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BULLETIN OF

Municipal Foreign Policy

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND GLOBAL POLITICS
SUMMER / AUTUMN 1987, VOL. 1, No. 3

*U.S. Conference of Mayors
Takes Stand on Nuclear
Testing and
National Priorities*

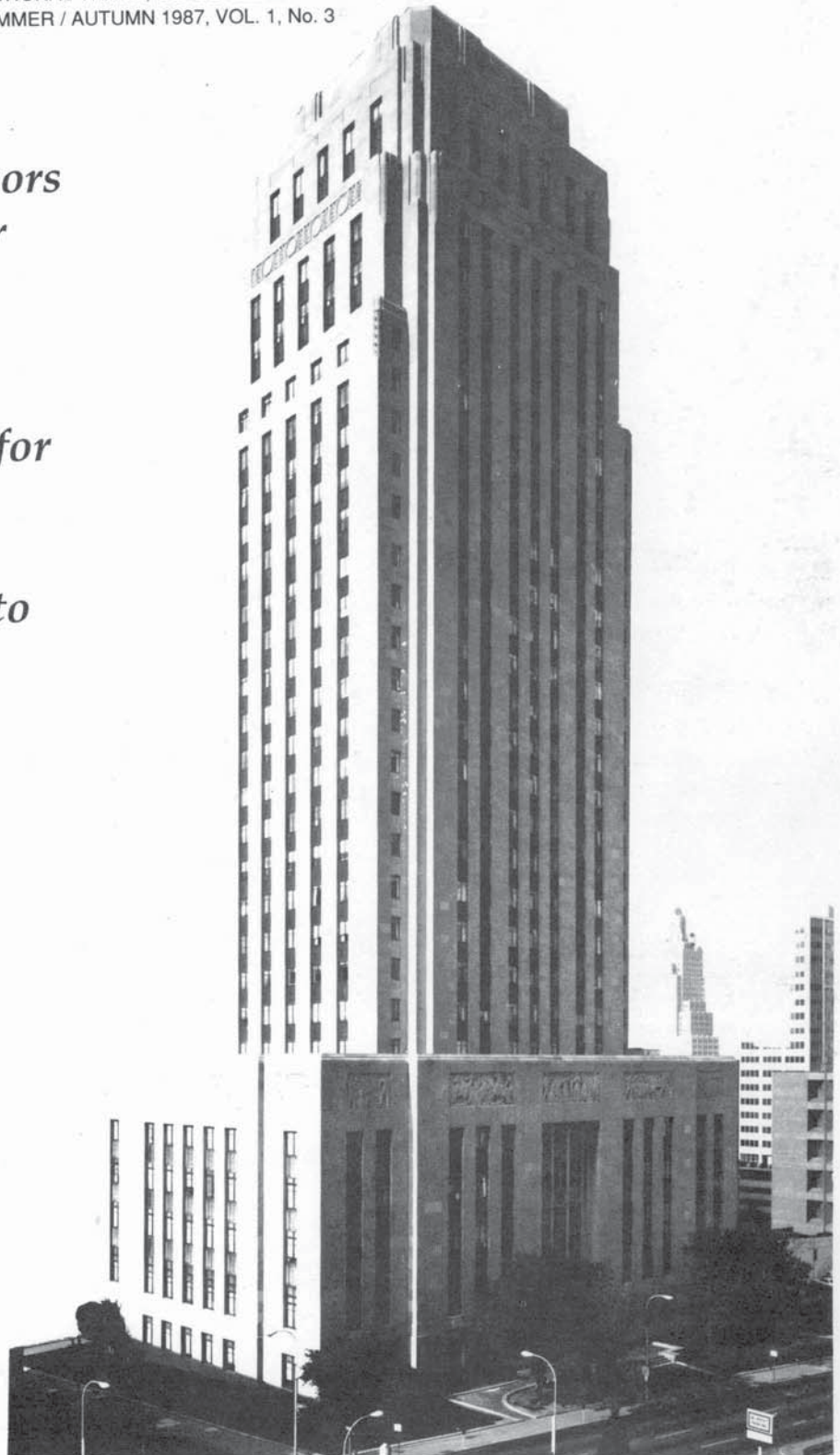
*American Cities Brace for
Hard Times*

*Cambridge Ventures into
War-Torn El Salvador*

*Holland's Municipal
Peace Policies*

*Nuclear-Free
Palo Alto?*

*Seattle's Second
Annual
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A MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR

Sister Cities: A Tool for Democracy and Human Rights

Seattle has certainly had a busy springtime. As stories in this issue of the *Bulletin* detail, the city has hosted two major conferences, one on Soviet-American sister cities and one on Nicaraguan-American sister cities. Both conferences reflected the explosion of grassroots interest in using sister cities for such political purposes as eroding America's Cold War with the Soviet Union and countering America's undeclared contra war against Nicaragua. Some 55 American cities are now forming relationships with Soviet cities (up from one in 1980), and 87 American cities are sending economic assistance to sisters in Nicaragua (double the number from four months earlier).

Both conferences were also noteworthy for their protests. At the conference on Nicaraguan sisters, placard-carrying demonstrators suggested that these city-to-city relationships were subverting democracy in Nicaragua by legitimizing the "totalitarian" Sandinistas and stigmatizing the "freedom fighters." At the conference on Soviet sisters, many speakers and participants insisted that relating with Soviets in any manner was inappropriate *until* they improved their human rights record.

We believe that these criticisms of sister cities, which can be heard in debates across the country, are fundamentally misguided. They fail to appreciate that sister cities with Nicaragua, the Soviet Union or, for that matter, any country, provide the best tools available for promoting both democracy and human rights in at least four different ways.

(1) Spreading Information

Americans traveling to the Soviet Union and Nicaragua are "walking banned books," bringing ideas, facts, and philosophies deeply at odds with prevailing party lines. What could better promote democracy than thousands

of Americans sharing their insights about participatory government, balanced and separated powers, due process, free speech, and other human rights with thousands of Soviets and Nicaraguans?

Critics often respond that Americans visiting these lands are simply meeting with government-sponsored propaganda masters. It is true, especially in the Soviet Union, that the government tries to oversee casual visitors' agendas, assigning them guides, hotels, and tour agendas. But in recent years, Americans have learned how to duck scheduled tours, venture out on their own, and meet Soviet citizens on the streets. This is especially true for Americans working in sister city programs, who usually make repeated trips that enable them to expand their network of trusted, non-official friends.

But what difference does it make, critics demand, if people like the Soviets have no power? Nothing reveals the silliness of this argument more than the U.S. expenditure of nearly half a billion dollars per year to run Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and Voice of America, not to mention their equivalents in Central America. If the opinions of the people of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and Central America don't matter, then why spend a penny? People in every country — even in Marxist states — have many opportunities to challenge and thwart bad policies, and to support and assist good policies. Their influence may be more indirect and attenuated than we are used to, but the influence is nevertheless very real.

(2) Monitoring Abuses

Virtually every country in the world, including the Soviet Union, *claims* to respect human rights and democratic processes. But only if Americans are present in these countries can we help ensure that these governments are liv-

ing up to their rhetoric. Citizen efforts to help uncover, document, and publicize abuses, as Amnesty International has done, are among the most powerful levers available for changing national governments' human rights policies.

In Nicaragua, independent American observers already have played an important role in monitoring its 1984 elections (generally finding them fair) and uncovering major human rights abuses (generally finding the contras responsible). Thus far, this kind of monitoring has been undertaken by private organizations such as Americas Watch and Witness for Peace. But there is no reason why sister-city participants could not serve this function as well. In El Salvador, former Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport's visit to its sister city in rebel-controlled San Antonio Los Ranchos was met with a government rocket attack, enabling him to report first-hand how American aid was being used to kill Salvadoran civilians.

(3) Lobbying Elites

Contacts with elites afford visiting Americans a tremendous opportunity for exerting influence. In early 1986, for example, San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, while trying to establish a sister city with Leningrad, convinced Soviet officials to allow 36 people separated from their spouses to emigrate. Every sister city relationship gives an American mayor the ability to ask his or her Soviet counterpart to push for additional visas for Soviet refuseniks and dissidents.

(4) Spreading Goods and Technology

Sister city relations often beget city-to-city trade relations, which in turn can exert democratizing influences. Samuel Pizar, an international lawyer who spe-

cializes in East-West trade, has written: "The new Soviet leaders know that the choice before them is fateful: either to face up to the challenges of an advanced economy, with the free movement of ideas, people and goods that this presupposes, or to isolate themselves in an armed fortress condemned to obsolescence." The old guard may still try to keep foreign "ideas, people and goods" away from the Soviet populace, but sister cities will necessarily allow tens of thousands of Americans to form ties with hundreds of thousands of Soviets (and typically those with the most influence). As Soviets encounter more American products, they begin to see some of the virtues of Western economic systems and mimic them. They also begin to support expanded trade with the West and the domestic economic reforms this implies. Together these openings to the once-closed Stalinist state promise to give the Soviet people greater informational, economic and —ultimately — political power over their leaders.

Sister cities can spawn particular types of technical and business assistance that can increase the power of ordinary Soviets. In the early 1980s a number of Americans helped interest top Soviet officials in personal computers and international computer networks. For now both computers and computer networks remain under strict government control, but in the years ahead it is conceivable that, as machines multiply and get smaller, as diskettes move in and out of the country in ways audio- and video-cassettes now do, and as international computer networks begin connecting through satellites instead of telephones, a whole generation of young Soviet "hackers" may attain access to information at home and abroad that their parents never dreamed possible. American cities can give their Soviet counterparts computers, telex machines, short-wave radios,

video recorders, and even improved telephones — every technology that erodes the government's monopoly on information.

A Clear Choice

None of these sources of leverage are inevitable. None are easy. They all require careful planning and astute diplomacy. But without the people-to-people relationships promoted by sister cities, these techniques are impossible.

In 1973, Congress passed the Jackson-Vanik and Stevenson Amendments, which conditioned open Soviet-American trade on the Soviet Union allowing free emigration. The Soviets responded to this form of "leverage" by dramatically decreasing Jewish emigration, which trickled to virtually zero after detente collapsed in the early 1980s. Now many prominent Jewish leaders begrudgingly concede that conditioning Soviet human rights advances on their making internal changes was a serious mistake. They now recognize that relationships with the Soviets, whether economic, cultural or scientific, should be pursued unconditionally and then used to exert leverage.

The same lesson applies to sister cities. The only approach that can possibly work to change the Soviet Union and other nations is to engage them in dialogue, cultural exchange, and trade, and then to use these relationships to promote democracy and human rights. If we condition our relationships on other nations meeting our moral standards first, we will wind up changing nobody.

— Michael H. Shuman

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ON THE COVER

City Hall, Kansas City, Missouri
Home of City Correspondent
Council Member Emanuel Cleaver.

AMERICA'S CITIES BRACE FOR HARD TIMES

America's cities and towns, already smarting from deep cuts in federal programs such as General Revenue Sharing, are now bracing themselves for even more difficult times ahead. That's the grim outlook of a National League of Cities survey issued this summer.

Here are some of its unsettling findings:

- ◆ One-third of the 545 cities surveyed were expecting a decline in general revenues this year.

- ◆ One-fifth of the surveyed municipalities were planning to cut spending.

- ◆ About 60% of the cities were planning to dig into reserves to balance their budgets and keep their programs going.

Who's to blame for these fiscal woes? The most frequently named villain was the federal government — specifically its suspension of General Revenue Sharing and its tax code changes making municipal-bond sales more difficult. The elimination of General Revenue Sharing was expected to hurt public-safety expenditures in 22% of cities, as well as affect public works, parks, and services to the elderly, the poor and youth.

Oakland, for example, is one city that will be hard hit. Last year, it received \$2 million in General Revenue Sharing funds (down from \$8 million per year in the early 1980s) and spent all of it on police services. Now that figure has been slashed to zero. "We are not getting the support from the federal government that we so desperately need," said Richard Digre, Oakland's Director of Finance.

According to Alan Beals, Executive Director of the National League of Cities, "We are worried about what lies ahead. Most of the quick solutions — capital cutbacks, new fees, hiring freezes and contracting out — have been wrung dry. The signals are point-

ing to tougher times and more stress on local government finances."

City budgets are being balanced, but not without cost. Beals says there have been "cutbacks and postponements that are eroding [cities'] capacity just to maintain current services, not to mention their ability to deal with future problems and stresses."

The League plans to make the financial plight of the cities a major issue in next year's Presidential election. □

SOURCES: Drummond Ayres Jr., "Fiscal Woes of Cities Are Growing Worse, According to Survey," NEW YORK TIMES, 30 June 1987, p. 1; and Steve Massey, "Cities Go Deeper in Hole as New U.S. Cuts Begin," SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, 1 July 1987, p. 2.

GOVERNORS LOOK FOR GLOBAL ROLE

In late July, the National Governors Association unveiled a report calling for a greater global perspective in all state activities. Entitled "Jobs, Growth and Competitiveness," the study by thirteen of the nation's leading governors calls for increased state involvement in global trade and greater primary and secondary school education on geography, foreign languages, and technology.

"The old economic debate, Sunbelt versus Frostbelt," the report says, "was a narrow, inward-looking approach. It is being replaced by a new, outward-looking, global perspective." While the report acknowledges that disparities exist among regions, it suggests that these are rooted in global shifts.

It continues, "Not since the founding days of our nation have the states been

so exposed to the competitive forces of international commerce." States and localities "must maintain an international perspective in all decisions, ranging from how we market our goods to how we educate our children."

"In the final analysis," the report concludes, "the best jobs, the largest markets and the greatest profits will flow to the workers and firms that understand the world around them. In most cases, we do not."

"The old economic debate, Sunbelt versus Frostbelt...is being replaced by a new, outward-looking global perspective."

In calling for far greater global education, the report recommends:

- reinstatement of foreign language proficiency as a requirement for college admission;
- restoration of geography as a distinct subject in the public schools;
- foreign language instruction at elementary school level;
- increased emphasis on competence in foreign studies among teachers; and,
- state-sponsored courses in international business for businessmen.

The report also urges states to compete less with one another in international markets. Instead, states should cooperate more, perhaps through joint trade missions and information exchanges on specific markets.

One of the authors of the report, Governor Gerald L. Baliles of Virginia, said, "We're not waiting on Washington. Today it seems the best Washington can do is to stand tall and duck."

SOURCES: William K. Stevens, "Governors Assert Key to Prosperity is a Global View," NEW YORK TIMES, 26 July 1987, p. 1; and, E.J. Dionne, Jr., "Governors' Search For a New Agenda Leads to Activism," NEW YORK TIMES, 28 July 1987.

THE NEW REPUBLIC DENOUNCES "TWISTED SISTERS"

In recent months, The New Republic has supported the Nicaraguan contras and first-strike nuclear weapons and challenged the United Nations and AIDS fears among heterosexuals. The June 22nd edition continues this distinguished record with Jeffrey Pasley denigrating municipal foreign policies in an article entitled "Twisted Sisters: Foreign Policy for Fun and Profit." Although the article is heavily seasoned with enough sarcastic pepper to please Editor-in-Chief Martin Peretz's neoconservative palate, it contains plenty of interesting and amusing — if somewhat, well, twisted — information. We are grateful to The New Republic for permission to reprint excerpts from the article below. The subtitles are ours.

Once left to foreign service officers and an elite corps of millionaire patricians and Ivy League policy gurus, foreign policy is now a game that everyone wants to play. Towns and neighborhoods declare themselves "nuclear-free zones" and grant refugees political asylum. Mayors and governors spend much of their time abroad in quest of foreign trade and international prestige for their constituencies. Many local governments have even established their own State Departments: Los Angeles has a Chief of Protocol, Seattle an Office of International Affairs.

The Global Sorority

The most popular way to conduct this sort of local diplomacy is to declare that your city or state is a "sister" to some foreign municipality or nation. American cities and towns began to establish such formal relationships in large numbers after World War II, and they became known as "sister cities." In 1956 President Dwight D. Eisenhower proposed a Sister City program as part of his larger People-to-People program, a forerunner of the Peace Corps that attempted to involve ordinary citizens in American foreign relations. Sister Cities International, a private foundation created in 1967, now recognizes 1,282 sister city arrangements between 786 American and 1,153 foreign cities, ranging across all 50 states and 86 foreign countries. Richard Oakland, SCI's director of member services, reports that his organization and the local sister city committees that operate under its aus-

pices (one at each end of each relationship) will raise and spend more than \$250 million this year for sister city programs.

Sister cities are so popular that many cities have gone on to create extended families. Ten American localities, mostly on the West Coast and in the Sunbelt, each have agreements with nine or more foreign cities. Los Angeles leads the field with 15 siblings, among them such dissimilar locales as Bombay, Vancouver, and Tehran (though this has been "temporarily suspended"). L.A. and Seattle (which comes in second with 13 sisters) get so many requests for sister city affiliations that their city councils have instituted official guidelines to narrow the field of applicants.

Some of the municipal pairings are based on easily discernible affinities. Tokyo and New York City, the principal cities among the West's principal industrial powers, last year celebrated the 25th anniversary of the sisterhood. Chicago has the second largest Polish population in the world, and Los Angeles the second largest Mexican population; they are linked to Warsaw and Mexico City, respectively. In other cases, cities with similar industrial interests hook up, like Detroit and Toyota, Japan (auto manufacturing) or Cleveland and Gdansk (shipping) or Vail and St. Moritz (skiing, rich people). And cities with the same names often establish fraternal ties — the Toledos of Ohio and Spain; the Bayonnes of New Jersey and France.

In a few cases there is a tenuous historical connection between the cities.

Columbus, Ohio, is a sister city of Genoa, Italy, Christopher Columbus's hometown. According to Don Alexander, president of Kansas City's Sister City Commission, the historic ties between his city and sister Seville, Spain, reside in the pseudo-Spanish architecture of Kansas City's Country Club Plaza, billed as the nation's oldest shopping center. Other relationships are perhaps unintentionally appropriate, like the one between Miami, Florida, and Cali, Colombia, both major centers of cocaine smuggling.

Kermit Does Kingston

But clearly most of the relationships are not rooted in historic ties or intrinsic connections of any kind. Sister cities first began to spread after World War II as a means of delivering foreign aid; most come about now at the instigation of an influential person or civic group that wants either to visit or to sell things to some foreign city. Seattle's guidelines sanction sisterhood with any city that "has an economic character consistent with Seattle's desire to increase trade and tourism." Sometimes a city government or citizens' group just wants to bask in the association with some exotic clime. "Having a relationship with Buenos Aires sounds wonderful; people sometimes have to look at the map to see where it is, but it sounds good," says Alexander.

Much of SCI's quarter billion goes to projects that seem more appropriate to the local Jaycees or chamber of commerce than the kind of federalist Peace Corps that Eisenhower envisioned.

Not surprisingly, most of the projects involve extensive foreign travel by the local leaders who organize the sister city committees. SCI gives yearly awards for the city-pairs that run the best programs. The award for Best Overall Youth Program went to Slidell, Louisiana, which is paired with Panama City, Panama. The Slidell International Youth Association achieved such diplomatic breakthroughs as a trip to the EPCOT Center at Disney World, a reception for German exchange students (perhaps there were no Panamanians available), and a contest for "the most creative display of foods honoring the city of Panama." The Dade County, Florida/Kingston, Jamaica sisterhood won a "Special Achievement Award" for, among other things, sending adapted versions of "Sesame Street" fire safety materials now used in Dade County schools to Jamaican schoolchildren. A "Best Single Youth Project Award" went to Denver for teaching five exchange students from Karmiel, Israel, how to make artificial snow, which, according to SCI's announcements of the awards, "will greatly help the Israeli ski industry." And no doubt

speed the Middle East peace process.

Though technically Sister City programs are exchanges with the foreign city, they tend to be one-sided, with the American organizers doing most of the work and paying most of the freight. Some foreign governments also make fairly cynical use of the arrangement. When the United States opened diplomatic relations with mainland China in January 1979, Taiwanese cities aggressively began to affiliate themselves with as many cities as possible, as a way of currying favor with American voters. During the Carter administration, Kaohsiung, the second largest city in Taiwan, even signed up tiny Plains, Georgia. "They haven't seen anyone from Kaohsiung since Carter left office," says Oakland.

Politics as Usual

But SCI is only one of several organizations that arrange sister city relationships, and the only one that is primarily a vehicle for civic boosterism. The others are more oriented toward physical aid and/or political activism. In 1984 the anti-nuclear group Ground Zero got

1,000 American towns to establish sororal relations with 1,000 Soviet towns. The pro-Sandinista National U.S.-Nicaragua Friendships Conference sponsors over 70 sister city arrangements (SCI recognizes only 18 of these) between towns in the two countries. The Nicaraguans have even set up their own sister city office to handle the philanthropic traffic.

On the other side of the political spectrum, a quasi-official outfit called the Partners of the Americas receives a large chunk of its \$6 million budget from the Agency of International Development, a wing of the State Department. Partners administers a Sister States program, linking our states with Latin American nations. The Partners projects often entail agricultural experiments and large-scale shipments of medical supplies. Unlike the left-wing groups, Partners tries to avoid dealing with the governments of the countries it works in, where possible working with the local business communities. This inspired President Reagan to hail the group as a paragon of "voluntarism at work internationally."

(con't next page)

JUST TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT...

As much as we would like to let *The New Republic's* opinions stand on their own wobbly feet, we do feel compelled to correct a few of the more egregious factual errors:

■ Ground Zero may have wanted to set up 1,000 links between American and Soviet cities but, in fact, never claimed to have succeeded in linking more than 55.

■ Partners of the Americas is neither right-wing nor the Nicaraguan-American sisters left-wing, as Pasley suggests. Both groups are predominantly interested in assisting with economic development and sending medical supplies. Both invariably must cooperate to *some* degree with national governments, but both try to work predominantly with local agencies and non-governmental organizations in the target countries.

■ Pasley's description of Sister Cities International's awards was more than slightly selective. For example, under Special Achievement Awards, Pasley does not mention that the Dade-Kingston link raised funds for food, entertainment, and toys for 150 orphans in Jamaica. Nor does he mention the awards for: Palo Alto's employment programs in Palo, Philippines; Austin's training of reconstructive surgeons for Maseru, Lesotho; or Prescott's restoration of sight for a blind boy in Caborca, Mexico. If you wish to judge for yourself, write for Sister Cities International's "Profiles" pamphlet: 120 South Payne St., Alexandria, VA 22314 (703-836-3535).

Both sides are most active in Wisconsin, which established its ties to Nicaragua in 1965, under the Somoza regime. In contrast to almost all the other relationships, which are usually little known about by anyone except the organizers, the Wisconsin-Nicaragua relationship is participated in by a broad range of groups, among them SCI committees in several towns, activist groups centered at the universities, and a very successful Partners program. The last had its own publishing facilities and two radio stations in Nicaragua, all of which were confiscated in the 1979 revolution. The Sandinistas arrested many of the Nicaraguan Partners and even executed some. The Partnership kept some of its programs in Nicaragua alive by maintaining a resolutely non-political stance, a move that eventually persuaded the Sandinistas to leave them alone. "We get it from both sides. If we bring a Nicaraguan doctor up from a public hospital, we're accused of being Communists. If the guy's from a private hospital, we're accused of being CIA operatives," says Peter Thornquist, the executive director of Wisconsin-Nicaragua Partners.

The Madison Connection

The left in Wisconsin, however, was less convinced, and in 1984 a coalition of over 40 pro-Sandinista groups around the state formed the Wisconsin Coordinating Committee on Nicaragua. "There was a concern among the groups that a lot of the ties the Partners had were the old ties. They were trying to help the private sector, while we specifically wanted to help the public sector," WCCN president Mirette Seireg explains. In addition to medical and agricultural projects similar to those of the Partners (though directed toward government hospitals and farms rather than private ones), the WCCN sponsors educational tours for Wisconsinites who want to see the revolution in action and backs students who want to work for the Nicaraguan government as *Internacionalistas*. Seireg's group raised a million dollars for Nicaragua last year, and that much already this year. Seireg estimates that by the end of the year the WCCN will have collected enough to offset the money Oliver North sent to the contras.

Relations between the WCCN and the older group they have partly supplanted are cordial but wary. "The other group claims to be apolitical, yet there are people at both ends who are quite political," Seireg suggests. Presented with this charge, Thornquist adopts a long-suffering tone: "We have a lot of poultry scientists in our group, and that's their main interest, producing a bigger chicken."

The WCCN, on the other hand, may have at least one major foreign policy coup to its credit. It brought Nicaraguan vice president Sergio Ramirez to Madison last fall, and arranged a meeting with the family of then-imprisoned flyer Eugene Hasenfus, a Wisconsin native. Hasenfus's sister apologized for her brother's actions, and in another meeting, then-Governor Anthony Earl appealed to Ramirez for the prisoner's release. When President Daniel Ortega made his speech "requesting" that Hasenfus be pardoned, he mentioned Earl and invoked the historic Sister-State Relationship, as the participants invariably refer to it, with Wisconsin. In some cases, it seems conservative zealots have been overtaken by their opponents in dreaming up novel ways of carrying out extradiplomatic foreign initiatives. □

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SEATTLE MAYOR SEES INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AS TOP PRIORITY

At the Second U.S.-U.S.S.R. Sister Cities Conference in Seattle, Mayor Charles Royer noted, "*My first responsibility is to see that the city is in good condition. Second, my responsibility is to create a place where people can involve themselves in the greater issues of the planet. Unless there is heated debate of issues of international interest, we American people may go to sleep. In Seattle access to international issues is as close as city hall.*" □

MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICIES MAKE PRIME TIME

Last April, the Public Broadcasting System show, American Interests, featured a debate on municipal foreign policies between Michael Shuman, President of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, and Bruce Fein, Visiting Fellow in Constitutional Studies at the Heritage Foundation. The moderator was Peter Krogh, Dean of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service. Below we present excerpts from the broadcast, which also included interviews with: Larry Agran, Mayor of Irvine, California; John Norton Moore, Professor of Law at the University of Virginia; and Richard Allen, former National Security Advisor to the Reagan Administration. The show was broadcast on 130 PBS stations nationwide.

NARRATOR: Across the country, state and local governments are developing their own foreign policies affecting arms control, immigration, trade, and U.S. policy toward South Africa.

AGRAN: Why, for heavens sake, should we leave foreign policy to just a very few people in Washington, D.C.? These matters are much too important to be left to a few, who more often than not, left to their own devices, will make the wrong choices.

MOORE: This is an area where you can't talk about being a little pregnant. The United States Constitution flatly, clearly, and exclusively entrusts the foreign policy of the United States to the federal government, not to municipalities or states, for reasons that are as fundamental and true today as they were at the founding of the Constitution.

NARRATOR: Are local governments headed for a clash with federal authorities over whom makes foreign policy?

KROGH: Where is American foreign policy made? Most people point to Washington, D.C., where Congress and the President share responsibility for foreign affairs. But lately Main Street America has become a stage for foreign policy debate. State and local governments are speaking out, lobbying and passing laws designed to affect the way America interacts with the rest of the world. These local foreign policies often challenge policies established at the

federal level. As a participatory democracy, the United States depends upon citizen involvement to shape the national agenda. But should state and local governments have their own foreign policies? And in a dangerous world, is there such a thing as too much democracy?

AGRAN: You are talking about foreign policy that is created locally by people who, using their instruments of local government — the powers of lobbying, policing, educating — seek to have some impact on national policy, foreign as well as military policy. Selective investment, divestment, nuclear free zone ordinances — these are just some of the tools that are used locally to influence foreign policy.

NARRATOR: In the early 1980s, anti-nuclear activists launched campaigns aimed at convincing municipal government to ban the manufacture, transport, and disposal of nuclear weapons within city limits. By the fall of 1986, 155 cities and 21 counties had passed nonbinding resolutions favoring a comprehensive test ban. And 131 cities and counties had declared themselves nuclear-free zones.

ALLEN: I don't think they ought to be involved in creating peace zones. They ought not to be involved with attempting to negotiate with foreign powers — particularly these delegations that go to the Soviet Union in an attempt to create a people-to-people basis for their own, narrower, mistaken agenda for achiev-

ing peace.

NARRATOR: Cities have also taken an active role in apartheid, most significantly by disinvesting from South Africa. More than 80 municipalities have rearranged their portfolios to penalize corporations that do business in South Africa.

The federal government's immigration policy has also been contested by 22 cities that now defiantly provide sanctuary for refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador.

And in 1983, New York state and New Jersey denied landing rights to the Soviet airline Aeroflot in protest against the downing of the South Korean Airlines Flight 007.

AGRAN: The reason for acting locally is because you have to have a fundamental faith that democratic policy-making — by that I mean small "d" democratic — is preferable to the false harmony of executive directed foreign policies. All you have to do is take a look at the Iran-Contra scandal to see once again the hazards of relegating foreign policy, not just to the Congress of the United States and the President, but to a few unelected officials in the basement of the White House. This is the opposite of democratic decision-making.

MOORE: There are three fundamental policy reasons why the making of foreign policy must be exclusively federal.

First, the United States, to be effective in foreign policy, must speak with but

one voice. It cannot have a cacophony of different states and municipalities seeking to speak about foreign policy issues.

Secondly, it would be profoundly inconsistent with our democratic system. Under the principles of democracy, those affected by decisions should be able to participate in those decisions. Decisions concerning foreign policy affect us all and we must all be able to participate, not simply citizens in particular states or municipalities.

Finally, there is no appropriate process at the state level for handling foreign policy issues. Governors do not have National Security Councils. They do not have intelligence agencies. They do not have state departments with desk officers handling every single country in the world. The information flow to them is inadequate. And there is a potential for special-interest pleading that is not possible with the full balance of views that are represented in the federal process.

KROGH: Mr. Shuman, what is happening at a local level that is aimed at American foreign policy?

SHUMAN: We're seeing a complete explosion of municipal activism in the foreign policy area. Right now we can say that more than a 1,000 local governments are actively participating in foreign affairs. Some of the numbers that were not given at the beginning of the show are: 900 municipalities favoring a nuclear freeze; 600 municipalities and states that have entered into agreements with Canadian jurisdictions on trans-border issues; and more than 700 communities that have entered 1,100 sister city agreements throughout the world. We see that for more and more reasons, cities are entering international affairs...

KROGH: In scope, is this a new phenomenon?

SHUMAN: In scope, it is a new phenomenon. In quality, it is not new. In fact, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, conservatives dominated the municipal foreign policy realm through anti-communist goods ordinances or reciprocal inheritance statutes that prevented

communist aliens from inheriting property.

KROGH: And now liberals are dominating. Is that why it's happening — they're not in power?

SHUMAN: That's part of the reason. But I think the biggest reason is that the fundamental character of foreign policy has changed. One way is that citizens have much more power over foreign affairs. The costs of international communication and transportation have declined dramatically....

We also see that citizens and municipalities are increasingly affected by international affairs. Almost every single event that goes on abroad is in some way or another touching on individuals now.

That combination of increased penetration of foreign affairs and increased power of individuals has meshed to make this a giant movement.

KROGH: Mr. Fein, what is your explanation for this explosion of municipal activity in the foreign affairs field?

FEIN: I'll ascribe it to certain public officials thinking they can win popular kudos by taking dramatic stands. Publicity is often sought by politicians. And since they are really not answerable or accountable for the foreign policy outcome, because that responsibility lies with the President of the United States, it is simply a cheap political way they can win some popularity.

KROGH: Do you see it as an ideological movement.

FEIN: Certainly it is....If there was a consensus in all of these cities behind the foreign policy crafted by the administration, there wouldn't be a peep out of one of them.

KROGH: So if the liberals win in the next election, this apparatus that Mr. Shuman describes collapses.

FEIN: I think that's accurate, other than perhaps a few situations that will always occur where, even if the liberals are in power, that doesn't mean that all

of the states and localities will necessarily be occupied by persons in power who echo the President or a Democratic Congress.

SHUMAN: I think that's clearly incorrect. Conservatives in a variety of ways have been trying to gain power. A number of states have on the books statutes that require teachers to teach that the Soviet Union is evil. I think we are going to see more of that. And as conservatives move out of national power, they will increasingly act on their own. For example, conservatives have shipped more than \$25 million worth of arms to the contras — that is the conservatives' way of doing something the Administration is not doing...

FEIN: Well, that is not any state or municipal action...

SHUMAN: Not yet.

FEIN: I think the idea that we're suddenly confronting new circumstances in foreign policy that we didn't encounter before is simply false.

SHUMAN: Well, the numbers speak for themselves.

FEIN: It's certainly true that international affairs, because we've got a more intricate international economic environment, does have an impact upon private citizens and states and localities....But the way in which we respond traditionally, and the way the Constitution prescribes, is through votes. The people can participate every bit as much in electing the President and electing representatives to the House and Senate as they can in electing municipal local officials.

KROGH: Has this been a shift from representative democracy to participatory democracy?

SHUMAN: Absolutely.

KROGH: What are the benefits of this?

SHUMAN: One of the benefits is that we have a more democratic foreign

policy. It is interesting that you say that, on the one hand, we want accountability, but on the other hand, we shouldn't have foreign policies that represent popular views. Of course politicians respond to popular views. They're popular because that reflects our democratic beliefs. And if the democratic beliefs are we shouldn't be sending aid to the contras, we should be having a nuclear freeze, and we should be promoting trade throughout the world, that's what our politicians ought to be standing for.

FEIN: And it should reflect a consensus achieved at a national level. We have a President who was elected by the people and he succeeded in obtaining \$100 million from the most recent Congress in aiding the contras....What you're suggesting is that you can select out narrow factions out of a national constituency who individually oppose the President, and then have their view — inconsistent with the national view — prevail.

SHUMAN: I think our Constitution has plenty of strength for a diversity of views.

FEIN: Not when it comes to foreign affairs.

SHUMAN: Nonsense. The President can easily stop any foreign policy initiative at a local and state level that is endangering national security. And the President hasn't stopped them, because they haven't been endangering national security.

KROGH: Mr. Shuman, we're also suppose to be a one nation, indivisible. Isn't one of the risks of this that we become a divisible nation?

SHUMAN: In any area where the divisibility is hurting foreign affairs, Congress and the President always have — and always will have — the power to stop some of these initiatives.

I think it's important to distinguish what kinds of initiatives we have. Some initiatives are purely consciousness-raising — which are lobbying, education, and research. Those are all pro-

ected by the First Amendment. Some are unilateral measures of zoning, policing, investing, or contracting. Some are bilateral measures in which a city engages in some kind of trade or political engagement with a country abroad.

And when you're talking about the kind of control the President has, it depends on the area. In the area of consciousness-raising, the President can never have control over the First Amendment rights of citizens or cities. In the area of unilateral and bilateral action, the President and Congress can have some control, but they haven't exerted it because they see a value in diversity.

MOORE: I think this movement is constitutionally wrong. Anything that seeks deliberately to influence the foreign policy of the United States that is state action, municipal action, or official action outside the U.S. government is flatly unconstitutional. And for a variety of very important reasons rooted in democratic theory, it is wrong.

AGRAN: The Constitution does not preclude the involvement of citizens at the local level. In fact, it is quite clear — and case law is quite clear — that great latitude is left to people in their respective communities to fashion foreign policies and act on those foreign policies without federal intervention or restriction. I think that is a healthy development. It is a completely constitutional development. And it's one we should be proud of as a democratic people.

KROGH: Mr. Fein, do you see this as a democratic or anti-democratic movement?

FEIN: I would call it anti-constitutional. Our Constitution was intended to endow the President with a unitary voice with pre-eminence in foreign policy. The efforts by municipalities and states to override the President's decisions, even where he hasn't spoken, I think basically undermines the purpose of a strong executive negotiating with our foreign adversaries. The Supreme Court 50 years ago declared that the President was the sole voice of the United States in negotiating abroad.

Indeed, when one examines the purpose behind endowing the President with exclusive constitutional authority to negotiate with foreign adversaries, one quickly identifies the flaws in having a popular, democratic crowd deciding what our foreign policy ought to be. Energy, secrecy, dispatch, and knowledge were all the prerequisites for an effective foreign policy, Hamilton and Jay remarked in the *Federalist Papers*.

Now, let's go over those.

Energy? No. You don't have anyone at the state and local level with the power over the military. They don't have the power to act.

Secrecy? No. State and local governments do not operate in secrecy. Indeed, they would be prohibited by federal statutes from negotiating through their own agents abroad.

Do they have the knowledge? No. They don't have access to the broad-based information that the president has access to through the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the State Department.

And last, they lack dispatch. They cannot react rapidly to new situations. They don't even know what is going on abroad.

Even if the ordinances are only advisory, they can be very harmful. One recalls, for instance, during the 1930s, where the Oxford Student Union would not fight for king and country, and that sent a message to Adolf Hitler that perhaps he could occupy the Rhineland with impunity.

KROGH: Should we speaking with many voices in foreign policy?

SHUMAN: Dr. Fein has made a very good case for why, on some issues, some of the time, we want to have the executive speak in one voice. But there are plenty of issues where we need to speak in many voices. There are billions of transactions every day in international matters of trade, investment, cultural exchange, and transborder relations. If we put all of those exclusively in the executive, the State Department is going to be so overwhelmed that we will have a 1984 institution running foreign affairs that will kill our economy.

At the same time, we can see municipi-

palties contributing to foreign affairs in constructive ways. Having 1,000 municipalities promoting human rights abroad is a good thing. Having 1,000 municipalities promoting international development abroad is a good thing.

FEIN: Where are the human rights organizations trumpeting about abuses in the Soviet Union and China?

SHUMAN: Mayor Dianne Feinstein helped release 36 separated spouses from the Soviet Union...

KROGH: How do you see this movement having a constructive effect on American foreign policy?

SHUMAN: I would say that the divestment from South Africa was extraordinarily constructive — that we have withdrawn support from a racist regime.

FEIN: But that was done at the federal level. What did the state and locals contribute to the anti-apartheid act?

SHUMAN: It was going nowhere before state and local governments developed these policies. It started in state and local governments and then it moved to Congress.

FEIN: You always have the direct access to Congress simply by exercising the right to vote. There is no need for state and local governments to act. You can petition Congress directly through the First Amendment. Why is it useful to give all of these mixed signals? Many countries do not understand the intricacies of separation of powers and they can be quite misled about U.S. policy by having municipalities act.

SHUMAN: There was no confusion about what municipalities were saying about South Africa, because no municipalities said we're going to put our investment into South Africa. Every municipality said get out of South Africa. Every municipality said negotiate a nuclear freeze.

KROGH: Let's move to the reaction of the federal government to what you see

as something of an assault on its powers and competency. What is it doing about it if it's such a problem?

FEIN: Well, there have been lawsuits that have been filed, particularly with regard to basing of nuclear ships in certain ports. I think the courts will invariably uphold the power of the President to determine where and how we ought to construct our national security and foreign policy. And those are the major issues. No one is complaining about establishing cultural exchange agreements.

When you have something like nuclear-free zones, you broadcast to the enemy that you don't have to worry about any attack launched from this particular area. And one could imagine it would be natural for states to decide they'll choose themselves to become nuclear-free zones so they won't be caught in a holocaust. Is that what we want...

SHUMAN: Compared to our other allies, we have been rather quiet in nuclear-free zones. There are 3,500 nuclear free zones in 22 countries.

FEIN: But the United States has the responsibility for keeping the peace and deterrence. We are the ones that have been instrumental in preventing war since World War II.

SHUMAN: Britain has shared that responsibility and so has France.

FEIN: These are the kinds of actions that are taken by people without any accountability or responsibility. It's all great and good to say, we're for peace, or we're for no nuclear warheads here...

SHUMAN: There is accountability. The accountability is through the local electorate. That you think that the local electorate is not responsive and that the national electorate is responsive is a complete misconception of democracy.

KROGH: Are the local authorities competent in this field?

SHUMAN: In many areas, the local authorities are far more competent. In

the area of international trade, governors know far more about the particular needs of their state and the particular areas they are trying to ship exports to...

KROGH: But suppose they start getting involved in the area of international trade and begin limiting exports. They could precipitate a trade war...

SHUMAN: These are areas where we have national policy. Remember, I'm not advocating a complete anarchy. Where we have clear national policy, fine, local and state governments probably should keep out. But there are many, many areas where we don't have clear national policy. And there are many areas where the federal government has said, we want you to engage in municipal foreign policy.

KROGH: The federal government isn't really going after you fellows. Do you interpret this as tacit approval?

SHUMAN: There is tacit approval. Indeed, there is explicit approval. Congress was asked whether it wanted to restrict local authorities from divesting out of South Africa, and Congress voted overwhelmingly to say, we want local authorities to have the freedom to divest.

KROGH: Do you think if the federal government wanted to stop this movement, it could?

SHUMAN: It couldn't stop consciousness-raising measures. For that reason, municipal foreign policies are here to stay, unless we get turned into a police state.

FEIN: I think insofar as you are talking about actual actions through ordinances, even if just hortatory, the federal government could prevent it from occurring because it creates misimpressions abroad. □

HOLLAND'S MUNICIPAL PEACE POLICIES

Few countries in Europe are as advanced in their municipal foreign policies as the Netherlands. A recent pamphlet put out by the Interchurch Peace Council (IKV), excerpted below, describes some of these activities. (Although IKV published an English version of the pamphlet, we have rewritten many of the sentences to improve the translation.)

Five Years of Municipal Peace Policy

About five years ago, the first Dutch town declared itself "nuclear free." This set off discussions about municipal peace policy in almost every city council in the Netherlands. Along with the peace movement and the organization of Dutch municipalities, municipal authorities were suddenly advocating views about peace and national security.

[During] the local election of 1982 and 1986 about 125 of 714 municipalities initiated [peace] activities...

Since 1980, the Dutch IKV has published several papers on this subject. Many of the 350 local IKV groups are involved with municipal peace activities. It is important to the IKV that local government contributes to the democratization of the national peace and security policy. As spokesmen for the local population, the local governors have many opportunities to accomplish this. The IKV wants to stress that a single statement is insufficient. Local governments should devise a coherent, multiple-issue peace policy, involving wherever possible local peace groups and other institutions.

The local, provincial and national authorities admit that, on the basis of local autonomy as defined in the Constitution and the Local Government Act, local authorities can in fact develop a wide spectrum of activities in this field. There are no legal obstacles.

Enabling Support

We believe it is important that local government not only advocates certain

views but also that it lends support to the activities of certain peace groups, both materially and morally. Some twenty town councils have voted funds especially for this purpose. A dozen have once or more often offered other accommodations for peace activities.

Civil Defense

Some of the larger town councils have declared themselves against civil defense and the construction of nuclear shelters. They also decided not to offer their cooperation to large civil defense maneuvers. Zaanstad published in August 1985 the brochure "Zaanstad and the Bomb," which was inspired by a similar brochure published by the British town Leeds describing the consequences of a nuclear attack to their town. Nijmegen followed this example. In the brochure "Arnhem and the Modern War," Arnhem also pays attention to conventional and biological warfare. Civil servants at the Home Office have criticized the data, but have acknowledged the right of local government to offer such advice and information.

Contacts with Eastern Europe

Recently contacts with municipalities in Eastern Europe have increased considerably. Currently about forty towns, small and large, have contacts with one or more towns in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The most numerous contacts are with East Germany, but contacts have also been established with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia....Some local governments, in fact, consider including one or two members of peace groups

when they are preparing for their next visit. In the past, these contacts happened more or less spontaneously, but today cities are seeking to acquire contacts with other municipalities of similar size and socio-economic structure....

The municipalities have helped cut through the red tape involved in contacts and have also sometimes covered traveling costs. In 1982 the town of Enschede wrote a letter to a number of Russian cities to start a discussion on the deployment of medium-range missiles in both Eastern and Western Europe. It received an answer from Moscow and Kiev. No reply was given to a second letter from Enschede.

Anti-Nuclear Policies

Shortly before the first large demonstration in Amsterdam on November 21, 1981, the town of Hellevoetsluis declared itself nuclear free. The motion was sent to other authorities and led to intensive discussions on the local and national level. The Home Secretary

... local authorities can in fact develop a wide spectrum of activities in this field. There are no legal obstacles.

stated that town councils had the right to pass such resolutions, but that the central government still had the power to annul decisions prohibiting deployment of nuclear weapons on municipal territory. Yet since then, 80 town councils and two (of the twelve) provinces have passed resolutions declaring themselves "nuclear free."

Various local governments urged their citizens to join the large peace demonstrations in 1981 and 1983 against the deployment of new nuclear weapons. The people's petition of Fall 1985, which had 4 million signatures, had the support of some municipalities.

Some town councils have tried to include nuclear free provisions in plan-

ning and policing ordinances, but thus far the national government has either refused to confirm them or has simply annulled them.

Since 1984, some of the larger town councils have discussed the possibility of boycotting companies involved in constructing the tactical missile base in Woensdrecht. In July 1986, the town

Many dozens of municipalities have educated the public on their peace policies and the views of local peace groups . . .

council of Arnhem adopted this proposal. The Mayor of Arnhem formally sought an opinion from the national authorities, and a decision is still expected.

Those municipalities having a large port (Amsterdam and Rotterdam) have pressed for the central government to allow them to forbid vessels with nuclear warheads from entering their harbors.

Information

Many dozens of municipalities have educated the public on their peace policies and the views of local peace groups, especially through their own magazines and bulletins. The town of Middelburg organized an exhibition on the effects of the A-bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The city of Rotterdam is busy organizing a similar event in cooperation with local peace groups. A number of municipalities have organized smaller events.

Peace Education

Almost all of the municipalities that conduct their own peace policy are active in the field of peace education. Local government is by law responsible for conducting and financing public education. Some of the local authorities have held meetings with teachers and parents on peace issues. Some have subsidized the purchase of peace materials. Others have written their own or commissioned others, including peace

groups, to write them....

The IKV Tour-for-Detente

At this time, the IKV is preparing a tour-for-detente along with Dutch municipalities. A small exhibition about detente in Europe is being prepared.

Postscript

Since the first version of this pamphlet was written, Dutch cities met at the Third International Conference of Nuclear Free Zone Local Authorities in October 1986. They decided to form a national network of municipalities. They also decided to hold on June 12 and 13 a "National Conference on Municipal Peace Policy" in the town hall of Delft. This conference was officially organized by six Dutch cities: Delft, Deventer, the Hague, Rotterdam, Wageningen, and Zaandam.

SOURCE: IKV, Willem van de Ven, P.O. Box 18747, 2502 ES The Hague, Netherlands (070-467956)

"I couldn't put it down..."

CITIZEN DIPLOMATS

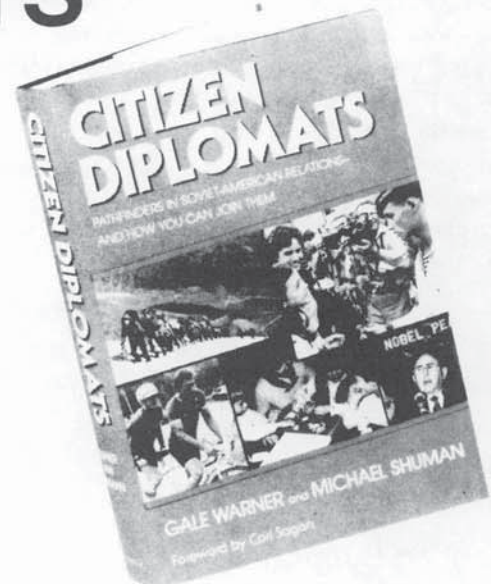
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LOCAL ACTIONS

ARMS CONTROL

U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS TAKES STAND ON NUCLEAR TESTING AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES

When the U.S. Conference of Mayors met this June in Nashville, Tennessee, the media focused almost all its attention on the Presidential candidates, who gathered *en masse* for publicity and support from municipal leaders. Virtually unnoticed was the passage of two resolutions calling for suspension of nuclear testing and for a reordering of national priorities.

The Conference overwhelmingly approved a measure calling upon "the President to immediately announce a U.S. suspension of nuclear testing, contingent on a similar Soviet suspension of nuclear testing, and to resume negotiations with the Soviets leading to a Comprehensive Test Ban as a first step towards reversing the arms race and reducing the risk of nuclear war." (The resolution is reprinted on this page.)

The resolution called for a ban on nuclear testing as "a concrete and easily achievable first step towards reversing the arms race." It was authored by eight mayors: Marion Barry, Jr., of Washington, D.C.; Larry Agran of Irvine, California; William Collins of Norwalk, Connecticut; Peggy Mensinger of Modesto, California; Wilbur P. Gulley of Durham, North Carolina; Palmer DePaulis of Salt Lake City, Utah; Sidney Barthelemy of New Orleans, Louisiana; and Richard Arrington of Birmingham, Alabama.

In the so-called "National Priorities" resolution, the mayors called upon "the Congress and the Administration to redress the imbalance between military spending and important domestic spending, consistent with national security." It noted federal cutbacks of \$20 billion from "key urban programs" over the past decade, which represented an 80 percent reduction in real terms.

The resolution advised that a cut in military spending, along with increases in infrastructure expenditures, would result in a net increase in jobs.

Mayor Agran was the sole author of the "National Priorities" resolution. It was hotly debated in committee, where opponents argued that local officials would be out of place making recommendations on the military budget. In the end, however, it passed there by an 8-to-5 vote before being strongly approved by the entire Conference.

According to Agran, "During the Vietnam War, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, under the extraordinary leadership of Mayor Henry Maier of Milwaukee, first forged a National Priorities resolution. I regard it as very significant that once again, the Conference is taking a lead on the matter of National

Priorities—this time technically during an era of peace, but at a time when military expenditures are once again destroying the very fabric of American life. This new resolution seeks to redress the imbalance between military and domestic expenditures by cutting military spending sharply, and redirecting those funds for urgent needs in our cities and towns."

The Conference also adopted a National Urban Investment Policy resolution, which stated that "significant progress toward achieving a balanced budget requires that the nation reduce military spending, consistent with national security."

SOURCE: Larry Agran, Mayor of Irvine, 17931 Sky Park Circle, Suite F, Irvine, CA 92714 (714-250-1296).

RESOLUTION ON THE SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR TESTING U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

WHEREAS, a nuclear war would result in death, injury and disease on a scale unprecedented in human history;

WHEREAS, spending for the arms race demands enormous amounts of money while programs providing essential assistance to our cities are being cut back;

WHEREAS, a ban on nuclear testing would promote the security of the United States by constraining new developments in the U.S.-U.S.S.R. arms competition and by strengthening efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear countries;

WHEREAS, radiation vented from nuclear tests creates a potential health hazard for the people of our country;

WHEREAS, a ban on nuclear testing would be a concrete and easily achievable first step towards reversing the arms race;

WHEREAS, the issue of nuclear testing deeply affects the domestic lives of our citizens and must legitimately be placed high on our agenda;

WHEREAS, a ban on nuclear testing can be verified with high confidence by a world-wide network of seismic monitors, satellites, in-country reciprocal monitoring arrangements, and other verification technology operated by the United States and other nations;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the U.S. Conference of Mayors calls upon the President to immediately announce a U.S. suspension of nuclear testing, contingent on a similar Soviet suspension of nuclear testing, and to resume negotiations with the Soviets leading to a Comprehensive Test Ban as a first step towards reversing the arms race.

SANTA BARBARA TO VOTE ON CORRALLING STAR WARS

Santa Barbara, the picturesque community Ronald Reagan has chosen as the site of his Western White House, may have an unwelcome message for the President and his Star Wars program this fall. On the November 3 municipal ballot, the Strategic Defense Initiative will be placed before voters for the first time in any American city. This ballot measure was approved unanimously by the seven-member Santa Barbara City Council.

If the measure is approved, the Mayor will be directed to write to the President, as well as all members of Congress, the following message:

"The people of the City of Santa Barbara hereby urge the United States government to propose to the government of the Soviet Union that both countries agree to deep reductions in their nuclear arsenals and, as a necessary first step toward such reductions, that both countries agree to abide by existing arms control agreements that prohibit the testing and deployment in space of strategic defense systems. The nation and the City of Santa Barbara cannot afford strategic defense systems estimated to cost hundreds of billions of dollars. Funds saved as a result of arms control agreements could be used to provide job retraining and new job opportunities for anyone displaced by such agreements, and to fund urban programs, human services, and domestic developments."

The City Council's vote followed a four-month-long campaign by the Citizens' Action for Nuclear Disarmament, a local organization, which met individually with each Council Member to discuss its wording. A petition campaign collected 1,300 signatures urging the Council to act.

In hearings on the ballot measure, Greg Cross of Citizens' Action said the public wants and deserves the chance to voice its opinions on the arms issue.

Mayor Sheila Lodge said she intended to vote for the measure her-

self in November and would be urging others to do likewise. Pointing to the vocabulary now used by the weapons merchants, she commented, "It chills me to think people can devise a term like 'megadeath' and calmly talk about it."

Council Member Gerry DeWitt said there would be "symbolic significance in President Reagan's hometown letting him know we're not happy" about the arms race. Even Council Member Jeanne Graffy, who had consistently opposed the City Council taking stands on anything but purely local issues, joined her colleagues to ensure that the public could vote on it.

During the public hearings, Santa Bar-

bara resident Lois Sidenberg said, "We may only be a small voice in a large country, but it's a country where small voices eventually may grow into one large one." A junior high school student, who had toured the Soviet Union and the U.S. as a cast member of the play, "Peacechild," told the Council, "I have met the Russians and I know there can be peace without weapons."

SOURCES: Citizens' Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 331 N. Milpas St., Santa Barbara, CA 93103 (805-965-8583); and, "November Ballot to Include Arms Measure," SANTA BARBARA NEWS-PRESS, June 3, 1987, p. B1.

189 JURISDICTIONS SUPPORT TEST BAN

In the Winter 1986-87 Bulletin, we reported that 176 counties passed nonbinding resolutions favoring a comprehensive test ban. Since then, their ranks have been joined by the 13 cities and counties listed below, bringing the total to 189.

Anniston, AL
Augusta, ME
Burlington, VT
Chicago, IL
Des Moines, IA
Fort Collins, CO
Jersey City, NJ

Lansing, MI
Mifflin County, PA
Minneapolis, MN
Monterey, CA
Sedgewick County, KS
Tucson, AZ

The Chicago referendum passed on April 7 by a margin of more than 3-to-1. The vote was 483,000 to 137,000.

The initiative in Mifflin County, a Republican stronghold in Pennsylvania, passed with 64 percent of the vote. With a campaign budget of less than \$200, proponents managed to get tens of thousands of dollars worth of media coverage through interviews, research, letters to the editor, and special news stories.

Seven states have also passed resolutions supporting a comprehensive test ban: Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Washington.

SOURCE: The New Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002 (202-544-0880); and The Initiative Resource Center, P.O. Box 65023, Washington, D.C. 20035 (202-387-8030)

SANTA CRUZ DEBATES NAVAL VISITS

For the past four years, the city of Santa Cruz, California, has perfunctorily invited Navy ships to visit the coastal city as part of its Fourth of July ceremonies. Befitting the political complexion of Santa Cruz, these ships would arrive to both cheering

crowds and jeering demonstrators. This year, however, supporters of the USS Fort Fisher were all but absent. Arriving two weeks after July Fourth, the ship was greeted and encircled by a flotilla of 35 rowboats, canoes, kayaks, rubber rafts and sailboats. Above the ship flew

a plane displaying a banner reading: "Peace through understanding — not gunboats."

The confrontation was the latest chapter in a running debate within the city over whether to continue inviting Navy ships to participate in civic events. Last January, after hearing arguments on both sides, the City Council decided to continue inviting the Navy for July Fourth but also invited other vessels, including those from Greenpeace. At the same time, the Council announced an essay competition for high school students on whether "the U.S. military

NEW HAVEN ENDORSES CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT BANNING FIRST-USE

By a unanimous vote this May, the New Haven Board of Aldermen officially endorsed a No First-Use Constitutional Amendment, which would prohibit U.S. leaders from using — or planning to use — nuclear weapons first. The text of the resolution is reprinted below:

WHEREAS: this board has in the past by resolution and order made the eradication of nuclear weapons a high priority; and

WHEREAS: this board is cognizant of the realities of the defense policy of the United States; and

WHEREAS: the No First-Use Amendment to the Constitution would make the reality of defense policy coincide with the theory of government of the United States; and

WHEREAS: the clear statement of nuclear war policy makes the reality of its coming reprehensible to all who consider it; and

WHEREAS: this board is convinced that the passage of the No First-Use Amendment would cause a change in the posture of the makers of defense policy in this country; and

WHEREAS: the need to state unequivocally what the policy of this nation is regarding the use of nuclear weapons is of prime importance in negotiating with other nations to control the use nuclear weapons.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Board of Aldermen of the City of New Haven that our strong statement of support for the No First-Use Amendment National Coalition be delivered to that organization to aid in the effort to make the voice of the people of this country heard in the shaping of policy regarding these terrible weapons and said support is hereby extended.

SOURCE: *The No First-Use National Committee, 66 Saltonstall Pkwy, East Haven, Ct. 06512 (203-467-3938).*

Above the ship flew a plane displaying a banner reading: "Peace through understanding — not gunboats."

helps to keep peace in the world," the winners of which would be read during a public debate at the July Fourth festivities.

Both the Navy and Greenpeace declined to participate. The Navy felt uncomfortable debating U.S. policy. And Greenpeace did not want to legitimize the presence of the Navy.

With the July Fourth celebration essentially canceled, the city's old-timers were furious. At a June meeting, a dozen uniformed World War II veterans accused the Mayor of obstructing the ship's visit. After another heated debate, the City Council voted unanimously to reinvite the ship without any conditions whatsoever. The Navy agreed to send a ship, but two weeks after Independence Day.

July Fourth festivities went ahead without the ship and without the planned debate. But the essay competition winners did have their work read before a large, receptive audience.

SOURCE: *Doug Rand, "Why Should We Invite A Military Ship to Santa Cruz?" THE MONTHLY PLANET, August 1987, p. 26.*

MINNESOTA'S NATIONAL GUARD SUIT LOSES ROUND ONE

In early August, Federal District Judge Donald Alsop held that state governors may not forbid their National Guard units from participating in U.S. training exercises in Central America. Rejecting Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich's contention that the Constitution gives states autonomous control over their militias, Judge Alsop wrote, "The Court concludes that Congress may exercise plenary authority over the training of the National Guard while the Guard is on active Federal Duty."

In the last issue of the *Bulletin* (Spring 1987), we reported that six states had decided to join Minnesota in its suit. While these states were trying to uphold the principle of states' rights, many were also concerned that their units were being used to build facilities, runways, and roads to support both the Nicaraguan contras and any future U.S. invasion of Nicaragua.

By the time the case was finally heard, ten states had joined Minnesota: Arkansas, Colorado, Hawaii, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Ohio, Rhode Island and Vermont. Delaware and Louisiana also had initially joined but later withdrew. In fact, Louisiana turned around and decided to back the seven states supporting the government: Florida, Illinois, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Wisconsin.

Perpich's suit specifically contested the constitutionality of the so-called Montgomery Amendment — a 1986 rider to the defense appropriations bill prohibiting governors from vetoing federal requests to send National Guard units on overseas training expeditions, except in times of local emergencies.

Jack Tuneheim, Minnesota's chief deputy attorney general, argued that "the original intent of the framers of the Constitution . . . was that states should have substantial control over training of guard members. That has remained unchanged for 200 years. The Montgomery Amendment is a direct infringement on that provision."

The Justice Department answered that governors cannot "use their power over state National Guard organizations to make foreign policy by vetoing active-duty missions of the National Guard . . . based on their political views of American foreign policy toward a given country."

After Judge Alsop's ruling favoring the Justice Department, Governor Perpich vowed to appeal: "We feel very strongly about the states' rights issue, and that is why we will be appealing. This is a clear example of the Federal Government's encroaching on state powers that have worked effectively in

the past."

The court decision could have immediate repercussions in the state of Ohio, where in late June, Governor Richard Celeste refused to comply with Pentagon orders to ship that state's National Guard troops to Central America for training maneuvers. By actively defying the Montgomery Amendment, Governor Celeste was confronted with Pentagon threats to deactivate the Ohio Guard.

SOURCES: Peggy Moore, St. Louis Pledge of Resistance, (314-727-4466); "States' Suit Over Latin Duty By the Guard Is Thrown Out," NEW YORK TIMES, 5 August 1987, p.4; "Conflict Brews Over Training of National Guard Units," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 6 August 1987, pp. 5-6; "Governors & the Guard — States Take US to Court," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 16 June 1987, p. 10; "11 States Seeking Right to Prevent Guard Training in Foreign Areas," NEW YORK TIMES, 17 June 1987, p. 4.

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NATIONAL GUARD DECISION MAY BRING SOME SURPRISES

In the August 6 issue of the Christian Science Monitor, William Kennedy, a journalist specializing in military affairs, offered the following analysis of Judge Donald Alsop's decision upholding the Montgomery Amendment:

The authority of the governors over the Guard in peacetime derives from the "militia clauses" of the US Constitution, themselves the product of concerns about creating a large standing army under presidential control. Until now the National Guard has used that constitutional protection to oppose successive Army and Air Force attempts to end its state status and incorporate it into the Pentagon-controlled Army and Air Force Reserves.

Surprisingly, the military leadership of the National Guard has turned against the dissident governors with a vengeance. The Montgomery amendment...was written by Rep. G.V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D) of Mississippi. Representative Montgomery, a retired brigadier general in the Guard, is also the principal spokesman in Congress for the Guard's Washington lobby, the National Guard Association.

Also, the military leadership of both the National Guard and the federal reserve forces has become more politicized during this administration than it has been since World War II. Lt. Gen. Herbert Temple, Jr., chief of the National Guard Bureau, through which some \$8 billion in federal support for the state military units is disbursed each year, is a long-time political associate of the President.

Maj. Gen. William Berkman, a former Chief of Army Reserve, came to Washington from the same reserve unit as Attorney General Edwin Meese III and is a full-time executive of the Reserve Forces Policy Board in the office of the defense secretary.

Whether or not the [ten] governors are able to challenge successfully the Montgomery amendment as a violation of the Constitution's "militia clauses," the stage may have been set for the sort of overhaul and consolidation of the Guard and reserve system that was tried, but failed, in 1964-66 during the Johnson administration.

So long as the Guard could oppose any fundamental change with a solid phalanx of governors, no one in the federal government dared to challenge the system by which each National Guard system is operated as a private club with membership, promotion, and federal pay the sole province of the unit commander.

Nor was anyone able to attempt to reform the system by which politically connected junior guardsmen, or nonguardsmen, can circumvent the military promotion system. In the

case of guardsmen, they can wreak vengeance on those who may have denied them a promotion by obtaining appointment to the post of adjutant general, the quasi-political office through which the governors exercise command of the Guard when it is not in federal service.

The governors have been the Guard's only solid base of political support. Having turned against them, the Guard may find that its support among previously sympathetic, but anti-contra members of Congress also has been damaged.

The dual state and federal National Guard and reserve systems are extremely expensive in terms of duplicative headquarters and administrative and logistical systems. The

*Having turned against them,
the Guard may find
that its support
among previously sympathetic,
but anti-contra members of Congress
has been damaged.*

programs may be even more costly in terms of the rigidities by which expensively trained officers are denied assignments and promotions outside the unit in which they began their service.

As the federal military budget contracts, the demand for Guard and reserve reform is sure to grow.

If proponents of total federal control successfully exploit the vulnerabilities created by the Montgomery amendment and eliminate the last vestiges of the Guard's state status, a fundamental change will have occurred in the intricate domestic military balance established under the Constitution.

Thus a long-term legacy of the Reagan administration could be the destruction of one of the strongest constitutional safeguards of at least limited state sovereignty: not exactly what Reagan said he sought when he took office.

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DECATUR AND ATLANTA MAYORS MOURN BEN LINDER

On May 3, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and Decatur Mayor Mike Mears joined over 150 people at a hastily organized memorial service in Decatur, Georgia, following the killing of Ben Linder, Sergio Fernandez and Pablo Rosales in Nicaragua. The three were killed by the contras while surveying for a small scale hydroelectric plant to bring electricity to a remote part of Nicaragua.

Mayor Young was in Nicaragua when Linder was murdered and served as one of the pall-bearers in Matagalpa. At the Decatur service, he said, "Ben Linder reminds me very much of those

ernment. It's a war against the Nicaraguan people — against teachers, doctors, and people trying to grow food....The United States of America cannot consider itself a bastion of freedom and human dignity if it continues to support the likes of these contras.

"I have a plan for the President. Simply send \$105 million in credits to the volunteer groups and small businesses that are operating in Nicaragua. Give them 20 years to pay it back, with a \$100 million additional credit each year over the next three years — I would guarantee a free Nicaragua!"

Young concluded by calling for a closer working partnership between Atlanta and Central America. "Ben Linder gave his life for us, that we might become partners in development, partners in freedom, with the people of Central America. God has blessed us by his sacrifice and his service. Hopefully your response tonight indicates that it will not be in vain."

SOURCE: Atlanta Clergy and Laity Concerned, 222 East Lake Drive, Decatur, GA 30030 (404-377-6516). Audiotapes of the service are available.

*"Ben Linder gave his life for us, that we might become partners in freedom... with the people of Central America."
- Mayor Andrew Young*

women and men who came South in the Civil Rights movement and by whose sacrifice and suffering we have an opportunity to be as free as we are in these United States... Black and white, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish. Ben Linder, I understand, happened to be Jewish. The intensity of his dedication is really one of the finest examples of the prophetic and service tradition of Judaism in the world today.

"This was not an accidental death. This was a deliberate assassination. They knew he was an American. They knew what he doing. He was simply building dams to provide fresh water and electricity to people in villages. But when you look at the other people the contras have killed — there were eight other foreign volunteer workers killed before Ben Linder. Approximately 100 medical workers killed. And a Baptist center burned to the ground. There were more than 300 school teachers that have been killed. The war of the contras is not a war against the Sandinista gov-

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For more information contact the
Policy Education Project
(202-822-8357)
or
James Scheibel
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SEATTLE CONFERENCE MARKS 87 U.S.-NICARAGUAN SISTERS

In late June, nearly 300 people from 32 states descended on Seattle, which many called the "Capital of the Other Washington," for the first U.S.-Nicaraguan Sister Cities Conference. Joining them was a delegation of about two dozen Nicaraguans.

The gathering was an unprecedented effort to coordinate the explosive growth of American-Nicaraguan sister cities. A year ago, there were about 20 Nicaraguan-American sister city relationships. By early spring, the number had climbed to 42. Now the Nicaraguan Embassy officially recognizes 57 sisters and says 30 more are well underway.

Religious Roots

Like much of Central America, a guiding light for the Seattle conference was religious belief. The conference began on a Friday evening at the First Baptist Church of Seattle, where an ecumenical service combined the drumming of American Indian Harold Belmont with the spiritual singing of the twenty children in the Total Experience Gospel Choir. Both American and Nicaraguan Catholic leaders led the audience in worship.

Elizabeth Linder, mother of Ben Linder, who was murdered by the contras in Nicaragua on April 28, came to the dais to reflect on her trip to Nicaragua for Ben's funeral. It was "an overwhelming and nourishing experience," she said. Since then, every time she has heard about another death at the hands of the contras, "I feel that Ben is being killed again and again....I don't want Ben killed anymore."

The Rev. Joseph C. Williamson gave a sermon about his own recent trip to Nicaragua. The U.S.-sponsored war against Nicaragua, he said, is no less a genocide than Hitler's war against the Jews. It is genocide not only because of the civilian targets of contras' bullets, but also because the widespread hunger and malnutrition caused by contra at-

tacks on farms and food warehouses. He recalled pleading with a Nicaraguan child, horrified with American policies, to distinguish between the American people and the U.S. government. "But who chooses the government?" asked the child.

Religious philosophy was intoned again on Saturday morning when the conference reassembled in a large meeting room under the Seattle Space Needle. Father Padre Rafael Aragon, General Secretary of the Catholic Association for Social Development, used his invocation to warn against using the word "God" to justify war and violence. Instead, he said, the word "God" should be viewed synonymous with the "struggle for justice." "Let's open ourselves to the cry of the suffering poor in the Third World....We cannot talk about true peace without being open to the struggle for justice."

Seattle's Strong Support

Conference delegates were warmly welcomed by Seattle city officials. On Saturday, Tom Byers, an assistant to Mayor Charles Royer, likened U.S. aid to the contras to his trip to Managua in 1984, where he arrived in a storm: "So much of U.S. policy there is flying in the fog with no notion of where the ground is." While Byers admitted the limitations of his own eight-day trip there, he suggested that "eight days is a lot more experience than was had by the Congressmen voting for aid to the contras." He then recalled some of the images etched on his memory — of a nation of children, of communities building a park from old pipes, of a baseball game where spectators watched from civil defense shelters, of burned grain storage centers.

Under Mayor Royer's leadership, Managua and Seattle have become sister cities, enabling both cities, Byers said, to begin discussing environmental problems with their local lakes. But the most important part of the sister city

relation, Byers suggested, was the people-to-people contact — "beating swords into ploughshares, done in thousands of small strokes."

On Sunday morning, Mayor Royer greeted the conference. He recalled that, when he first came to office sister cities were regarded as "fluff" or "junkets" for local officials. With the Seattle-Managua relationship, he was determined to make them into educational and political tools. While he said he had not yet been to Nicaragua, he underscored that he was eager to go. "I believe that foreign affairs should not be left to the national leaders. It is an individual responsibility."

Nuts and Bolts

Most of the conference occurred in small workshops, where different cities and citizen groups shared their experiences in twinning with Nicaraguan cities. In one workshop, Alan Wright of the New Haven-Leon Sister City Project suggested that sister relationships proceed through three stages. First, groups of people with common interests in both cities should be identified, whether trade-unionists, bicycle riders, or bird watchers. Next, each American group should try to learn how its counterparts' lives changed with the revolution. Finally the groups should devise appropriate projects with their counterparts.

As an example of this process, Wright described links built up by schools in New Haven. Through school-to-school links, New Haven children have been able to understand how the revolution helped eliminate illiteracy. They then devised a common project — sending the Leon school children baseball bats, gloves, and balls.

Since its beginning, Wright said, New Haven has sent 24 delegations to Nicaragua and more than \$1 million in aid. With only minimal coordination, the city has encouraged dozens of relationships between schools, churches, and clinics.

Elizabeth Sander from Project Minnesota-Leon said that the best part of people-to-people relations is "putting a human face on revolution." When a

mother of seven children in Leon was killed by the contras, a Minnesotan stayed with the family. To help alleviate other suffering from the war, Minnesotans got the 3M Company to donate \$20,000 worth of orthopedic supplies to Leon.

Nicaragua's View

Perhaps the highlight of the conference was a public speech Saturday evening by Monica Baltodano, Vice Minister of the Nicaraguan Ministry of the

Presidency. Baltodano retold the long history of American military involvement in Nicaragua, beginning with William Walker declaring himself President in 1855 and continuing with the U.S. marines invading in 1915 and remaining until 1933.

The most recent U.S. attacks on Nicaragua through the contras, Baltodano said, have destroyed 2,133 homes, 62 schools and 31 health facilities — a total of \$2.8 billion in damages. More significant have been the human costs — 40,000 deaths (including 2,000 chil-

dren), 60,000 displaced, and 10,000 war orphans. "We have the right to be a free a sovereign nation!" she demanded.

Even though her audience was sympathetic, she warned them to remember that North American children will die, too, if the United States ever invades Nicaragua again.

She concluded by thanking the conference participants for all of their sister cities work. "We say to you — you have been a great help. You've given us not only material aid, but moral support as well." □

SOME TIPS FOR BUILDING NICARAGUAN SISTER CITIES

Q: How can a sister city relationship get started?

The Nicaragua Network has prepared an excellent step-by-step packet called "Organizing A Sister/Friendship City Relationship With A City, Town or Region in Nicaragua." You can contact the Nicaragua Network at 2025 I St., N.W., Suite 1117, Washington, D.C. 20006 (202-223-2328).

Essentially you should follow four steps. First find those people in your community interested in linking with Nicaragua. If possible, get the support of leading civic organizations and your city council.

When you are sufficiently organized, write to the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, D.C., describing your city, its other sister cities, and its characteristics (geography, history, culture, industry, climate, etc.). Let the Embassy know if you have a specific Nicaraguan sister city in mind. The best contact at the Embassy is Zelmira Garcia, 1627 New Hampshire, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 (202-387-4371)

Once you have a sister city assigned, you should try to get as many delegations as possible — representing schools, churches, hospitals, Elks Clubs, etc. — to visit your Nicaraguan sister. Encourage these groups to exchange visitors, photos, letters, and goods.

Finally, keep in touch with your Nicaraguan partners, both in the sister city and inside the Embassy, to work out ways to help the relationship grow stronger.

Q: How should Americans prepare for a trip to Nicaragua?

For arranging your trip, the best bet is Tropical Tours, 2330 West Third St., Suite 4, Los Angeles, CA 90057 (In CA: 800-854-5858; Outside CA: 800-421-5040). Also be sure you apply for a visa to travel there at least 50 days ahead of your trip.

In the weeks before going, talk to other people who have been there. Get some proficiency in Spanish. And do some reading about the culture, history, and politics.

Q: What is the ideal size of a delegation traveling to Nicaragua?

According to Paula Kline of the New Haven-Leon Sister City Project, the nation's official tour agency, TourNica, cannot book hotels unless it has a minimum commitment of at least seven people staying for three nights. (Note that stays with Nicaraguan families are also possible.) A delegation larger than 15 begins to create transportation, food, and housing problems.

Q: What's the best way to send humanitarian goods to Nicaragua?

The easiest way is to work through the Quixote Center, which is sending 20 ton canisters every week. The Center is located at 3311 Chauncey Place, Room #301, Mt. Rainier, MD 20712 (301-699-0042). Even if you decide to ship aid on your own, the Center can provide lots of useful advice.

If you decide to carry goods when you travel to Nicaragua, follow three rules: prepare a comprehensive list of everything; give the list to the Nicaraguan Embassy at least

20 days before the trip (so they can help get the goods through customs); and insist on staying with the goods at all times.

Q: How can a sister city project broaden its support within the community?

Diane Passmore of the Seattle-Managua Sister City Association stresses the need for making every phase of a sister city program broad-based. Delegations traveling there should be sure to include a wide spectrum of people — progressives and conservatives, blacks and other minorities, youths and the elderly, lawyers and blue-collar workers. Try to bring members of the local press and media along, too.

Sarah Lee from the Boulder-Jalapa Friendship City Project suggests pre-trip briefings and post-trip debriefings that might include public events — pot-luck suppers, slide shows, lectures, and parties.

Q: If a sister city brings Nicaraguans to the United States, who should come?

Elizabeth Sander of Project Minnesota-Leon says that Nicaraguan youths are far more persuasive and newsworthy than government officials. She adds that Nicaraguans coming to the United States should be capable of speaking on many topics so that they can address a number of different constituencies.

CAMBRIDGE VENTURES INTO WAR-TORN EL SALVADOR

For the residents of Cambridge, Massachusetts, travel to San Jose Las Flores, (a village in the northern part of El Salvador) has become more than an adventure. In recent years, more than 1.5 million Salvadorans — including the residents of San Jose Las Flores — have been driven from their homes and villages by the war. In San Jose Las Flores, homes have been mortared and burned to the ground, forcing people to flee to dilapidated refugee camps in San Salvador.

Last year, some 850 residents of San Jose Las Flores, including 450 children, decided to defy government threats of

more violence and returned to their villages. They are now determined to rebuild and remain in their own community, while staying neutral in the ongoing civil war.

Recognizing the risks and military threats that would block their resettlement efforts, the villagers sought international support — and they found it with Cambridge. Beginning last March, a Cambridge-San Jose Las Flores Sister City Project was formally established.

Cambridge has long been interested in Central America. In 1984, 72 percent of Cambridge voters approved a referendum calling on Congress to with-

draw troops, advisors and military aid to El Salvador and other Central American countries. In 1985, the City Council had declared Cambridge a sanctuary city for Salvadoran refugees.

This June, a delegation from Cambridge attempted to travel to San Jose Las Flores to bring \$8,000 worth of food and supplies and to help the villagers celebrate the first anniversary of their repopulated community. However, in repeated attempts to reach the town, the Americans were stopped again and again by the Salvadoran military, who told them that they did not have permission to take aid there. Much of their

... in repeated attempts to reach the town, the Americans were stopped again and again by the Salvadoran military ...

nine-day stay in the country was spent in San Salvador, lobbying to get their supplies to the town.

Finally, authorization was granted for a one-day visit. That morning, the Cambridge delegation hiked four hours to San Jose Las Flores, and after a five-hour stay, hiked back for more than seven hours at night.

"The people of San Jose Las Flores were ecstatic to see us," said Cathy Hoffman of the Cambridge Peace Commission. "They talked about Cambridge and what great hope the sister city relationship had given them for their survival. It was a very moving time being there. It was also the only time our delegation felt safe and welcome during our entire stay in El Salvador."

Money and supplies are being collected by the people of Cambridge for another trip to San Jose Las Flores, although a date has not yet been set for that visit.

SOURCE: Cambridge Peace Commission, City Hall Annex, 57 Inman St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617-498-9000).

NICARAGUAN SISTER CITY CONTACTS

Boulder-Jalapa Friendship City Project

P.O. Box 7452
Boulder, CO 80306
303-442-0460

Jalapa-Port Townsend Sister City Association

1829 Lincoln
Port Townsend, WA 98368
206-365-6525

Moscow-Villa Carlos Fonseca Project

Moscow City Hall
Moscow, ID 83843
208-882-5553

New Haven-Leon Sister City Project

965 Quinnipac Ave.
New Haven, CT 06513
203-467-9182

Portland-Corinto Sister City Association

3558 S.E. Hawthorne
Portland, OR 97214
503-233-5181

Project Minnesota-Leon

2401 Russell Ave. S.
Minneapolis, MN 55404
612-374-9788

Seattle-Managua Sister City Association

P.O. Box 24883
Seattle, WA 98124
206-329-2974

Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua

P.O. Box 1534
Madison, WI 53701
608-257-7230

AMERICANS TRAVELING TO NICARAGUA HAVING IMPACT

As more Americans travel and ship aid to Nicaragua, whether individually or through sister cities, they are making a U.S. invasion more difficult. So suggests a recent article by Cheryl Sullivan in the Christian Science Monitor, 2 June 1987, which we excerpt below:

It's a long way from northern California's serene Santa Cruz Mountains to Nicaragua's war-wracked village of El Cedro. But Scott Rutherford and eight other Americans were willing to go the extra distance if it means they might shield the village, by their very presence, from attack by contra guerrillas.

"At the very least, we're an extra calculation for the contras to consider before they attack," Mr. Rutherford said last week, before leaving for Nicaragua with the Veterans Peace Action Team.

Amid revelations that the Reagan Administration solicited private funds to aid the contras, private American efforts on the other side have been almost overlooked. In defiance of official United States support for the contra rebels, groups of Americans like the veterans team are working to counteract the effects of the contra activity.

Supplies and labor worth almost \$40 million have been channeled to Nicaragua since July 1986, according to Sister Maureen Fiedler of the Quixote Center in Maryland.

"The difference is that, unlike the U.S. government, we know where our aid goes and how it gets spent," she says.

In its national campaign called the "Quest for Peace," the center hopes to collect another \$60 million worth of donations by fall — to match the \$100 million Congress is sending to the contras.

The Quixote Center, a Roman Catholic relief organization, has been shipping medical and educational supplies to Nicaragua since late 1983. Its role has expanded, however, into a clearinghouse for tracking donations sent to Nicaragua by more than 500 private groups across the U.S.

The private aid network has experienced "a steady surge of growth since its beginning," says Sister Maureen. Making a contribution — in the form of clothing, food, medicine, and even personal labor — "is something concrete people can do to show they oppose administration policy and the contra war."

The U.S. government takes no official position against such aid by American citizens. But "people need to ask themselves to what extent does their work, as well intentioned as it may be, help solidify Sandinista repression," a State Department official says. The situation in Nicaragua today is analogous to Cuba in 1959, when a contingent of Americans helped harvest sugar cane for Fidel Castro's new communist revolution, he says.

The U.S. estimates 1,500 Americans are living and working in Nicaragua, and thousands more are traveling there on a short-term basis. Since the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, about 40,000 Americans have gone to Nicaragua for humanitarian or political work.

The Veterans Peace Action Team (VPAT), for instance, will be in El Cedro for a month to begin rebuilding a health post that has been destroyed by the contras three times.

The task, however, "is not so much finishing the building as it is interacting with the Nicaraguan people," says Bob Barns of Witness for Peace, a national organization that arranges trips and tours to Nicaragua. "It is important to share their ways of doing things."

"Sharing the risk" is part of that process, says VPAT founder Brian Willson, one of the four vets who last fall held a vigil on the Capitol steps, fasting in protest of U.S. policy in Central America. The veterans team, the second one to travel to Nicaragua, will be working a little more than a mile from where Benjamin Linder was killed April 28 during a contra attack....

U.S. Policy toward Nicaragua is "illegal, immoral, and dishonest," Mr. Willson adds. "There will be no honor unless I, myself, show that I will not allow my government to act like this on my behalf." If any members of the team are injured or killed by the U.S.-backed contras, "we will hold the U.S. government directly responsible," he says, noting that none of the veterans will be armed.

The U.S., however, says it is the responsibility of all host countries — not just Nicaragua — to protect foreigners on their soil. The Sandinista government, in fact, has pulled most West Europeans out of the war zones for their own protection, a State Department official says. The Americans, in effect, become pawns in the Sandinistas' public-relations campaign to win sympathy with the American public, he says.

The strategy appears to be having some effect, says [neoconservative] sociologist Paul Hollander of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. "Look at Congress and how reluctant it is to give adequate funding to the guerrillas [fighting the Sandinistas]," he says.

Winning the hearts and minds of the American public is exactly what many who go to Nicaragua intend to do. "One of the most important reasons I'm going to Nicaragua is so I can come back," veteran John Skerce told his colleagues as they prepared for their trip to El Cedro. "I want to find out for myself what's going on, and then let everyone know about it."

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WESTERN EUROPE'S 66 LINKS WITH NICARAGUA

In the past five years, cities throughout Western Europe have formed sister ties with cities in Nicaragua, providing both moral and material support. The list below was distributed at the United Kingdom Linking Conference, which took place in Sheffield in May. It shows a total of 66 links, broken down as follows: 2 in Austria (Aus); 1 in Belgium (Bel); 3 in France (Fr); 3 in Italy (It); 13 in the Netherlands (Neth); 1 in Norway (Nor); 11 in Spain (Sp); 3 in Switzerland (Sw); 13 in the United Kingdom (UK); and 16 in West Germany (WG).

Particularly impressive have been cities in the Netherlands. In September 1985, two Dutch nongovernmental organizations helped organize a conference on "how to build up twin city relations with Nicaragua." Roughly 200 people attended, including mayors, aldermen, and activists from 35 municipalities. Out of the conference emerged a National Network of Netherlands-Nicaragua Twin Cities involving eight of Holland's largest cities and eight development assistance organizations. This network now has a central office to provide information and other kinds of service: Documentation-servicepoint, Landelijk Beraad 'Stedenbanden Nederland-Nicaragua,' Mr. R. van der Hijden, Van Speykstraat 21, 3572 XB Utrecht (Tel. 030-718163).

Chinandega	- Coventry (UK) - Eindhoven (Neth) - Lincoln (UK) - Molins del Rei (Sp) - North East Derbyshire (UK)	Jinotega	- Cornella (Sp) - Solingen (WG) - Zoetermeer (Neth)	Pontasma	- Velbert (WG)
Condega	- Augsburg (WG)	Juigalpa	- Den Haag (Neth) - Gandia (Sp) - Nottingham (UK)	Puerto Cabezas	- Basel (Sw) - Frechen (WG) - Manchester (UK)
Corinto	- Bremen (WG) - Gotenburg (Sw) - Koln (WG) - Le Havre (Fr) - Liverpool (UK) - Rotterdam (Neth)	Leon	- Barcelona (Sp) - Lund (Sw) - Oxford (UK) - Salzburg (Aus) - Utrecht (Neth)	Puerto Morawa	- Bristol (UK)
Diriamba	- Mainz (WG)	Managua	- Amsterdam (Neth) - Hospitalet (Sp) - London (UK) - Madrid (Sp)	Rivas	- Haarlem (Neth) - Lille (Fr) - Offenbach (WG)
El Limon	- Eaymor (UK)	Masaya	- Brugge (Bel) - Leicester (UK) - Nijmegen (Neth) - Scandicci [IT] - Wiesbaden (WG)	San Carlos	- Groningen (Neth) - Linz (Aus) - Nurnberg (WG) - Region Emilia Romagna Mode [It]
Esteli	- Angihari (It) - Bielefeld (WG) - Delft (Neth) - Essen (WG) - Evry (Fr) - San Feliu de Llobregat (Sp) - Sheffield (UK) - Stavanger (Nor) - Valencia (Sp)	Matagalpa	- Karlsruhe (WG) - Sabadell (Sp) - Tilburg (Neth)	San Juan del Sur	- Giessen (WG)
Granada	- Badajoz (Sp) - Breda (Neth) - Dos Hermanas (Sp)	Nandaime	- Diemen (Neth)	Tisma	- Bradford (UK)
		Ocotal	- Wiesbaden (WG)	Waslala	- Dorsten (WG)

SCOTLAND'S CITIES ASSIST NICARAGUA

In the December 1986/January 1987 issue of Radical Scotland ("Scotland and Nicaragua," pp. 20-21), excerpted below, Kevin Dunion suggests how cities in Scotland can contribute to resolving the conflict in Nicaragua. Dunion is a campaigner with OXFAM and is Executive Secretary of Scottish Aid for Nicaragua. The subtitles are ours.

The prospect of Scottish local authorities adopting a thoroughgoing internationalist perspective is probably still one of hope rather than expectation. To be sure, there has been council support for overseas issues. The Edinburgh District Council has helped fund Central America Week, has hosted exhibitions by photographers like Mike Goldwater, and has contributed to the annual Night for Nicaragua in the Festival. The establishment of nuclear-free and apartheid-free zones also suggests that it is possible to progress from piecemeal support to declarations of general policy.

The problem with devising an extensive strategy of council support for Nicaragua is current nervousness at being seen as being motivated by purely ideological issues, coupled with legal advice which curtails spending on activities which are not to the benefit of the local community.

An Issue Transcending Leftism

The first step then...is to uncouple Nicaragua from the train of solely Leftist concerns...Nicaragua is not *exclusively* the concern of the Left, and if we are to make progress on identifying Scotland with Nicaragua, it must become above all a people-to-people response. Recently a friend of mine visited Nicaragua, and as a trained ballet teacher she was attracted to a small ballet school in Managua run by the only Russian she was to come across. The children had equipment for neither rehearsal nor performance. On her return to Scotland, she set up the Scottish Dance Fund to collect money and equipment for the school. People will contribute to that, not in support of the 'revolution' or to help build socialism in one country..., but because they *identify* with

the experience of these pupils and teachers in Managua. What we have to demonstrate is that in Nicaragua there is a normal, familiar society just waiting for the chance to develop and grow free from the intolerable pressure of forces trying to undermine it.

Secondly we must place council support for Nicaragua within a framework which provides some protection from spurious political attack, and provides a safeguard from criticism by District Auditors....We are proposing, therefore, to hold a conference on Local Authority Action in April 1987 which will outline a blueprint for implementing the Cologne Appeal [on development assistance] and will detail practical initiatives which can be taken by local authorities in support of Nicaragua.

Briefly the blueprint asks that local authorities establish their current links with the Third World through commerce, tourism, education (foreign students, exchange teachers, etc.) and other activities....

Current Activities

Local government has a well-justified reputation for acting on behalf of the people. There are already successful links whose experience we can draw upon, principally Liverpool and Bremen with Corinto; Lambeth with Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast; and Amsterdam with Managua. But above all, Scottish Aid for Nicaragua will have off-the-shelf projects available arising from the report currently being compiled by Paul Laverty....

For example, he has found that there are several opportunities for teachers of English as a foreign language. The department in charge of Municipal and Regional Affairs wants English taught to its employees because of the regular contact they have with foreign groups

discussing twinning, foreign investments, etc.

He has identified secondary schools on the Atlantic Coast, in Matagalpa, Selsaco, Terrabona and Esquipula where English teachers could be [placed] from March '87.

On the Atlantic Coast they have requested a specialist in timber processing to advise on an efficient timber-curing process, as current methods do not provide long-term protection against the wet climate.

In Granada there are requests for advisers in highway construction; environmental health; processing of clay to bricks; and for upgrading the drainage system. Urgent work is required on sewage systems, and on drinkable water provision in Matagalpa.



Of course we anticipate that those who have participated...will benefit technically — in having tackled problems rarely encountered in Scotland — and will also wish to benefit the community in Scotland: a teacher could produce case study material for use in Scottish schools within the existing syllabus in Modern Studies, for instance. The secondments would also provide first-hand links with Nicaragua which could be built on by youth and cultural exchanges, the training of Nicaraguan staff in local authority departments, etc.

Councils Ready to "Contradict" National Policy

Current activity in Scotland suggests that there are a number of councils who would be willing to investigate such links, and [Councillor] Les Robertson of Dumbarton District is to convene a group of sympathetic councillors to help identify practical issues which

have to be tackled. In the meantime, [Councillor] Linda Gray of Edinburgh District, who attended the recent international Union of Local Authorities' Conference on the Cologne Appeal, has tabled a report calling for council departments to be asked how they can respond to the Appeal, and for the Council to help draw up guidelines for all Scottish local authorities who wish to participate in the Appeal.

Arising from such direct experiences of life in Nicaragua by Scottish local authorities will be a municipal strategy which will contradict government policy. We can look forward to local authorities trading in Nicaraguan products; development education centres being set up (government funding for these has largely been withdrawn); the aid embargo being broken by collections of educational, recreational and industrial equipment; unions co-operating with local authorities as employers to set up pay-roll deduction schemes. Training placements can be provided. All of these things — aid, trade, scholarships — would have been done by government agencies if we did not blindly follow the US. All of them *can* be done by local authorities. Effectively we can establish an alternative, if local, foreign policy.

We need, however, to transmit this to a larger stage, and so we are proposing a Conference of European Parliamentarians to take place during the Edinburgh Festival next year. This will provide an opportunity for representatives of the Nicaraguan government to come to Scotland....

Linking With U.S. Groups

We need to challenge the iconoclasm of the US on this issue by voicing alternative European thinking, but also by being aware of and supporting those

groups who are active within the United States in opposing White House policy.

[We aim] to create links therefore with groups like Witness For Peace and the Sojourners movement. One example is Mary Dutcher, a US attorney who has been a Witness For Peace in Nicaragua. (Witness for Peace is a grassroots effort to keep a continuous non-violent presence of US Christians in Nicaragua's war zone.) Mary is visiting Scotland in early December to discuss her report on Contra atrocities....

In conclusion, then, what Scottish Aid for Nicaragua envisages is a further manifestation of the people power made evident by the Live Aid/Sport Aid movement. Sure, we must continue to lobby government to change its poli-

cies and in turn exert an influence on US thinking. But we must also recognize that we can make a significant contribution even in the absence of such political considerations. In aid terms, the UK provides only £ 20,000 in scholarships and some £ 100,000 in joint funding with aid agencies to projects in Nicaragua. The EEC gives from its Regional Fund only some £ 7 million for Central America; of that Fund, the UK contributes 22.5%.... Scotland could actually make an impact which would challenge the government. In political terms we can come up with a citizens' response which again shows the government to be out of step with popular thinking, as it was over Ethiopia. □

INVITATION FOR AMICUS BRIEFS

In April 1984, the World Court ruled, 14 to 1, that the United States had illegally mined Nicaragua's harbors and distributed CIA booklets instructing about assassination. In January 1985, the Reagan Administration refused to participate further in the suit and by October it revoked its previous acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court altogether.

As the Reagan Administration has chipped away at the foundation of international law other U.S. presidents have so carefully tried to build, several organizations have decided to fight back. Last November, three organizations — the World Federalist Association, the Campaign for U.N. Reform, and the Committee of U.S. Citizens Living in Nicaragua — sued in federal court to enforce the World Court's ruling and to halt the distribution of funds to the contras.

The suit contends that President Reagan and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger are bound by the U.S. Constitution to uphold American treaty obligations, including its promise to abide by World Court Decisions. A lower court held against the plaintiffs, but an appeal is now being pursued.

According to Eric Cox of the World Federalist Association, 14 national organizations have agreed to join in filing an amicus curiae brief for the appeal. The state of Oregon is also considering filing its own brief.

If you would like your organization or local government to join in this suit, contact Eric Cox as soon as possible for details: 418 7th St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-546-3950).

FEMA RUNS FOR SHELTER

The Federal Emergency Management Agency continues to encounter setbacks and local resistance to a number of its pet civil defense projects — so much so that its efforts to protect Americans from nuclear blasts with more dirt and shovels seem all but doomed. And what little life remains in its programs is sure to be put in suspended animation with a major election year looming ahead.

FEMA's problems began in 1982, when it tried implementing "crisis relocation planning," which called for the evacuation of two-thirds of the U.S. population from cities to rural areas in the event of mounting international tensions and an imminent nuclear war. The \$4.2 billion scheme slid off the drawing boards when more than 120 jurisdictions (representing some 90 million people) officially refused to participate, calling the program unworkable, chaotic, and dangerous.

Last year, according to the *Washington Post*, FEMA proposed another nuclear war recovery program — this one priced at \$1.5 billion. The idea was to construct 600 bomb shelters by 1992 for local officials that would enable them to manage "the trans-attack period" and restore "post-attack government and society."

The same plan also urged the public-at-large to rely on "self-help" in case of nuclear war, supported by government distribution of 3.8 million low-cost radiation detectors and "instructional materials adaptable for use by families, schools, churches."

Although FEMA originally had hoped for \$20 million this year to launch these emergency centers for officials, the request for financing was rejected by both the House and the Senate. Leading the fight were many local officials, who were mortified that FEMA preferred saving politicians rather than their constituents. County Commis-

sioner Timothy Hagen from Cayahoga, Ohio, said, "It's a folly to protect the very officials who brought the havoc on the people. The policy ought to be that the elected representatives in a democracy — from the President on down — be made to stand outside and watch the radiation fall all around them."

As a result of this opposition, FEMA announced in February that it would not proceed with the plan, at least for now.

.... FEMA was prepared to round up and imprison as many as 400,000 Central American refugees in the United States and hold them under semi-private "State Defense Forces."

Congressional action also forced FEMA to back down from its threats in recent months to cut off funds for all emergency planning (including for fires, floods, and earthquakes) from any state refusing to participate in its so-called "regional communications exercises," designed to test civil defense responses after a nuclear strike.

In March and April, FEMA tried to carry out these exercises in the Pacific Northwest. In both Oregon and Washington, the governors refused to allow their states to participate because the tests were "unrealistic."

According to the *New York Times* the drill scenario assumed that 49 nuclear bombs — 50 to 500 kilotons in size — had exploded in four Northwestern states over a five-hour period. Oregon Governor Neil Goldschmidt said he doubted that survivors would even exist after such a nuclear disaster, and said he would approve Oregon's participation in the exercise if it involved

only natural disasters or a nuclear power plant accident. Lynn G. Hardy, administrator of Oregon's emergency management division, said, "Until we get off this nuclear attack kick, our profession has no credibility."

When all was said and done, FEMA's Northwest drills ended up involving only two states — Idaho and Alaska.

FEMA finally acquiesced to Oregon's and Washington's defiance, rewriting its drills to eliminate the simulated detonation of nuclear bombs. Revised exercises are now tentatively scheduled for Oregon and Washington on September 15 through 17.

A final indication of the kind of genius inhabiting FEMA was revealed by documents uncovered by the Christic Institute in Washington, D.C. Helping out with the Reagan administration's contingency plans for invading Central America, FEMA was prepared to round up and imprison as many as 400,000 Central American refugees in the United States and hold them under semi-private "State Defense Forces." FEMA was also planning to help disperse weapons to the contras via a secret supply network in a project called "Operation Night-Train."

SOURCE: Peter D. Dyke, THE FRONT LINE, P.O. Box 1793, Santa Fe, NM 87504 (505-983-5428); Wallace Turner, "2 States Defy U.S. Over Nuclear Attack Planning," NEW YORK TIMES, 31 March 1987; Fred Hiatt, "U.S. War-Survival Plan Favors Officials," 10 May 1986, p. 1; wire service and other articles in Northwest newspapers including THE OREGONIAN; and Warren Hinckle, "Beware FEMA," SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, 19 July 1987, p. A-17.

GREAT BRITAIN'S LOCALITIES DEVELOP INNOVATIVE RESPONSES

Municipalities in Great Britain have engaged in some creative tactics to oppose Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's civil defense schemes.

After the government passed its 1983 Civil Defence Regulations, ordering local governments to proceed with nuclear-war defense planning, lawyers with the Greater London Council (GLC) asserted that they could not proceed unless they first studied the impacts of nuclear war on London. The GLC then set up a seven-person blue-ribbon panel, which included three U.S. scientific experts — Anne Ehrlich from Stanford, Frank von Hippel from Princeton, and retired admiral John Marshall Lee. With a budget of a half million pounds and 44 researchers, the team produced a devastating report concluding that, in almost any credible scenario, London could not be defended.

Called the Greater London Area War Risk Study (GLAWARS), the report became a model for other dissident municipalities. Similar studies have since been begun by nine regions, including the North-west, East Anglia, Wales and Scotland, and their results should be public shortly.

Even in the Buckinghamshire County Council, where Thatcher's Tory Party is firmly in control, the minority Labour Party members produced a report called *Buckinghamshire After Nuclear Attack*, which, according to the *Nuclear Free Zone Bulletin*, "paints a chilling picture of the effect on a rural community of the explosion of no more than three nuclear devices within the boundaries of the county, plus another eight in the surrounding countryside.

"The authors of the report calculate that between 70% and 80% of the total population of the county would be wiped out immediately after the attack. Of the remaining 'survivors,' around half would perish from lack of medical

treatment and the scarcity of uncontaminated food supplies. The scale of the disaster can be gauged from the fact that it would take up to a year to bury the 450,000 corpses.

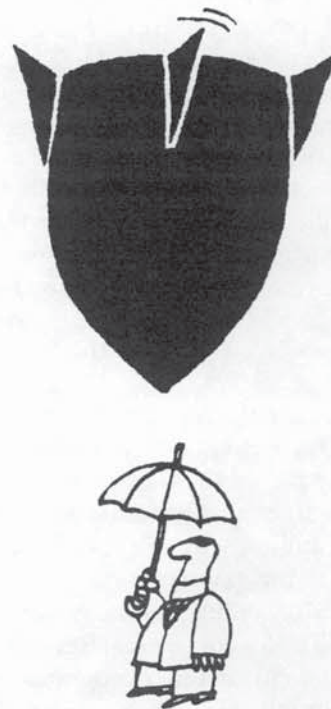
"If the total annihilation of the county's human population does not move Tory councillors into rethinking their attachment to the Bomb, then perhaps the outcome of the attack on local agriculture will deliver the necessary shock. Of some 2 million farm animals in the county, 1,115,000 would be killed outright, while 95% of the cereal crop would be consumed and contaminated by fire and fall-out."

Green Thumb Tactics

For other municipalities in Great Britain, the response to the government's civil defense plans has been somewhat less academic. The city council of Haringey, for example, decided to turn the Royal Observer Corps' bunker in Alexandra Park into a "folly of nuclear war planning" by transforming the area around the bunker into a peace picnic garden, featuring park benches and an exhibition on the effects of a nuclear strike on the city. When the government undertakes its civil defense exercises, the City Council hopes that residents will take a picnic near the bunker to watch.

SOURCES: Various articles in NUCLEAR FREE ZONE BULLETIN, 15 April 1987 (available from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 22-24 Underwood St., London N1) and an interview with Simon Turney, 1 May 1987.

... 70% and 80% of the total population of the county would be wiped out immediately after the attack.



CALIFORNIA EXAMINES IMPACT OF MILITARY SPENDING

In analyzing the U.S. economy after World War II, some observers have called California "the arsenal of America." And no wonder. More defense dollars have been spent in the Golden State than anywhere else in the country. A series of recent reports by various California state agencies confirm the growing dependence of the state on Pentagon spending with some alarming, black-and-white figures.

A June 1987 analysis ("Impact of Federal Expenditures on California") by the Commission on State Finance finds that this reliance has done little to benefit the state economy: "A fairly weak relationship has existed between defense spending and California's economic performance during the past two decades"

The study finds that the only year when employment failed to grow — 1982 — was also the "the peak growth year in the recent defense spending buildup."

At the county level, defense contracting has not been associated with overall employment growth. "For example," the report says, "Los Angeles, which had an above-average increase in prime contracts (116.1% growth between 1981 and 1985 versus 87.9% for the State), experienced a 2.5% job decline in its durable manufacturing industries. In contrast, Santa Clara experienced below-average growth in contract spending (56.6%) but saw employment increases well above the statewide average."

Among the report's other findings:

◆ Of the \$112.8 billion of federal monies expected to be spent by the federal government in California in fiscal 1988, \$50.9 billion will go for defense, \$36.3 billion for payments to individuals, only \$10.6 billion to local governments.

◆ The loss of General Revenue Sharing and cuts in other programs such as Community Development Block Grants will eliminate \$1.1 billion in federal revenues to local governments in Cali-

fornia.

◆ Of the state's 58 counties, five received 86 percent of all defense contracts over \$25,000 last year.

Farr-Reaching Legislation

These findings are part of a major, ongoing study that the state legislature mandated in 1985 to examine how fluctuations in defense and all other federal spending affect the state. Sponsored by Assemblyman Sam Farr, chair of the state Assembly Committee on Economic Development and New Technologies, the bill (AB 623) ordered periodic reports by both the Commission on State Finance and the Employment Development Department.

Before the passage of this bill, no California agency was charged with collecting information and assessing the effect of federal spending on regional and local economies, even though California had become, among the 50 states, the largest contributor of federal taxes and the largest recipient of federal expenditures.

Working with Assemblyman Farr to create this bill was David Manhart of California Common Cause. While Manhart had been particularly concerned with the economic impact of military spending on California, he and Farr had decided that the bill would be more politically salable if it analyzed the impacts of all federal expenditures, including defense. Manhart says, "We worked very hard to build a wide constituency of interest in this issue, not only among the arms-control community, but also at the local government level and within the business community throughout the state."

Political Earthquakes

California is currently spending about \$150,000 a year for these studies. Overseeing them is a 16-member advi-

sory panel, representing a cross section of political and business leaders. Among them are: Kirk West, President of the California Chamber of Commerce; Anne Rudin, Mayor of Sacramento; and Dr. Wesley B. Truitt of the Northrop Corporation. Because of its broad-based membership, this committee, Manhart believes, is moving defense-spending issues into the mainstream of the state's political consciousness and will make them top election issues in 1988.

The committee's studies are politically noteworthy for two reasons. First, the Commission on State Finance report alerts Californians that, for the first time since 1979, defense outlays may be decreasing. The report projects that although defense spending would increase by 4.3% in California during 1988, with inflation removed, "real" expenditures would actually decline by 0.7% next year.

Second, a July report by the Employment Development Department notes how few California corporations really benefited from the military pork-barrel. In fiscal year 1985, the state's top 50 federal contractors received nearly 80% of the total contracts awarded to California companies. "The balance of contract awards totaling \$7.1 billion," it noted, "was divided among approximately 8,000 other firms."

As more evidence pours in on the disadvantages of the state's dependence on military spending, the committee may begin formulating legislation to enhance the state's non-defense businesses. There is a growing recognition, says Manhart, that the efforts of high-tech sectors — which are looking ahead to the 21st century — are being compromised because of the "brain drain" of scientific talent into the weapons industry.

SOURCE: David Manhart, (916) 782-2211; "Defense Dollars: Keeping California's Economy Flying High," CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, June 1987, pp. 274-277 and 280-282.

SUMMARY OF CONVERSION ACTIVITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY

Louise McNeilly of the Center for Economic Conversion (CEC) has provided information for the following update on state and local efforts to "convert" military production into more socially beneficial kinds of production. Additional information is available from the contacts listed below or from CEC at 222-C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041 (415-968-8798).

STATE EFFORTS

CONNECTICUT — The General Assembly has overwhelmingly passed a bill mandating the state to look closely at broadening its manufacturing base. The legislation (HB 7607) creates a state task force to develop plans for preserving and enhancing jobs in the state's manufacturing sector, stabilizing particularly unstable industries, and assisting workers and communities affected by unstable industries.

The state appropriated \$100,000 to carry out these tasks during the first fiscal year, and charged the task force with submitting an annual report (beginning in 1988) on its findings and recommendations to the Governor and General Assembly. The Governor is expected to appoint task force members shortly.

Activists in Connecticut believe that the official task force's recommendations could include: providing financial and technical assistance to military-dependent companies to develop non-military products; helping employees to buy out industries in trouble or contemplating relocation; and expanding job-retraining programs for workers hit by large-scale layoffs, plant closings, or consolidations.

Unlike previous state conversion efforts focusing on the impacts of defense spending, which encountered a great deal of political opposition, this bill's focus on the entire manufacturing sector received widespread support. Among the endorsers were AFL-CIO, the United Automobile Workers, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, the Connecticut Business and Industry Association, the state's departments of economic development and labor, and the Economic Conversion Task Force. It passed the state Senate unanimously, and encountered only a few dissenting votes in the House.

CONTACT: Kevin Bean, Economic Conversion Task Force, St. Luke's, Box 3228, Darien, CT 06820 (203-655-1456).

PENNSYLVANIA — This June a grassroots lobbying effort introduced the Pennsylvania Economic Adjustment Act into the state General Assembly. If enacted, the bill would create a \$30 million per year Economic Adjustment Board to "find new and productive uses for dislocated workers and declining facilities."

According to the legislation, "The destruction of [Pennsylvania's] industrial base has taken a devastating toll on the self-esteem and productive lives of dislocated workers and their communities. It is essential for the Commonwealth to address this problem in a unified manner."

The envisioned Economic Adjustment Board would consist of five representatives nominated by the state AFL-CIO, five business representatives nominated by the Chamber of Commerce, as well as state officials including the secretaries of commerce, labor, and community affairs, and two representatives each from the state House and Senate. They would be mandated to report periodically to the Governor and state legislature with their findings and recommendations.

The law would encourage hard-hit facilities to create Economic Adjustment Committees comprised of people from labor, management, government, and the community who would develop plans for diversifying production, maximizing employment, and minimizing dislocations.

Hearings on the bill are expected in the state House this autumn, with passage hoped for by late October. The legislation would then move to the Republican-controlled state Senate, where it would likely be voted on early next year.

CONTACT: The PA Project/The PA Freeze Voter, 315 Peffer St., Harrisburg, PA 17102 (717-234-3689).

MUNICIPAL EFFORTS

CHICAGO, IL — Appointments have finally been made to the city's Economic Conversion Commission created by the passage last year of a stringent Nuclear Free Zone ordinance. The seven-member board — which had met eight times by mid-summer — includes representatives from labor, law, academia, and the peace movement.

One of the Commission's first tasks is to develop a survey for companies identified as receiving nuclear contracts, that will ask them to disclose the nature of those contracts on a voluntary basis.

The data will be compiled and compared with outside assessments and, where discrepancies arise, the Commission may then call for public hearings.

By next spring, the Commission also expects to produce a report on the possibilities of converting facilities dedicated to nuclear contracting to alternative productive uses.

CONTACT: Ron Freund, Clergy and Laity Concerned, 17 N. State St., Chicago, IL 60602 (312-899-1800).

(con't)

PALO ALTO, CA — After having collected more than the 3,100 signatures necessary for a Nuclear Free Zone initiative to qualify for this November's ballot, Palo Alto activists are now fighting a massive, well-funded opposition. The measure calls for, among other things, the creation of a Conversion Planning Commission. (For additional information, see the related article on page 39.)

CONTACT: Nuclear Free Palo Alto, 555 Waverly St., Palo Alto, CA 94301 (415-327-4567).

PORTLAND, OR — In March, an organization called World Peacemakers formally began collecting signatures for an ordinance that would create a "peace-oriented venture capital fund." Financed by contributions and a one percent income tax on people earning more than \$100,000 per year, the fund would be used to help companies switch from Department of Defense contracts to consumer-oriented production. The ordinance also provides for taxpayers to divert a portion of their federal income tax into the fund, though Internal Revenue Service officials argue that this part of the ordinance is unconstitutional and unenforceable. If proponents collect the necessary 23,917 signatures by July 1988, Portland residents will have an opportunity to vote on the measure in November 1988.

CONTACT: Jeff Liddicoat, World Peacemakers, 1804 S.E. Oak St., Portland, OR 97214 (503-232-2426).

SAN DIEGO, CA — On May 16, the CEC held a workshop in San Diego entitled "Economic Stability through Economic Conversion: Strategies for Action." The 40 participants included trade unionists, business people, public official, technical professionals, and "socially responsible" investors. They identified a number of potential projects, including an economic expansion and development fund, a mass transit production project, a defense worker support system, and conversion planning efforts at two local defense facilities. More immediately, participants are planning to educate candidates for the city council elections in November and solicit their support for local conversion planning.

CONTACT: Marcia Boruta, 405 West Washington #143, San Diego, CA 92103 (619-299-5315).

SAN JOSE, CA — The San Jose Jobs with Peace Conversion Task Force has begun circulating petitions to place a conversion ordinance on the ballot in the spring of 1988. This comes on the heels of the City Council turning down a model conversion ordinance developed by the Center for Economic Conversion (see *Bulletin*, Spring 1987).

In its initiative petitions, supporters noted that "San Jose is not adequately prepared to adjust rapidly to major military cutbacks in terms of job relocation, job retraining, alternative use plans for defense plants, and other means of economic diversification. . . . A well-designed municipal program providing high-quality, technical assistance in economic adjustment and conversion planning can help San Jose greatly strengthen the local economy and provide a transition to a more stable non-military dependent economy."

CONTACT: San Jose Jobs with Peace Conversion Task Force, 425 E. Santa Clara, #200, San Jose, CA 95113 (408-289-1769).

SEATTLE, WA — Nine months after the Lockheed Shipyard locked out 950 union workers in a wage dispute, labor activists are beginning to talk of shifting the facility to employee or public ownership. At a conference entitled, "Puget Sound Shipbuilding in Crisis," Seattle Metal Trades Council President Nate Ford said that "labor unions are in a creative mood, and [changes in ownership] are possibilities that we will be looking into. We are very serious about exploring them further."

At a news conference, Ford and Tom Lewiston of Rank-and-File Workers at Lockheed noted that the Port of Seattle, perhaps along with the city or county, could acquire the shipyard's two sites by claiming "eminent domain." The land, in turn, could be leased to an employee-owned or other private company for continued shipyard operations.

Although Lockheed says it has reached no decision to shut down the yard, it withdrew a bid for a billion-dollar Navy shipbuilding contract. Replacement workers were hired to fill in for the strikers, but Nate Ford believes they don't have the skills to get the shipyard functioning at full steam.

CONTACT: Seattle Early Warning Network, 2512 Second Ave., Room 109, Seattle, WA 98121 (206-441-8542).

GLOBAL ORGANIZATIONS OF CITIES

NEXT HIROSHIMA MAYORS' CONFERENCE SLATED FOR 1989

During May, the executive committee of the World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-city Solidarity formally agreed to hold its second conference in Hiroshima and Nagasaki during August 1989. Meeting in Hannover, West Germany, the committee was comprised of the mayors of Berlin (East Germany), Como (Italy), Hannover, Hiroshima, Lusaka (Zambia), Nagasaki, and Volgograd (U.S.S.R.). Other members of the committee who could not attend were the mayors of Sacramento (U.S.A.) and Vancouver (Canada).

The mayors also resolved to attend the Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, scheduled for 1988.

SOURCE: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Hall, Office of the Mayor, Hiroshima City Office, 1-2 Nakajima-cho, Naka-ku Hiroshima, 730 Japan.

ANTI-GWEN ACTIVISTS ACCELERATE EFFORTS ON MANY FRONTS

They are imposing structures, soaring 299 feet into the sky. They're the GWEN towers — the Air Force's Ground Wave Emergency Network. According to the military, this nationwide mesh of towers will be essential for national leaders to communicate to bomber bases, missile silos and other strategic points during a nuclear war.

But the GWEN Project doesn't buy it. As we first reported in the Winter 1986-87 issue of the *Bulletin*, this Massachusetts-based organization is leading a campaign against the network on a number of fronts.

The ultimate pricetag for the entire GWEN system is projected at close to \$1 billion. But strong lobbying efforts in Congress are aimed at reducing Fiscal Year 1988 funding for the network. Similar efforts in Fiscal Year 1987 led to a 66% slashing of the GWEN procurement budget. Cuts like these have slowed down completion of a second phase of GWEN known as the "Thin Line" — the 56 towers necessary for minimum operational capacity (the full list appears in the box on this page). Though the Air Force initially projected having the Thin Line completed by September 1986, only 45 towers are built or under construction, and the last few sites have still not been formally acquired.

Now no one's predicting with certainty if and when the Thin Line will be in place, particularly with a lawsuit just filed on July 23 by the Conservation Law Foundation of New England and joined by the state of Rhode Island. Most of the remaining towers need to be built in the Northeast (Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New Jersey), and the suit hopes to block them, claiming that the specific environmental impacts at particular sites have never been considered.

In May and June, the Air Force held

public hearings in four cities (Atlanta, Dallas, Philadelphia, and Sausalito, CA) on the draft of its generic Environmental Impact Statement for 71 additional towers. The Air Force says it ultimately needs these extra structures to bring the system to so-called Final Operating Capability and increase its "survivability" in case of attack. But critical testimony at the hearings not only pointed to GWEN's apparent violations of the Environmental Protection Act, but according to the GWEN Project's Rene Theberge, it affirmed that the towers foster the illusion that nuclear war can be won.

Meanwhile, grassroots opposition continues to surface. In the rural town of Penobscot, Maine, a month-long campaign by GWEN opponents included newspaper ads, leaflets, and a speech by Capt. James T. Bush, USN Ret., of the Center for Defense Information. The public education effort resulted in a public referendum in which Penobscot citizens voted against the GWEN towers being built there.

In Massachusetts, the Board of Selectmen in Plymouth voted 4 to 1 against the Air Force installing a tower that was next to a nuclear power plant and in a bird sanctuary. And in New Bedford, the City Council also passed an anti-GWEN resolution.

SOURCE: Rene Theberge, GWEN Project, P.O. Box 135, Amherst, MA 01002 (413-549-1576).

A M E R I C A ' S T H I N L I N E

Primary Locations for GWEN Towers

- | | |
|--|---|
| Alabama: Grady, Hackleburg | Montana: Billings, Great Falls, Ronan |
| Arizona: Flagstaff | Nebraska: Ainsworth, Omaha |
| Arkansas: Fayetteville | New Jersey: Wildwood |
| California: Bakersfield, Biggs, Fenner, Roseville | New Mexico: Albuquerque |
| Colorado: Aurora (Lowery AFB), Pueblo (Pueblo Army Depot), Rocky Flats | New York: Elmira, Hudson Falls, Remsen |
| Georgia: Macon, Savannah Beach | North Carolina: Beaufort |
| Iowa: Mechanicsville, St. Mary's Township | North Dakota: Devils Lake, Edinburg, Medora |
| Kansas: Goodland, Topeka | Oklahoma: Canton |
| Maine: Herseytown, Penobscot | Oregon: Klamath Falls, Harney (or Grant County) |
| Maryland: Hagerstown, Crownsville, Waldorf/Charles County | Pennsylvania: Erie (Harbor Creek), Gettysburg, Hawk Run |
| Massachusetts: Barre Falls (or Amherst), plus two towns in the southeastern part of state or in Rhode Island | South Carolina: Kensington |
| Michigan: Onondaga | South Dakota: Clark |
| Mississippi: Alligator Township | Texas: Summerfield |
| | Virginia: Driver |
| | Washington: Appleton, Spokane, Wenatchee |
| | Wisconsin: Mequon |

OPPONENTS OF HOMEPORTING REMAIN VIGILANT

As the Navy continues its aggressive efforts to build 14 new "homeports" in New York City, San Francisco, the Gulf Coast, and Everett, Washington, so does citizen opposition (see the Spring 1987 issue of the *Bulletin*). This year, the Navy requested \$330 million for initial construction of some of the new bases. But an unusual coalition of fiscal conservatives, liberal arms-control advocates, and representatives of some of the homeport communities has stalled approval of funding. As of this writing, the House has deleted many of the homeporting line-items that the Senate approved and the fate of the program's future hangs in a joint committee meeting.

Meanwhile, the Government Accounting Office has joined the cynics, with a study concluding that Navy estimates "understate the cost to establish new homeports. The \$799 million figure for initial operating capability at the new homeports does not include all identified costs. Specifically, family housing requirements, non-appropriated fund construction, and operating and maintenance and outfitting costs are not included in this figure." According to the report, just two of the proposed ports — in Staten Island, New York, and

Everett, Washington — could cost \$1 billion.

Opponents of homeporting call the program a budgetary Trojan horse, aimed at shoring up Congressmen's support for a large Navy budget by making their districts more economically dependent on the military. In fact, pork-barrel politics are already coming into play; most of the homeport sites are represented by legislators serving on committees that vote on Navy funding.

While the Navy continues to refuse to corroborate fears that nuclear weapons will be deployed on homeport ships, Congressional testimony by Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger and others indicates that many or most will be nuclear-equipped. There is a fear that in the event of a fire, chemical explosion or ship collision, nuclear warheads could be damaged severely enough to release plutonium.

Opponents of the Navy's plan are now organizing massive letter-writing campaigns, asking the Congress to cut funding for the program.

SOURCE: PeaceNet, Conference on Homeporting.

MISSOURI CONFLICT HEATS UP

No community has been more split over homeporting than San Francisco. In late 1984, when Mayor Feinstein first supported the plan to moor the battleship Missouri at Hunters Point, the city's board of supervisors voted to oppose it. The Mayor then visited the Pentagon to assure that local opposition would be overcome, only to be followed shortly afterwards by a delegation of supervisors promising opposition at every turn. This August, the supervisors finally approved the plan, but the six-to-five margin hardly inspired confidence among supporters, especially as new facts began surfacing about serious economic and environmental costs of the project.

Calculator Wars

In recent months, proponents of homeporting have claimed that it would produce substantial economic benefits for the Bay Area. Bob Hayden of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce claimed it would add \$1 billion to the economy. A report by the city controller, city budget analyst, and the Mayor's office predicted that the region would gain \$255 million annually — including \$68.8 million for the city. Mayor Feinstein argued that the project would provide thousands of blue collar jobs.

But critics have shown that these conclusions are based on thin evidence.

"What has been learned over many years," says Alan Ramo, legal director of Citizens for a Better Environment, "is that the appearance of a new project bringing in more jobs and economic benefits has turned out to be a very false picture."

The city, for example, claimed homeporting would create 1,886 jobs, some 282 from new ship repair contracts. Skeptics noted, however, that the project has *already* resulted in 500 lost ship repair jobs when the Navy evicted Triple A Shipyards. The Navy said it would rehire all but 100.

Also slated for eviction are 109 small businesses, which originally located at Hunters Point because of its low rent. A study commissioned by a local tenants association estimated that the 1,000 people employed by these businesses generate \$28 million directly and as

much as \$50.4 million in "multiplier effect" business in the local economy. Once displaced, these workers will probably locate to other available low rent districts — outside the city. These lost economic benefits would more than offset the \$56 million the city expects to make on ship building contracts.

The fate of 350 artists' studios at Hunters Point is another question. This artist colony, the largest in the country, might well disappear altogether if the homeport is built.

Perhaps the most significant exclusions from the city's cost-benefit analysis were the costs of schools, police, and social services. Homeporting means an additional 12,023 people in the Bay Area — 5,863 Navy personnel and their 6,160 spouses and children. At least 900 more kids will be in San Francisco's resource-strapped schools and traffic on the city's already bumper-to-bumper Bay Bridge will worsen.

Just where these additional people will live remains unclear. Even leaving aside the homeporting project, the Navy is *already* 2,000 homes short for its personnel. If homeporting going forward, the Navy plans to build 1,500 units on 85 acres at Hunters Point. Unfortunately, this area has been found to be contaminated extensively with toxic wastes.

The Navy claims it will clean up the toxics, but even if it succeeds, at least 440 families will be looking for housing in San Francisco's very tight rental market. Most of them will be looking for three-to-four bedroom units, the tightest market in the city. Calvin Welch, a representative of 17 community-based nonprofit housing developers, says, "In 1984, only 168 three-bedroom-or-more units were built in San Francisco. They need 440....If this were a rational process, the Navy wouldn't even be considering San Francisco simply because of the housing problem."

Toxics Uber Alles

Throughout the year, concerns have

been raised that the Navy's plans for dredging 912,000 cubic yards of sediment for the homeport could unearth buried toxics — including heavy metals such as copper, nickel, and zinc — that could seriously threaten the integrity of the San Francisco Bay. Heightening these concerns was a study by the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, which found that Department of Defense facilities persistently polluted the bay and consistently failed to clean it up.

In late July, however, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) approved the Navy's dredging plans. It

"There is nothing I can see that will be brought in by these ships that will justify the dangerousness of their presence."

- Oakland City Council Member Wilson Riles, Jr.

also concluded that the 30 hazardous waste sites at Hunters Point, where the Navy plans to house families of ships' crews, would pose no problems provided they are covered with asphalt and cement.

Environmentalists were enraged. "It appears that President Reagan's EPA," said Ramo, "is giving the Navy special treatment and sent a clear message to the Navy that they do not have to be serious about cleaning up contamination. It is disgraceful that EPA believes there are no adverse environmental impacts from dredging sediments off Hunters Point. That area is a clear toxic hot spot in the bay."

Also inadequately covered, say critics, were environmental hazards from fuel spills and the accidental explosions of nuclear warheads on the Missouri.

Andrew Lichterman, a lawyer of Western States Legal Foundation, com-

plained that the Navy "has made a shell game of its overall plan for the Bay Area by dividing it into small projects in order to reduce the apparent impacts."

Politicians on the east side of the bay share these concerns. Alameda County Supervisor John George and Oakland City Council Member Wilson Riles, Jr. demanded that the EPA reject the Navy's environmental impact statement because it failed to consider adequately the impact of homeport on the entire Bay Area's traffic, housing, and pollution problems.

"A lot of people thought [the Missouri] would be confined to San Francisco," said George, "but now we realize that our county is also involved. This could be very dangerous."

Adds Riles, "There is nothing I can see that will be brought in by these ships that will justify the dangerousness of their presence."

A Pyrrhic Victory

Homeporting critics were surprised to discover that the most powerful argument against homeporting was the city's hiring laws, forbid that any employers from discriminating against gay men and lesbian women. The issue was first raised by state Assemblyman Art Agnos, a candidate for Mayor: "In April of this year, the Department of Defense said their contractors would get screening that would check for, and I quote, 'perverts' and their sex lives.'"

In a city where support for gay rights is bipartisan, the Navy's policy of discrimination was immediately branded as intolerable. The Navy and city officials then began to hammer out compromise language that would ensure some protection for gays and lesbians.

Before the city's Board of Supervisors approved the project, language was added to a Memorandum of Understanding between the Navy and the city that forbids the Navy from discriminating against civilian employees on the basis of sexual preference or if they have AIDS, provided it does not interfere

with their job performance.

Gay rights advocates were still disappointed. Supervisor Harry Britt, a leading gay rights activist, called the language weak enough for "Lyndon LaRouche to live with."

By all indications the fight over the Missouri is far from finished.

On August 17, Mayor Feinstein finally had the necessary six votes to approve the homeporting project. Polls showed 59 percent of the city in favor and 31 percent against (with 10 percent undecided). And the city's most powerful institutions — the daily newspapers, the Chamber of Commerce, and the business community — were all lined up squarely behind the Mayor.

But within a week, officials were already beginning to have second thoughts. Opponents produced a secret note from the Navy ordering a study of asbestos contamination at Hunters Point not to be released until the Board of Supervisors approved the Memorandum of Understanding.

Fumed Alan Ramo, "The Supervisors and the public were entitled to know this information before the vote. They were hoodwinked by a rush to judgment and a lack of respect for our democratic process and the public health and safety."

For Representative Ron Dellums, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, this evidence of a Navy coverup means that "the time has come to step back and take a more thorough look at all of the components of the Navy's strategic homeporting plans. Until these are resolved, Congress certainly should resist and further requests by the Navy to authorize funds for the homeporting project."

Several days after the secret note was released, three environmental groups — San Francisco Tomorrow, Citizens for a Better Environment, and the Arms Control Research Center — filed suit in San Francisco Superior Court seeking to

invalidate the Memorandum of Understanding on the grounds that an environmental impact report had not yet been filed.

The city countered that the suit has no merit. Deputy Mayor Jim Lazarus said, "[The memorandum] merely puts the city on record as favoring the concept of homeporting and outlines what various city departments should be doing to prepare for basing the Missouri."

Battleship Days Ahead

By all indications the fight over the Missouri is far from finished. Alameda County supervisors voted unanimously to have their own staff study of the homeporting plan. "We do not have all the answers yet," Supervisor George said. "Homeporting the Missouri in San Francisco...ties that city and this county

into a military economy. I am concerned about the dredging, housing, jobs and the nuclear weapons."

Lichterman notes that the Navy must secure dredging permits from the Army Corps of Engineers and the Bay Conservation and Development Commission, and environmental approval from a number of local and state agencies.

The Navy also must get approval from federal, state, and local agencies for its plan to clean up hazardous waste dumps at Hunters Point before it can build housing and other facilities.

And, of course, everything turns on Congress funding the program — an increasingly uncertain outcome.

SOURCES: Numerous articles from the SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE and SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER throughout 1987.

ECONOMIC IMPACT ON EVERETT ANALYZED

"Generally negative even in the best case scenario" is how a study recently described the predicted economic impact of homeporting in Everett, Washington. Employment Research Associates (ERA), an independent, non-profit economic consulting firm based in Lansing, Michigan, conducted the evaluation, examining the effects of the project in both best and worst case scenarios.

In the best case scenario, the study found that the build-up during the years 1988 to 1994 would result in an annual average of 3,807 jobs for Washington state residents. However, even when the build-up was complete in 1995, only 28.9% of all homeport-related jobs would be taken by state residents, with the remainder going to military personnel, their spouses, and other outsiders immigrating into the state. In many cases, these out-of-staters would

take the higher-skilled and higher-paying jobs, leaving the "indirect service sector jobs where the pay is not as high" for Washington state residents.

The state government itself, said the report, would lose on average \$2.5 million per year during the years 1988 to 1994. Even though employees paid at the homeporting project would be spending their wages in Washington, many of these expenditures would be at military PX's, which do not charge state and local sales tax. Meanwhile, the "taxes paid by the non-military immigrants are simply not sufficient to overcome the fiscal drain generated by expenditures necessitated by the additional population." Thus, said the researchers, "the overall budgetary impact on the Washington state government will be negative."

The worst case scenario presented even a more depressing picture. During the years 1988 to 1984, the project would bring an average annual net loss to the state of more than \$5.4 million. There would actually be a net decline of 1,217 jobs in 1995, "due primarily to the projected closing of the Scott Paper plant" because of "potential homeport related complications" such as diminished

truck access to the plant.

The report also listed a number of other expected social and economic costs of the homeporting project:

- The added Navy personnel would increase the demand for existing housing, probably increasing most people's rents — a particular hardship upon the elderly and others on fixed incomes.

- Project-related dredging could result in greater pollution of the Puget Sound, reducing fish and crab populations and especially hurting the commercial harvests of the neighboring Tulalip Tribe.

- Additional use of local services and roads will pose further social costs requiring increased taxes.

SOURCE: "The Economic and Fiscal Impacts of the Everett Homeporting Project," by Marion Anderson, Michael Oden & Thomas Anderson; a report of Employment Research Associates, 474 Hollister Building, Lansing, MI 48933 (517-485-7655).

TEXAS SIERRA CLUBS ATTACK HOMEPORTING

In Texas, the Sierra Club is fed up with the Navy and its homeporting plans for Corpus Christi and Galveston. A resolution expressing these concerns has been passed by three separate entities of the club — the Lone Star Chapter (more than 13,000 members), the Galveston Regional Group (over 200 members), and the Coastal Bend Regional Group (about 200 members). Early last year at a meeting discussing the scope of the Navy's an environmental impact statement, the Sierra Club stated it expected full disclosure of all related factors that would affect the environment. It was particularly concerned about such is-

ssues as the accidental detonation of propellants, conventional or thermonuclear weapons, and the resulting dispersal of hazardous materials.

When the Navy never addressed these issues in its final environmental impact statement, the Lone Star Chapter (Galveston Group/Coastal Bend Group) resolved to "oppose the siting of a homeport in Galveston and/or Corpus Christi until such time as full disclosure of environmental factors is made."

SOURCE: Peter Bowman, Sierra Club (Lone Star Chapter), 3716 Avenue O 1/2, Galveston, TX 77550.

NORTHERN IRELAND

FOLLOW MacBRIDE PRINCIPLES, SAYS SPRINGFIELD

On April 6, the City Council of Springfield, Massachusetts resolved to divest its portfolio of corporations doing business in Northern Ireland that refuse to adhere to the MacBride Principles. Designed by Nobel Peace Prize winner Sean MacBride, these principles are aimed at encouraging fair hiring and treatment of minorities, and preventing discrimination against Catholics or Protestants in Northern Ireland. The Council also instructed its purchasing department to deny city contracts to any firms refusing to adhere to the MacBride Principles.

SOURCE: Mayor Richard E. Neal, City of Springfield, 36 Court St., Springfield, MA (413-787-6100).

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NUCLEAR-FREE ZONING

NUCLEAR-FREE PALO ALTO OPPOSED BY PALO ALTO COUNCIL

If voters in Palo Alto, California, approve their nuclear-free zone initiative this coming November, they will become one of the first municipal electorates to begin closing down nuclear weapons contractors. Unlike the nation's other 134 nuclear-free zones, Palo Alto is economically dependent on nuclear weapons work, though no one knows for sure. Consequently, Palo Alto's leaders are doing everything in their power to make sure the initiative fails. The City Council, the local newspapers, the administration of neighboring Stanford University, and many of the city's former political leaders have all teamed up with the local defense contractors to defeat the initiative.

The battle is essentially a replay of an effort by the Mobilization for Survival to transform Cambridge, Massachusetts, into a nuclear-free zone in 1983. Then, as now, nuclear weapons contractors were well entrenched in a university city and mounted a massive campaign in opposition. Unlike the Cambridge effort, however, the Palo Alto law would also have the city divest and refuse contracts with firms making nuclear weapons or nuclear weapons components. And it would have the city put up "Nuclear-Free Palo Alto" signs at its main entrances and create a conversion commission to help local companies get out of nuclear weapons work within three years.

On July 9, Palo Alto released a staff report "to discuss the impacts upon the City government operations which could result from voter approval of the initiative." Citizens and outside commentators were given 72 hours to respond and what many found was disappointing.

After performing an exhaustive point-by-point analysis (summarized on next page), the Center for Innovative Diplomacy concluded, "The staff report is little more than a thinly disguised dia-

tribe against the initiative—one riddled with serious misinterpretations, factual errors, and misstatements of law. These problems are so consistently slanted against the initiative that it is hard to escape the conclusion that the staff is deliberately trying to lobby against the initiative and subvert the democratic process it represents."

On July 13, the City Council deliberated over whether to write a ballot argument against the ordinance (it had already decided not to support it). The Council's nine members sat impatiently as two dozen witnesses discussed the staff report, most of them critically. Rather than thank witnesses for their

By the time the Council voted, it had received in oral testimony or written comments evidence contradicting virtually every one of the city staff's negative conclusions.

efforts to point out the problems with the report, Mayor Gail Woolley saw fit to chide them for not submitting their comments earlier. Throughout witnesses' oral testimony, Council Members Mike Cobb, Larry Klein, and Frank Pattitucci were pacing, talking, and passing notes, trying to figure out how to close off the discussion.

Even though virtually every one of the initiative's witnesses brought forward new, important information, council members asked few of them questions. Several of these witnesses came from Marin and Berkeley to explain how their nuclear free zone ordinances were working smoothly, but most council members, with their minds already made up, were

uninterested in their testimony.

By the time the Council voted, it had received in oral testimony or written comments evidence contradicting virtually every one of the city staff's negative conclusions. For example, several witnesses presented evidence that the ordinance could result in better purchasing decisions and more jobs for the city. But one by one, every council member voted to write an argument against the initiative, essentially ignoring the testimony given to them by various witnesses.

Perhaps the most telling statements occurred after proponents had left the city council meeting. As the Council deliberated on whether to write the argument opposing another initiative on "leaf blowers," several council members made jokes about the nuclear free zone witnesses. Council Member Pattitucci then urged his colleagues not to write a ballot argument against the leaf blower initiative because its proponents had the "courtesy" not to send 35 people to testify and "waste the Council's time." In other words, testimony from the public — one of the democratic rights of Palo Alto residents — should be penalized.

A week after the vote, Margaret Jacobs, Co-Director of the Mid-Peninsula Peace Center, distributed a memorandum pointing out that four of the council members voting to oppose the initiative held stock in nuclear weapons manufacturers: Mike Cobb (General Electric and AT&T), Leland Levy (General Electric), John Sutorius (AT&T), and Gail Woolley (General Electric and IBM). By law, any council member with a financial conflict of interest must excuse him- or herself from voting. Thus far, the City Council has given no indication that it will vote again without the interested parties. As of this writing, initiative proponents are considering legal action to invalidate the council ballot argument. □

PALO ALTO'S "OBJECTIVE" ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSED ORDINANCE

When the Palo Alto City Council unanimously voted to write a ballot argument against "The Nuclear Weapons Free Palo Alto Act," it relied primarily upon the staff report issued July 9, 1987. The Center for Innovative Diplomacy then prepared for the city a twelve page, point-by-point rebuttal. Below we present selected points and rebuttals. Neither City Council nor the authors of the staff report have answered any of CID's responses.

Background on NFZs

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: Of [the 50 legally binding NFZs], only four are cities with populations of over 50,000. The majority of ordinances have been approved by small communities with limited economic involvement.

CID'S RESPONSE: According to Nuclear Free America, there are 18 jurisdictions with binding NFZs having populations greater than 50,000.

The Selective Contracting Provisions

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: In contracts required by the City Charter to be let as a result of competitive bidding, the Council would be obligated to award such contracts to the lowest responsible bidder in spite of the Initiative's provision that the City should grant no contract to any person knowingly engaged in work for nuclear weapons.

CID'S RESPONSE: The 1985 California case of *R. & A. Vending Services Inc. v. City of Los Angeles* makes clear: "[The city] council has been invested with discretionary power as to which is the lowest responsible bidder...[and] such discussion will not be interfered with by the courts in the absence of direct averments and proof of fraud." In other words, Palo Alto can reasonably look to the initiative for guidance on what constitutes its definition of "lowest responsible bidder."

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: The implementation of [the selective purchasing] feature of NFZ legislation has proved to create the greatest difficulties in other Nuclear Free Zone communities. It becomes a lengthy, and often acrimonious task, to determine which entities shall be considered nuclear weapons contractors.

....How shall other firms that do not themselves engage in nuclear weapons work, but are parent companies, subsidiaries, agents or affiliates of such firms, be treated?

CID'S RESPONSE: These difficulties have arisen primarily because city staff in these communities resisted implementing the ordinance, refused to draw up solid implementation guidelines, and lacked access to a dependable database listing defense contractors. If Palo Alto's city staff carefully learns from the experiences of other cities, they should be able to prevent the "lengthy, and often acrimonious task" that the staff report fears. Solid guidelines can take care of the parent-subsidiary and third-party-vendor problems the staff report foresees. Moreover, if the city staff quickly appoints the economic conversion commission, it can get much of this groundwork done at virtually no cost to the city.

With regard to the absence of a dependable database listing defense contractors, Palo Alto should regard itself as fortunate that other cities have already assembled much of this information. Many of the problems other jurisdic-

tions faced reflected that they were the first jurisdictions assembling such data. Now that much of the data already has been collected, Palo Alto need not go through as exhaustive a process.

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: The City currently contracts with at least twenty of the firms [listed as "The Top 50 Nuclear Weapons Contractors"]. Palo Alto would encounter the same problems which have been widely publicized in other NFZ jurisdictions, related to purchases such as City vehicles, police radios, and telephone parts and equipment. Palo Alto, however, would experience unique difficulties due to the City's ownership of all its utilities. If the Utilities Department were forbidden to grant contracts to companies on "The Top 50 Nuclear Weapons Contractors" list the impact would be immediate, severe and costly....

CID'S RESPONSE: These speculations are extreme distortions. Nowhere does the staff report even acknowledge that the initiative allows the City Council to grant exemptions where "no reasonable alternative exists." In each of these cases, the affected departments can convince City Council to grant an exemption. The feared cost increases will only occur if the City Council refuses to grant an exemption.

The Selective Zoning Provisions

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: Section 5 of the

Initiative, Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Work, could be ruled unconstitutional due to preemption under the Supremacy Clause of the United States Constitution, Article VI, Section 2. Federal law "fills the field" as to "nuclear weapons work," inasmuch as Congress has established a pervasive scheme of federal regulation and control of nuclear activity.

CID's RESPONSE: In recent years, the Supreme Court has...said that state and local laws protecting public health and safety are those "most impervious to preemption."

As the "findings" in the initiative demonstrate, its main purpose is to protect citizens' health, safety, and welfare. In particular, the initiative "finds" that nuclear weapons industry hurts the community by weakening Palo Alto's economy, affronting its morality, endangering civil liberties, and imperiling its psychological well-being. Consequently, the initiative would be precisely the kind of local law "most impervious to preemption."

Applying these supremacy principles, the Massachusetts Supreme Court recently upheld a Cambridge ordinance that prohibited the testing, storage, transportation and disposal of five highly toxic chemical warfare agents. Arthur D. Little, a Cambridge-based producer of these agents under contract with the Department of Defense, argued that these questions were exclusively matters for the federal government. The court disagreed, stating, "[While there is] an explicit constitutional commitment of the national defense to the Federal government...we further recognize that not every regulation which has some incidental effect on a defense program is invalid." The staff report shows no awareness of this case.

Because of these strong arguments against preemption, only one NFZ out of 134 has even been preempted by a court. And even in that one case preemption was found with respect to the ordinance's restrictions on radioactive materials designed to protect public health — restrictions which are not present in the Palo Alto initiative.

Information Collection Requirements

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *Section 9a of the Initiative reads: "The City shall collect annually for the first four years of this ordinance from every nuclear weapons contractor located within the City limits of Palo Alto a statement that they are involved in nuclear weapons work and an approximate dollar amount of such contracts."This requirement must be tempered by the fact that the City could not force disclosure of classified information....*

CID's RESPONSE: The Department of Defense annually publishes a list of all its contractors. The list does not include subcontractors, but the fact that it publishes contractors belies any assertion that a company's acknowledgment of its being involved in nuclear weapons work is classified information.

The Conversion Commission

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *Section 7 of the Initiative ordains that the City Council shall appoint a seven-member Economic Conversion Commission which shall "provide the City Council with information and recommendations on the implementation of this ordinance."Establishing another Commission means the preparation of agendas and minutes, compliance with the Open Meetings Act public noticing requirements, as well as the necessary research and document preparation and attendance at meetings.*

CID's RESPONSE: The staff report's argument is completely backwards. Without the Commission, the requirements on city staff time to enforce the initiative would be even greater. If city staff develop a good partnership with the Commission, it can get much of its work done for free. For example, the Commission can assist with assembling data for selective investment and selective purchasing. How cooperative the Commission is with the city staff will turn on its members, but the power of appointing these members rests in City

Council and presumably they will choose well.

The NFZ Signs

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *Staff estimates that it will cost roughly \$2,700 to initially install at 18 locations the mandated [NFZ] signs comparable to those used elsewhere.*

CID's RESPONSE: With the city servicing 1,300 signs per year with a budget of \$222,218, these additional burdens are trivial.

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *Each jurisdiction which staff has consulted has experienced continual vandalism of the [NFZ] signs.*

CID's RESPONSE: Allowing vandalism to veto an otherwise desirable city policy is not responsible policy-making. The answer to vandalism is stiffer penalties against those caught vandalizing, not refusing to put up the signs in the first place.

Costs of the Ordinance

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *The City Attorney's office estimates that not less than one-half of an attorney position, together with appropriate support personnel, will be required to litigate the questions that will arise out of the Initiative.*

CID'S RESPONSE: Earlier the staff report suggests that legal problems "could" arise. In other words, the staff report transforms speculative legal problems into firm costs. As this analysis suggested earlier, only one NFZ has been legally challenged and the likelihood of the legal staff incurring any additional costs is low.

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *The Purchasing Division workload will be significantly impacted as it puts into place procedures to contact the City's 1,500-2,000 vendors and obtains statements verifying their nuclear free status. It will then be necessary to log, maintain, and update these vendor records so the buying staff will know with whom*

they can deal.

CID'S RESPONSE: The cost of sending out 2,000 letters requesting an affidavit is \$440 for postage and no more than another \$1,000 for writing and photocopying a letter and for addressing envelopes. It is in the interest of every vendor to return the information quickly and accurately. While "it will then be necessary to log, maintain, and update these vendor records..." a competent data entry person could create this database in several weeks and update it throughout the year in several more weeks of data entry. Conservatively add another \$4,000 for this data entry person and the total cost is about \$5,440 — hardly a "significant" impact on an office with an administrative budget of \$337,000.

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *The experience in Marin County suggests that additional staff resources will be needed to assist the Economic Conversion Commission in its implementation activities.*

CID'S RESPONSE: If the Commission takes responsibility for its own administration — something good City Council appointments can ensure — the costs will be trivial.

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *Public Works Operations Division's workload will need to accommodate the installation and maintenance of the mandated signs.*

CID'S RESPONSE: Given that the Public Works Operations installs and maintains signs anyway, it is a strained suggestion that 18 additional signs over the existing stock of nearly 10,000 will significantly affect their workload.

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *Of the firms listed in "The Top 50 Nuclear Weapons Contractors," at least seven have facilities in Palo Alto: AT&T, Ford Motor Company (Aerospace), General Electric, IBM, Lockheed Corporation, McDonnell Douglas, and Teledyne, Inc. If these firms were to leave the City rather than choose to cease all nuclear weapons work, the potential loss of sales tax*

revenue to the City would be approximately \$362,000 per year.

CID'S RESPONSE: Here, the staff report transforms a benefit into cost. Since defense contractors pay no sales tax on defense contracts, alternative uses of the same land would generate a substantial net increase in sales tax revenues. That is, the \$362,000 in lost sales tax revenues would be more than offset by new businesses using the same property that would have to pay sales tax on all of their business activities (unless, of course, nonnuclear federal contractors move in).

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *The loss in gross annual revenue [from the city-owned utilities company] would be in excess of \$4 million.*

CID'S RESPONSE: Unless the city staff can show that military contracting is more energy-intensive than the activities likely to replace it, there will be no loss in utility revenues. But even if there is a decline in utility revenues, what this really means is that the City will have successfully conserved energy. Meanwhile, the lower revenues will be offset by lower requirements for city energy production or purchase — a financial wash. As a city that has long favored the environmental, social, and economics benefits of minimizing energy consumption, Palo Alto should rejoice that energy-intensive military contractors might be leaving.

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *Revenue loss could also occur from large scale divestment if the replacement investments do not perform as well.*

CID'S RESPONSE: Were the staff report balanced, it might have also noted that revenue enhancements could result if the replacement investments did better. In point of fact, Franklin Research and Development of Boston, one of the leaders in socially responsible investing, argues that there is no evidence that screened investments have, on the whole and in the long-run, performed

worse than unscreened investments. The burden remains on the city staff to produce evidence to the contrary.

Untallied Benefits

PALO ALTO'S CLAIM: *In summary, the report has attempted to identify the areas of City government operations and procedures which will be affected by approval of the Initiative.*

CID'S RESPONSE: Completely neglected by the staff report are a wide range of possible, though difficult-to-quantify, benefits. Consider just three:

First, the experience of several cities engaged in selective purchasing suggests that it forces city purchasers to shop more carefully and save money. For example, in Takoma Park, Maryland, the city's selective purchasing ordinance actually led its police department to find better and cheaper police radios.

Second, numerous studies have shown that defense is a bad buy for a community's economic welfare. Every serious study of the job impacts of military spending, for example, has shown that military contracting produces fewer jobs than equivalent nonmilitary investments. If the Economic Conversion Commission does its job well, the initiative may well increase the total employment in Palo Alto. What's more, by weaning the Palo Alto economy away from military contracting, the Commission can help reduce the likely costs of dislocations in the future when defense contracts suddenly dry up.

Third, one likely impact of the initiative is to increase the costs of the nuclear arms race and put pressure on the U.S. Congress to reverse the arms race, reduce military spending, and channel those resources back to America's cities. Alone, of course, Palo Alto cannot put significant pressure on nuclear weapons contractors or Congress. But in combination with other cities, Palo Alto can make a difference. Just as it took 65 cities, 13 counties, and 19 states selectively investing and contracting with firms not doing business in South Africa

to convince Congress to replace "constructive engagement" with limited economic sanctions, so will it take a number of cities to convince Congress to reverse military spending. And Palo Alto's vote counts. It can influence many other cities to move forward.

The benefits to Palo Alto of reversing the arms race would be profound. In

Dollar for dollar, money cut from general revenue sharing went into new military spending that many regard as ludicrous.

fiscal year 1985 and many years prior to that, Palo Alto received \$400,000 in general revenue sharing. Now it receives nothing. Last autumn, Congress cut the \$3.4 billion general revenue sharing program at almost the same

time as it approved \$3.5 billion in funding for Star Wars research. Dollar for dollar, money cut from general revenue sharing went into new military spending that many regard as ludicrous. And now, continued support for high levels of military spending are leading Congress to cut Community Development Block Grants and dozens of other programs benefiting Palo Alto. Assertions that Palo Alto ought not to care about national spending priorities because these are "foreign" affairs are, in fact, fiscally irresponsible.

A reversal of the nuclear arms race not only could possibly revive general revenue sharing and other federal programs, it also could help Palo Alto in other important ways. It would reduce the federal deficit and its burden on Palo Alto taxpayers. It would reduce the very real dangers military contractors pose to the psychological health and civil liberties of Palo Alto citizens. And most significantly, a reversal of the nuclear arms race would increase the safety of Palo Alto citizens — and, indeed, the safety of the entire planet. □

ILLINOIS COUNTY ADOPTS NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE STATUS

The Board of Commissioners in Cook County, Illinois, has voted unanimously to join the City of Chicago in adopting a stringent ordinance zoning out nuclear weapons contractors. Modeled after the Chicago measure, the ordinance bans the design, manufacture and storage of nuclear weapons and their component parts within any unincorporated areas of the county, an area encompassing 90 square miles and 170,000 people in the Chicago metropolitan area.

Metropolitan Chicago Clergy and Laity Concerned led the campaign for this ordinance with an area-wide petition drive, which collected more than 10,000 signatures in support of the county measure. The ordinance was sponsored by County Board President George W. Dunne (D-Chicago).

In addition to Chicago, two other Cook County municipalities, Evanston and Lansing, have voted to become nuclear weapon-free zones.

SOURCE: Vice Mayor David D. Orr, 6925 N. Ashland, Chicago, IL 60626 (312-764-3617).

MARIN TIGHTENS NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE ORDINANCE

When is a law not a law? That's the question that peace activists are asking in Marin County, just north of San Francisco, less than a year after voters decisively passed an ordinance declaring the area a nuclear-free zone. After the measure was approved, county officials were caught waffling on the measure and continuing to conduct business with nuclear-weapons contractors.

When the ordinance was passed by 64% of voters, it made Marin the first nuclear-free county west of the Mississippi. The measure called for a \$500 fine or a six-month jail term for any violation of its guidelines — including a provision forbidding the county from buying goods from or entering into contracts

with nuclear weapons contractors.

In the initial months after last November's election, county officials were careful not to deal directly with prohibited firms but they continued to do business with independent distributors who sold items made by such weapons-systems manufacturers as IBM, General Electric, Westinghouse, and the Ford Motor Company. In the first half-year after the ordinance went into effect, the county spent more than \$100,000 this way on products from car tires to computers.

When information of this evasion surfaced, most members of the Peace Conversion Commission, the body overseeing enforcement of the ordinance, were outraged. Commissioner

Brady Bevis, an attorney, complained that the county never told the Commission that it was using third-party vendors.

The uproar persisted for several weeks until the Marin County supervisors voted, 4-to-1, to close the loophole and prevent county purchasers from buying products, even indirectly, from nuclear-weapons contractors, unless no other "reasonable alternative" could be found. Richard Raznikov, chair of the Commission, hailed the tightening of the ordinance as a "terrific victory."

SOURCES: D'Arcy Fallon, "Marin Tightens Anti-Nuclear Boycott," SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, 15 July 1987, p. B-3; and D'Arcy Fallon, "Peace Group Says Marin Violated Law," SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, 31 May 1987, p. B-1.

TAKOMA PARK DEFENDS SELECTIVE PURCHASING

In the following article — originally published in The Washington Post on March 29 — Andrea DiLorenzo and Michael Hasty, members of the Nuclear Free Takoma Park Committee, defend their city's much-ridiculed selective purchasing law.

Now we know how Harry Truman must have felt when he saw the headlines declaring Dewey's victory in the 1948 presidential election. Everyone who followed the latest test of Takoma Park's Nuclear Free Zone Act has offered condolences for our loss in the fight to keep Takoma Park "nuclear free."

In fact, we won. After sharp debate in our community over just what kind of police cruisers the city should buy — cars manufactured by a "nuclear-free" industry such as Chrysler or a "nuclear" industry such as General Motors — our police are buying Chryslers. The Takoma Park nuclear-free zone ordinance is alive and well.

Takoma Park is the nation's first municipality to pass nuclear-free zone legislation that hits nuclear weapons producers where it hurts — in their pocketbooks. Our 1983 ordinance prohibits the city from granting "any award, contract or purchase order, directly or indirectly, to any nuclear weapons producer or any of its subsidiaries."

Recognizing the potential difficulty of meeting the city's needs in an econ-

omy where a significant percentage of businesses have some nuclear-related dealings, however, the city council included provision to waive the act if, after a "diligent search," a necessary good or service can be obtained only from a nuclear weapons producer.

Was the city going to resort to the waiver provision in order to purchase new police cruisers?

Police officials said they didn't want more Chryslers, citing a history of breakdowns. Advocates of the city's non-nuclear ordinance didn't want to buy GM or Ford models, since both companies are tied up in some way with the nuclear weapons industry. The only nuclear-free alternative, it seemed, was Volvo — a quality car but foreign-made and not specifically designed for use by police.

Here was the pragmatists' big chance to put down the utopians who concocted the nuclear-free ordinance. Wouldn't it be better to let police drive safe American-made models instead of foreign-made ones? Supporters of the antinuke ordinance were charged with wanting to purchase deathtraps for

police or adding to our nation's trade deficit.

As it turned out, the idealists won.

Members of the Nuclear Free Takoma Park Committee, after many hours spent with representatives of our own police department and those of other police departments and city administrations throughout the nation, found that the Chryslers had good records. The problem was a lack of proper, scheduled maintenance, the result of a shortage of vehicles in the city's fleet. The Nuclear Free Takoma Park Committee discovered something that, in the end, will save the city money.

Going into the March vote, most observers predicted the council would vote to approve the GM cars. Montgomery County newspapers lambasted the ordinance, and many were celebrating a "return to sanity" in Takoma Park. Instead, several hundred supporters of the Nuclear Free Zone Act turned up at the meeting demanding strict enforcement of the law. Opponents numbered only a handful.

Contrary to popular belief, the "utopian fringe" that supports the ordinance has not plunged the city in to the depths of fiscal despair or cumbersome administrative procedures. In fact, the recent debate over whether to waive the ordinance proved a shot in the arm to good government. Rather than being derided as a nuisance, we think the Nuclear Free Zone Act should win first prize in any contest promoting democratic participation.

The important lesson in all this is that a community *can* successfully balance its stance on national matters with its local business. We in Takoma Park are proud of our stand against the nuclear arms race, and we are proud of the role we are playing in helping build a foundation for the economic and social well-being of the community. □

NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE BRIEF NOTES

Nuclear Free America reports the following developments in nuclear-free zoning since the last issue of the BULLETIN:

AVON, CO — On February 2nd, the Town Council unanimously passed an ordinance banning the production and deployment of nuclear armaments and their components, all types of nuclear energy, and the production, storage and shipment of nuclear waste.

JUNEAU, AK — After overwhelming approval in the Alaska State House, the Alaskan State Senate — under strong lobbying pressure from Washington — rejected a resolution to create a nuclear-free Arctic and sub-Arctic. The measure called upon the United States, the Soviet Union, and all other nations to negotiate a treaty that would turn the entire Arctic/sub-Arctic area into a NFZ. SANE/Alaska, a primary organizer behind the measure, is currently considering

a statewide ballot initiative after having failed three times to push the measure through the state legislature.

PROVINCETOWN, MA — At the annual town meeting last March 16th, residents adopted a nuclear-free zone bylaw in a nearly unanimous vote. This was actually the third time the town had approved such a measure, but the wording of the earlier bylaws — adopted in 1983 and 1984 — was deemed unconstitutional by the State Attorney General.

STILLWATER TOWNSHIP, NJ — The Mayor and Township Council voted unanimously on January 15 to adopt a nuclear-free zone ordinance. The measure bans radioactive waste and all non-medical uses of nuclear energy including nuclear power and food irradiation.

SOURCE: THE NEW ABOLITIONIST, May/June 1987 Issue

SAN PABLO TO TEST SISTER CITY LIABILITY

On an otherwise uneventful Tuesday last March, a Mexican tour bus was traveling down a steep incline in Manzanillo, a city in the southwest part of the country. Suddenly the brakes malfunctioned, the driver could not keep the bus on the road and it careened into a ditch. Most people on the bus were badly shaken and a few were injured, including a member of the sister city delegation from San Pablo, a California town not far from Oakland.

Out of this accident is now developing a major lawsuit that threatens to increase the liability of the more than one thousand U.S. cities that have active sister city programs.

About 20 of the passengers aboard the Mexican bus were from San Pablo and visiting Manzanillo as part of the sister-city exchange program between the two municipalities. One of them, Irene Runions, was sitting in the back row of the tour bus that day, and as the vehicle reeled off the road, she was thrown out of her seat and onto the floor of the bus, sustaining back injuries.

Because the immediate cause of the accident — the bus company — has no assets, Runions has filed her injury claim against the only “deep pocket” available — the city of San Pablo, which officially sponsored the San Pablo-Manzanillo sister city program. She is asking for \$100,000 in damages, \$30,000 of which she claims are medical costs she has already incurred.

According to papers filed with the city, the claimant “was grievously harmed by being injured as a result of official duties as an invited representative of the city of San Pablo.” The documents add that “while in discharge of said duties,” Ms. Runions “suffered fractures of her spine. . . . Travel on said bus was at the request of the city of San Pablo.”

Filed five months after the accident, Ms. Runions’ demand for compensa-

tion was considered a “late claim” by city officials, and it was returned to her for that reason. However, at press time, her claim was expected to be re-submitted with a formal request that the claim, although late, be accepted. If the city rejects the claim, a lawsuit could be Ms. Runions’ next step.

Meanwhile, sister city programs in other parts of the country are keeping a watchful eye on the eventual outcome of the San Pablo case. Can a municipality be held liable for occurrences that

happen in another country under the auspices of a sister city project? And if so, will some municipalities think twice about starting or fostering sister cities? Alternatively, will cities decide to take greater control over their sister city programs commensurate with their liability? Details to follow in subsequent issues.

SOURCE: Charlotte Maggart, San Pablo City Clerk (415-234-6441).

SISTER CITY RELATIONSHIPS FOSTER ECONOMIC EXPANSION

The following article was written by Richard Oakland, director of membership services for Sister Cities International, and was first printed in the Nation's Cities Weekly, 20 July 1987, p. 7. The subtitles are ours.

Dick Thomas of Des Moines, Iowa, retired for the first time in 1963, but now works longer hours than ever.

He is putting together a consortium to establish a 1,000-acre demonstration farm center near Shijiazhuang in the People's Republic of China. The center is a joint project of the Des Moines-Shijiazhuang Sister City program, which was officially established on August 8, 1985.

According to Thomas, the center will showcase “U.S. technology in food, agriculture and energy that can be demonstrated and sold for a profit.” The consortium will involve hundreds of companies and institutions, including the famed Agriculture School of Iowa State.

The Iowa-Japan Connection

The latest effort is but one passage in Des Moines’ long record of exporting

itself through participation in the Sister Cities program. The city affiliated with Kofu, Japan, in 1958.

Over the years, Des Moines’ relationship with Japanese cities has resulted in high levels of Iowa exports to that country of corn, feed, grain, chickens, hogs, cattle, pharmaceuticals, computers, livestock and poultry equipment, and other goods.

Des Moines is just one example of a quiet but growing focus on international trade development on the part of more than 750 U.S. cities involved in Sister City programs with more than 1,220 cities in 86 countries.

The U.S. Sister Cities idea was launched as a national concept in 1956 when President Dwight D. Eisenhower called for massive exchanges between Americans and the peoples of other lands. Out of this grew Sister Cities International (SCI), a tax-exempt, non-profit organization with headquarters in Washington, D.C.

SCI was established by the cities to help them with program activities and to assist new cities wishing to join the program. In the early years, the program was designed to promote the exchange of "people, ideas, and cultures" between affiliated cities on a long-term continuing basis.

As the 1980s unfold, the worldwide network of Sister Cities is expanding rapidly as more and more cities discover they can work together to find solutions to common problems that go far beyond the original concept of the program.

Why Sister Cities?

What does a Sister City relationship offer that ordinary contacts with other countries don't?

◆ A Sister City relationship is undertaken with the long view in mind. For any relationship to develop, time is essential — time to learn, time to trust, time to understand.

◆ A Sister City relationship stimulates community interest in culture, history, art, and the study of foreign languages. It also helps to improve local relations, because people come together to work for a common objective.

◆ A Sister City relationship invariably brings into program activities the young people who will be your city's future business leaders, exposing them to an in-depth cultural experience.

◆ A Sister City relationship gives you a door to the country and its culture. Many U.S. cities have undertaken multiple affiliations with counterparts in different foreign countries, thus opening doors around the world.

◆ You gain invaluable experience in the field of international relations, not passively but through direct personal contact with a real and participating partner.

While trade development and the stimulation of business are not the primary purpose of a Sister Cities program, new or improved trade relations can be a natural by-product of contacts made in the course of visits by Sister City groups, which in many cases include business leaders.

Portland Banks On Hokkaido

For example, Portland, Oregon, linked with Sapporo, Japan in 1959, building on its already strong history of trade relations with that country. The fledgling program "stimulated a tremendous amount of additional interest in Japan," said the Portland Sister City Committee.

A trade relationship of several hundreds of millions of dollars annually has developed between Portland and Japanese ports over the years.

The Portland Dock Commission

points to the heavy annual export of Oregon wood chips and orange grass seeds to customers in Hokkaido Prefecture, in which Sapporo is located.

Boyd's Coffee, a Portland company and one of the original exhibitors to take permanent space in Sapporo's exhibition hall, developed a coffee to suit the Japanese palate and is now exporting to a major Japanese department store.

The excitement of the Sister Cities program and its appeal to the cities of the world cannot be described in one project — or even several. The real excitement of this program involves the commitment between cities of different countries to address some of the problems that only people working together in concert can hope to resolve.

If your city is not involved in the Sister Cities program, you can obtain more information by writing to: Sister Cities International, 120 South Payne St., Alexandria, VA 22314 (703-836-3535). □

Building Municipal Foreign Policies

*An Action Handbook
for Citizens and
Local Elected
Officials*

By Michael Shuman

Send \$6 to:
Center for Innovative Diplomacy
17931-F Sky Park Circle
Irvine, CA 92714



BALTIMORE DIVESTMENT ORDINANCE UPHELD

In a major victory for municipal foreign policies, Judge Martin Greenfeld of the Baltimore Circuit Court upheld Baltimore's divestment ordinance against a suit by trustees of the city's three retirement funds. The ordinance required the city to divest \$400 million in South African related securities from its \$1.2 billion pension fund portfolios.

The plaintiffs — the Boards of Trustees and two city employees — sought to invalidate the ordinance on the grounds that it interfered with interstate commerce, infringed on the federal government's foreign-policy-making power, conflicted with recent federal anti-apartheid laws, and forced the trustees to violate their fiduciary duty to maximize return on their investments. Judge Greenfeld upheld the ordinance against each of these arguments.

It did not interfere with interstate commerce, Judge Greenfeld wrote, because Baltimore was not regulating *others'* investments but simply deciding in which firms to place its own funds. It did not interfere with the federal government's foreign-policy-making power because divestment is a moral act with limited economic consequences. And Congress did not intend the Federal Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 to preempt local authorities from fashioning more restrictive divestment ordinances.

Most significantly, Judge Greenfeld found that divestment would not have an adverse impact on the city's pension fund. He rejected plaintiff's claims that the ordinance would impair the trustee's ability to invest funds in the safest and most profitable manner. He also concluded that the costs of the act of divestment were trivial — one-thirty-second of one percent of the portfolio. "Even if the impairment were more significant," he concluded, "it would be

insubstantial when compared to the salutary moral principle which generated the ordinance."

The decision is particularly important since this was the first legal challenge to divestment ordinances anywhere in the country. And as anti-apartheid attorney Gay McDougall notes, "The Baltimore ordinances are very similar to most other statutes."

Like other jurisdictions, Baltimore had been trying to pressure the white-ruled South African regime to end its policy of apartheid. But one day before the City Council edicts went into effect, they became the subject of an unusual legal action in which one city agency sued another.

Taken together, the Baltimore ordinances give the city's three employee pension funds two years to sell off their holdings in companies doing business in or with South Africa or Namibia. As the City Council weighed the measures, Council Members McFadden and

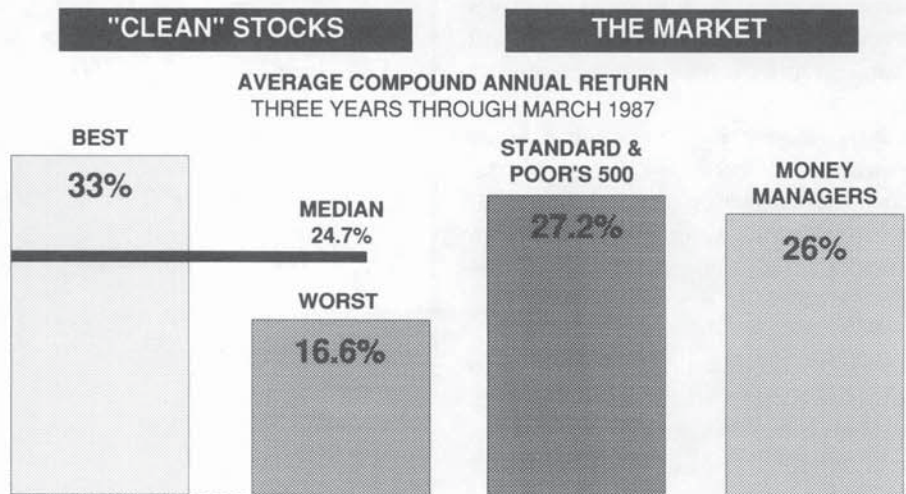
Reeves demanded that Baltimore "not be counted among the number that continues to give license and sanction to this oppressive system of apartheid" which is "the incarnation of the doctrine of racism in the midst of a population that is overwhelmingly black."

In defending the suit, the city had strong support from many organizations and their representatives, including the AFL-CIO, the United Auto Workers, the NAACP, the Catholic Archdiocese, the Johns Hopkins Coalition for a Free South Africa, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Maryland Citizen Action Coalition (a 57,000-member alliance of community groups, union, and senior-citizen, environmental and religious groups).

SOURCES: Beate Klein, "Divestment Wins in Baltimore Test Case," THE FORUM, 2:4, August 1987, p. 1; and Gay J. McDougall, director of the South Africa Project, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, 1400 I Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

SOCIAL INVESTING: HOW MUCH DOES IT COST?

South Africa-free portfolios produced lower returns than unrestricted investments, on average. But the wide spread among managers who held "clean" stocks demonstrates how a portfolio is managed can have more impact on performance than investment restrictions.



SOURCE: BUSINESS WEEK, 6 July 1987 (Data: Brian Rom Corp., Wilshire Associates)

ILLINOIS SUPREME COURT STRIKES DOWN KRUGERRAND STATUTE

South Africa first minted the one-ounce Krugerrand gold coin in 1967, and within four years, it had become the world's most widely traded coin. By 1984, two-thirds of all bullion coins sold in the world were Krugerrands. But in October 1985, in a response to the groundswell of support for strong sanctions against the Union of South Africa, President Reagan signed an Executive Order banning the importation of Krugerrands.

But what was good enough for the President apparently didn't sit very well with some jurists in Illinois. At the end of 1986, the state Supreme Court lowered the ax on an amendment to Illinois' occupation and use tax statutes that took aim at the Krugerrand.

At the center of the storm was a 1984 bill passed by the state legislature which created a tax exemption for "legal tender, currency, medallions, gold or silver coinage issued by the state of Illinois, the government of the United States of America or the government of any foreign country, except the Republic of South Africa."

The new law angered owners of the Springfield Rare Coin Galleries, a gold-coin retailer, who filed suit in the circuit court of Sangamon County. That lower court struck down the exclusion on the grounds that it violated both the U.S. and Illinois constitutions.

The case — *Springfield Rare Coin Galleries, Inc. v. J. Thomas Johnson, Director of Revenue* — then moved up to the state's high court. The state argued that most of the issues in the case had been rendered moot by the issuance of the President's executive order banning importation of Krugerrands. It also claimed that the plaintiff lacked standing to bring the suit because he suffered no economic injury from the tax; the tax was just added to the selling price of the items being sold.

"We are not here dealing with South

Africa's apartheid policy," the justices ruled, "We consider only whether Illinois may impose a discriminatory tax on the sale of products of a single foreign nation as an expression of disapproval of that nation's policies, and as a disincentive to investment in that nation's products. We conclude that it may not, and affirm the decision of the circuit court."

The State Supreme Court justices conceded that "the line of demarcation between incidental and unconstitutional intrusions into foreign affairs is difficult to draw with absolute precision." But they added, "The undisputed purposes of the exclusion are to express

disapproval toward South Africa and to discourage investment in its products. We thus hold that the exclusion is an impermissible encroachment upon a national prerogative—the authority of the Federal government to conduct foreign affairs."

The court based its decision in part on a 1980 case, in which a District Court of New Mexico ruled that a state university could not deny admission to Iranian students in retaliation for the Iranian hostage crisis.

SOURCE: *Supreme Court of Illinois*, 115 Ill. 2d 221 (1986).

SAN FRANCISCO EVALUATES ANTI-APARTHEID ORDINANCE

Many cities are beginning to find that passing an anti-apartheid ordinance may be easier than implementing it. In San Francisco, for example, its anti-apartheid ordinance is still encountering resistance from city officials, nearly a year and a half after passage. The chief administrator of the selective purchasing and contracting provisions submitted an appropriation request for \$398,000 but received only \$107,000 from the Mayor's office, resulting in laggard compliance.

Thus far, San Francisco has switched only two major contracts with companies doing business in South Africa — IBM and Chevron. The City replaced its IBM computer equipment with Compaq and Harris computer equipment, and is planning to replace its IBM copiers with Eastman Kodak copiers. The city has also begun buying gasoline from Malaco instead of Chevron. Despite these two major moves, the ordi-

nance remains largely unimplemented.

But more switches are expected soon. More than 85% of the affidavits sent out to the city's contractors have been returned, attesting that the company is not involved in any South African transactions the city prohibits. With these affidavits, the city's purchasing department has rejected bids from over 80 companies.

Realizing what a wealth of information it is collecting, the city has decided to make its list of firms involved in South Africa available to the general public. It has also hired an information specialist to design and establish a database with this information.

One piece of good news: The city has been delighted to discover that since divesting its pension funds from companies doing business in South Africa, its portfolio is performing better than before. □

SOVIETS, AMERICANS STRENGTHEN TIES AT SEATTLE CONFERENCE

Even though neither Ronald Reagan nor Mikhail Gorbachev were in attendance, Soviet-American diplomacy moved forward last May in Seattle, where citizens and officials from both countries participated in the Second Annual U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference. Currently, there are 11 official Soviet-American sister cities, 12 more pending, and 32 getting underway (see next page).

The event was the largest gathering to date of people involved in municipal exchanges between the two nations. About 200 participants were on hand, including delegates from more than 104 U.S. cities. The Soviet delegation of nine included the mayors of Baku, Nakoda, Odessa, Tashkent, and Vilnius; the chairman of the Moscow City Council; and representatives of the Trade Ministry, the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies, and the Association for Relations Between Soviet and Foreign Cities.

Joint Problem Solving

The participants not only discussed establishing and sustaining sister city programs, but also how they could nurture business and trade opportunities through sister city alliances. A number of urban problems shared by both countries were placed on the table as well, with an exploration of how municipal, technical and professional exchanges might help solve them.

Ambassador Stephen Rhinesmith, President Reagan's Coordinator for U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiatives, spoke at the conference, encouraging delegates to recognize the common ground that the two superpowers share as well as the differences. He urged people to avoid taking extreme sides. "People have retreated to those corners because they believe the only way to go is one side or the other," he said. "It's entirely

easy to say we can trust everybody or to say we can't trust anybody. The hard line is to go down the middle."

Sergei Paramonov of the Soviet delegation said that by building ties at a people-to-people level, the conference could create mutual understanding and help overcome political differences.

Dr. Charlotte Peterson, vice-chairperson of the Soviet Sister City Project of Eugene, Oregon, noted that "people fear that which they don't understand."

"Diplomacy began in the relations between cities, and we seem to be returning to these roots."

*- Conference chairperson
Rosanne Royer*

By meeting and talking with citizens from the U.S.S.R., "you demystify 'the enemy.'"

The Soviets used part of the conference to describe some of their more innovative social programs. For instance, to encourage home care, new mothers are given a full year's pay to care for their newborn children. Paternity leave, however, is still not provided. Drug and alcohol abuse among Soviet and American youth were recognized as growing problems in both countries. An American delegate suggested that some newly-created Soviet sobriety organizations be put in touch with Alcoholics Anonymous chapters in the U.S. for recommendations on making the Soviet programs as effective as possible.

There were some less serious moments as well. One morning, the mayors of Seattle and Tashkent rowed a boat together around Lake Union to show that "mayors in both countries are pull-

ing together in the same boat." On an evening cruise on Puget Sound, the mayor of Vilnius taught the passengers Lithuanian folk songs and led them in a sing-along.

Human Rights Controversy

Much of the media coverage of the conference focused upon speakers and public demonstrators, who urged that human rights issues in the Soviet Union be dealt with at the conference. Indeed, the only coverage given by the *New York Times* was entitled, with no slight exaggeration, "Jewish Emigration Overshadows Parley of U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities."

Jewish organizations promoting increased emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union and other groups urging Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan continually brought up human rights questions. Representatives from the National Conference on Soviet Jewry gave the attending Soviet mayors a list of 1,000 Jews residing in their cities who wished to emigrate.

The sentiment of the protesters was expressed by Bill Cohen, who said at the opening session on trade, "The major barrier in U.S. trade laws with Russia will not be changed until the Soviet Union faces up to these human rights issues."

Conference organizers were dismayed at the behavior of the protesters, who were included in the conference planning but ultimately refused to participate formally because the organizers declined to put human rights on the agenda of every workshop.

According to Eric Swenson of the conference planning committee, while "no one wants to gloss over points of difference, neither do we feel they ought to be a major focus of the conference" and detract from the discussions of

common cultural, trade and urban issues.

Expressing the view of most conference attendees, Mary Hey of the Boulder Soviet Sister City Project said that, by avoiding political landmines, the sister-city programs can ultimately "create a framework where all kinds of discussions are possible."

Conference chairperson Rosanne Royer pointed to the positive impact of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. sister city alliances.

"Diplomacy began in the relations between cities, and we seem to be returning to these roots. Many of us believe that citizen diplomats and organizations like Sister Cities International are the best hope for developing and maintaining our ties abroad."

The 3rd annual conference is scheduled for next year in Tashkent.

SOURCES: "Jewish Emigration Overshadows Parley of U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities," THE NEW

YORK TIMES, 24 May 1987, p. 13; The Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee; Scott Maier, "U.S.-Soviet Sister City Conference Opens, and Protesters Are There," SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, 22 May 1987; Pete McConnell and Scott Maier, "Visiting Soviets Blast Miller," SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, 23 May 1987, p. 1; Charles E. Brown, "Plight of Soviet Jew Protested," SEATTLE TIMES, 23 May 1987; Anne Christensen, "Sister-City Summit Marked by Debate," SEATTLE TIMES, 24 May 1987, p. B2; "Jewish Emigration Overshadows Parley of U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities."

SOVIET-AMERICAN SISTER CITIES

■ Official Links ■

Baltimore, MD
Boulder, CO
Cambridge, MA
Detroit, MI
Duluth, MN
Houston, TX
Jacksonville, FL
Modesto, CA
Oakland, CA
Salem, OR
Seattle, WA

Odessa
Dushanbe
Yerevan
Minsk
Petrozavodsk
Baku
Murmansk
Khmelnitsky
Nakhodka
Simferpol
Tashkent

Gainesville
Iowa
Long Beach, CA
Sacramento, CA
Spokane, WA
Tallahassee, FL
Trenton, NJ

Novorossisk
Stavropol Region
Sochi
Kishinev
Makhach-Kala
?
Lenin District,
Moscow

■ Pending Links ■

Atlanta, GA
Chicago, IL
Corning, NY
Madison, WI
Mobile, AL
Olympia, WA
Richmond, IN
Santa Barbara, CA
Santa Cruz, CA
Sonoma, CA
Washington, DC
Worcester, MA

Tbilisi
Kiev
L'vov
Vilnius
Rostov-on-Don
Samarkand
Serpukhov
Yalta
Alushta
Kanev
Moscow
Pushkin

■ Initial Status ■

Albany, NY
Durham, NC

Frunze
Kostroma

■ Under Investigation ■

Albany, NY
Anchorage, AK
Bloomington/Normal, IL
Buffalo, NY
Cincinnati, OH
Cookeville Area, TN
Dixon, IL
Eugene, OR
Fort Worth, TX
Fresno, CA
Juneau, AK
Iowa
Kansas City, KS
Kansas City, MO
Lancaster, PA
Lawrence, KS
Minneapolis/St. Paul, MN
Portland Area, ME
Portland, OR
Rochester, NY
Sacramento, CA
San Diego, CA
Wenatchee, WA

Frunze
Tyumen
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Kalinin
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Stavropol Region
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Khabarovsk
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Kishinev
Tallinn
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MAYORS EXCHANGE VIEWS AT SEATTLE CONFERENCE

One of the highlights of the Seattle Conference (see previous article) in May was a luncheon featuring the mayors of Seattle and Tashkent — two cities paired in a sister city alliance for more than a decade. Excerpts from their addresses appear below:

Charles Royer, Mayor of Seattle

"Having visited the Soviet Union, and also having seen much of this nation, I believe far too much of the resources and the energy of both countries are directed at defending ourselves, one from another. Far too much of our national treasure is spent on weapons — on instruments of destruction — that certainly do not deserve the same place on the agenda with parks, waterfronts, beautiful cities in which people have a chance to own their own homes, live in neighborhoods and educate their kids. It seems to me that in both countries, those conflicts are absolutely draining us dry.

"In this country, we'll have another debate [during the 1988 Presidential election] on this set of issues. It's my feeling that in some fashion, we must help the Soviet Union bring itself to a political place where it can concentrate more on issues of housing, transportation, livability and education, than it does on defending itself.

"I don't think any of us is naive about the conflicts and the differences that exist between our two countries. And I don't think any of us believes that this conference is going to lead to a major change in Soviet or U.S. policy tomorrow that will lead us to that promised land of investment in our young people and our cities. But . . . not to do what we're doing, to belittle what we're doing, to say what we're doing is not nearly enough, is to give in to inevitable ignorance and distance between us, when for the first time in so many years we are so close—because we have so much in common.

"In the Soviet Union, I heard so much about children and educating children, and about providing opportunities for the next generation of Soviet citizens. That's our agenda, too. That's what we're discussing in Seattle, and that's what they're discussing in Tashkent. Through our relationship, Tashkent and Seattle can move toward those goals of a better life for all people in both of our countries."

Shukurulla Mirsayidov, Mayor of Tashkent

"I think that the relationship that the mayors of Seattle and Tashkent have is an excellent example of how peoples can establish, maintain and develop contact....

"At the present time, when a major effort is underway in the Soviet Union to improve its economic, social and other aspects of life, I am fully in agreement with Mayor Royer that there is no need to expend large quantities of resources on the arms race.... We can argue at great length as to who has more armaments, whose missiles have longer range or shorter range, and which ones should be kept. But that sort of approach will not do any good for anyone. Instead of engaging in arithmetical exercises, it would be far better to sit around a table and come to an agreement as mayors are often able to do.... If both countries could reduce their expenditures on war-like materials, they would both benefit by being able to reallocate those resources for peaceful development and improvement of their own countries.

"The relationship of our cities has been able to survive through cold periods and warm periods. During this entire length of time, the quality of the relationship between the two cities was maintained successfully. This was possible only because the people from both cities kept in touch with each other, they learned from each other and about each other, at a time when the mass media tended to show a different side of the entire situation.

"People are able to maintain a good relationship only through their contact. This once again confirms the wisdom of our old Eastern saying, 'It is better to see one than to read about it a hundred times.'" □

SOVIET-AMERICAN TRADE OPENS NEW CHANNELS

At the Second U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference in Seattle, discussants suggested that trade could be one of the best tools for building up community support for Soviet-American sister cities.

Steve Kalishman, founder of a sister city program between Novorossiisk and Gainesville, Florida, said that if local small businesses become involved in trade with the Soviet Union, money will come into the community in general, "and there's nothing better than commercial benefits for having the community accept and support sister city programs." Trade, he added, can also bring positive publicity for the sister city program.

Kalishman lamented that sister city programs currently spend too much time raising money to keep their projects in the black. "I believe if we can involve the business community more in sister city programs, we can spend a lot less time on fundraising, and a lot more time on productive exchange."

Diamonds Are a Sister's Best Friend

Kalishman has more than wishful thinking to show for his suggestions. He cited the case of a Gainesville jeweler, Kelley Phillips, whom he interested in buying diamonds directly from the Soviets rather than through middlemen. Kalishman brought Phillips to Moscow on a sister city trip. He ultimately signed an open contract to buy the diamonds he wanted. Now, Phillips wires money to Moscow and directly receives the precious stones.

In appreciation for Kalishman's assistance, Phillips financed the making of a documentary film by the sister city program.

Kalishman is convinced that "there are a lot of businesses that would like to be more socially responsible in their operations if they can be shown that it's profitable. . . . Many businesses are eager to get Soviet contracts, but they don't know how to go about it. Our

experience and our contacts in the Soviet Union can help them a lot."

Unfree Trade Policy

Speaking after Kalishman at the Seattle Conference was Vladimir Chibirev, director of the Soviet Ministry of Trade's Department of Trade and Economic Relations with the Americas. He told the Conference that trade is "an opportunity for promoting relations between our two countries, and can serve to improve trust between our two peoples." But he noted that in recent years the U.S. has imposed restrictions on such trade. "We have not received 'most favored nation' trade status from the United States. The U.S. has not extended us credits. . . . When U.S. firms purchase commodities from the Soviet Union, we are forced to pay import tariffs that are 2.5 times higher than the tariffs that would be paid by other nations."

Last December, the *Wall Street Journal* described the "punitive tariffs" that were felt directly by Maine sheep rancher/wool marketer Peter Hagerty. He thought he had negotiated a bargain with his purchase of Soviet wool for 38 cents a pound below his normal Boston prices. But, said Hagerty, "when the wool got to Boston, we were immediately hit with a 38-cent import duty. [The U.S. government] knew exactly what was going on." He added that the tariff on New Zealand wool is just six cents a pound.

The same *Wall Street Journal* article noted important changes in Soviet trade policy that bode well. Beginning this year, revisions in Soviet regulations have allowed many Soviet production organizations to discuss trade with foreigners without going through the Ministry of Foreign Trade. And, in fact, Chibirev said that there is a broad range of trade areas in which the Soviets are prepared to expand cooperation with foreign nations — from oil to light textiles, equipment production and agriculture.

But will the United States be receptive and begin lowering its trade barriers? Chicago businessman Erwin A. Salk, chair of the Chicago Center for U.S.-U.S.S.R. Relations and Exchanges,

"We must work together to try to break through some of the holds that the U.S. government has put on our doing business with the Soviets."

- Erwin A. Salk

was optimistic. He said that in the United States, "we've become hostages to mythology, particularly in the field of trade. . . . We must work together to try to break through some of the holds that the U.S. government has put on our doing business with the Soviets."

SOURCES: 2nd Annual U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference; Jonathan Kwitny, "U.S. Small Businesses Are Trying, and Doing More Soviet Trading," WALL STREET JOURNAL, 30 December 1986, p. 1.

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CITY OFFICIALS FROM KANSAS JOIN SOVIET PEACE CONFERENCE

At a luncheon reception last February in Moscow, Sandra Praeger — then the Mayor of Lawrence, Kansas — met Raisa Gorbachev, the Soviet leader's wife. The American city official gave Mrs. Gorbachev a key to the city of Lawrence, and invited her to visit the Midwestern town. "She said she accepted the key as if it were a key to my heart," Praeger recalled. "It was a very touching, a very warm exchange."

That's the kind of experience Praeger and her four-person delegation kept having when they visited the Soviet Union — the only local government officials from the U.S. invited to attend Mikhail Gorbachev's International Forum for a Nuclear-Free World. The three-day peace conference was an opportunity for about 1,000 world citizens — mostly educators, scientists, historians, writers, artists, physicians and clergymen — from 80 countries to meet and exchange ideas.

Praeger, now a City Commissioner, believes the unexpected invitation to attend the Soviet forum was motivated by several actions previously taken by people in Lawrence. In 1983, Soviet athletes were asked to participate in the Kansas Relays, a track-and-field event sponsored by Kansas University in which athletes from East bloc countries had never before competed. Shortly after the visit of the Soviet athletes, the filming of "The Day After" began in Lawrence, and many of the townspeople were hired as extras for the TV movie. The horrors of nuclear war were brought home as city residents acted out the destruction of their city portrayed in that film.

On the heels of that experience, David Longhurst — then the Mayor of Lawrence — issued an invitation to the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to hold a peace summit in Lawrence. Efforts in that direction have persisted, including a campaign last year in which thousands of postcards from Lawrence were sent to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, inviting Gor-

bachev to Lawrence to meet with Ronald Reagan.

In appreciation of that campaign, Soviet Embassy officials invited Praeger, City Commissioner Longhurst, Kansas Attorney General Robert Stephan, and peace activist Bob Swan (chairman of the local Meeting for Peace Committee) to attend the international peace forum, with all expenses paid by the Embassy.

The working sessions in Moscow had no formal agenda or goals; they were intended to facilitate an exchange of ideas among people from around the world. Topics discussed included the ecology of peace, the philosophy of peace, and disarmament and security. "The most important thing about the conference was the dialogue," said Longhurst. "There was a recognition of interdependence. Implications of a nuclear war don't stop at a border."

Although no formal statement was issued at the end of the event, Praeger says there was a sense among the delegates that "we are a global society, and there are common issues we can work on that can rise above parochial and political self-interest."

On the final day of the forum, Gorbachev spoke to the delegates at the Kremlin, where he said that the Soviet Union's recently-ended 18-month ban

on nuclear testing "showed the world that a nuclear test ban is realistic." Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov also spoke to the group, calling for a drastic cut in nuclear weapons based on "stability and equal security."

Members of the Kansas delegation distributed 1,000 copies of Lawrence's summit proposal, 1,000 "Meeting for Peace" buttons, and stickers of Kansas sunflowers. They again called for the two superpowers to hold a summit in Lawrence and hand-delivered to Kremlin officials a joint resolution of the Kansas legislature calling for this summit. The Americans returned from their trip weary but full of hope.

Other Americans who attended the forum included economist John Kenneth Galbraith, medical researcher Albert Sabin, industrialist Armand Hammer, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert E. White, Harvard physician Bernard Lown, and Wall Street investment banker Robert Roosa.

SOURCES: Sandra Praeger, City Hall, Lawrence, Kansas 66044; Todd Cohen, "4 Kansans Bring Hope from Moscow," THE UNIVERSITY DAILY KANSAN, 18 February 1987, p. 1; Sarah Maloney, "Peacemaker," THE MIAMI REPUBLICAN, 25 February 1987, p. 1A; Wayne Price, "Soviet Trip Draws Attention to Summit Effort," LAWRENCE JOURNAL WORLD, 18 February 1987, p. 1A; Gary Lee, "Gorbachev: Reforms Will Stand," WASHINGTON POST, 17 February 1987, p. A1.

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SURVEY FINDS LOCAL LEADERS EAGER TO END COLD WAR

In an article entitled "Main Street Pushes for Innovative Approaches to Moscow," pollsters Robert Kingston of the Public Agenda Foundation and Jan Kalicki of the Center for Foreign Policy Development described an emerging public consensus to replace the Cold War with a more cooperative relationship. We are grateful to the Christian Science Monitor and Robert Kingston for allowing us to excerpt from the article below.

[O]ver this past year, in organized roundtable discussions with the leadership in cities as different from one another as Cleveland and San Antonio, Jackson, Miss., and Seattle, Des Moines and San Diego, we have found that interest in changing the US-Soviet relationship, although still cautious, is much more pronounced and consistent than support for the status quo.

The leaders we have talked with include business and media executives, union leaders and university presidents, mayors and ministers, police chiefs, judges, and state representatives.

■ ■

These people are clearly interested in practical approaches to the Soviet Union and the nuclear arms race. They are rejecting old ideological divisions in foreign policy.

■ ■

Unlike the majority of Americans, they do not put their fears about the Soviets and their fears about nuclear arms in separate compartments. They understand that the threats are intertwined.

In fact, they do not trust the Soviets; and few of them look for friendship in that direction.

They see the United States as committed for the foreseeable future to a strong nuclear deterrent, distasteful as it may be. And a no-first-use policy, particularly if it requires a conventional arms buildup, is not their answer to any Soviet military threat in the nuclear age.

On the other hand, there is a clear conviction among them that the armaments of each nation can and should be significantly reduced.

Their tolerance for SDI is fragile — considerably more so than among the American

people in general....

More significantly, these leaders, although they come from communities that are demographically very different from one another, seem to be convinced that measures to increase trust between the two nations are an immediate priority....

Most surprising of all, these leaders, by and large, do not appear to believe that communist or Marxist advances are irreversible. Many of them therefore do not accept that United States policies in the third world should be driven by a need to support anticommunist leaders. Pragmatically, they are looking for innovative, even revolutionary approaches that show some promise of working.

The Chinese break from the Soviet bloc and its movement toward a free-enterprise system has clearly challenged their thinking: They are ready to consider playing a new "deck of China cards" — provided that gives some promise of raising US stock around the world and lessening the dependence of revolutionary governments on the Soviet

Union. In city after city, for example, leaders were prepared to contemplate the restoration of diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba, much the way President Richard Nixon did 15 years ago with the People's Republic of China.

■ ■

The straightforward approach of these local "managers," when they look at the US-Soviet impasse, represents an admonition against past political posturing, and a demand for approaches that are not limited by ideology....

It is useless to speculate how these local leaders would have responded had they been in Iceland; but their readiness to tolerate, to move, and to deal — for mutual advantage — may provide a challenging message to the nation and to the President as a new Congress goes to work.

SOURCE: CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 19 February 1987, p. 13.

COSTA MESA NIXES SOVIET SISTER

Not every city with citizens interested in establishing a Soviet sister city has responded enthusiastically. In Costa Mesa, California, the City Council rejected, 3-0 (with two abstentions), a proposal to establish a sister city relationship with the Soviet city of Melitopol, 200 miles north of the Black Sea.

The idea was first proposed by Jan Kausen, a 34-year-old homemaker who has been helping her son's soccer team plan a trip to the Soviet Union. At the Seattle Conference on Soviet Sister Cities, she met Eugene Kovalenko, a Soviet immigrant and resident of Long Beach who is trying to establish a sister city relationship between his city and one in the Soviet Union.

Kausen became interested in linking with Melitopol after Kovalenko told her about some of his relatives who had emigrated from the Soviet Union to Costa Mesa. Costa Mesa and Melitopol, Kovalenko said, are both manufacturing cities with similar climates and population sizes.

Opposition was led by David Balsiger, an evangelical Christian writer who had formed the Ban the Soviets Coalition before the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles. His organization, Restore A More Benevolent Order Coalition (RAMBOC), demonstrated with placards saying "Communism Kills" and "Just Say No to Soviet Sister Cities."

"We are opposed to the sister-city project," Balsiger explained, "because of the Soviet Union's human rights record and their terroristic adventurism throughout the world."

Joining the opposition were the Young Americans for Freedom, the Baltic-American Freedom League, Californians for a Strong America, and Americans for Freedom, Inc. Several conservative activists threatened to campaign against any council members voting for the sister city.

SOURCE: Lynn Smith, "Costa Mesa Rejects Soviet Sister City," LOS ANGELES TIMES, 21 July 1987.

SISTER CITY BRIEFS

Below we present brief summaries of recent activities in Soviet-American sister cities. The information was obtained from the contacts listed and from the Summer 1987 issue of *Surviving Together*, published by the Institute for Soviet-American Relations.

BALTIMORE (MD)-ODESSA

In May, Odessa Mayor Valentin Simonenko spent three days in Baltimore (*en route* to the Seattle conference), where he met with the Mayor and was entertained at an official dinner. The following month, an eight-member delegation from Baltimore went to Odessa (as well as Leningrad, Kiev, and Odessa), accompanied by Janet Hoffman, an aide to Baltimore's mayor.

In September, a sister school project will begin when 16 high-school students and three teachers from McDonogh School in Baltimore will spend 14 days in Odessa as part of its affiliation with School #119 there.

On another front, Johns Hopkins School of Medicine has agreed to a physician exchange. Two doctors from Odessa will spend October and November at Hopkins studying eye diseases, and in December, a Baltimore ophthalmologist will travel to Odessa to do likewise.

CONTACT: Jean Van Buskirk, Mayor's Office (301-396-3100).

BOULDER, (CO)-DUSHANBE

So far in 1987 these two cities have taken turns sending delegations to one another's communities. A delegation from Dushanbe, which included Mayor Maksud Ikramov, spent six days in Boulder visiting businesses, construction projects, and the University of Colorado. They also had a special meeting with city officials to sign the formal agreement solidifying their sister city relationship.

Then a group of 32 Boulder residents traveled to Dushanbe for four days, where they met with the Mayor in City Hall, visited the homes of Dushanbe residents and discussed future exchange plans. They also traveled to Leningrad, Moscow and Samarkand during the trip.

For the months ahead, Dushanbe officials are suggesting a number of joint projects such as building a tea house in Boulder as a gesture of peace. They have also proposed designing a children's park in Boulder and stocking it with Soviet playground equipment.

CONTACT: Marcia Johnston (303-492-1531).

CAMBRIDGE (MA)-YEREVAN

Cambridge and Yerevan have discovered at least two things in common — large Armenian populations and renowned academic centers. With these bonds, the cities have gradually developed a strong sister relationship.

This program took a major step forward this May when a delegation of 25 Soviets visited Cambridge for a dizzying week of activities. Included in the Soviet delegation were Yerevan Mayor Edward Avakian, the president of the state university, a senior party member, classical musicians, an art teacher, a children's librarian, a university historian, a scientist, and a factory worker.

During City Hall ceremonies, Mayor Avakian presented Cambridge Mayor Walter Sullivan and the City Council with a symbolic dove of peace and a bas-relief of the City of Yerevan. The Soviets were also treated to a banquet attended by 800 people, including George Keverian, speaker of the Massachusetts State House. Other stops for the Soviets were the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge Hospital, public school and housing projects, and a visit with members of the local Armenian business community. The Soviet musicians also performed an evening concert at Harvard's Sanders Theater.

This August a tourist group led by two board members of the Cambridge-Yerevan Sister City Association expect to visit Yerevan to continue the contact and exchanges between the two cities.

CONTACT: Cambridge-Yerevan Sister City Association, 57 Inman Street, City Hall Annex, Cambridge, MA 02139.

HOUSTON (TX)-BAKU

In late May, Baku Mayor Oktai Zeinalov visited Houston after the Seattle Conference. He was accompanied by Sergei Paramonov, vice president and executive director of the Association for Relations Between Soviet and Foreign Cities. While in Houston, Mayor Zeinalov met with city officials, attended a dinner in his honor, and toured the community. The two cities renewed their program to exchange citizens for five days every year.

CONTACT: Michael Scorcio / Nell Dudley, Mayor's Office (713-247-2200).

DULUTH (MN)-PETROZAVODSK

In March a four-person delegation from Petrozavodsk including Mayor Pavel Peshchenko visited the Duluth Council Chambers and signed an agreement formalizing a sister city relationship. They spent a week in Duluth touring universities, schools, homes, factories, a library, and the waterfront. They also attended a Chamber of Commerce breakfast, a soup kitchen lunch, a mayor's formal banquet, and a police staff meeting.

In the fall, two separate Duluth delegations are expected to visit Petrozavodsk — a two-person delegation that will attend a meeting of all of the Soviet Union's sister cities and an official four-person trip.

CONTACT: Council Member Joyce Benson (218-726-8562).

GAINESVILLE (FL)-NOVOROSIISK

In August, the sixth annual delegation of Gainesville citizens traveled to Novorossiisk. The tour also included visits to Moscow, Krasnodar, Tallinn, and Leningrad.

CONTACT: Steve Kalishman, 408 West University Ave., Suite 303, Gainesville, FL 32601 (904-376-0341).

JACKSONVILLE (FL)-MURMANSK

In July, an 18-person delegation from Jacksonville traveled to the Soviet Union, spending nearly three days in Murmansk as well as time in Moscow and Leningrad. In Murmansk, the group visited a kindergarten, a medical center, the city hall, a folklore museum, a large fishing ship, a fish-packing plant, and a Pioneer Palace.

The trip also resulted in a pen pal relationship between Cedar Hills Elementary School and School #21 in Murmansk. A local 4-H Club sent along some flower seeds to plant in Murmansk as a gesture of friendship and was paired with Murmansk's counterpart for extracurricular youth activities — its Pioneer Palace.

One surprise on the trip was when the Murmansk Chess Club donated a gift of a hand-painted chess table for chess players in the Florida city. In September, a chess tournament between the Jacksonville Chess Club and the Murmansk Chess Club is to take place via telex.

CONTACT: Karen Jean Munoz (904-268-7149).

MADISON (WI)-VILNIUS

In September or October, Madison's mayor will travel to Vilnius. At that time, an official sister city agreement between the two municipalities will be signed.

CONTACT: Madison Soviet Sister Cities, 1504 Madison St., Madison, WI 53711.

MODESTO (CA)-KHMELNITSKY

In June, the Modesto City Council formally approved making Khmel'nitsky its sister city. Final papers were signed when a Modesto delegation visited the Ukrainian city in July.

This visit followed another last April by a three-member delegation from Khmel'nitsky that included Mayor Ivan Bukhal, a pediatrician and an educator. The Soviets spent a week in Modesto living with host families and toured farms, factories, schools and offices. They also participated in numerous public events, including a televised citizen forum and a tree planting ceremony on Arbor Day in a Modesto park.

A pen pal program between schools in the two cities is already doing well.

In August, a Modesto delegation led by Mayor Peggy Mensinger to visited Khmel'nitsky.

CONTACT: Mayor Peggy Mensinger (209-577-5200).

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OAKLAND (CA)-NAKHODKA

A 17-person Oakland delegation, including City Council member Aleta Cannon, spent parts of August and September in Nakhodka, meeting with city officials there and discussing exchange proposals for the future. Timing their visit to coincide with the beginning of school in Nakhodka, the Oakland group planned to present ideas for the pairing of schools in the American and Soviet cities. Teacher Wendy Harris and three students from Head-Royce School were part of the Oakland entourage.

Even though the Oakland-Nakhodka relationship is now nearly a dozen years old, this is the first visit by an Oakland delegation since 1979.

CONTACT: Bonnie Hamlin, Oakland-Nakhodka Sister City Association (415-834-7897).

RICHMOND (IN)-SERPUKHOV

In August, a five-person Richmond delegation including Mayor Frank Waltermann was expected to travel to the Soviet city. The group included: Mayor Waltermann; Richard Morrison, Richmond Community Schools superintendent; and Wayne Vincent, chairman-elect of the Indiana Arts Commission. The agenda includes discussions of cultural exchanges and trade.

A five-person group from Serpukhov is planning to visit Indiana in October or November.

CONTACT: Eleanor Turk, 712 SW 18th St., Richmond, IN 47374.

SALEM (OR)-SIMFEROPOL

This November, a Salem tour group of 16 people will visit Simferopol, coinciding with the 70th anniversary of the 1917 revolution. Two Salem City Council members — Jane Cummins and John Carney — will be part of the delegation.

The group will spend seven days in Simferopol and several more days touring other cities in the Soviet Union. While in Simferopol, they will be delivering letters from Salem elementary schools interested in finding sister schools in Simferopol.

The Salem-Simferopol alliance is now almost a year old. A formal agreement was signed last November when a Soviet delegation led by Mayor Vladimir Lavrinenko visited Oregon for about a week. Their activities won Salem the "best first-year program award" from Sister Cities International and the Reader's Digest Foundation.

Sometime next year Salem may send some of its young soccer players to Simferopol. Simferopol State University has also proposed a student exchange with Willamette University.

CONTACT: Dave Hunt, Assistant to the Mayor (503-354-1736).

SANTA CRUZ (CA)-ALUSHTA

In July, the Santa Cruz City Council unanimously approved becoming a sister city with Alushta, a Ukraine city on the Crimean Peninsula, 30 miles north of Yalta (which may soon become a sister city of Santa Barbara). During mid-August, the chair of the Alushta City Soviet of Peoples' Deputies is expected to come to Santa Cruz to sign a sister city agreement.

The cities have found an affinity for one another in both their geography and economies. Both cities are coastal tourist towns with temperate beaches for swimming and nearby forested mountains.

One of the early projects the sister city relationship has fostered is a pen pal relationship between the children of the Bonny Doon School in Santa Cruz and children in Alushta.

CONTACT: Peter Klotz-Chamberlain, Santa Cruz Sister City Committee, City Hall, 809 Center St., Room 10, Santa Cruz, CA 95060 (408-429-3543/425-4833).

SEATTLE (WA)-TASHKENT

In the City of Tashkent, an area of about one-and-a-half acres has been designated for joint development as a park by Seattle and Tashkent to symbolize cooperation and friendship. University of Washington architecture students and design professionals from Seattle will participate in designing the Peace Park. Volunteers from the two cities will begin construction as early as summer 1988.

In September, three Seattle physicians will live and work with host doctors of Tashkent Hospital #1. Then in November, three Tashkent doctors will travel to Seattle to live and work for a month.

Last June and July, the first Seattle-Tashkent mountaineering exchange occurred, with 10 climbers from each city ascending the Soviet Himalayas for a month in areas which had previously been closed to foreign mountaineers. In 1988, Seattle will play host to a group of Tashkent climbers.

CONTACT: Rosanne Royer (206-682-2022).

TRADE

MILWAUKEE BECOMES NEWEST CITY WITH WORLD TRADE CENTER

When most people think of a World Trade Center, what usually comes to mind are the grandiose, 110-story twin towers on Manhattan Island. Or perhaps the Atlanta World Trade Club, with its eight buildings and three million square feet of meeting and exhibition space.

But in Milwaukee the reality of the Wisconsin World Trade Center is a bit more modest. Launched in mid-June, it is operating in donated office space in Milwaukee's Pfister Hotel, with a small staff headed by Robert DeMott. His salary? \$1 per year.

Despite such unpretentious beginnings, World Trade Center officials recognize that the new entity may offer the state its best hope of extricating itself from painfully declining export business — a drop from \$6.1 billion in 1981 to \$5.4 billion in 1986. Wisconsin is now 37th among U.S. states in the percentage of manufactured products exported. A report by the state's Department of Development showed that from 1980 to 1983, Wisconsin's export slide was two-and-one-half times greater than the national average.

As much as any of the twenty-eight American cities with World Trade Centers, Milwaukee wants to rouse interest in international trade within the small-business community. A study by consultants Anderson/Roethle, Inc., issued last March, showed that Wisconsin's largest companies such as Allis-Chalmers were carrying the export load in the state. "There are 7,000 other companies that aren't yet involved in any way," explains DeMott, "and we're going directly to small- and medium-sized firms to try to stimulate them to do something." He adds that "if we're going to live in this global village, we better start thinking worldwide."

The Anderson/Roethle analysis in-

dicates that as exports expand, so will jobs: Each one percent hike in export volume is expected to create another 1,000 Wisconsin jobs.

DeMott says that Milwaukee's efforts are already paying off. Some small businessmen have called asking how to get started. DeMott, in turn, provides information on numerous aspects of international trade. The World Trade Center also has a variety of seminars on the drawing boards.

To date, funding for the center has come from the City and County of Milwaukee, as well as from the State of Wisconsin. Membership dues, how-

ever, are increasingly expected to support the agency. With a stronger financial base, the World Trade Center ultimately hopes to build its own facilities or transform existing buildings into trade center headquarters.

"This is the manufacturing center of the world," says DeMott. "We've got the capabilities. We've got to find ways to use them differently than before."

SOURCES: Robert DeMott, Wisconsin World Trade Center, (414-274-3840); "DeMott Intends to Make a Difference for Milwaukee and Its World Trade Worldwide," MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, 7 April 1987, p. 5c; and "DeMott Will Launch Center to Fly Without Him," THE MILWAUKEE BUSINESS JOURNAL, 11 May 1987.

WORLD TRADE CENTERS BOOM IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Are World Trade Centers the newest growth industry in Southern California? It certainly appears that way, with four new centers now being planned and constructed. And although they may never have the drawing power of Disneyland or the Pacific Ocean, they are substantially helping the growth of local communities.

World Trade Centers are now being planned or constructed in Long Beach, Pomona, Oxnard and Orange County. All are expected to be completed within the next three years, and once in place, Southern California will rank with the Netherlands in its concentration of international trading power.

The Greater Los Angeles World Trade Center — a 2.3-million-square-foot development — is a joint project of the Port of Long Beach and IDA/Kajima, and will house office and retail space, as well as a hotel and an art museum. "The center really will be

about the movement of goods and the services that support such movement," says Bob Burco, chief executive officer of the World Trade Center.

In downtown Pomona, the Inland Pacific World Trade Center is a joint

... there's a lot of education to be done within local businesses on the beneficial role World Trade Centers can play ...

effort of Birtcher, Amcon and the City of Pomona. Plans call for an office tower, retail space and a hotel. Al Correia, vice president of the Pomona Chamber of Commerce, says that since the commitment was made to the World Trade Center, many dozens of requests cross his desk each month regarding interna-

tional trade, including contacts from overseas companies. "Two years ago," he says, "they would not have known where Pomona is, let alone that there are business opportunities here."

World Trade Center Oxnard is a joint project of the City of Oxnard, the Port of Hueneme, the Ventura County Economic Development Association, and the Robert Warmington Company. Its office space will house the World Trade Center Institute, an organization promoting international trade through education and training.

In Santa Ana, the World Trade Center Association of Orange County plans retail space, a hotel and a world trade club on its premises. Small businesses and high-tech firms will receive special attention from this World Trade Center, say its backers.

The centers will house foreign chambers of commerce, international trade associations, federal and state offices, and freight forwarders. Even so, there's a lot of education to be done within local businesses on the beneficial role World Trade Centers can play in providing international trade support. As Susan T. Lentz, executive director of the World Trade Center Association of Orange County, says, the development of the centers "is significant to the future of our state, but it is not yet perceived as such by business, government and the general public."

SOURCE: Susan T. Lentz, "Area Shaping Up as Hotbed of World Trade Center Action," ORANGE COUNTY BUSINESS WEEK, 20 April 1987, p. 15.

SANTA ANA WINS "FOREIGN TRADE ZONE" STATUS

For years, while much of Orange County, California, has been thriving economically, downtown Santa Ana has been struggling. Much of it is a run-down conglomeration of auto salvagers, lumber yards, recyclers and light industry.

But the city fathers believe they have finally found a magnet for new businesses and jobs—a U.S. Department of Commerce-approved, 92-acre "foreign trade zone," just east of the Civic Center. According to Mayor Dan Young, the new status will help establish the municipality as part of the international trade environment.

Foreign trade zones are considered areas outside the U.S. Customs Service's tariffs. Manufacturers and other businesses situated there can import goods and raw materials duty-free. A duty is paid only on the finished product, and then only if it is sold within the U.S.; no duty is assessed upon products sold abroad.

To kick off the project, a 100,000- to 150,000-square-foot building will be built within the city's borders. The city has already been approached by several businesses interested in relocating in the area, including electronics assembly plants, repair businesses for heavy equipment, and a medical products and packaging enterprise.

The zone is "one more tool that could be one more reason a business would move to Santa Ana," says Robyn Simpson, city economic development manager. "Our basic goal is job creation."

The early phases of the program are aimed at bringing an additional 200 jobs into the city, with perhaps hundreds more down the road. The zone is also seen as one aspect of the city's economic redevelopment plans. Although businesses already in the zone will not be asked to relocate, some may decide to restructure their operations to take advantage of the duty-free benefits.

Santa Ana joins 137 cities nationwide which have been awarded the status of foreign trade zone. It applied for the designation about a year before it was granted by the Commerce Department. Other foreign trade zones in California are San Francisco, Oakland, San Diego, Long Beach, San Jose and Ontario.

"This will be a benefit to the whole east end of the city," says Santa Ana Vice Mayor Patricia McGuigan. "I'm hoping things will start happening now."

SOURCES: Bob Schwartz, "Foreign Trade Zone Approved for Santa Ana," LOS ANGELES TIMES, 26 March 1987, p. 1; and Robin Goldstein, "Santa Ana Gets OK to Create Downtown Duty-Free Trade Zone," THE ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER, 26 March 1987, p. A1.

CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR BOASTS INTERNATIONAL RECORD

At a dinner celebrating the 40th anniversary of the World Affairs Council of Northern California, Governor George Deukmejian of California showed how the state's trade policy can translate into political bonus points.

"Our state," said Deukmejian, "has always led America across new frontiers of excellence. Today we are embarking on a drive toward leadership in what has become a global economy. Our goal is to create jobs and bring more international business to California."

"Our state is quickly becoming the center of world commerce," he continued, "sprouting hundreds of financial institutions and a network of service industries to handle the growing volume of trade and investment. No longer are we competing for our share of a secure domestic market. Our workers and our industries must now go up against the lumber mill in Canada, the farm in Argentina, and the computer chip manufacturing facility in Japan.

"As a state, we are ready to make that move," he said, noting that

California, now the world's seventh largest economy, is preparing to be number four by next century.

Deukmejian explained how his conversations with leaders in Japan and Britain, where California has trade offices, have helped open up their markets: "I told them that California has demonstrated its good faith by reforming the unitary method of taxation. Now it's their turn to start removing some of the roadblocks that stand in the way of California producers."

Since his trip to Japan (see *Bulletin*, Spring 1987), several Japanese firms have decided to invest in California, and the Keidanren, Japan's leading business federation, has announced that it will send an investment mission to California this summer.

SOURCE: Jerry Roberts, "Deukmejian's Glowing View of State's Trade Future," SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, 28 May 1987, p. 11.

ORLANDO MAYOR TOUTS TRADE MISSIONS

Glenda E. Hood, Mayor Pro Tem of Orlando, Florida, and President of the Florida League of Cities, recently returned from a trade mission to London and Amsterdam and filed this report with the Nation's Cities Weekly (20 July 1987, p. 7):

Our mission was primarily focused on the sale of U.S.-manufactured products for export, with special emphasis on high technology. Participants, representing manufacturing and support industries, had the opportunity to explore the establishment of joint venture and licensing agreements and to locate foreign agents and distributors.

Another mission objective was to promote the Florida tourism industry to the international market. This was accomplished by representatives of our Orlando/Orange County Convention and Visitors Bureau, who provided an update on new developments taking place at attractions, the civic center, and the airport.

The trade mission, our third, was sponsored by the Greater Orlando Chamber of Commerce and its International Affairs Council, and funded, in part, by a trade grant from the Department of Commerce of the State of Florida.

During the trip, we established contacts with airport and airline management that should help us reinforce the benefits of regularly scheduled flight between London and Orlando and should open up opportunities for future direct scheduled service from Amsterdam to Orlando. We had a chance to let top airline officials know that the action and the market are in Orlando.

On any trade mission, the elected official leads the group and plays a major role. Not only can the presence of a state or local elected official open doors for individual contacts, but their presence ensures quality functions with quality participation from foreign business and government representatives.

On this mission, Florida's lieutenant governor was present, and so was I in my capacity as the mayor pro tem of Orlando and the president of the Florida League of Cities. The two of us worked as a team at every reception — at each tourism promotion presentation made to business groups, all introductions to audio visual aids, and even at individual meetings with prospective new businesses for our state and the central Florida community.

We touted, both from the state and local perspective, a diverse economy, dynamic growth, expertise in resources, a transportation hub, and our enthusiasm to do business. We shared our personal commitment to the objectives of the trade mission. And we emphasized the strengths of both private and public partnership and the positive relationship between

Florida's state and local governments.

To ensure a successful mission, it is imperative that all advance work is accomplished in a thorough and professional manner. For arrangement of all our individual appointments, group briefings, and official functions, the chamber staff worked with the embassy, the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service of the U.S. Department of Commerce, and the State of Florida's Department of Commerce Division of Tourism/Division of Economic Development.

There is also a responsibility that each participant must assume — that of representing our country and community.

The elected official has an even larger responsibility — that of being the expert, the individual to whom all others look for the right answer and the right manner of answer.

Being knowledgeable about Orlando, its international market and the benefits for foreign investment are but a few of the things one must know. Generally, much of this information can be provided to mission participants at briefings and through printed materials prior to departure.

The elected official has an even larger responsibility — that of being the expert, the individual to whom all others look for the right answer and the right manner of answer.

I have a background in foreign trade and cultural exchange, a varied background of involvement with local government, chamber of commerce work, economic development support and a sincere caring for my community and its people. These in combination are important assets for my work to create an awareness of Orlando in other parts of the world — an awareness that keeps in perspective our assets, our limitations, our future goals, and our choices for attainment.

While there are many do's and don'ts for a trade mission due to differences in ways of doing business, various cultural differences, and proper protocol, perhaps it is most important to emphasize that you should know your product well, be fair and honest in your conversations and dealings, and seize the opportunity to learn from others. □

AUSTIN-SAN ANTONIO CORRIDOR SEEKS GROWTH OPPORTUNITIES

John Naisbitt, the author of *Megatrends* has postulated that the Austin-San Antonio Corridor will be one of America's emerging economic growth areas in the 1990s. But leaders in that region are not waiting for the next decade to get started. In fact, since the entire economy of Texas entered a slump, the Greater Austin-San Antonio Corridor Council has been aggressively trying to realize Naisbitt's prediction.

In a recent Council newsletter, Austin Mayor Frank Cooksey noted that between 1975 and 1985, his city did not have to work hard at economic development. "But we are beginning to see that growth and development are not necessarily the product of natural processes, but in fact must be worked at. Now, when things don't look so rosy, is precisely when we need to actively and aggressively pursue development.... We need to work at creating jobs, jobs and more jobs for our citizens."

The Corridor Council points to the following recent accomplishments as signs that the region is making important strides forward:

- After San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros led a trade delegation to Japan, the San Antonio-based Fairchild Aircraft Corporation sold three Metro airplanes for Japanese commuters. The Mayor's delegation made contact with over 100 individuals and groups representing corporate and government entities during its ten-day mission to Japan.

- Mayor Cooksey visited Taiwan, Australia and Japan as part of a two-week mission. Cooksey also spent time in Taichung, Taiwan, a new Austin sister city, after which the Mayor proclaimed that Taichung is "very interested" in trade activity with Austin. While there, Cooksey met with the city's mayor, city council, chamber of commerce, and the Taichung Importers and Exporters Association.

Major Japanese corporations have visited Austin and San Antonio in recent months, including a delegation

from Keidanren, the country's most prestigious business organization. For the Keidanren group, the Corridor was the Texas site most worth visiting. Its entourage included representatives from the Sony Corp., the Industrial Bank of Japan, the Aoki Corp., Kikkoman Foods, Mitsubishi Chemical Industries, and the Nissan Motor Corp.

- A major new parkway connecting San Antonio and Austin is now being planned and is perceived as a key public works investment in the region's economy. The 40-to-50-mile-long corridor is also expected to promote long-range development for the region's communities.

Back in Austin, the city formed an

KENTUCKY'S GUBERNATORIAL FOREIGN POLICY

For decades, Kentucky relied on products like coal and tobacco to keep its economy booming. But the coal industry is struggling and the negative health effects of tobacco have left the future of that industry uncertain.

That's why Kentucky Governor Martha Layne Collins has created what some observers have called a gubernatorial foreign policy. Like a politician campaigning for votes, she has aggressively ventured to many of the world's capital cities in recent years to lure foreign investment to the state and nurture international trade opportunities for Kentucky companies.

Even Governor Collins' critics admit that her track record has been impressive. Her biggest prize was getting the Toyota Corp. to locate its North American production facilities in Georgetown. That coup — which will result in the state's largest single foreign investment — is expected to bring Kentucky large numbers of jobs and other economic benefits.

Not everyone, however, has applauded the governor's approach. A recent article by David N. Nelson, professor of political science at the Univer-

sity of Kentucky, questioned the wisdom of a single state official negotiating on his or her own with foreign governments and businessmen. According to Nelson, "Collins' actions evinced the strong governor/weak legislature model of Kentucky politics. That the legislature was largely uninformed about specific details of the incentive package was evident in 1985-86 as components of it began to be implemented. Even if legislative leaders generally were aware that discussions were taking place with Toyota Motors, they did not know the details of negotiations." Nelson labeled the legislature as "a spectator at best during critical phases of negotiation with corporations abroad."

SOURCES: Austin Council Member Sally Shipman's office; and, recent issues of the newsletter of the Greater Austin-San Antonio Corridor Council.

Nelson has suggested several alternative ways for the state to do business abroad:

- The governor might appoint a "foreign investment council" composed of perhaps nine individuals, including five state legislators, who would represent the state in developing contacts and negotiating with foreign concerns. Their agreements could then be presented to the governor for endorsement

OKLAHOMA'S JOINT COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Not long ago, Oklahoma was the envy of most other states. From 1973 to 1980, its per capita income tripled, and the state's predominant products — oil/gas and agriculture — were economic bonanzas.

But then came the farm crisis and the oil glut, and the state's boom turned to bust. As unemployment soared and depression spread, the state's leaders began recognizing that the region would have to move in new economic directions. But as options were considered, international avenues were often overlooked because of Oklahoma's geographic isolation, far removed from

and to the legislature for enactment.

- The international staff of the state's Commerce Cabinet could be expanded.
- Non-profit organizations already operating in the state could be relied on more heavily to pursue foreign trade and investment. These groups include the Bluegrass International Trade Association and the Bluegrass International Affairs Council.

Nelson concludes, "For many observers, it may be that the end (a major influx of foreign capital creating jobs and taxable income) justified the means (personalized diplomacy by the governor) in the Toyota case. Kentuckians ought not, however, fail to consider what it would mean to continue a gubernatorial foreign policy, where a governor's personal involvement in corporate contacts abroad exists in lieu of regularized, mandated consultation with the legislature and an informed consent by the citizens of the commonwealth."

SOURCE: Daniel N. Nelson, "Foreign Policy Alien to Kentucky?" LEXINGTON HERALD LEADER, 12 April 1987, p. J1.

international borders and seaports.

Two men, however, had a different vision. Governor George Nigh, who left office earlier this year, began leading a series of trade missions abroad and established foreign offices for the state in Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, and London. And state Representative David Craighead spearheaded a drive to create a legislative Joint Special Committee on International Development, aimed at exploring both economic and non-economic avenues of international involvement for the state.

"I realized that from the standpoint of business and commerce, as well as culturally, Oklahoma needed to broaden its horizons," says Craighead. And the joint committee was formed to probe ways to do just that.

According to Craighead, the legislature's joint committee may be the first of its kind in the country. Its focus is broader than international trade; it encourages everything from educational and scientific exchanges to voluntarism. And it seems to be working.

The joint committee, formed in 1985 with 14 members, has now grown to 24, exploring avenues from trade to tourism. Thus far, a number of laws have been passed as a result of its work. For instance, it convinced the legislature to form an Oklahoma Department of Commerce to design the state's trajectory for economic expansion.

When the state legislature convenes next January, the Senate will consider a bill to create a central clearinghouse of information about events and citizen initiatives related to international affairs. Called GlobeScope, this office would be located in downtown Oklahoma City.

Legislation already passed in the State House would authorize the agency to publish regularly a newsletter of statewide events of an international nature, including lectures, films, and concerts. People could also contact GlobalScope for names of groups in the state engaged in activities similar to

their own. In fact, this would be the nerve center for anything with international ties or implications.

Meanwhile, the state's non-governmental organizations are continuing to push Oklahoma ahead in international affairs. Some communities, such as Craighead's own Midwest City, are exploring several possible sister city

...it encourages everything from educational and scientific exchanges to voluntarism.

relationships. (At present, only Tulsa and Stroud have international sisters.)

The University of Oklahoma has also created an Office of International Programs, promoting various foreign studies initiatives; and Oklahoma State University has established a Center for International Trade Development.

In July, the State of Oklahoma and the Department of State jointly sponsored a symposium titled "Oklahoma's International Future: Linking Town and Countryside to the World." One hundred and forty people attended workshops in the state legislature's chambers, discussing, among other things, how to bring foreign students to the state and how to get local service clubs more involved in foreign affairs.

And what's next? In November, a conference will be held in Tulsa, in which more than 100 companies from mainland China will be represented in hopes of stimulating trade. As State Department diplomat T. Patrick Killough says, "It's an interesting time to be in Oklahoma."

SOURCES: Personal communications with Rep. David Craighead (405-521-2711); and T. Patrick Killough, U.S. Department of State.

COLORADO TRIES TO SNOOKER BRITISH BUSINESS

"They like our aggressiveness, the fact that we're out there making cold calls and knocking on doors."

That's how Colorado Governor Roy Romer described the reception he received in England last April when he led a 70-member trade delegation to London, in hopes of wooing British businesses and tourists to Colorado. During the four-day whirlwind visit, the trade mission met with representatives of diverse English business interests, from sugar beet growers to investment bankers and ski tour operators.

But if Governor Romer thought the state trade delegation in itself would give Colorado an instant edge, he was mistaken. While his group was in London, so were similar entourages from Tennessee and Atlanta. The week before, Kentucky had been in town, and a few days later, California was expected.

By the time the trip was over, the Governor and his Colorado colleagues gave it mixed reviews. According to Romer, the state officials and private businessmen in his group spent too much time courting British firms unlikely to invest in Colorado.

Even so, several major English corporations were interested enough to request information about the specifics of building subsidiary plants in the state. Several joint ventures with Colorado companies are currently being negotiated.

Nothing, insists Romer, can beat the effectiveness of making personal contact. He recalls the 24-hour visit he made to West Germany before he joined his delegation in London, and how he took an after-dinner walk along the Rhine with the owner of a German barley malting company considering construction of a factory in Colorado. As a

result of that one-on-one conversation, the Governor expects eventually to see German investment in the state.

The interest in England by American states and cities comes in the wake of an economic upturn in Britain that Prime Minister Thatcher insists is more than just a quirk. And most of the English didn't seem put off by the hard-sell from this side of the Atlantic, particularly since it was softened by occasional humor. Colorado Springs Mayor Robert Isaac — part of the Colorado delegation — told British businessmen about how politics and business come down to sincerity, and "once you learn to fake that, you've got it made."

SOURCE: Timothy Harper, "Romer Charts Trade Strategy in London," ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS, 12 April 1987, p. 22; and Timothy Harper, "Romer Gives Mixed Review to British Trip," ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS, 15 April 1987, p. 10.

JAPANESE INVESTMENT LEAVING SOME WITH BITTER AFTERTASTE

While many dozens of American states, cities and businesses have been competing at full tilt for a piece of the Japanese pie, a recent essay in the *New York Times* warns about "investment frictions" that are beginning to interfere with the positive side of this foreign investment binge. Daniel Yergin, president of Cambridge Energy Research Associates and an international economics consultant, says that the divisiveness "could escalate into a major political battle between the two countries. For the sake of future economic growth and security, policymakers in both countries have to take steps to ward off tensions."

What are the roots of this growing friction? Yergin points to questions about the "fairness" of Japan's international commerce. "Even the appearance that Japan is freely buying up American properties with the profits of an unfair trading system — whether true or not — could create an explosive political issue."

Then there's the American anxiety over control and manipulation of the U.S. by "foreigners." It's a resentment similar to that experienced by Arab investors here in the mid-1970s.

Yergin says that amid this friction, Japanese investors have some strong American allies supporting their "investment wave," which totaled \$23.4 billion of direct investment in 1986 alone. Specifically, he points to mayors, governors

and congressmen who "see jobs being created and economic activity being stimulated in their districts." These "natural allies" in the U.S. will "help reduce the tensions, and will resist efforts to make investment a divisive political issue."

At the same time, Yergin believes the risk of increasing tensions can be reduced if American business is treated equally and has the same opportunity to invest in Japan. "If American exporters and investors are seen to be denied access to the Japanese economy, then Japanese investment in the United States will encounter more criticism and resistance."

Yergin also points out that the Japanese can establish strong roots here free of resentment if they take steps such as assuring American managers of senior promotion opportunities, and "becoming good 'local citizens' through involvement in local volunteer and charitable activities." He adds, "If properly thought-out and executed, the investment wave can tie the two nations together in a new and positive way, and perhaps even help to ease the bitter feelings aroused in the trade dispute."

SOURCE: Daniel Yergin, "When Main St. Belongs to the Japanese," NEW YORK TIMES, 5 July 1987, Section 3, p. 2.

JAPANESE TRADE PAYS IN NORTH CAROLINA

While the U.S. government has been threatening Japan with trade wars, North Carolina has been luring it with business diplomacy. In the following article, excerpted from the July 2-15 issue of the Durham-based *Independent*, Marvin Hunt describes what he calls "one of the best-kept secrets about the state's economy — the infusion of nearly \$650 million from Japan since 1980."

Although it ranks behind West Germany and England in the number of firms operating in the state, Japan's 44 North Carolina companies accounted for nearly one-third of the new foreign investment in the state in the last six years. Indeed, six of these 25 Japanese firms located in Charlotte sell and service the automated equipment considered vital to our domestic textile plants.

At last count, 18 of the 44 Japanese concerns in North Carolina were involved in manufacturing or assembly; the remainder in research and development, sales, service and distribution. The dozen Japanese companies operating in the Triangle, including Sumitomo Electric, sell and service much of the high-tech ware for which the area is now well known. A North American subsidiary of Fujitsu Ltd., Japan's largest computer maker, recently leased 40,400 square feet in North Raleigh for its fifth U.S. research facility. In Greensboro, Fuji Foods goes head-to-head with traditional producers in making chicken concentrates for soups.

The Japanese presence is even felt in North Carolina's small towns. For example, the economy of Hertford in Perquimans County is bolstered by the Don Juan Company, makers of children's clothes and a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Marubeni Company of Osaka. The bottling and distribution of Pepsi in the Rocky Mount area is handled by Pep-Com Industries, a subsidiary of Suntory, Ltd. of Tokyo. And in the Sampson County town of Clinton, 55 employees of Fujii Cone Inc. assemble the cones that go into your stereo's woofers.

In Alamance County, where North Carolinians assemble Japanese parts for lawnmowers, tiny Swepsonville has its own Honda Drive. And in Wilmington, where a Japanese firm makes vitamin B-1, there is Takeda Drive.

Since 1980, the Japanese have announced the creation of 2,284 jobs in the state. State Department of Commerce Officials say that's a conservative estimate; the number of North Carolinians actually working for the Japanese may be substantially higher.

Why They Came Here

Japanese industrialists like the United States in general because the yen buys more in America, their market is here and they can avoid trade barriers. But North Carolina has its own special charms: proximity to major East Coast markets, a technical college system to train workers, a worldwide reputation for hospitality, a friendly government and — last but certainly not least — a non-union workforce.

Still, these attractions might have gone unnoticed had it not been for the strategists at the state Department of Commerce in Raleigh, who convinced policy makers to take bold steps to capitalize on the Japanese interest. Since the fall of 1986, North Carolina has maintained a full-time liaison in Tokyo to promote and oversee "reverse investment" — the infusion of Japanese yen into the American economy. In this year's state budget is a proposal for a yearly expenditure of \$325,000 to operate a permanent Pacific Rim Office in either Seoul, Tokyo, or Hong Kong to take even greater advantage of the mushrooming trade opportunities in Asia and the Pacific.

Since Jim Hunt's second term as governor, the state has be-

longed to the Southeast United States-Japan Association (SEJUSJA), a forum for top government and business officials to discuss mutual economic and cultural opportunities. The group meets annually, alternating between host Japanese and American cities, "to establish personal and corporation relationships on an informal basis," says Sam Taylor, director of public affairs at the Department of Commerce. "It provides a chance for interested parties to get to know each other and to learn what it is the other does, what another company needs."

Additionally, the state represents its own interests through the N.C. Japan Center at N.C. State University, directed by John Sylvester, Jr., an eminent specialist in Japanese-American relations. North Carolina is the only state to have a special center devoted primarily to economic and academic exchanges between the two nations.

Sylvester and his staff handle "anything having to do with things Japanese." The center has been involved in establishing Japanese Supplementary Schools in Charlotte and Raleigh, which meet 40 Saturdays a year to provide Japanese children with ongoing training in their language. This amenity, says Sylvester, is especially attractive to Japanese workers whose children must one day re-enter perhaps the most competitive educational system in the world. "Such schools reassure Japanese parents that their kids won't have to suffer educationally for their time in North Carolina," he says.

Sylvester's office also coordinates Japanese language programs at seven North Carolina universities and colleges to serve the 3,000 Japanese citizens who live in the state at any given time (of which about 200 are business-persons), as well as North Carolinians interested in learning Japanese.

Even the N.C. Museum of Art is turning its face to the Land of the Rising Sun. In the spring of 1988, the museum will exhibit a rare collection of 90 Japanese kimonos on loan from the National Museum of Japanese History in Sakuro, a suburb of Tokyo. The kimono exhibit will appear nowhere else in the United States.

Will They Stay?

Japanese firms have definitely made a splash in North Carolina. But the question remains whether they are here to stay. How many Japanese companies will achieve a secure market position is unknown, for they face stiff competition....

Perhaps a greater threat is the specter of a full-blown trade war, a situation which no doubt makes American-based Japanese firms uneasy. Stung by recent sanctions against Japanese computer chips, Mitsubishi Semiconductor refused to grant interviews for this article....

Despite some uneasiness with U.S.- Japanese trade relations, it appears the Japanese will continue to seek North Carolina locations for their business concerns. If the present trend of Japan's interest in opening plants here continues — and it is likely it will — more and more North Carolinians will be working for companies whose names they have trouble pronouncing and whose culture they only dimly understand. □

TRANSBORDER RELATIONS

CANADIAN MAYOR URGES HANFORD SHUTDOWN

Just north of Spokane, Washington, lies the small community of Nelson, British Columbia, which has recently become known to many Americans as the location for the movie Roxanne. Like other Canadian communities close to the U.S. border, Nelson enjoys not only the best the United States can offer, such as trade and tourism, but also the worst, such as radioactivity from American reactors. On May 12, Nelson's Mayor, Gerald Rotering, attended a Department of Energy hearing at Spokane City Hall to critique its plan to reopen the N reactor at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation, 225 miles southwest of Nelson.

Concern over the proposed start-up of the decrepit N reactor at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation has reached up into Canada, where my city council voted unanimously April 27 to express its fears to you here today.

The City of Nelson formally endorses the position of the Kootenay Centre for a Sustainable Future....Specifically, we ask that the start-up be delayed at least until a comprehensive environmental impact study is completed, with independent recommendations put forward on the long-term safety of again operating the N reactor.

Please note that my citizens in Nelson live closer to the Hanford Reservation than do most Americans. The prevailing winds are in our direction, as shown by incidents as diverse as Mount St. Helens ash darkening our skies a few years ago, to a central Washington State's little girl's friendship balloon landing in a Nelson garden a few weeks ago.

Our city was recently the site of a high-caliber international conference on the issues posed in part by Hanford and its plutonium-producing N reactor. Recognized scientists attended, including one gentleman who previously worked in a responsible position for the Department of Energy. It was the consensus of these people that the N reactor is, as I said in the opening, decrepit.

While two Hanford-employed scientists who attended the conference questioned the conclusions reached, my citizens and I are not reassured. As is demonstrated by tragedies from Chernobyl to space-shuttle failures to passenger jet crashes, we know that there is, in fact, no fail-safe system, no fool-proof

mechanism and no infallible human being.

The N reactor could, as could all things, fail, either by human error or, more likely by mechanical failure. N reactor is already older than it was designed to become. We know that it has virtually no containment structure; much less so than did the destroyed reactor at Chernobyl. Cumulative stress on the moderating graphite is likely weakening that protective material."

All of these things, pointed out to us by experts, make lay citizens of Nelson very concerned that the N reactor

probably should never operate again. We hope that false national security reasons play no role is assessing the environmental dangers of an N reactor restart. We pray that sensible people, responding to an undue risk, prevail over bold or cavalier people in the Department of Energy, or in government, that my citizens may be reassured that of the many dangers in modern society, an operating N reactor will not again be one of them.

SOURCE: "Hanford Unsafe", says Nelson Mayor," NELSON DAILY NEWS, 19 May 1987, p. 4.

EL PASO'S COOPERATION WITH JUAREZ CHRONICLED

In 1973, the Mexican-Texan transportation system that had served the Juarez-El Paso metropolitan areas for 90 years ground to a halt. Disgruntled workers seized the streetcars and paralyzed the system. What might have been a short labor dispute disintegrated into a permanent shutdown. Owners of the streetcar network had already been trying to get out of public transit, and the Juarez Chamber of Commerce had never been enamored of Mexicans traveling to downtown El Paso just to shop.

El Paso has since tried to resurrect the line. Without federal-government assistance, the city fathers and the downtown business community aggressively tried to break down some of the barriers with Juarez and Mexico, not only in hopes of reviving the streetcars, but also eventually to launch new and

modern transit systems, including monorails and people-movers.

Thomas J. Price, a political scientist at the University of Texas, El Paso, is currently writing a book about the southern city's plunge into international politics.

Dr. Price notes that U.S. officials view the Mexican border differently than almost any other border in the world. By ignoring certain issues between the two countries, they inevitably leave local players to deal with them. "The Israelis," he adds, "certainly aren't going to say that anything that happens in a border town with Lebanon is a local issue." But because the U.S. has historically never been faced with a strong external enemy across the Mexican border, it tends to keep a hands-off policy.

The City of El Paso decided to purchase the streetcars in the mid-1970s, and even today, there is still occasional

AMERICAN STATES AND CANADIAN PROVINCES NEGOTIATE ON ACID RAIN

Acid rain, said one official of Environment Canada, "is for Canadians without doubt the single most important irritant in the relationship between our two countries." Yet despite this open sore, little has been resolved between the two federal governments — and the problem refuses to go away.

Even so, there has been some progress, and it has been the states and provinces in the two countries that deserve most of the credit. These "subnational" negotiations have achieved more in recent years than any efforts made by the federal governments. Specifically, Quebec and New York state have signed Memoranda of Understanding on the acid rain problem, as have Ontario and New York. Michigan and

talk of reviving them. The tracks and the wires are still in place on the two international bridges that link the cities. Yet there's been no concerted effort since 1977, and none is realistically expected in the near future.

But in his manuscript, "Petite International Politics: A Stand-Off at the Border," Dr. Price writes that El Paso's efforts "in a failed crusade should not be forgotten. The city has struggled in an unfriendly transnational environment without its big brother and while standing on the shifting sands of change."

Dr. Price's manuscript is currently being evaluated and considered for publication by several publishing houses.

SOURCE: Thomas J. Price, Department of Political Science, University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX 79968 (915-747-5227).

Ontario have reached an accord as well.

Nancy Paige Smith, an assistant professor of political science at St. Mary's College of Maryland, has studied these "subnational" efforts in foreign policy-making, and presented her research at the New York State Political Science Association's annual meeting last April. She pointed out that the issue is clearly a vital and sensitive one to the states and provinces along the international border between the two nations. After all, the U.S. is responsible for one-half of all the acid raining over Canada, while between one-tenth and one-seventh of acid rain falling on the United States comes from Canada.

Actually, near the end of the Carter Administration, the two national governments signed the Canada-America Memorandum of Intent, which called for the countries to negotiate an air pollution agreement. But then Ronald Reagan rode into Washington with a tenuous commitment to environmental protection, and those negotiations fell by the wayside.

In fact, the official Reagan Administration position initially was that the scientific evidence that acid rain causes ecological damage is "weak." As a result, reported Dr. Smith, "Canada has been stymied by the Reagan Administration's refusal to negotiate an acid rain abatement agreement." A 1982 offer by Canada to cut sulfur dioxide emissions in eastern Canada in half by 1990 — so long as the United States did likewise — was rejected by the White House.

That's when some of the states decided to take action on their own. Quebec and New York State negotiated and signed an accord in 1982, agreeing to share data on acid deposition and publish a joint annual report. "Both governments," reported Dr. Smith, "agreed to jointly prepare a course of action to influence on a national basis decisions in

favor of emission reductions for acid deposition pollutants."

In 1984, Quebec announced its own Acid Rain Policy to reduce sulfur dioxide emissions by 45%, while New York passed an Acid Deposition Control Act, aimed at reducing the same emissions on its side of the border. In 1986, the Quebec-New York State Memorandum of Understanding on the Environment was signed, recommitting the two entities to solve their mutual environmental problems.

New York State signed a separate acid-rain agreement with Ontario in 1983, consenting to conduct joint studies, exchange information, and "establish co-ordinated courses of action in order to encourage, on an international basis, the undertaking of measures to reduce and prevent acid precipitation."

Late in 1985, Michigan and Ontario reached an accord of their own, creating an Advisory Board on Transboundary Air Pollution Control. Not only were exchanges of information put on the drawing boards, but the governments agreed "to maintain a joint contingency plan for use in the event of release or imminent threat of such into the air of any hazardous polluting substance."

Dr. Smith concluded her study by predicting that a new presidential administration could produce some positive changes on the national level: "If the Clean Air Act is successfully amended to reduce acidic depositions, a bilateral agreement of significance would then be possible between the two countries." Until then, however, the states and provinces of the two nations may offer the best hope of resolving this environmental crisis — indeed, the only hope.

SOURCE: Nancy Paige Smith, St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City, MD 20686.

R E S O U R C E S

BOOKS

RATING AMERICA'S CORPORATE CONSCIENCE

By Steven D. Lydenberg, Alice Tepper Marlin, Sean O'Brien Strub, and the Council on Economic Priorities (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1986).

How do America's corporations rank in terms of social responsibility? When cities are making purchases or choosing contractors, how can they select those firms interested in more than just sales and profits?

Rating America's Corporate Conscience may have the answers. The Council on Economic Priorities, a respected public research organization, has compiled and analyzed the social responsibility records of more than 125 major American corporations in this book. Through dozens of profiles and charts, readers can determine these companies' past and current policies regarding environmental protection, South Africa investment, affirmative action, and nuclear weapons contracts.

The book shows that in many cases companies have mixed records. IBM, for instance, has taken creative steps in job training for disadvantaged youth and providing child-care support for employees; at the same time, it is a major weapons contractor, and it has marketed its computers aggressively in South Africa. The Polaroid Corp., in contrast, has had a consistently "strong commitment to social programs," with a good report card on South Africa, employee relations, charitable contributions, and job training for youth.

Some other interesting facts: Sheraton Hotel's ITT parent company is a substantial military contractor . . . Xerox has a progressive program for hiring and promoting women and minorities . . . United Air Lines' Westin Hotels have operations in South Africa . . . Procter & Gamble has instituted an innovative parental-leave policy, and an active minority purchasing program (\$45 million in 1985) . . . By acquiring Hughes Aircraft in 1985, General Motors climbed into the top 10 list of military contractors.

The book offers a wealth of information for Americans to begin casting their economic votes — and their cities' economic votes — consistent with their values.

MAIN STREET AMERICA AND THE THIRD WORLD

By John Maxwell Hamilton (P.O. Box 27, Cabin John, MD 20818: Seven Locks Press, 1986).

In Duluth, Minnesota, longshoremen working on the docks along Lake Superior earn half their income by loading food sent to poor nations in Africa and Asia through U.S. foreign aid programs.

At John Randolph Hospital in Hopewell, Virginia, nearly half of the medical staff comes from Third World countries, including the Philippines, Thailand, India, Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Kenya and Indonesia.

Residents of Hattiesburg, Mississippi raised thousands of dollars to help the drought-ridden people of Ghana; and in the same city, Cathodic Engineering decided to train Chinese from Beijing University in corrosion prevention processes.

Royal Dental Manufacturing in Everett, Washington has found its best markets for dental chairs in Third World countries such as Egypt, Colombia and Venezuela.

Although the term "global interdependence" is often bandied about, *Main Street America and the Third World* literally brings it home, offering numerous case histories about how communities in the United States are intimately tied to the developing nations of the world, and how these foreign lands directly affect our lives — from jobs to the environment, from health to education.

"Americans must understand that today foreign news is local news," writes Dr. John Maxwell Hamilton, a former foreign correspondent and World Bank official. "Otherwise, they will miss the biggest story of this century and the next."

The bulk of this book is a compilation of articles, most of which first appeared in such newspapers as the *Dallas Morning News* and the *Hopewell (Virginia) News*. It also includes a list of information sources for researchers and writers interested in the topic.

In the book's foreword, ABC News anchor Peter Jennings writes that "the story isn't always several thousand miles away. It is at home. This book offers a marvelous way to open that local window on the world."

RAISING THE RATE OF EXCHANGE

By Edward B. Hodgman and the Federation of American Scientists (307 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002: Federation of American Scientists, 1987).

More than 1500 years ago, St. Augustine wrote, "The world is a book, and those who do not travel read only one page." If the early Christian church leader were alive now in these complex and life-threatening times, he might consider such travel even more critical.

Enter the new booklet, *Raising the Rate of Exchange* released by the U.S.-Soviet Congressional Exchange Project of the Federation of American Scientists. Noting that 60 percent of America's Senators and Representatives have never visited the Soviet Union, it strongly argues that U.S. legislators, no matter what their political bent, could benefit from a firsthand look. Then and only then can they appreciate the strengths and weaknesses of the Soviet system. "And having seen the U.S.S.R., members of Congress will be able to represent their constituents more knowledgeably and authoritatively on issues of U.S.-Soviet relations."

Raising the Rate of Exchange provides some feedback from those Congressmen who have already made the trip — and it's all positive. Senator Paul Simon of Illinois says, "It is no longer acceptable for the governments of the United States and the U.S.S.R. to consider policy in a vacuum of misunderstanding and misperception." According to Senator William Cohen of Maine, "I gauged my trip to the Soviet Union a success because I had gained a deeper understanding of the motivations and views of Soviet leaders. . . . Perhaps equally important, visits back and forth by groups such as ours serve to develop a stronger sensitivity for each other as people."

Why haven't these visits occurred more frequently? In his introduction to the booklet, FAS director Jeremy J. Stone notes that "legislators have, in the past, been alarmed about the charges of junketing and about association with communism." He adds, however, that there is more to it, including a reluctance at the highest government levels on both sides, who fear that such trips could interfere with their own control of foreign policy. "The more second-level officials know," he writes, "the more questions will be raised, and the more different opinions formulated."

But Stone urges that "the presumption that travel is suspect — and will be criticized — needs to be changed to a presumption that Congressmen failing to visit our main adversary and competitor will be criticized for dereliction of duty." Not only does the booklet include some travel guidelines for

Congressmembers and their aides, but it also provides a history of Western travel in the Soviet Union and East bloc countries.

Although a copy of the booklet has been sent to every Congressman, readers are encouraged to "ask, with all due respect, whether the Congressman expressing opinions on U.S. foreign policy has, or has not, taken the trouble to visit the Soviet Union." Readers are urged to contact their legislators in person, by mail or telephone; to drive the point home with a follow-up phone call; and to write letters to the editor of local newspapers, explaining why a trip to the U.S.S.R. is so important.

The booklet lists those Senators and Representatives who have already visited the Soviet Union, and concludes, "Our elected national representatives should bear the responsibility of forging new wisdom and understanding with the enthusiasm and respect it merits."

The booklet can also be used to apply the same pressure to state and local elected officials, for the fate of the earth rests as much in their hands as Gorbachev's and Reagan's.

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