system. Sanitation technician Chris Rhinehart spent seven months in Jalapa to get the project started.

CONTACT: Doug Milholland, Jalapa-Port Townsend Sister City Association, 1829 Lincoln St., Port Townsend, WA 98368 (206-385-6525).

PORTLAND (OR) - CORINTO

The first official delegation from Portland traveled to Corinto last November. The 14-member group, which

included Multnomah County Commissioner Gretchen Kafoury, met with the mayor of Corinto, held meetings with a "sister church" in the Nicaraguan city, and toured the community.

During the visit, the Portland delegation laid the groundwork for a January 1988 trip to Corinto by the Ben Linder Construction Brigade — a 15-member Portland group who will help reroof a hospital there during a three-week period. Portland citizens will also do some rewiring and painting.

Last November, two students and a teacher from Corinto spent three weeks in Portland, visiting schools and speaking to local groups. While in Oregon, they lived in private homes.

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

RICHLAND CENTER (WI) - SANTA TERESA

As part of this new sister-city relationship, which began in 1987, children in the Wisconsin and Nicaraguan cities have exchanged drawings and letters, as well as photographs of their towns. More formal pen-pal relationships are now being created.

Two Wisconsin residents spent the month of December in Santa Teresa to work on sister-city-related programs. In anticipation of additional visits by Richland Center residents to Nicaragua, many citizens of the Wisconsin city are now taking Spanish-language classes at the local university. Residents of Richland Center have also recently shipped clothing and medicine.

In August, Zelmira Garcia of the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, D.C., visited Richland Center and met with local residents.

CONTACT: Jane Furchgott, Route 1, Lone Rock, WI 53556 (608-583-2431).

SEATTLE (WA) - MANAGUA

A delegation of 15 Washington residents, including several city councilmembers, traveled to Managua in November. This trip followed another sister-city trip in August, in which an eight-person delegation of local officials from throughout Washington participated in a fact-finding trip to Managua and its surrounding rural areas. The Washington officials included mayors, city councilmem-

bers, school board members, and judges. They met with their counterparts in Nicaragua, as well as with academics, opposition political-party members, and citizens in the neighborhoods and marketplaces.

In August, Managua Mayor Moises Hassan visited Seattle. He also serves as president of the Nicaraguan Olympic Committee, and traveled to the Northwest after attending the Pan Am Games.

A Nicaraguan folk musical group visited Seattle in November. Several other cultural and sports exchanges are planned soon.

CONTACT: Seattle-Managua Sister City Association, P.O. Box 24883, Seattle, WA 98124 (206-329-2974).

WISCONSIN - NICARAGUA

The Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua (WCCN) facilitates Wisconsin's sister-state relationship with Managua, as well as the state's seven sister-city relationships with Nicaraguan communities, sponsoring people-to-people exchange projects and state educational programs. It also works with about 80 organizations in the state involved in Central American activities. Since WCCN was founded in 1984, Wisconsin residents have sent annually between \$1 million and \$2 million worth of medical supplies, food, clothing, agricultural equipment and other humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan people.

WCCN is currently assisting a University of Wisconsin project to establish a microbiology laboratory in Nicaragua, with an initial program planned to study infant diarrhea there. WCCN is carrying and translating letters, and facilitating the delivery of materials for this project. WCCN also brought a Nicaraguan microbiologist to Madison for three months of study.

On July 19, Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson issued a proclamation commemorating Nicaragua's independence day. Liz Chilsen and Sheldon Rampton of the WCCN recently spent two months in Nicaragua researching and writing a "how-to" manual and directory on establishing sister-city relationships between the U.S. and Nicaragua, and how these projects are being implemented. The 80-page book — *Friends in Deed...The Story of the U.S.-Nicaragua Sister Cities* — will be published this winter by WCCN.

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

LOCAL OFFICIALS PREPARE FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN TOUR

James Scheibel, City Councilmember in St. Paul, Minnesota, thinks there are better ways to learn about Central America than just reading the daily newspaper. This winter, he's leading about a dozen local elected officials on a fact-finding tour into Honduras and Nicaragua.

The ten-day trip, which begins January 24, is sponsored by Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility and the Policy Education Project (PEP). It's designed to help participants investigate the structure and function of local government in the two Central American countries, including a study of local elections in Nicaragua. It also will provide an opportunity to examine the internal politics in both countries and the impact of U.S. foreign policy. During the visit, the Americans will meet with local and national political leaders in Honduras, and have discussions with newspaper editors and leaders of labor unions, peasant groups, business and the military. In Nicaragua, they will meet with local officials, education and health planners, union and human rights leaders, and U.S. Embassy officials.

This is the third fact-finding delegation that Scheibel has led to Central America. After previous tours, he says, participants have discussed their trips in town forums, on television, and in op-ed pieces for local newspapers.

PEP, one of the co-sponsors, has been sending dozens of local officials to nations at the center of current U.S. foreign policy debates. Participants in its trips are encouraged to share the insights they've acquired once they return home. For two years following their trip, PEP sends them a bi-monthly update on political and social issues in the region they visited.

SOURCE: Policy Education Project, 1322 18th St., N.W., Suite 36, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202-822-8357); Councilmember James Scheibel, City Hall, 7th Floor, St. Paul, MN 55102 (612-298-5679).

BANGOR FINDS ECONOMIC PROSPERITY IN CLOSED MILITARY BASE

Back in the mid-1960s, when the Defense Department announced its plans to close the Dow Air Force Base in Bangor, Maine, a chill swept through the city. With 12,000 military employees and their families about to leave the area — and the Air Force's \$17 million annual payroll going with them — business leaders in the 38,000 member community feared the worst.

But now, two decades after the base's permanent closure in 1968, the doomsayers have been proven wrong. The one-million square feet of empty buildings that the Air Force left behind have been gradually taken over by non-Pentagon businesses and the town is booming.

Since the departure of the Air Force, 49 new businesses have opened in both the vacated buildings and 20 new structures. About 2,500 new jobs have come into the community, and a campus of the University of Maine has opened. Using the 11,400-foot runway that the Air Force left behind, the city has built a new commercial airport that now handles 2,500 charter flights a year, mostly to and from Europe.

Bangor's experience with successful conversion is not unique. Since 1961, the Pentagon has shut down about 100 bases, donating the vacated facilities to local governments. According to the Defense Department's Office of Economic Adjustment, many

cities have successfully transformed their bases for other uses.

In Terre Haute, Indiana, for example, new industrial parks have re-

About 2,500 new jobs have come into the community, and a campus of the University of Maine has opened.

placed what was once the Defense Industrial Plant Equipment Center. And the city of Torrance, California, has converted the Long Beach Naval Supply Center into a recreational

complex.

Base conversions have succeeded "not because of what the Department of Defense does necessarily but because the communities helped themselves," cautions Sanford Gottlieb, senior analyst for the Center for Defense Information, a 15-year-old, independent group that monitors the Pentagon.

Even so, there are few overnight success stories, says Wayne Seifers, manager of Richard-Gebaur Airport in Kansas City, Missouri. Since closing as an Air Force base in 1977, the airport remained idle for ten years and is only now beginning to prosper for general aviation. And Glasgow, Montana has not been able to find a permanent use for a nearby Air Force base abandoned in 1968. After the departure of 3,500 military personnel, the city population there has been halved and many schools and businesses have closed.

SOURCE: "Cities Discover Boons in Closed Military Bases," New York Times, 23 August 1987, p. 25.

DAVIS EXAMINES IMPACT OF MILITARY SPENDING

How will the economy of the city of Davis, California, fare if peace breaks out? That's what the Davis Peace and Justice Commission now wants to know. The commission is launching a study examining how military spending affects Davis and Yolo Counties, and how the city might develop a long-term, peace-oriented economic policy.

In a report to the City Council, the commissioners said, "It is in the best long-term interest of communities to orient their economies to stable industries and businesses. Economic peace conversion also eliminates the inconsistency of talking about peace but welcoming military contracts and expenditures....The results of this study will be presented at a workshop to Davis citizens [in 1988], and their input will be sought for the development of strategies for economic peace

conversion."

According to City Councilmember Ann Evans, "When [the federal gov-

"When the federal government is shipping off money for war it means less for health and juvenile programs. The buck stops with the city."

-Councilmember Ann Evans

ernment] is shipping off money for war it means less for health and juvenile programs. The buck stops with the

city. The subject has to be considered somewhere."

The seven-member peace commission was created in 1986, with the goal of advising the city council on various approaches it can take to promote peace. Commissioner Ted Neff says, "Rather than seeing peace and justice as controversial, the commission will make people see that peace in our time is a necessity. It's not going to do the whole job, but maybe it can help at the local level."

The commissioners are all volunteers, with no city funds used to support their work. Davis Mayor Dave Rosenberg was one of the driving forces in the establishment of the panel.

The commission has also convinced the city council to regularly present an award to a Davis person or organization working for peace. The first award will be given in early 1988.

SOURCES: Herbert Bauer, Peace Commissioner; John Meyer, Assistant to the City Manager, City Hall, 23 Russell Blvd., Davis, CA 95616. Also: Kirk Saville, "Davis Commission Confronts World Peace," Neighbors, 16 July 1987, p. 11.

BALTIMORE ADVISORY COMMITTEE GEARS UP FOR ACTION

Baltimore citizens who supported the 1986 "Question O" campaign are pleased to report that their efforts are now beginning to pay off. The ballot measure called for the creation of a local Development Commission to "advise the city on the impact of military spending and recommend economic policies and practices which will increase the number of civilian-oriented jobs." Although Mayor Clarence Burns delayed appointing commissioners until last July, the Development Commission has since held three public meetings. Its first report and recommendations are expected on the mayor's desk next summer.

Among those testifying to the Development Commission was Michael

Lemov, an attorney representing the city of Baltimore in Washington, D.C.. He pointed out that the "immense increase in military spending between 1980 and 1987 has been funded almost entirely by sharp reductions in federal domestic programs relating to health, housing, education, welfare and job training, which are essential to cities such as Baltimore. During the last seven years Baltimore has lost over \$125 million or 55.9% of its federal funding (adjusted for CPI changes) annually."

Lemov added some encouraging words as well, noting that "after years of largely rubber stamping Administration military budget requests, Congress is now attempting to reassert control, reallocate priorities and slow

SDI. This is a particularly important time for citizens and state and local government officials to exert all possible pressure to support these developing Congressional positions." He urged "citizens' committees such as this one and local government officials [to] give our elected representatives guidance in the process of making choices on how our national resources should be spent."

Sixty-one percent of Baltimore's voters supported Question O in a campaign spearheaded by Baltimore Jobs With Peace. More than 18,400 signatures were collected to get the measure on the November 1986 ballot.

SOURCE: Katherine Corr, Baltimore Jobs With Peace Campaign, 100 S. Washington, Baltimore, MD 21231 (301-342-7404).

CONVERSION ISSUES RAISED IN SAN DIEGO MAYORAL ELECTION

The San Diego harbor is not only one of the most beautiful and busiest on the West Coast, but also one of the most dependent on U.S. military spending. Despite this dependence — or perhaps, more accurately, because of it — there is growing interest in this otherwise conservative community in economic conversion. When the San Diego Economic Conversion Council raised some of the issues on its agenda in the city council election campaign this November, most of the candidates listened and responded.

As part of its educational efforts, SDECC asked all candidates to complete a questionnaire on the impact of military spending on the city. Seven of the eight candidates for the four open council seats responded — and many gave encouraging responses.

For instance, six of the seven respondents answered “yes” to the fol-

lowing question: “In 1986, 21% of San Diego County’s Gross Regional Product and approximately one out of four jobs were directly dependent on the

One of the winning candidates said there was a need to plan for the eventuality of significant cuts in military expenditures.

\$8.2 billion derived from military and defense spending. Do you believe that this is a problem for San Diego’s long-term economic health?”

One of the winning candidates, Wes Pratt, said there was a need to plan for the eventuality of significant cuts in military expenditures. He added that the mayor and the city council should bring together representatives from business and other interests “to develop alternative approaches for responding to such changes — approaches to redirecting the efforts of these firms, and approaches for expanding the local economic base, making it less dependent on military expenditures.”

Another winning candidate, Bob Filner, said he would “work closely with SDECC” to develop strategies such as attracting non-military, socially useful work, and pursuing a policy of reducing the impact of military spending in the city.

SOURCE: Marcia Boruta, San Diego Economic Conversion Council, 405 W. Washington St., Suite 143, San Diego, CA 92103 (619-299-5315).

SANTA CRUZ’S ANTI-MILITARY STANCE ATTRACTS NEW BUSINESS

New York City may be the publishing capital of the world, but you’d never convince New Society Publishers of that. When the Philadelphia-based company formulated its expansion plans, it decided to skip the high-rise offices on Madison Avenue for the low-rises in Santa Cruz, California, where “peace” has a good name.

New Society editor David H. Albert said the California city was selected “because of its long and continuing association with progressive social action.” Noting that Santa Cruz Mayor Jane Weed has served on the Resource Center for Nonviolence, he added, “It’s hard to imagine a political and business climate more conducive to our concerns.”

New Society’s books focus on achieving fundamental social change through nonviolence. According to Albert, “We think the mayor and city council’s efforts to maintain a safe and clean environment, to educate its citizens and to take open and active stands against U.S. military aggression and an aberrant foreign policy, and to withstand the encroachment of military contractors and oil companies on this community are good for people. And what’s good for people is, although it is often forgotten, fundamentally and ultimately good for business.”

SOURCE: “New Society Publishers Now in Santa Cruz,” *Monthly Planet*, October 1987.

CONVERSION BRIEFS

CONNECTICUT — In a study of the federal role in Connecticut's economy, Kevin Bean, co-chair of the state General Assembly's Task Force on Manufacturing, has proposed an \$80 billion cut in the defense budget, noting how Connecticut's share of that reduction (\$3.7 billion) could be beneficially reallocated for programs for jobs and training, economic adjustment, health and human services, education, housing and energy, public infrastructure and mass transit.

Entitled *A Connecticut Budget for Jobs and Peace*, the 24-page report notes that the recommended "Jobs with Peace Budget in the most defense-dependent state in the nation will require adequate planning mechanisms to adjust to the shifts in our economy. Jobs will be gained in Connecticut by a shift of our tax dollars from military spending toward productive use.... Aerospace firms can make commercial aircraft and satellites. Shipbuilders can make tankers, other commercial ships, sea-bed mining vehicles, rail cars, bridge spans, and other land- and sea-based heavy equipment. Electronics firms can make radio and TV components and computer equipment."

In mid-January, the state Task Force on Manufacturing was expected to issue an interim report with specific legislative recommendations on alternative use and diversification planning. The state legislature will then begin deliberating over its proposals during its next session in February.

CONTACT: Kevin Bean, Saint Luke's Parish, Box 3128, Darien, CT 06820 (203-655-1456).

MINNESOTA — Six members of the state Conversion Task Force traveled to England for ten days last September to visit conversion projects throughout the country and meet with union, scientific and engineering leaders.

"While Minnesota is currently looked upon for national leadership in economic conversion, we are years behind our counterparts in the United Kingdom," according to state Representative Karen Clark, a member of the delegation. "Beginning with the Lucas Aerospace effort a decade ago, the British conversion workers have initiated several innovative conversion programs through their local governments, trade unions and universities."

The group met with, among others, the Lucas Combine Shop Stewards Committee, the Barrow Alternative Employment Committee, the Greater London Conversion Council, and the Society of Civil and Public Servants. It came away with information on alternative product ideas for the Trident workforce and conversion options being developed at a Naval depot in Wales.

Members of the delegation included: Mel Duncan, executive director of Minnesota Jobs with Peace; Dan St. Clair of the United Auto Workers; Lou Fuller, an economic development specialist; James Haynes, the state liaison for the Department of Jobs and Training; and Larry Cloud-Morgan, a peace activist and native American leader.

The group is expected to issue a formal report and make

As in past issues of the *Bulletin*, Louise McNeilly of the Center for Economic Conversion (CEC) has provided the following update on state and local efforts to convert military production into more socially beneficial kinds of production. For additional information, contact the name or organization listed at the end of each entry below, or CEC at 222-C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041 (415-968-8798).

recommendations to legislative committees.

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

PENNSYLVANIA — Last September, 25 activists from ten Pennsylvania counties met at Nittany Mountain State College to develop a strategic 14-month plan aimed at promoting economic conversion in the state. The project aims to educate Pennsylvanians on how to create local economic planning committees that expand the local constituency for eliminating nuclear weapons, reducing military dependency, and preparing conversion models useful elsewhere.

The participants at "The Working Conference on Economic Adjustment" agreed to concentrate on grassroots mobilization through teach-ins and town meetings, as well as efforts in the state legislature. Next fall, the group plans a march on the state Senate that will begin from points throughout the state, including abandoned factories, plants with substantial layoffs, and communities (York, Lancaster) where successful conversions have taken place.

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

RHODE ISLAND — Recognizing the state's vulnerability because of its dependence upon defense dollars, Rhode Island's Department of Economic Development sponsored a conference on economic diversification last September. Participants ranged from the state's two U.S. Senators — Claiborne Pell and John Chafee — to representatives from the Department of Defense's Office of Economic Adjustment and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

Although the Defense Department's spokesperson argued that there was no need to plan for economic diversification — insisting that high levels of defense spending were sure to continue — others urged the state to establish programs to help diversification efforts among the state's defense contractors.

As a result of the conference, Nick Tsiongas, a state legislator and supporter of conversion planning, believes that the state Department of Economic Development will now start addressing the conversion issue. If it fails to do so, Tsiongas has promised to introduce legislation mandating it.

CONTACT: Andrew Ratzkin, c/o Representative Nick Tsiongas, 89 Dexterdale Rd., Providence, RI 02906 (401-751-7278).

GLOBAL ORGANIZATIONS OF CITIES

MAYORS OF CAPITAL CITIES EXCHANGE IDEAS AT OTTAWA CONFERENCE

For four days last October, the mayors of 80 capital cities throughout the world met in Ottawa. From cities as diverse as Helsinki and New Delhi, Manila and London, and Kingston and Washington, D.C., mayors met to share ideas on the challenges facing capital cities as they approach the year 2000.

The event was called the Capitals of the World Conference, and the delegates discussed their common interests in planning, transportation, fiscal management, and fiscal diversification.

In his welcoming address, Ottawa Mayor James A. Durrell said, "As the level of government which is closest to the people, it is up to us to improve our own political identity and forge the links that will lead to a higher level of international understanding....Perhaps in the next few days in the shadow of the Peace Tower on Parliament Hill, we can establish an era of cooperation through dialogue, discussion and consultation at the municipal level in an area where, some may say, national governments may not have totally succeeded."

The mood of the delegates was strikingly positive about

the role they could play in shaping world events. Shunichi Suzuki, governor of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, noted that "contributing to the settlement of international disputes and establishment of permanent world peace should be the ultimate aspiration of all administrative heads if they are to truly provide for the security and welfare of their citizens." He added, "The open exchange of views among the heads of what are, by definition, cities representing the countries in question, will foster feelings of friendship among their respective residents, thus contributing to international stability and world peace."

The conference heard keynote addresses by a number of prominent dignitaries. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, for example, sent a message calling mayors "modern urban pioneers. Increasingly, it is in the urban landscape where the meddle of leadership and ingenuity is built and tested."

There are tentative plans to hold a Capitals Conference every three years.

SOURCE: The Capitals of the World Conference, October 20-23, 1987, Ottawa, Canada. Conference Offices: Ottawa City Hall, 111 Sussex Dr., Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1N5A1 (613-564-1442).

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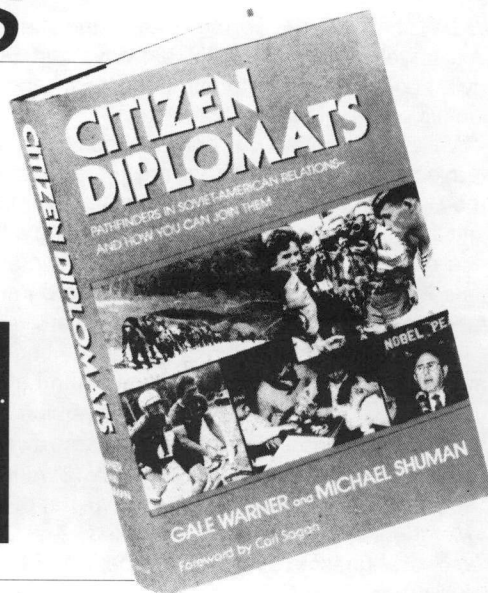
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By Gale Warner and Michael Shuman
Foreword by Carl Sagan

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HOMEPORTING

CONGRESS SINKS SAN FRANCISCO'S HOMEPORT . . . FOR NOW

As San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein's term of office was winding to a close this fall, she was exploding into a full rage. Just when her pet project for homeporting the battleship Missouri at Hunter's Point seemed all but won, the House Armed Services Committee canceled it.

For four years, Feinstein has expended much of her political capital on mooring the battleship Missouri in the city. And until recently, things had been going pretty much her way. Despite serious criticism of the economic and environmental impacts of the project, Feinstein convinced a majority of the city's Board of Supervisors to support, albeit by a slim six-to-five margin, a Memorandum of Understanding between the city and the Navy (see *Bulletin* #3, pp. 35-37).

But now Congress, with encouragement from Representative Ron Dellums of Oakland, just across the San Francisco Bay, has sunk her plans. A House-Senate Conference Committee on Armed Services has decided to delete a \$22 million appropriation that was slated to help renovate a waterfront pier for the World War II battleship.

Homeporting supporters like Supervisor Willie Kennedy lamented that this would cost Hunters Point, the proposed site of the homeport, hundreds of needed jobs. "If \$100 million comes into this area, it's bound to help," said Kennedy.

Opponents of the homeport, however, who have always been skeptical of its economic benefits, were elated. A spokesman for Congressman Dellums said, "Has anyone thought that Dellums might be doing the Bay Area a big favor by causing them to reflect on the

significant environmental problems and whether there really are the jobs that are promised?"

Supervisor Richard Hongisto agreed, saying he was "glad to see rational decision-making happening at the national level."

Environmental and peace groups also praised the Congressional action. Saul Bloom of the Arms Control Research Center, who had testified before a Congressional subcommittee early in

"There is no guarantee that there will be any significant increases in jobs for the black community as a result of the homeporting...Yet here in the Bay Area we are being asked to embrace an instrument of our fiscal crisis as a solution."

*- John George
Alameda County Supervisor*

1987, said the presence of the Missouri would create few civilian jobs while evicting many existing businesses. "Congress is just taking a close look at whether the nation should continue paying for a boondoggle like strategic homeporting."

Critics of the homeporting project were also boosted by a report from Alameda County, which incorporates Oakland and lies east of San Francisco Bay, documenting severe negative impacts on local housing, transportation, social services, and the environment. Alameda Supervisor John George said that the report supported his concerns about homeporting "militarizing...our local economy."

"Black and other minority and low-income communities have been disproportionately negatively affected by hazardous waste," said George. "The

Navy's inability to properly handle hazardous waste can only be exacerbated by the homeporting of the Missouri and its support ships.

"There is no guarantee that there will be any significant increases in jobs for the black community as a result of the homeporting...Yet here in the Bay Area we are being asked to embrace an instrument of our fiscal crisis as a solution."

Feinstein's response? "It's fair to say I feel San Francisco has been sold down the river!"

And Feinstein and her supporters have not yet given up. California Senator Pete Wilson promised to try restoring funding through an amendment to other defense-related legislation late in 1987. Proponents acknowledge, however, that such a blatantly pork-barrel effort is unlikely to succeed, especially as Congress struggles to cut the federal budget. Their only real

hope now is to revive the project in 1988.

Defending his actions, Dellums angrily challenged Feinstein, Kennedy and Wilson to debate him. None of them has accepted the offer. "The issue has been debated in this community for the last four years," retorted Feinstein. "You don't debate an issue after a vote, and Mr. Dellums has already voted."

Meanwhile, Feinstein remains livid: "Here we have a 550-acre shipyard owned by the United States Navy that's going to grow mushrooms."

SOURCES: Larry Liebert, "Congress Blocks Basing Missouri in S.F. Bay," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 October 1987, p. A-1; Thomas G. Keane, "How the Bay Area Reacted to Cut of Funds for Missouri," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 October 1987, p. A-7; Larry Liebert, "Dellums Challenges Backers of Battleship to a Debate," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 October 1987, p. A-12; Max Boot, "Report Cites Negative Impacts of Homeporting," *The Daily Californian*, 12 November 1987, p. 3.

HONOLULU ENDORSES INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF THE HOMELESS

The measure calls upon all local elected officials to assist with local and international efforts at resolving the pressing problems of shelter for the homeless and other social concerns.

While Americans have been outraged over other nations' human rights abuses — genocide in Cambodia, torture in Chile, censorship in Nicaragua, psychiatric wards in the Soviet Union — many have ignored abuses in their own backyard. For example, how many Americans are outraged over the more than three million of their brethren who are homeless? In an effort to reverse this trend, the city of Honolulu unanimously passed a resolution recognizing that "much remains to be done on the problem of the homeless, both locally and overseas," and noted that the United Nations had declared 1987 to be the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless.

Introduced by Councilmember Gary Gill, the measure commends the many accomplishments of the United Nations over the years, which are "not always known to our local community and nation," and calls upon "all public officials and employees, and all the citizens of Honolulu to celebrate the achievements and work of the United Nations and to assist with local and international efforts at resolving the pressing problems of shelter for the homeless and other social concerns."

SOURCE: Gary Gill, City Councilmember, Honolulu City Hall, Honolulu, Hawaii 96813 (808-523-4000).

KANSAS CITY COUNCIL PASSES POW/MIA RESOLUTION

The city of Kansas City, Missouri, has gone on record that it has not forgotten the plight of American prisoners of war who may still be in Southeast Asia. The city council passed a resolution designating September 18 as National POW/MIA Recognition Day in Kansas City and mandating that POW/MIA flags be flown on city buildings and facilities for at least a one-year period or "until such time as there is the fullest accounting possible for all American military and civilian personnel missing in Southeast Asia."

The resolution stated that "there is significant evidence that American prisoners of war of the Vietnam War are still in captivity." It noted that reports of live sightings of Americans are presently classified by the federal government, and that the council finds that "suppressing" such evidence "clearly is not in the best interests of those persons, their families, the veterans who served in Vietnam and in other wars, and all American citizens wherever they reside."

The city council also called upon other municipalities to pass resolutions of their own dealing with the POW/MIA issue. "I encourage other cities across the nation to join us in this endeavor," said Sally Johnson, Kansas City Councilwoman.

The resolution stated that "there is significant evidence that American prisoners of war of the Vietnam War are still in captivity."

SOURCE: Sally Johnson, Councilwoman, City Hall, Kansas City, MO (816-274-1321).

ORANGE COUNTY OFFICIALS BLAST AIR FORCE CHEMICAL SHIPMENTS

For many drivers who negotiate the Southern California freeways, it's hard to imagine anything more treacherous than the normal rush-hour commute. But recent revelations about Air Force chemical shipments indicate that freeway travel is even more hazardous than anyone had thought — and some local officials are outraged.

Despite federal laws requiring shipments of toxic chemicals through less-populated areas, Air Force cargo trucks filled with liquid cryogenic fluorine — a lethal chemical used for laser research — are now routinely traveling through some of the most heavily populated areas of Southern California. Since breathing liquid fluorine results in symptoms ranging from headaches to heart failure and death, a spill of the toxic chemical would require the immediate evacuation of all people living within a four-mile radius. But the Air Force has done little to help local police and fire officials prepare for such a disaster.

News about the shipments surfaced when the Air Force requested special permission to ship the chemicals in oversized containers. Mayor Larry Agran of Irvine, California, called the freeway transporting "utterly shocking. . . . There are safer alternative routes, and where there's a clear alternative, that ought to be pursued."

The Orange County Board of Supervisors also asserted its concern for public health by requesting a county fire department study of the matter. Supervisor Harriet Wieder has asked Congress to regulate such shipments strictly, fuming, "What bothers me is that [the Air Force] is a government agency that isn't concerned with the bigger picture [the danger to people along the route]. . . . Local authorities should be more involved in determining how this stuff is moved."

Jack Stubbs, San Clemente's emergency planning officer, disagrees, say-

ing that the attention given to cryogenic fluorine is just the latest "dance craze," and that hundreds of other chemicals are being carried along the highways every day. The U.S. Transportation Department argues that 927 million tons of hazardous materials are shipped throughout the country each year with a "good safety record."

For the Transportation Depart-

ment, "good" in 1986 meant 4,546 incidents, ranging from major freeway spills to minor chemical releases. Over the past 10 years, such incidents have resulted in 54 deaths.

SOURCES: Josh Getlin, "Lethal Chemicals Routinely Trucked Through Urbanized Areas of County," Los Angeles Times, 11 October 1987, p. 11:1; Jeffrey Perlman, "Wieder to Seek Rules on Lethal Chemical Trucked into County," Los Angeles Times, 12 October 1987, p. 11:1; Mariann Hansen and Claudia Luther, "Public Worry Seems to Stir Slowly Over TRW Chemicals," Los Angeles Times, 13 October 1987, p. 11:1.



RISK-FREE MILITARY TRANSPORTS? JUST ASK DENVER . . .

If there is any city with grounds for skepticism about military shipments of hazardous materials through America's cities, it's Denver. On August 1, 1984, a cargo truck carrying six Navy torpedoes overturned there on an exit ramp near the junction of Interstates 25 and 70. Worried police and fire officials closed the freeways for eight hours, causing immense traffic jams. Meanwhile, a fluid was seen leaking from the truck — and none of the local authorities knew what it was. While the U.S. Army, stationed fewer than 90 miles away, took three hours to reach the scene, local officials evacuated people from the area.

Ultimately, the military revealed that the cargo contained toxic propellants and up to 3,930 pounds of explosives. Though no one was injured in the incident, Denver officials were quick to pass a local law requiring the military to use transport routes that skirted the city.

"Our experience shows that no one in Washington is really looking at the big picture of military shipments going through cities," according to Tony Massaro, Denver's Director of Environmental Affairs. "There's a requirement in federal law that these shipments avoid big cities . . . but nobody follows it." The only solution, adds Massaro, is for local governments to look out for themselves. "Many communities could be vulnerable to this kind of accident. The military says it has a very good safety record. But then again, the airline industry says the same thing."

SOURCE: Josh Getlin, "Record of Risk-Free Transportation Torpedoed by Denver's Experience," Los Angeles Times, 20 September 1987, p. 1:26.



PALO ALTO ORDINANCE SOUNDLY REJECTED

By a resounding margin of 71-to-29 percent, voters in Palo Alto, California, rebuffed an effort to remove nuclear business from their city. Had it passed, the Nuclear Weapons Free Palo Alto Act would have forbidden the city to purchase from or invest in nuclear weapons contractors, and would have created an economic conversion commission to help local business move into nonnuclear enterprises.

As we reported in the last issue of the *Bulletin* (pp. 39-43), the initiative would have created the first nuclear-free zone in a city heavily dependent on military contracting. The city council unanimously opposed the initiative and worked hand-in-hand with local military contractors to defeat it. Indeed, the opposition by community opinion-leaders was so overwhelming that some proponents were surprised and heartened that they got as many votes as they did.

Economic Impacts Debated

In the closing weeks of the campaign, opponents argued that the initiative would throw Palo Alto's thriving economy back to the Stone Age. They commissioned an analysis by QED Research, which claimed that the initiative would cost the region 30,000 jobs (10,000 within the city) and tens of millions of dollars. Among the reasons highlighted for the high costs: the city's utility could no longer purchase cheap power from the federal government nor sell power to any nuclear contractors within the city limits; ambiguous language within the initiative would lead to protracted litigation; and city goods would have to be bought from more expensive nonnuclear sources.

An extensive analysis by the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID) concluded, however, that "QED's findings [were] riddled with factual misstatements, legal misinterpretations, and analytical errors." CID noted that the 18 nuclear-free jurisdictions larger than Palo Alto have had none of the problems QED predicted. Moreover, CID pointed out that, if the city council wisely used the exemption procedure within the initiative, all of the alleged costs could be avoided. Finally, CID emphasized that "in some cases QED's alleged costs mask very real benefits for the citizens of Palo Alto." For example, as more nonnuclear production moved into Palo Alto, the city would enjoy a net increase in employment and sales tax revenue.

The \$65,000 Question

Badly outspent, initiative proponents were unable to get their message out to the public. Lockheed, Hewlett-Packard, Watkins-Johnson, Varian Associates, and other major military contractors contributed more than \$65,000 to the

opposition — and thousands more in donated computer and employee time. Opponents also hired a Los Angeles public relations firm that has run other successful campaigns against nuclear-free zones.

In a city of 50,000 people where the expenditure limit on city council races is \$9,000, opponents' expenditures became almost as controversial as the initiative itself. Former Palo Alto Mayor Kirke Comstock, who was against the initiative, withdrew from his co-chairmanship of the "No-on-D" campaign, calling it "obscene — I've never seen a campaign in this community come anywhere near what they're going to spend: I won't be a party to it."

Another Try in 1989?

After their trouncing, proponents remained determined to try again, perhaps as early as 1989. "We want to write the thing more cleanly," says Kay Schauer, campaign coordinator for the Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Coalition. The new

The opposition by community opinion-leaders was so overwhelming that some proponents were surprised and heartened that they got as many votes as they did.

draft, Schauer says, will clearly exempt city dealings with the federal government and city utility sales.

In addition, the selective-purchasing and selective-investment provisions will be rewritten to become simply policy statements. "The city now has a policy of not investing in companies that do business in South Africa," explains Schauer. "It's not a strict prohibition, but it's a policy that's worked very effectively to get the city out of those kinds of investments."

Even if another initiative never gets launched, proponents were pleased that they helped educate the city's voters about the involvement of their city in the nuclear arms race. Judith LeVine explained, "Just to be able to bring this to a vote of the people I think is a real accomplishment."

SOURCE: Danelle Morton, "Backers Vow to Continue Nuclear Ban Fight," San Jose Mercury, 5 November 1987, p. B-1; Paul Gillixson, "Nuclear-Free Zone Defeated," Peninsula Times Tribune, 4 November 1987, p. A-1; "Nuclear-Free Zone Rejected in Palo Alto," San Francisco Chronicle, 4 November 1987, p. A-6; Paul Gillixson, "Report Criticizes Opponents' Economic Arguments Against Measure D," Peninsula Times Tribune, 31 October 1987, p. A-3; Bill Workman, "Silicon Valley Fights Anti-Nuclear Move," San Francisco Chronicle, 31 October 1987, p. A-5.

NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES SCORE WELL ON ELECTION DAY

Apart from Palo Alto, the five other jurisdictions across the country that voted on nuclear-free zones on November 3 all approved them handily, bringing the total number of nuclear-free zones in the United States to 146. Here is a brief recap of each race:

CAMDEN, NJ — By a 3-to-1 majority, Camden voters overwhelmingly approved a nuclear-free zone ordinance banning “harmful applications of nuclear technology.” The ordinance outlaws the development, production, deployment, launching, maintenance or staging of nuclear weapons or their components, and the planning, development or construction of nuclear power plants or storage facilities for the disposal of nuclear waste generated by nuclear power plants. The ordinance also prohibits the transportation of radioactive waste, city participation in nuclear-war-related civil defense activities, and the irradiation of food or food packaging.

Under the ordinance, businesses engaged in nuclear-weapons work have two years to convert to peacetime production. Proponents will be keeping an especially close eye on two Camden-based corporations: RCA, which is suspected of producing computer chips for nuclear weapons; and Campbell’s Soup Co., which is irradiating food as a preservative measure.

According to Cathy Sugden of the Citizens for a Nuclear Free Camden County, ten percent of the city’s registered voters signed a petition to get the measure on the November ballot, raising public consciousness about the issues well before the election.

CONTACT: Citizens for a Nuclear Free Camden County, Leavenhouse, 644 State St., Camden, NJ 08102 (609-966-4596).

CLEVELAND HEIGHTS, OH — A nuclear-free zone ordinance was passed in this suburb of Cleveland with 70.5% of the vote. The binding measure prohibits the manufacture, storage and transport of nuclear weapon components, materials and waste within city limits.

Although the ordinance will not affect any existing industry in Cleveland Heights, signs are being erected at city entrances that declare the community “nuclear-free.”

CONTACT: SANE/Freeze, 1468 W. 25th St., Cleveland, OH 44113 (216-861-7999).

LINDENWOLD, NJ — While Camden voters were approving their nuclear-free zone ordinance by a 74% majority, the citizens of Lindenwold were giving an almost identical approval (73% in favor) to a “public advisory” question on the same issue. The results of the election were formally presented to the city council of Lindenwold in late November, and the council was expected to pass a binding ordinance similar to the one approved by the Camden electorate.

Because there is presently no nuclear-related industry in Lindenwold, the measure is not expected to have an immediate economic impact on the community. However, the action is part of an effort to get all of Camden County to declare itself nuclear-free, city by city.

CONTACT: Citizens for a Nuclear Free Camden County, Village Square Apts. #82, Lindenwold, NJ 08021 (609-784-6495).

MARCELLUS, NY — In this community of 7,500 residents, 69% of voters approved an ordinance to turn the city into a nuclear-weapons-free zone. Although the town — a suburb of Syracuse — is politically conservative, the ordinance received about a 2-to-1 victory margin in every precinct.

Supporters of the measure petitioned the Town Board to put it on the ballot, but the local officials were initially reluctant to do so until organizers presented them with a petition carrying 300 signatures. Several meetings later, the Board unanimously agreed to let the people vote on the issue, even though none of the Board members openly supported it. Several town forums were held to educate the public on the nuclear-free zone proposal, and the media in Syracuse covered the events extensively.

CONTACT: Rev. Keith Shinaman, First Presbyterian Church, Box 147, Marcellus, NY 13108 (315-673-2201).

SAN FRANCISCO, CA — After a relatively quiet campaign, San Franciscans voted to make it official policy that the city is “a nuclear-free zone in which nuclear weapons and hazards are unwelcome.” Proposition U, which garnered the approval of 55 percent of the voters, calls on the city to put on the ballot any proposed use of city funds to support nuclear weapons. It also “instructs the supervisors to pass ordinances to support or encourage economic conversion to jobs with peace, international arms race treaties, and the right to know about irradiated foods...”

The proposition’s demand that “no city funds shall be spent to lobby for, encourage, attract or subsidize nuclear or possibly-nuclear military installations without the consent of the voters” was viewed by proponents and opponents alike as a referendum on the mayor’s efforts to homeport the battleship Missouri (see related story on page 31).

The city’s supervisors also must now send open letters “to officials and media to express our support for negotiations toward a moratorium on nuclear weapons tests, nuclear weapons in space, and ‘first-strike’ weapons and planning.”

The ordinance drew little opposition, except from the predictably conservative press and the local Republican Committee. The latter wrote one of the two arguments against the proposition, which read in full: “Nuclear-Free-Zone is an anti-free concept. Nuclear energy and weapons are essential to our defense. VOTE NO.”

As a declaration of policy, Proposition U must be implemented through additional city ordinances. It should nevertheless provide a useful precedent for those proposing these ordinances.

CONTACT: Paul Kangas, Peace and Freedom Party, P.O. Box 42644, San Francisco, CA 94142 (415-897-0328).

NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE BRIEFS

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

ATASCADERO, CA

In May, the City Council unanimously rejected a nuclear-free zone ordinance. Councilor Charles Bourbeau claimed it "would border on irresponsible" to address nuclear weapons when the city streets have potholes. "A city council meeting," he added, "is not a proper forum for a foreign policy debate."

BIRMINGHAM TOWNSHIP/ EAST FALLOWFIELD, PA

On July 20, the Board of Supervisors of Birmingham Township adopted an ordinance banning nuclear weapons and nuclear waste. It came on the heels of action two weeks earlier by East Fallowfield — another Pennsylvania township — whose Board of Supervisors voted to ban the development, production, deployment, launching or maintenance of nuclear weapons or their components.

CHAPEL HILL, NC

In September, a unanimous vote of the City Council declared the city a nuclear-free zone, banning the storage of nuclear weapons and nuclear waste. Local proponents chose to limit the measure to storage issues to avoid any possibilities of federal pre-emption.

HAYWARD, CA

Faced with a strongly-worded nuclear-free zone petition circulating, the City Council passed a weaker nuclear-free zone ordinance of its own last September by a 6-to-1 vote. The measure bans nuclear weapons related work

within the city, while also prohibiting the city from conducting business with nuclear weapons contractors. However, the ordinance narrowly defines "nuclear weapons" to include only nuclear warheads; it does not prohibit the municipality from purchasing products from third-party vendors, even if those items are manufactured by nuclear weapons contractors.

PROVINCETOWN, MA

A nuclear-free zone bylaw adopted by the residents last March [see *Bulletin* #3, p. 44] was approved by state Attorney General James Shannon. The measure is the first in Massachusetts

that the state has legally upheld, and bans the research, design, testing, production, deployment or storage of nuclear weapons.

WEST CHESTER, PA

After being narrowly approved by the Borough Council, a nuclear-free zone ordinance was vetoed by the mayor, who contended the measure was unenforceable and unconstitutional. The Council then fell one vote short of overriding the veto.

SOURCE: The New Abolitionist, October 1987, available from Nuclear Free America, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575).

NUCLEAR-FREE-ZONE COMMUNITIES NOW EXCEED 3,800 WORLDWIDE

As of this past election day in November, there are 146 U.S. cities and counties that have declared themselves nuclear-free zones. Roughly half of these measures — 71 to be exact — are legally binding.

According to Nuclear Free America, 3,857 cities, counties and provinces in 24 countries are now nuclear-free zones, broken down as follows:

Argentina — 1
Australia — 107 (over 56% of the population)
Belgium — 281 (over 45% of the population)
Canada — 170 (over 64% of the population)
Denmark — 20
Finland — 1
France — 1
Great Britain — 184 (over 60% of the population)
Greece — 34
Ireland — 117 (over 50% of the population)
Italy — 599
Japan — 1,135 (over 55% of the population)
Netherlands — 99
New Zealand — 105 (over 72% of the population)
Norway — 140
Philippines — 21 (over 25% of the population)
Portugal — 105 (over 50% of the population)
Scotland — 32
Spain — 350 (over 45% of the population)
Sweden — 7
Tahiti — 1
Vanuatu — 1
West Germany — 200

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

PEACE SITES

NEWARK JOINS GROWING LIST OF "PEACE SITE" CITIES

As cities across America are fast learning, there's more than one way to make peace a top priority. One of the newest and fastest-growing approaches by local councils is to designate their city halls and other notable buildings as honorary "Peace Sites" — a symbolic action designed to raise community consciousness. There are now 350 such sites in the United States and eight other countries.

Jan Berry, Director of the Essex County Office on Peace, notes that the process of persuading city councils to establish a Peace Site helps educate both the community and its local officials.

Peace Sites are City Halls, churches, synagogues, and YMCAs, often distinguished by permanent plaques declaring the building as a monument to peace. In many cities, ceremonies have been held to commemorate the Peace Site designation.

Grassroots support for Peace Sites has been strongest in New Jersey, where about one-third of the 350 sites are located. Some of the impetus for this movement can be credited to Emanuel Luftglass, Mayor of Somerville, who wrote to 550 mayors in the state urging them to participate.

**"We must have
peace in our world
so that today's
youth can
become
tomorrow's seniors
and leaders."**

*- Sharpe James,
Mayor of Newark*

In its own Peace Site resolution, the Somerville City Council stated, "We are concerned that the youth of Somerville may incorrectly fear that a nuclear holocaust is inevitable, and by this action we intend to help convince our youngsters that such an event is preventable."

In Newark, the state's largest city, Mayor Sharpe James proclaimed his City Hall a Peace Site, saying, "If we save a life, we save a dream and save America. We must have peace in our world so that today's youth can become tomorrow's seniors and leaders." He added that he hopes Newark's action will cause a "ripple effect" across the country. Since then, Mayor James has sent letters to the mayors of the top 60 cities in the United States, asking them to dedicate their City Halls as Peace Sites.

The Borough Council of Highland Park, New Jersey, passed a model resolution that it sent to many nearby communities, which noted that a "Peace Site is a creative, positive way of establishing a visual, vibrant physical presence to consolidate and expand peace work."

SOURCE: Jan Berry, Essex County Office on Peace, P.O. Box 199, Montclair, N.J. 07042 (201-746-5941).

SISTER CITIES BOOST GLOBAL FAMILY TIES

The new era of sister city politics made it to the front page in the October 12th issue of The Los Angeles Times. In a story entitled "Sister Cities Boost Global Family Ties," excerpted below, Laurie Becklund describes the new challenges and opportunities facing this thirty-year-old movement.

Mayor Sam Caruso of Slidell, La., population 30,000, was expecting a nice little greeting, and maybe a key to the city, when he arrived at Slidell's sister city of Panama City for his initial visit last year.

Instead, he and Councilwoman Pearl Williams got off the plane in Panama to find a red carpet, extravagant receptions and political pandemonium. The country's chief of defense, Gen. Manuel Noriega, was being accused of drug trafficking, money laundering, corruption and political assassinations. Yet, in the midst of the turmoil, municipal officials managed to welcome the visiting dignitaries.

"We were greeted as if we were heads of state," Caruso said. Councilwoman Williams nudged him as they walked down the red carpet.

"What do you want, Pearl?" he asked.

"Mayor," she said quietly, "we're going to have to rent New Orleans if they come to Slidell for our centennial next year."

Treated Like Head of State

Throughout his visit, Caruso said, politicians kept taking him aside to explain their factions' position as if he were himself a head of state. Caruso, who has never had to cope with even one political assassination in Slidell, simply listened and passed the mes-

sages on to his congressman.

Such are the travails of modern-day sister cityhood, which often goes far beyond the cultural exchanges of students, choirs and pandas commonly associated with the program.

Launched 31 years ago by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Sister Cities International was nothing less than a bid by a general to take citizens busy building bomb shelters and turn them into personal emissaries of peace.

"Leap governments...evade government if necessary," to pursue peace, Ike told Americans when he set up his "People-to-People" programs in 1956.

Municipal Links

The best-known vestiges of that initiative are the municipal links overseen by Sister Cities International, based in a Washington suburb, which has brought together 800 U.S. cities with 1,200 foreign cities in 88 countries. Los Angeles, with 15 official sister cities from Athens to Auckland, leads the pack.

The program provides a small window on the world for Americans, who are geographically isolated and traditionally loathe to learn foreign languages. Thousands of students, many from small towns, have traveled abroad to sister cities in places they might otherwise have never seen.

Today, more American cities than

ever before are wooing foreign mates in arrangements that enthusiasts often liken to marriages, despite the "sister" city label.

Many are heeding Eisenhower's words and leaping governments in the process. Some, ironically, are even leaping the quasi-official Sister Cities International.

In recent years, for example, dozens of cities have created their own sororal links with Nicaraguan towns in spite of — and in some cases because of — the fact that the Reagan Administration is financing rebel armies intent upon toppling its leftist government. A thousand U.S. cities and towns have unilaterally offered sisterhood to Soviet cities.

Five U.S. cities working through a Bay-Area group called New El Salvador Today have linked up with Salvadoran hamlets in war zones in an 8-year-old civil war between leftist guerrillas and the U.S.-backed government. In some cases, the sister towns don't even exist any more and the goal of the relationship for the American city is to help repopulate them.

Other cities are declaring sisterhood for economic reasons Eisenhower may have never foreseen.

In July, for example, Pittsburg, Calif., and Pohang, Korea, linked up because Pohang Iron & Steel Co. is a partner in a steel plant in Pittsburg. During the official Sister City inauguration ceremony in the Bay-Area city, however, the Koreans were booed by hundreds of striking steel workers outraged by a non-union contract at the plant.

"Lot of Trends"

"A lot of trends are occurring here at once," said Michael Shuman, president of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, a rapidly growing [San Francisco-] and Irvine-based nonprofit

organization that encourages cities to become involved in international issues.

"Cities are increasingly influenced by international affairs. No city can escape, say, Japanese economic policies, or Russian Chernobyls. The cost of international travel and communication has declined. At the same time, many people are dissatisfied with federal policies, so municipal governments empower themselves to act," he said.

But politicization of sister cities programs remains the exception. And, even in those cities where programs have been established for political reasons, the programs themselves almost always involve strictly cultural, medical and trade exchanges in the tradition of Sister Cities International.

"They Have Caused Confusion"

"We are aware of the other efforts and we are not necessarily opposed to them, but they have caused confusion for us," said Thomas W. Gittens, executive vice president of Sister Cities International. "We are apolitical and are determined to remain apolitical."



Sister Cities International tries to match up cities of similar size and cultural and industrial backgrounds, but it is not always easy. Gittens said he is having trouble finding a mate for Timbuktu, Mali. (Know anyone interested in an ancient African cultural and trade center? he asked an interviewer.) Some cities match up for no other reason than their names: Toledo, Ohio, and Toledo, Spain, for example. Others link because immigrants in U.S. cities want to keep in touch with their homelands.

The sister city of Inglewood (population 100,000, many of them black) is the village of Pedavena, Italy (population 2,500, none of them black). The explanation: Inglewood (CA) Council-

man Anthony Scardenzan immigrated from Pedavena 24 years ago.

Scardenzan came close to losing his pet program in March, however, when he reportedly commented at a City Council meeting that four black high school students he had taken with him on an exchange to Italy had "lived up to the standards of Italians."

Controversial Comment

The intended compliment was considered racist by Mayor Edward Vincent, who is black, and he suggested reorganizing the sister city program. Scardenzan, in turn, accused the mayor of misconstruing his comment because he opposed a ballot measure

Thousands of students, many from small towns, have traveled abroad to sister cities in places they might otherwise have never seen.

that would have quadrupled the mayor's salary. Pedavena remains a sister city.

Los Angeles put its marriages with Guangzhou (Canton), in mainland China, and Taipei, Taiwan, on the rocks in 1980 during the city's ill-fated "Two-China Policy" that featured the raising of Taiwan's flag shortly after Washington officially recognized the People's Republic of China.

But once established, sister city programs generally go on for years without major incidents, officials say.

Everyone involved can give you a heartwarming anecdote about the friendship he or she struck up with a foreigner who would otherwise have remained a stranger. Los Angeles City Councilman Bob Farrell, chairman of Los Angeles' Sister Cities Committee, for example, will tell you about emotion-filled meetings between Israelis from the Eilat, Israel, sister city program, and Arabs from the Giza, Egypt,

program.

Los Angeles' sister city relationship with Eilat is one of its oldest, approved by the City Council in 1959. Giza is Los Angeles' newest sister city.

"Cairo and Alexandria were taken," Farrell said. "But Giza [the Cairo suburb where the Great Pyramid and Sphinx are located] represents the spirit of Egypt, and we are interested in increased trade between Los Angeles and Egypt. . . . And we wanted to carry forth an element of contemporary American policy here in Los Angeles: the Camp David Accords."

Though policies vary, most city councils, including Los Angeles', spend little taxpayer money on the exchanges. Expenses are underwritten generally by community fund-raisers, private and business donations and local governments in foreign countries where sister city programs are often taken far more seriously than in the United States.

Spent More Than \$1 Million

Bee Canterbury Lavery, Mayor Tom Bradley's chief of protocol, said that Berlin has spent more than \$1 million on its sister city relationship with Los Angeles. When Bradley flew to Berlin on its 750th anniversary in April, the Los Angeles City Council budgeted an unusual \$60,000 for the Los Angeles Philharmonic and a band to make the trip.

There have been occasional partings of the ways between sister cities. In 1979, Los Angeles unilaterally suspended its relationship with Tehran during the Iranian hostage crisis and didn't bother to inform its sister City Council.

But Ethelda Singer, the municipal matchmaker, won't call them divorces, "only trial separations."

The most serious sister city disputes in recent years have broken out not between countries, but between Americans with differing views on the propriety of wooing certain foreign brides, particularly those in the Soviet Union and other leftist countries.

Steven Kalishman, executive direc-

tor of a nationwide group called Citizen Diplomacy Inc., began his crusade for sister cities in 1982.

His reasons were, at first, personal. A merchant seaman, he had met and married a Russian woman named Natasha from the port of Novorossiisk in 1976. In 1982, he and his wife were planning to visit her family and Kalishman convinced the Gainesville, Fla., City Commission to let him offer sister cityhood to Novorossiisk.

Kalishman called Sister Cities International for help, only to be told that there were exactly five official pairings with the Soviet Union, all of which had been arranged during a 1973 summit. Only one, Seattle-Tashkent, had survived the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Olympic boycott and grain embargoes.

"An Educational Project"

He and his wife met with the deputy mayor of Novorossiisk and were told a few days later that the community had received permission from Moscow to try a sister city relationship. Strictly nonpolitical, the relationship has flourished on cultural exchanges.

In 1983, a Portland, Ore., professor named Earl Molander started the Ground Zero Pairing Project.

"It was an educational project, an anti-nuclear war project but not an anti-nuclear project," Molander said.

"I went to Sister Cities International and was told the [Soviet exchange] field was all [mine], that they'd given up on it," he said. "The centerpiece was to be a pairing of U.S. and Soviet cities that would give each other an idea of how alike they were in everyday life."

The campaign, called "Make the First Strike a Knock on the Door," paired up more than 1,000 U.S. cities with Soviet cities — unilaterally. In 1984 alone, more than 800 Soviet cities received unsolicited letters of sisterhood (or brotherhood, as the programs are called in Russian) from Americans.

Molander admitted that problems ensued. Many of the Soviet cities whose names he gave to City Councils

here are closed to foreigners. Some of them are considered key intelligence sites by the CIA. In short, he said, the Soviets grew highly suspicious of his motives.

He also nearly started a war between Williamstown and Amherst, Mass., when he inadvertently paired the two college towns, century-old football rivals, with the same Soviet community.

In the end, only 70 American cities even got a written response, and Molander wound up with an undeserved reputation in some circles, he said, as a CIA agent.

"I have friends who really think we have cracked the barriers and that sociologists and bird watchers will exchange visits and peace will come crashing down," Molander said. "I

Everyone involved can give you a heartwarming anecdote about the friendship he or she struck up with a foreigner who would otherwise have remained a stranger.

guess I'm more pessimistic. It didn't work out the way we hoped."

Though Molander's program collapsed, Kalishman's Citizen Diplomacy Inc. grew to hold two national conferences and is now working closely with Sister Cities International.

The program was given a dramatic shot in the arm in 1985 when President Ronald Reagan signed a cultural exchange agreement with the Soviet Union that, among other things, set up Sister Cities International as the official maker of matches between Soviet and American cities. According to the agreement, an official U.S.S.R.-U.S. Sister Cities Conference will be held in Moscow in 1988.

Gittens of Sister Cities International

said there are now 14 established sister city pairings and 10 on the way. An additional 29, he said, are in the initial stage of development.

But an increase in activity hasn't meant an end to controversy.

Sensitivity of Groups

Throughout the United States, such pairings have been proposed and rejected because of sensitivity of some anti-Communists, ethnic groups and Jewish organizations, which condemn the Soviet Union's human rights record.

There is disagreement in the Jewish community over the issue. Singer, for example, is Jewish, has traveled to the Soviet Union and would love to see more Soviet sister cities.

"But I don't bring up Jewish dissidents or any religion," she said. "That's not to say I think it is inappropriate to voice concerns about...I'll call them 'tensions.' But this is essentially a nonpolitical program."

One recent debate took place in the Long Beach City Council, where Councilman Ed Tuttle has proposed sister cityhood with Sochi in the Soviet Union. The move was supported by the Jewish Community Federation of Greater Long Beach and West Orange County as long as the city's official resolution stipulated that certain issues, including human and religious rights, be high on the sister city agenda.

Would Kill Proposal

Since then, Tuttle said, he has learned that any such proviso in the resolution would kill the proposal with the Soviets and is generally considered inappropriate in relationships authorized by Sister Cities International. He said he will make a point of raising the issue in exchanges with Soviets, however.

Citizen committees in some cities have been trying for several years to set up programs with Soviet cities only to have the proposals rejected by their mayors.

A Cleveland World War II veteran

named Dr. Donald W. Cole went to a 40th-anniversary celebration in Volgograd last year that led to an unofficial "partner city" relationship between citizens of the two towns. Cole was authorized by the Cleveland City Council to set up the program, but Mayor George V. Voinovich has not signed the accord because of opposition from the city's many Russian Jews as well as Slavic, Ukrainian and other immigrants. The mayor himself has relatives in Yugoslavia.

"Very Important Issue"

"This is a very important issue here," said Claire Rosacco, the mayor's press secretary. "We commemorate 'Captive Nations Day' every year. Many people here have relatives living under the heel of the Soviet Union."

The fastest-growing ties are between American and Nicaraguan cities.

Zelmira Garcia, a consular officer at the Nicaraguan Embassy, said there are now 57 pairs of U.S.-Nicaraguan sister cities, and another 20 U.S. cities that have requested pairings. Many have donated technical and humanitarian aid ranging from bandages to fire engines. When Ann Arbor, Mich., inquired how it could help its sister city, Juigalpa, it was asked for — and then sent — a garbage truck.

"The sister cities are trying to show their support of the Nicaraguan people, that they don't necessarily agree with the U.S. government policy," Garcia said.

"But it's not political, just people-to-people. The problems between Nicaragua and the United States are not between their peoples, but their governments."

Opposed to U.S. Policy

Many of the pairings were initiated by community groups opposed to U.S. policy in the region. However, most city councils that approved the ties have done so on the condition that they remain apolitical.

Seattle's long-standing programs

with Soviet and Chinese sister cities have raised only a fraction of the controversy that has been brought about by its more recent affiliation with Managua, Nicaragua.

"I guess it's still amazing to me that we have acceptable Communist countries and unacceptable ones," said Norman Rice, who was president of the City Council when the tie with Managua was set up in 1985.

Managua was proposed by officials at El Centro de la Raza, a 15-year-old Latino cultural-political center in Seattle.

"We saw the struggle of the Nicaraguan people alongside our own struggle," said Roberto Maestas, a former director of El Centro who now heads the sister city committee.

"We organized a benefit for Nicaragua after their earthquake in 1972. We formed a relationship with exiles here and invited the resistance to Seattle during the revolution. Then, after the revolution, we started taking delegations down to Nicaragua. Finally by 1984 we thought we had enough diversity of people — black, Indian, Asian, white, rich, poor — to propose a formal sister city relationship."

The proposal was approved unanimously. Last year, however, a County Clerk who supports the Nicaraguan contras led an initiative that, among other things, ordered the sister city committee to be apolitical. The measure was supported by 55% of the voters.

Sister Cities International has established no new sister city ties with Nicaragua since the revolution toppled dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979, Gittens said. It had established more than a dozen under the old regime, some of which have now lapsed. Others have been rekindled by the revolution.

Gittens denied that politics play a role in Sister Cities International's own match-making. But because the President of the United States is the honorary chairman of the organization and about one-quarter of its funding comes from the U.S. government, it is seen by some as a quasi-official body that gen-

erally reflects Administration policy.

Although Sister Cities International has had no contact with the Nicaraguan government, Gittens said, he did travel to Central America two years ago to stimulate sister city projects with Nicaragua's two neighbors, Hon-

Seattle's long-standing programs with Soviet and Chinese sister cities have raised only a fraction of the controversy that has been brought about by its more recent affiliation with Managua, Nicaragua.

duras and Costa Rica....

In Honduras, he said, he helped revive a moribund relationship between the capital city of Tegucigalpa and Gainesville, Fla., and arranged for two Honduran tailors in a labor cooperative to visit their sister city on a small grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Shortly afterward, he said, he traveled to Gainesville at the request of sister city officials there. Then-Mayor Jean Chalmers said in an interview that she and others welcomed the visit, but had not requested it.

Some citizen volunteers saw political overtones in the visit.

"It was curious to some of us who had been around Sister Cities for a while," said Kalishman, the man who set up the Novorossiisk program for Gainesville.

"All of a sudden Sister Cities International was sending in its V.P. to revive us. He called a big meeting and brought in city fathers, publishers, community leaders, and other prominent citizens....I was happy to see [Gittens' visit], but I figured the Reagan Administration thought it was important."

SAN FRANCISCO TIES SISTER CITY KNOT WITH ABIDJAN

The roots of most American blacks go back to western Africa, where seventeenth- and eighteenth-century slave traders preyed upon their ancestors. No wonder, then, that there was so much emotion when a largely-black, 85-member delegation from San Francisco traveled to the Ivory Coast last August and September to seal a sister relationship with the city of Abidjan.

"This is where our original home was — 300 years ago," said Maxwell Gillette, assistant to the president of the San Francisco Community College District. "You get a sense of pride being here. It gives us a chance to regain a past that has been denied to us."

The sentiments were also warm among the Abidjan residents who greeted the Californians. "They are our brothers, our lost brothers," said N'dulu Mireille, an Abidjan City Council staff member. "We don't know each other very well now, but we would like the opportunity to become acquainted again."

Abidjan is a fast-growing city of 2.5 million people, and one of the most modern and westernized municipalities in Africa. While preserving its traditional culture — particularly its dance and crafts — Abidjan also bills itself as "the Paris of Africa." Its government has aggressively pursued commercial links with the West. And according to the Hoover Institution's Peter Duignan, "The Ivory Coast is one of the rare success stories in Africa."

During the sister city visit, San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein made the point of touring some poorer sections of the city, including impoverished Abobo Baoule, filled with huts covered with corrugated tin roofs. Feinstein was made an honorary tribal queen and was draped in Ivorian robes.

While the mayor toured the maternity clinic in Abobo Baoule, a baby born there only hours earlier was named Dianne by her mother in honor of the San Francisco leader. Feinstein

also seemed impressed by recent strides made by women in the Ivory Coast, where two of the ten communities making up the Abidjan metropolitan area are headed up by female mayors.

As well as working toward agreements in educational, health and cultural areas, the San Francisco-Abidjan link has some trade goals as well. For instance, the California city hopes to negotiate agreements that would bring shipments of Ivory Coast cocoa and coffee — the country's two biggest exports — directly to the Port of San Francisco, rather than channeling them to East Coast ports. The Bay Area's chocolate industry consumes

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1,000 tons of cocoa a month, much of it from the Ivory Coast, and local businessmen see some economic benefits to shipping the product directly to San Francisco.

SOURCES: Randy Shilts, "Ivory Coast Trip May Boost Feinstein's Political Stock," San Francisco Chronicle, 28 August 1987, p. 6; Randy Shilts, "11-Year-Old Delegate Is Star of Sister-City Trip to Ivory Coast," San Francisco Chronicle, 31 August 1987, p. 9; Randy Shilts, "Feinstein Gets an African Namesake," San Francisco Chronicle, 2 September 1987, p. 4.

MAYORS JOIN FORCES TO BATTLE APARTHEID

A

According to the Africa Fund, every twelve minutes another person is detained in South Africa. Since the imposition of a "state of emergency" in June 1986, more than 30,000 opponents of apartheid, including 10,000 children, have been jailed without trial; 3,500 are still in detention. The National Medical and Dental Association of South Africa estimates that 83 percent of those detained have been tortured.

In an effort to wield their influence to open South Africa's jails, eight of America's most prestigious mayors held a press conference last September to present the "keys to the city" to United Nations Ambassador Joseph Garba of Nigeria, chairman of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid. The city officials urged South Africa to "unlock apartheid's jails." They also encouraged Americans from all walks of life to collect keys and petitions demanding the release of political prisoners in South Africa.

Since the press conference, many churches across the country have placed fishbowls in their sanctuaries to collect keys. Businesses, unions and colleges have joined the efforts as well. Many of these keys were delivered to the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C., on December 10, Human Rights Day.

The participating mayors were Marion Barry of Washington, D.C.; Richard Berkley of Kansas City, Missouri, and President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors; Raymond Flynn of Boston, Massachusetts; Daniel Frawley of Wilmington, Delaware; Arthur Holland of Trenton, New Jersey; Ed Koch of New York City, New York; Thirman Milner of Hartford, Connecticut; and Joseph Paolino of Providence, Rhode Island.

"I perceive the South African regime as the direct heir and descendant of Hitler's Nazi Germany," said Mayor Koch. "In South Africa,

they are seeking to destroy their black citizens, and the rest of the world has been far too silent for far too long."

Mayor Frawley said his was a "small city," but the "outrageous moral conduct of the government of South Africa calls for every voice to be heard."

Both the Africa Fund and the American Committee on Africa, the sponsors of the campaign, are urging city and state governments to pass resolutions opposing the detentions and to contribute "Keys to the City" to "unlock" the jails. About a week before the ceremonies, the New York City Council passed a resolution "protesting these continuing detentions of prisoners whose only crime is the call for full civil rights," and supporting the campaign to unlock apartheid's jails.

The press conference was emceed by television star Bill Cosby, who directed the press to focus on the issues. "This is not about Bill Cosby, it isn't about people who are free in the United States of America," the actor said. "It's about a feeling that we all share. It's a feeling of your child going out to play, going to the store, going to visit Grandma or uncle and not coming back home. That's what this is about."

SOURCE: The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212-962-1210). Also: Rick Lyman, "Cosby, Mayors Kick Off Campaign to Help 'Unlock Apartheid's Jails,'" Philadelphia Inquirer, 29 September 1987.

"I perceive the South African regime as the direct heir and descendant of Hitler's Nazi Germany,"

- New York Mayor Ed Koch

BERKELEY LAUNCHES U.S.-SOUTH AFRICA SISTER COMMUNITY PROJECT

In the eyes of the South African government, the 10,000 black residents of the township of Oukasie are guilty of one unconscionable sin — living too closely to white people. As a result, Oukasie is in danger of being but another black community bulldozed into oblivion, with its residents forcibly relocated elsewhere.

For many of the residents of Oukasie who have lived there for thirty or forty years, leaving is the last thing they want to do. Although the government has taken steps to shut down their water supply, close down their schools, and stop their public transportation systems, they have not given up their fight yet — and part of the credit belongs to an ally thousands of miles away.

On November 30, the city of Berkeley, California, officially became a "sister community" with Oukasie. This is the first formal pairing in the new United States-South Africa Sister Community Project, a program loosely modeled after the more traditional sister city relationships. The Sister Community Project hopes to link in the next year twelve American cities with South African "black spots," all-black villages or towns.

The new program is intended to serve as a vehicle for U.S. cities to advance their anti-apartheid work after they have divested or to do something constructive when divestment is not possible. It's another creative, non-violent means of contributing to the struggle for democracy in South Africa — and a way of educating Americans about the conflict over apartheid.

For townships like Oukasie, the Sister Community Proj-

ect offers a potentially powerful weapon to resist the government's efforts to render them extinct. "The major purpose of a sister community link," according to the program's literature, "would be to set up a relationship so that if and when the South African government attempts to eliminate a community, a network would be in place in the United States to publicize the issue in the local and national press, to get the issue raised in Congress, and to file complaints with the U.S. State Department and the South African Embassy. Ensuring the survival of the threatened community is the foremost goal of this project."

Although sending material assistance is not a primary focus of the Sister Community Project, the city of Berkeley plans to explore supplying some sort of aid — perhaps technical assistance for economic development projects, or agricultural and energy conservation programs, with possible involvement by the University of California campus.

The South African regime is moving ahead with its efforts to push 80% of that country's population onto only 13% of the land. More than one million blacks are estimated to have been uprooted during the past 20 years through the country's population-relocation program. Only time will tell whether the Sister Community Project will have an impact against these efforts, but the search is now underway to identify U.S. cities to link with threatened "black spots."

CONTACT: Dr. Pearl Marsh, 2703 Stuart St. #5, Berkeley, CA 94704 (415-524-3970).

ANTI-APARTHEID EFFORTS SWEEP THROUGH DUTCH TOWNS

The Reagan administration is not the only government that needed to be pushed into a stronger position against apartheid. In Holland, local government leaders have decided to jump into the international political arena themselves, taking action where national leaders have been reluctant to tread.

These Dutch municipal efforts actually began in 1984, when numerous local councils took action to pressure banks not to sell South African Krugerrands, and many Dutch banks complied. More recently, 38 cities and towns in Holland have adopted resolutions to halt the purchase of South African produce. Amsterdam, the Hague, and a number of other smaller cities are actively discouraging the purchase of food and wine from South Africa.

The Dutch Committee on Southern Africa has published a brochure, "Town Councils Against Apartheid," which

suggests local boycotts in areas ranging from culture to sports to trade. In particular, some recent efforts are being aimed at international corporations that still deal with South Africa. At last count, 37 local councils in Holland had adopted resolutions asking Shell Oil to cut all ties with the apartheid regime. In the meantime, towns like Emmen and Ooststellingwerf have stopped buying oil from Shell altogether.

The local council of the Hague, after declaring itself an "anti-apartheid city," organized a national coalition (Town Councils Against Apartheid) comprised of 70 Dutch cities that, in one way or another, have declared themselves against apartheid. The first national meeting of representatives from these cities was scheduled for October 1987.

SOURCE: Madeleine Maurick, Holland Committee on Southern Africa.

DIVESTITURE: THE PRICETAG IS BARELY NOTICEABLE

It's as inevitable as the sun setting in the West. Mention the word "divestiture," and opponents will insist that even if it's the moral thing to do, the city, state or university just can't afford it. Those arguments are carrying less weight these days, however, thanks to the experiences of a growing number of jurisdictions that have removed their investments in firms doing business in South Africa.

Of the eight states with long enough experience to evaluate the costs of

divestiture, six of them — Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Nebraska, Rhode Island and Vermont — say the move has cost them little or nothing. Only two states, Massachusetts and New Jersey, report measurable losses.

Patricia French Knowles, a policy analyst in the Rhode Island general treasurer's office, says the predictions of fiscal disaster have just never materialized. "We've had very successful results out of [divestiture]," she says.

Dennis Jacobs, senior investment officer for the state of Iowa, concurs. "Frankly," he says, the impact has "been a wash to date."

Why has divestment fared better than the skeptics had forecast? State officials often point out that the bullish stock market (prior to mid-October) played an important role. When money was pulled out of companies with ties to Johannesburg, it was generally channeled into fast-growing, smaller firms that have actually done better in the Wall Street spurts of recent years. "This can work to your advantage over a long period of time," says Frank McDermott, Connecticut's Associate Treasurer for Investments.

Also, most states took certain precautions to minimize any fiscal impact of their divestment decision. Many, for example, phased in their economic sanctions over a period of three to five years.

Some states also reported that the divestiture action provided the impetus to look more closely at their entire portfolios. Knowles says that in Rhode Island, the law was used to weed out less attractive investments.

But critics still can point to states like New Jersey, which ordered a halt two years ago to pension funds being invested in firms doing business with South Africa. Roland Machold, Director of the Division of Investments, says the move has cost the state \$550 million (of its \$11 billion in investments). "It's been a little bit of a surprise," he says, and state officials have been unable to explain the loss, although some have acknowledged a possible decline had been anticipated.

This fall, Missouri joined the roster of 23 states (see related box) implementing sanctions against the apartheid regime. The Missouri mandate requires that \$699 million from five of the state's retirement funds be removed from firms doing business with South Africa over a five-year period.

SOURCE: Will Sentell, "State Investments Survive Divestiture," The Kansas City Times, 25 September 1987, p. A1.

JURISDICTIONS PASSING DIVESTITURE MEASURES EXCEED 110

According to the American Committee on Africa, 23 states, 14 counties, 75 cities and the Virgin Islands have passed some form of binding measure against apartheid. These actions have resulted in about \$19.6 billion being redirected away from firms that do business in or with South Africa. A list of the jurisdictions that have passed binding measures follows:

STATES: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Virgin Islands.

CITIES/COUNTIES (categorized by state):

Arizona: Tucson
California: Alameda County, Berkeley, Davis, Fresno, Los Angeles, Oakland, Palo Alto, Richmond, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara County, Santa Cruz, Sonoma County, Stockton, West Hollywood
Colorado: Boulder, Denver, Fort Collins
Connecticut: Hartford, Middletown, New Haven
Delaware: New Castle County, Wilmington
Florida: Gainesville, Miami
Georgia: Atlanta
Illinois: Chicago
Iowa: Des Moines
Kansas: Kansas City, Topeka
Louisiana: New Orleans
Maryland: Baltimore, College Park, Howard County, Montgomery County, Prince Georges County
Massachusetts: Amherst, Boston, Brookline, Cambridge
Michigan: Ann Arbor, Detroit, East Lansing, Grand Rapids, Ypsilanti
Minnesota: Hennepin County, Minneapolis
Missouri: Kansas City, Saint Louis
Nebraska: Omaha
New Jersey: Atlantic City, Bergen County, Camden, Jersey City, Newark, Rahway
New York: Freeport, Monroe County, New York City, Rochester, Rockland County, Syracuse, Tompkins County, Westchester County
North Carolina: Durham, Raleigh
Ohio: Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Cuyahoga County, Youngstown
Pennsylvania: Erie, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh
South Carolina: Charleston
Texas: Houston
Vermont: Burlington
Virginia: Alexandria, Charlottesville, Portsmouth, Richmond
Washington: Seattle
Washington, D.C.
Wisconsin: Madison
West Virginia: Fairmont

SOURCE: The American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212-962-1210).

SAN FRANCISCANS VOTE FOR CITY-SPONSORED CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

In November, San Franciscans called upon their local officials to help organize consumer boycotts against firms doing business in South Africa. By a large 59-to-41 percent margin, voters approved Proposition V, which amended the City Charter with a strong declaration of city policy against apartheid.

The new policy calls on the city's supervisors to identify those companies most involved in South Africa and then to help organize a public

boycott. By law, the supervisors must pass ordinances that conform with all declarations of policy.

Only one argument was submitted against the proposition — that of the San Francisco County Republican Central Committee. Its plea was short and pointed: "This measure is an attempt at foreign policy. It uses the power and influence of local government against corporations. Support the President's policies. VOTE NO." The voters were apparently not persuaded.

U.S. CITIES COURT LENINGRAD

The following story, written by Laurie Becklund, was first published by the Los Angeles Times, 12 October 1987, p. 19.

■ *The courtships leading up to municipal marriages do not always go smoothly.*

Take, for example, the Philadelphia Story and its would-be remake, the Los Angeles Story, which never got out of development.

For six years now, Philadelphia has been wooing Leningrad.

Civic leaders have sent prized books and distinguished delegations to Leningrad, invited Leningrad's famous Kirov Ballet to Philadelphia and eloquently set forth the logic of pairing the seat of American independence with the seat of the Russian Revolution.

Citizens have established their own nonprofit corporation and raised tens of thousands of dollars in dowries. Not that there were not some selfish motivations. Philadelphia arts patrons, for example, had their eyes on certain Rembrandts that reside in Leningrad.

There is even a certain grammatical symmetry to match. Philadelphia is the City of Brotherly Love. In Russian, sister city programs are called Brother City Programs.

Then a love triangle emerged.

Leningrad began courting San Francisco, home of the Russian Hill and the only Soviet Consulate in the United States outside Washington. It too seemed an ideal match, a union between cities that many consider the beauties of their nations.

They even have bridges in common. Leningrad, called the Venice of the North, is a city of islands linked by bridges. And, of course, San Francisco has its Golden Gate.

"It was nip and tuck for a while between us and San Francisco and we were told that whoever could deliver their mayor would get the nod," said Dr. H. Fred Clark, president of the Philadelphia-Leningrad Sister Cities Project.

Often citing human rights concerns, many mayors and council members have been unwilling to sign the controversial sister city ties with the Soviet Union.

Mayor Wilson Goode of Philadelphia has yet to come out in support of the idea. Clark said he prefers official silence on the issue to an official no.

Meanwhile, San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein traveled to the Soviet Union in 1985, and was wined and dined in Leningrad. She and Leningrad's mayor emerged from a private *tete-a-tete* and announced their civic engagement.

But it was not to be.

When Feinstein came home announcing her triumph, she was lambasted by Assembly-

man Art Agnos, a fellow Democrat. Agnos had been arrested in Leningrad in 1984 after meeting with Soviet Jews and dissidents during a wave of repression in the city.

Feinstein, herself a Jew who had been instrumental in the release of 36 Russians seeking to emigrate, accused Agnos of "loud pandering to the Jewish community."

The debate raged on in the press until Feinstein called off

Leningrad, it was rumored in the sister city circles in the United States, had been shunned and embarrassed and would not welcome other proposals.

the wedding.

"No one wants a sister city relationship in the midst of controversy," she said.

Leningrad, it was rumored in sister city circles in the United States, had been shunned and embarrassed and would not welcome other proposals.

Then, last May, another potential suitor made discreet inquiries.

Bee Canterbury Lavery, Mayor Tom Bradley's chief of protocol and, until a few weeks ago, his sister cities liaison, spoke with the Soviet office in charge of sister cities to see if Leningrad was still available.

She said last month that a sister city relationship with Leningrad "has been proposed." Sister Cities International official Thomas W. Gittens said he had received news of the inquiry as well.

But a spokesman for Bradley denied this week that there ever was any "proposal." Busy with earthquakes and other issues, the mayor declined an interview on the subject of sister cities.

Lavery, asked again about the proposal, denied that her overture constituted a "proposal." It was only an "informal

inquiry about any Soviet sister city, which has been mentioned here occasionally for years," she said.

Bradley, apparently, learned from Feinstein's mistake.

Michelle Krotinger, a spokesman for City Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky, said the mayor had contacted Yaroslavsky's office in June, asking for feedback from the Jewish community about the idea.

"We got a letter from the Commission on Soviet Jewry here saying that it was not in our best interests to pursue it and the process was terminated at that point," Krotinger said.

Ironically, Myrna Shinbaum, associate director of the National Conference on Soviet Jews in New York, said in an interview that it is not necessarily a foregone conclusion that the national conference would oppose any pairing with Leningrad today.

"When this was proposed in San Francisco, Soviets were beating up on American tourists and Soviet Jews were being arrested," she said. "We do recognize some improve-

ments."

Moscow has allowed more emigration of Soviet Jews, she said, and has released some political prisoners.

"Out position across the board is that we recognize cultural and educational exchanges when done in the spirit of the Helsinki [human rights] Accord," she said. "But people ought to have a forum in any exchange to bring up concerns which divide, as well as unite, Soviets and Americans."

Such affiliations should be decided, she said, on a case-by-case basis with local input from the Jewish community.

Meanwhile, Philadelphia is patiently waiting and wooing in the wings.

"I heard Boston and St. Petersburg (Fla.) were after Leningrad, too," Clark said. "This is a romantic notion, but it's not very romantic in being carried out."

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GOVERNOR CUOMO TOURS SOVIET UNION

Even though New York Governor Mario Cuomo has emphatically denied that he is a candidate for president, he decided to travel to the Soviet Union in September and discuss with Soviet officials nuclear-arms and other foreign policy issues.

Once there, Cuomo spoke of a "new realism" in Soviet-American relations and urged an end to the Cold War. In a press conference in the Soviet Union, Cuomo said that if American presidential candidates "don't start talking about arms negotiations and peace and getting rid of this burden, they're missing the boat." While in Moscow, the governor also criticized the Jewish emigration policies of the Soviet Union, saying, "We are right to make that a condition of reaching agreements on other issues with the Soviets."

Cuomo added, "When I brought up human rights issues, they did not end the

discussions as they apparently have in the past with other Americans. . . . That's the 'new realism.' We can talk about these things. Your economy is drained by the cost of weapons. Our economy is drained by weapons. You need to get your economy moving; we're now a debtor nation and have homeless. Let's talk."

Cuomo spent a good deal of time sightseeing, visiting the summer palace of Peter the Great, the Soviet subways, the Hermitage museum, restaurants and private apartments. *The New York Times* reported his asking a mother at a housing project about crime there and his driver about the man's children and his impressions of the United States.

SOURCE: Jeffrey Schmalz, "Cuomo and 22 Soviet Dissidents Celebrate Jewish New Year," *New York Times*, 24 September 1987, p. 18; Jeffrey Schmalz, "Reporter's Notebook: For Cuomo, Soviet Tour Marks a Coming of Age," *New York Times*, 26 September 1987, p. 11.

U.S.-SOVIET SISTER CITY BRIEFS

Here are updates on recent and upcoming activities of some of the more active Soviet-American sister city programs. Further information about each is available from the contacts listed.

BALTIMORE (MD) - ODESSA

Baltimore is planning to host ten students and two teachers from Odessa in March. The Soviet students will attend classes in a Baltimore school and live with local families.

This is part of an exchange between the McDonogh School in Baltimore and School #119 in Odessa. Last September, 16 Baltimore high-school students and two teachers lived in Odessa for ten days, spending time in both Soviet homes and a Pioneer Camp. While attending classes, they shared ideas on everything from politics to family life with their Odessa counterparts.

More student exchanges are planned for later in 1988 — tentatively in the summer — with pupils from about six Baltimore public and private schools traveling to Odessa.

Two eye doctors from the Filatov Institute in Odessa will arrive in Baltimore in February for a two-month stay. While in Maryland, they will study at the Wilmer Eye Clinic at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine.

CONTACT: Sister City Program, Office of the Mayor, 250 City Hall, Baltimore, MD 21202 (301-396-3100).

BOULDER (CO) - DUSHANBE

A number of projects are in the works for 1988, including an art exchange and two exchanges involving high school and university level students.

Plans for a proposed Peace Park in Boulder are also moving forward. Dushanbe hopes to send a master builder to Colorado to help local residents construct a tea house in the city. The Soviets have already provided blueprints and slides of their vision of the tea house.

Responding to Soviet interest in American food, Dushanbe residents have talked to Boulder citizens about assisting them in opening up a restaurant there featuring food from the States.

CONTACT: Marcia Johnston, 560 S. 41st St., Boulder, CO 80303 (303-494-5419).

DULUTH (MN) - PETROZAVODSK

A two-person Duluth delegation was invited to Petrozavodsk in November to help celebrate the 70th anniversary of the socialist revolution. The Minnesotans — Councilmember Joyce Benson, chairperson of the Duluth Sister Cities Commission, and Tom Morgan, a member of the Commission — represented the city in the five-day trip.

While in Petrozavodsk, the Duluth delegation viewed a parade in which 80,000 residents participated and they laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. They also talked about the sister-city program on two local television programs and spoke to a classroom of English-speaking students who started their own "Duluth Club" and who are making scrapbooks about the Minnesota city.

In upcoming activities of the Duluth-Petrozavodsk program, a water expert from the Soviet city is expected to attend the Lake Superior Water Policy Conference in Duluth in April, discussing

economic, political and environmental issues in the lake basin. Runners from Petrozavodsk are expected to participate in Grandma's Marathon in Duluth in June. And there is discussion about Duluth canoeists rowing with their Soviet counterparts through the northern part of the Soviet Union.

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

JACKSONVILLE (FL) - MURMANSK

Last September, the chess clubs of Jacksonville and Murmansk played a chess tournament via telex from their respective cities. It was the first match of its kind between community chess clubs in the two nuclear superpowers. Of the eight matches played, the Soviets won six, and the remaining two were draws. A rematch is already scheduled for the same time in 1988.

Plans are now being made for an educational tour of Jacksonville residents to Murmansk in June. An exchange of photo exhibits between the two cities is also being arranged.

CONTACT: Karen Jean Munoz, 13092 Mandarin Rd., Jacksonville, FL 32223 (904-268-7149).

MODESTO (CA) - KHMELNITSKY

After the formal signing of its sister city relationship with Khmel'nitsky last June, Modesto Mayor Peggy Mensinger joined 21 of her constituents on a trip to Khmel'nitsky in August. As well as spending four days in Khmel'nitsky, the delegation also visited Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Odessa. While in Khmel'nitsky, the Modesto group met with Mayor Ivan Bukhal, and visited schools, farms and a Pioneer Camp. They also gave the mayor a large Friendship Quilt made by Modesto citizens. The quilt is composed of 35 squares, each depicting an activity or site in Modesto, including the city arch, the symphony orchestra, schools, and hospitals.

Another Modesto delegation is expected to travel to the Soviet Union in 1988, probably in April. A physician exchange is also in the works, in which two Modesto doctors will spend a month in Khmel'nitsky, followed by a similar trip to Modesto by Soviet doctors.

CONTACT: Angie Wiinikka, Mayor's Office, City of Modesto, P.O. Box 642, Modesto, CA 95353 (209-577-5323).

OAKLAND (CA) - NAKHODKA

A 17-member delegation from Oakland returned from a summer visit to Nakhodka with enthusiastic plans for strengthening their sister-city relationship. During their five-day stay in Nakhodka, the Oakland group laid the groundwork for a student

exchange in March. A group of Oakland high school students are planning to spend two weeks attending classes in Nakhodka schools. Then in the fall, Oakland will host students from Nakhodka.

While the Oakland delegation was in Nakhodka, they met with city officials (including Mayor Victor Gnezdilov), attended a concert, toured port and industrial enterprises, and visited schools. On their last day, they were the honored guests at a picnic at a combination sports/Pioneer camp, where they dined on fresh sea scallops. They were the first delegation from Oakland to visit Nakhodka since 1979.

CONTACT: Bonnie Hamlin, Oakland-Nakhodka Sister City Association, c/o A Central Place, 477 15th St., Suite 200, Oakland, CA 94612 (415-834-7897).

SALEM (OR) - SIMFEROPOL

Seventeen residents of Salem spent two weeks in Simferopol and other Soviet cities in October and November. The delegation visited schools, hospitals, farms, factories and cultural centers.

The delegation included not only Salem Councilor Jane Cummings and Willamette University Vice-President Sam Hall, but also a physician, businesspeople, a violinist, a political consultant and a homemaker. During the trip, the Soviets and the Americans discussed student exchanges and a youth soccer tour from Salem to Simferopol next summer.

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

SANTA CRUZ (CA) - ALUSHTA

Seven residents of Santa Cruz returned from an October visit to Alushta, the Black Sea community that became its sister city last summer. The delegation included Mayor Jane Weed, two other Santa Cruz city officials, two Sister City Committee members, and two businesspeople.

Upon returning home, Sister City Committee member Peter Klotz-Chamberlain said that "one obvious thing [about the people we met] was the pre-eminence of their desire for peace.... Time and time again we encountered this desire for a reconciliation among peoples."

While in Alushta, the Californians visited city offices, a museum, a war memorial, a public school, youth camps and a sports facility. They also stopped in Leningrad and Moscow during the two-week trip.

Future exchanges may include visits by university professors, artists, youth groups, and medical and agricultural professionals.

The sister-city relationship between the two communities was formalized last August when Alushta Chairman (Mayor) Boris Kalyadin traveled to the California city to sign the official agreement. He was accompanied by an aide and an Alushta school-teacher.

CONTACT: Mayor Jane Weed, City Hall, Santa Cruz, CA 95060 (408-429-3540).

SEATTLE (WA) - TASHKENT

Volunteer workers from both Seattle and Tashkent are planning to begin construction next summer on a Peace Park in the center of the Soviet city. Design professionals from Seattle and landscape architecture students from the University of Washington

assisted in designing the 1 1/2-acre park, which has been approved by the Tashkent City Council. A restaurant called The Seattle Cafe may be built in the Peace Park. Co-sponsors of the park, in addition to the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee, include: Plowshares; Architects, Designers & Planners for Social Responsibility; and the American Society of Landscape Architects (Seattle chapter).

Three Seattle doctors spent last September working in Tashkent Hospital #1 with Soviet physicians from their own area of specialization. While in the Soviet city, they lived in private homes with host families. Next spring, three Tashkent doctors will spend a month working in seven Seattle area hospitals.

Also in the spring, ten artists from Seattle and Tashkent will exchange etchings and lithographs to be displayed in one another's city. The opening of each exhibition will be attended by an artist from the city from where the works come.

CONTACT: Virginia Westberg, Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee, 630 Randolph Pl., Seattle, WA 98122 (206-324-6258).

TRENTON - MOSCOW

A delegation from the Lenin District of Moscow spent five days in Trenton last July. The group included the district's Mayor Sergei Goryachev, health official Lydia Lyubimova, English professor Aleksandr Barchenkov, and welder Boris Mikhalyov.

During the trip, the sister-city relationship between the two cities was formalized. The Soviets visited City Hall, a Trenton hospital, the Howell Living History Farm and Trenton State College. Plans were laid for a future exchange to send physicians and administrators from Trenton's Mercer Medical Center to Moscow, while their counterparts travel to New Jersey. A month-long journalist exchange was also tentatively scheduled for January involving writers from the *Times of Trenton* and the *Moscow News*. "Hopefully, having a reporter spend some time understanding our country, and one of ours spending some time in the Soviet Union, can advance the understanding of the two countries," said *Times* publisher Richard Bilotti.

CONTACT: Mayor Arthur Holland, Mayor's Office, 319 E. State St., Trenton, NJ 08608 (609-989-3185).

WASHINGTON (D.C.) - MOSCOW

A formal exchange program between the capital cities of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. has been launched, with a full range of cultural events planned for 1988. Washington organizers have proposed visits to Moscow by dance groups, filmmakers, poets and singers.

A satellite TV exchange is also being contemplated between Washington and Moscow in which Mayors Marion Barry and Valery Salkin would participate. Other possible projects include an exchange of photo exhibits and a dialogue on environmental problems.

A delegation from Washington visited Moscow last September that included Fritzi Cohen (Chairman of the Mayor's Nuclear Weapons Freeze Advisory Board), Clifton B. Smith (the District's ombudsman), and Grant Pendill (Executive Director of the Organization for American-Soviet Exchanges).

"In looking for a way out of the nuclear dilemma, sister cities seemed like a natural," according to Cohen, who is also president of the exchange program.

CONTACT: Fritzi Cohen, Washington, D.C.-Moscow Capital Citizens Exchange, 2000 14th St., 3rd Floor, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202-939-8748).

SURVEY FINDS INCREASING CITY INTEREST IN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS

America's cities and towns are becoming increasingly conscious of the opportunities and benefits associated with their involvement in international business. That's one of the findings of a 1987 study by Sister Cities International, which surveyed each of the 780 U.S. cities participating in the sister city program.

About 62% of medium-sized cities (50,000-100,000 population) and 55% of large cities (100,000-300,000) agreed that municipalities should play an active role in internationalizing their economies. That compared with 100%

of major cities (population over 300,000), and 46% of small towns (under 50,000).

In all but the major cities, however, there was a strong feeling that the cities lacked the expertise necessary to pursue internationalization. When cities were asked if their leadership was active in international economic affairs, positive responses ranged from a high of 82% in major cities to 24% in small ones.

In all population categories, the majority of cities said they encourage local businesses to seek foreign markets as a means of bolstering local employment.

This ranged from 94% of major cities to 52% of small ones.

In examining the level of trade and investment between U.S. cities and their sister city counterparts abroad, 70% of major cities responded that they are actively involved in developing business/trade relations between the two cities, compared to 42% of medium-size municipalities, and 20% of small and 16% of large cities.

According to the report, "Upwards of 90% of all sister city relationships will have some level of trade and business occurring between them by the year 2000."

SOURCE: Sister Cities International, "International Business Survey: Preliminary Summary," 1987, 120 S. Payne St., Alexandria, VA 22314 (703-836-3535).

FOREIGN TRADE ZONES SPARK CONTROVERSY

In the last issue of the *Bulletin*, we described how cities in California were using "foreign trade zones" to resuscitate their local economies. But according to a recent article in the *Wall Street Journal*, they're fast becoming battle zones in places like Virginia, Kentucky, and Illinois — as well as in the halls of Congress.

Foreign trade zones, you'll recall, are areas outside the U.S. Customs Service's tariffs. As the *Wall Street Journal* explained, "Typically, a company imports parts duty-free into a zone, where it assembles them into a finished product that then can be exported from the U.S. duty-free or can enter the U.S. at a lower rate than had the parts come in separately. Companies also use zones for repackaging and warehousing. Because a duty isn't due until a product leaves the zone — with most imports, it is due when they arrive in the U.S. — zones can slow an importer's cash outlays and increase cash flow."

There's still a lot of strong support for foreign trade zones. In Panama City, Florida, for instance, proponents point out that the zone there has created 160 jobs and brought millions of business dollars to the surrounding community — an area with thirteen

percent unemployment. Pointed attacks, however, have come from Congressmen, labor unions and trade groups who insist that these trade zones only exacerbate the U.S. trade deficit by favoring imports over exports and by giving foreign companies, as one critic put it, "almost a type of subsidy by U.S. taxpayers."

A total of 247 trade zones now exist in 47 states and Puerto Rico, up from only 27 in 1975. About \$39 billion of goods moved through them in 1986,

and both large and small U.S. companies (including auto manufacturers) use them. But bills have been introduced in Congress calling for a moratorium on the creation of new zones, and for restrictions on auto assembly in the zones. Meanwhile, about 50 applications for the creation of new zones have been docketed, and more are awaiting processing.

SOURCE: Ken Slocum, "Foreign-Trade Zones Aid Many Companies But Stir Up Criticism," *Wall Street Journal*, 30 September 1987, p. 1.

COLORADO TURNS TO CHINA

Last June, Colorado Treasurer Gail Schoettler and other state officials announced an exchange agreement that will bring Chinese bankers to Colorado to spend one-to-three years in banking, educational and governmental institutions. Bankers from the People's Bank of China will study at the University of Colorado. They will also intern at financial institutions such as the United Bank of Denver and in the state treasurer's office, where they will learn about public finance.

According to Schoettler, "When they return to the People's Republic of China, they will be prepared to encourage economic cooperation between Colorado and Chinese businesses."

This agreement is just the latest in Colorado's increasing involvement in global commerce (see *Bulletin*, Summer/Autumn 1987, p. 63). Governor Roy Romer says he will continue making international trade missions every two months to promote his state's business. In addition to past visits to China, Japan, Taiwan, Korea and Europe, he plans trips to Switzerland in January and to Mexico and other Latin American countries in 1988. During his most recent trip in October, he lobbied officials in Taiwan on behalf of several Colorado corporations trying to export their products to the Far Eastern country, including a bus company and a communications firm.

SOURCES: "China, Colorado Agree on Exchange Program," *Rocky Mountain News*, 16 June 1987, p. 12-B; Joan Diaz, "Expect More Traveling from 'Gov. Roamer,'" *Denver Post*, 25 September 1987, p. A-1.

CONSULTANT OFFERS STRATEGIES FOR ATTRACTING FOREIGN TOURISTS

Many cities trying to lure foreign tourists to their communities have often done little more than erect banners proclaiming "Bienvenido" or "Wilkomen" — and the results have been predictably dismal.

"It has been my observation over the past 25 years," according to Godfrey Harris, head of an international public policy firm, "that few American jurisdictions have entered the international [tourism] marketplace correctly."

In an article in *Western City*, Godfrey Harris outlines steps that communities can take to develop or expand their tourist marketing efforts. Among his recommendations:

- Carefully defining both the "product" (the community's main features likely to appeal to foreign tourists) and the foreign visitors most likely to respond to it;
- Establishing a viable administrative mechanism, headed by full-time professionals (not volunteers), to coordinate all efforts to attract travelers;
- Creating relationships with experienced firms in the target countries to ensure that marketing efforts (print, electronic advertising and promotion) are reaching the

proper audiences.

Harris writes that, if handled properly, tourism promotion can bring substantial benefits to communities in both

"Few American jurisdictions have entered the tourism marketplace correctly."

- Godfrey Harris

jobs and increased revenues. "Most economists estimate that every 100 foreign visitors in any year create about one new job for the community. Therefore, 3,500 foreign visits in any year create about 35 new jobs. These jobs should add about \$280,000 to local payrolls." In addition, these jobs and their economic activities should add about \$100,000 in additional local tax revenues.

SOURCE: Godfrey Harris, "Promoting International Tourism," *Western City*, October 1987, p. 3.

TRANSBORDER ISSUES

A COLD WAR BETWEEN DETROIT AND ITS CANADIAN NEIGHBOR

Were it not for the Detroit River and a strikingly different flag, Windsor might blend in rather easily with the other suburbs of the Motor City. For many years, the relationship between the Canadian and U.S. neighbors was cordial — indeed, almost fraternal. Windsor reaped considerable economic benefits from Americans who crossed the border over the bridge or

collar cities have frozen over in recent months. Detroit is presently building a giant garbage incinerator about five miles from the river, which Windsor residents fear will create serious pollution problems for them. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has approved the project, but environmental groups in Canada are expecting the worst. As a result, they have gone to court to try to force Detroit to impose additional pollution controls, which officials of the American city say would be unnecessary and expensive.

Detroit is presently building a giant garbage incinerator about five miles from the river, which Windsor residents fear will create serious pollution problems for them.

Windsor's city fathers are also uneasy about recent proposals to bring Atlantic City-style gambling to Detroit — with fears that crime that often accompanies new casinos might spill over into Windsor, a virtually crime-free city. Windsor's other fear is that the casinos might hurt the Canadian city's own adult-entertainment district.

through the tunnel to shop and spend their American dollars. Even today, most postcards of Windsor prominently feature the Detroit skyline.

But some of the warm feelings between these two blue-

No one expects the disputes to come to armed conflict, but neither is anyone sure just when the new Cold War will thaw out.

SOURCE: Isabel Wilkerson, "Detroit and Canadian Neighbor Wage Cold War," *New York Times*, 21 September 1987, p. 10.

Deaf To The Crash

by Larry Agran, Mayor of Irvine, California

In our lifetime, there will never be another day like October 19, 1987. That date, of course, was when the greatest stock market crash in history took place, dwarfing even the October 1929 debacle that ushered in the Great Depression. Amid the panic and rubble on Wall Street, equity value approaching one trillion dollars vanished. The ultimate collapse of Reaganomics, however, was self-evident from the start. It is simply not possible to base durable, long-term economic growth upon a doubling of essentially unproductive military spending — from less than \$150 billion in 1980 to \$300 billion in 1987.

Those of us who have long feared the consequences of Reagan's military Keynesianism should continue to worry, because the President and Congress seem to have learned little from October 19. We're now compelled to witness a lame-duck President fashion a "deficit reduction" package with the blind support of Congress. Just what kind of "package" did this bipartisan crowd send us for the holidays? The two-year program, we were told in November, will yield \$76 billion in deficit reductions, consisting principally of yet deeper cuts in social spending, \$9 billion per year in higher taxes, and a pitifully inadequate \$5 billion cut in the \$300 billion per year military budget.

At each turn in the prolonged negotiations, we were told, the President's advisors and the Congressional leadership kept asking, "What does Wall Street want?" To which any sensible American should respond: "Who cares what Wall Street wants!" It's time that somebody tells Wall Street's hucksters that real economic reform begins with national goals and policies that ring true on Main Street. And the policy priorities on Main Street could not be clearer.

In polling data summarized in the Fall 1987 issue of the *World Policy Journal* Americans supported — by a margin of more than three-to-one — increased spending for environmental cleanup, health care for the elderly and the poor, and aid for the homeless. Nine out of ten Americans say that it is "extremely important" for us to have "the best educational system" in the world, while only 51% insist that we have "the strongest military force." When Americans are faced with the choice between military and domestic spending, the military loses out to Medicaid benefits (74 to 18 percent), education (69 to 23 percent), farm price supports (58 to 32 percent), and loans to college students (56 to 38 percent).

The views on Main Street suggest a simple, two-part economic agenda. First, cut the bloated, deficit-driving military budget by \$100 billion or more; second, redirect these resources to meet priority needs in our cities and towns, as well as in rural America.

Anticipating the eventual death and burial of Reaganomics, we at the Center for Innovative Diplomacy's Local Elected Officials Project began exploring a "3-2-1" proposal two years ago — a proposal that now makes more sense than ever. Briefly, the proposal calls for a \$60 billion (20 percent) cut in military spending, to be redistributed in accordance with a "3-2-1" formula: \$30 billion for deficit reduction; \$20 billion for re-enactment of General Revenue Sharing and other successful programs of urban assistance; and \$10 billion for further targeted social and economic support, appropriated through normal budget procedures.

How would \$60 billion in military cutbacks be achieved? There

are at least four areas rich in cost-cutting potential:

- First, eliminate the waste, fraud and abuse in Pentagon practices, especially in procurement. According to Richard Halloran, the *New York Times'* Pentagon correspondent, this could save as much as \$100 billion per year.

- Second, scrap offensive weapons and doctrines. Stop wasting our dollars on first-strike weapons like the MX, the B-1, the Trident II, and Star Wars — weapons that are provocative in character and render both the Soviets and ourselves less secure. Instead, why not purchase cheaper defensive weapons such as short-range precision-guided munitions, each of which costs less than one one-hundredth the cost of the tank it can knock out?


- Third, scale down our financial commitment to NATO, now said to be \$130-\$150 billion per year. If our military commitment in Western Europe is regarded as truly valuable to our allies, then charge them an annual fee — perhaps \$20 billion or \$50 billion or even more — for the defensive services we provide.

- Fourth, let's get serious about arms control. Let's stop all nuclear weapons testing right now. Let's negotiate early and very deep strategic arms cuts with the Soviets; and let's be sure that those agreements translate into multi-billion dollar reductions in military spending.

The 3-2-1 proposal, and other similarly attractive Main Street economic proposals, reveal that the Presidential/Congressional budget "compromise" is really just an exercise in Pentagon protectionism. The Congressional leadership and the President — all prisoners of Beltway thinking — still cling to illusions of U.S. global domination funded with an infinitely expandable military budget. Meanwhile, ordinary Americans on Main Street and their elected officials at City Hall have embraced national goals that have nothing to do with projecting military power in the Mideast, in Central America, in Europe or anywhere else. Increasingly assertive mayors and city councilmembers endorse national goals far more worthwhile, including: ending the arms race; redirecting its resources to at last wipe out poverty in America; and rebuilding our cities and towns with decent housing, good schools, universal health care, efficient transportation systems, and peacetime job opportunities.

We shouldn't be surprised or discouraged that the administration and congressional architects of our economic malaise have been deaf to the crash of the old order. During the next year or two, they will pretend to lead, even as they stumble and fall in the debris that they themselves have strewn about. Many innocent Americans will pay a frightful price for Washington's ineptitude. Homelessness, hunger, and poverty — already at post-Depression record levels — are sure to rise. The solution, of course, is a radical restructuring of national priorities, beginning with an end to the Cold War and relief from the crushing military burden on our economy.

As an elected official in my city for ten years, I have become convinced that by 1989 — with the beginning of a new presidential administration — the American people will be ready for fundamental economic and social change. The only question is who will offer the leadership to provide this change? Our experience suggests that the best answers may well come from Main Street. □



" I am calling for an end to giantism, for a return to the human scale — the scale that human beings can understand and cope with; the scale of the local fraternal lodge, the church congregation, the block club, the farm bureau . . . In government, the human scale is the town council, the board of selectmen, and the precinct captain. It is this activity on a small scale that creates the fabric of a community, a framework for the creation of abundance and liberty."

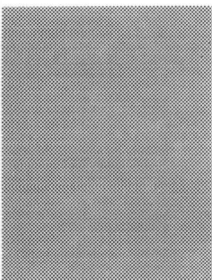
- Ronald Reagan, 1975



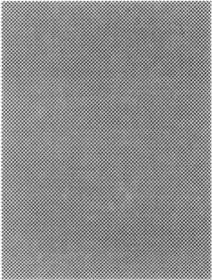


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