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Peer reviewed

Municipal Foreign Policy


CITY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND GLOBAL POLITICS
SUMMER 1989, VOL. 3, No. 3



WHERE DO WE STAND?
U.S. Cities, South African Apartheid

TO CFC OR NOT TO CFC
The Plastics Industry Fights City Hall

NOT JUST TILTING AT WINDMILLS:
DUTCH TOWNS AND THE THIRD WORLD
An Interview with Paul van Tongeren



Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, and the hopes of its children. This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower





Jan Stegeman

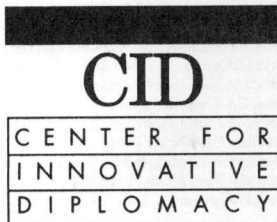
Not just tilting at windmills. Tanzania meets the Netherlands where 380 Dutch municipalities are involved in Third World development. Page 55.

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ON THE COVER

South African Soldiers march past a group of dignitaries including P.W. Botha, his wife, and the Mayor of Johannesburg, Harold Rudolph. **WHERE DO WE STAND?** Page 37.

The Center for Innovative Diplomacy is a non-profit, non-partisan public benefit corporation dedicated to promoting global peace, justice, environmental protection, and sustainable development through direct citizen participation in international affairs. As a coalition of 6,000 citizens and local elected officials, CID is especially interested in documenting, analyzing, and promoting municipal for-



eign policies throughout the world. CID's projects currently include publishing quarterly the *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, preparing a book on *The Legality of Municipal Foreign Policy*, promoting municipal dialogues to create funded Offices of International Affairs, and educating cities about international agreements to ban ozone-damaging chemicals.

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LETTERS

HIGHTOWER'S BEEF WITH THE FEDS

I've always liked Jim Hightower, and more so now that I've read your article on his fight with the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (*Bulletin*, Spring 1988).

Mr. Hightower's comment that "it just makes good sense to cut the bureaucratic crap so the market can work and so we can avoid losing beef sales to our competitors" is equally appropriate to the international affairs arena. There too a group of what Mr. Hightower calls "ideologues" have been screwing around in other countries' business keeping honest folks around the planet from becoming better global neighbors.

I'd like to see your magazine focus on other state officials like Mr. Hightower. His approach makes a lot of sense to me. If we could just get other state officials to follow his lead on other foreign affairs issues.

Lee Webster
Fairfield, CT

GOOD LETTER

Good stories. Good graphics. Good work.

L. Smith
Washington, D.C.

THE BULLETIN OF MUNICIPAL GLOBAL POLICY?

I would like you to consider the possibility of using a more affirmative word than "Foreign" in your publications and articles - and especially in

the *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*. In many cases, "foreign" can be offensive, pejorative, and/or exclusionary. I can fly from Spokane to Miami, 3000 miles without passing over any foreign cities. Yet I can fly from Spokane to Vancouver, British Columbia, less than 500 miles and be in a "foreign" city? We are all neighbors and we can become good neighbors.

Cable News Network (CNN) no longer uses the term "foreign correspondent." We talk of world history, not foreign history; of world geography, not foreign geography; of world cultures, not foreign cultures. We can talk of global policies or good neighbor policies instead of foreign policies; languages instead of foreign languages; Municipal Global Policy instead of Municipal Foreign Policy.

In fact, your next publication of *Municipal Global Policy* could include other cities outside of the United States and what their global policies and practices are. Perhaps our neighbors to the north and south could be invited to participate on a regular basis, as a start toward including all our neighbors of this magnificent planet.

Easy
Spokane, Washington

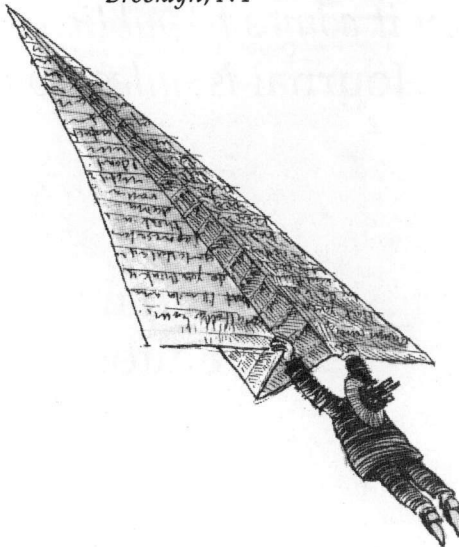
PENTAGON CUTTING INTO THE SACRED COWS

When I first read Larry Agran's "Final Words" piece in your Spring issue, I was upset. I thought it callous that he would welcome Congressionally mandated base closings.

But he is probably right when he says the savings from base closings (something like \$700 million a year out of a total budget of something like \$300 billion) are small. That makes me think that the Congress and Pentagon went after the military program that has almost sacred cow status among

Americans in the hope that an outraged public would demand restoration of all Pentagon programs.

Fiona Dix
Brooklyn, NY



DOING LENIN'S BIDDING

Cancel my subscription to the *Bulletin*. I've grown weary of your left-wing cant and your constant belly-aching about federal priorities. If it weren't for the "record levels" of defense spending that you complain about, our whole country would go to the Russians. Your complaining serves only to do Lenin's bidding.

Frank Ferranzi
Wilkes-Barre, PA

DOING REAGAN'S BIDDING

I've tried to be very open-minded about your publication. Otherwise I would have canceled long ago. But I'm not that kind of person. Now, though, I am persuaded that you are reactionaries in progressives' clothes.

At first, I thought you were pretty progressive. But it's increasingly clear

to me, and to my friends who also read the *Bulletin*, that beneath your rhetoric about the evils of militarism and human rights abuses, you are quite prepared to support capitalism. Your sections on business and trade are not the only things that give you away as conservatives. There is also the "states' rights" and "decentralization" rhetoric that sound unabashedly reactionary.

If all you learned after eight years of Reaganism is to ape the "Great Communicator," I want none of it.

Daniel Winchell
Sheridan, OR

PUTTING OLLIE IN THE STATE PEN

I enjoyed Michael Shuman's "Bush-Whacking" editorial in the last number of the *Bulletin* (Winter 1988-89). I was especially amused by his suggestion that state governments might pass "neutrality acts."

Seems like a good idea to me. Especially in view of the recent *Newsweek* poll showing that most Americans don't think Oliver North ought to go to prison. I'd love to see Wisconsin pass a neutrality act, just so we could do justice to the really big criminals.

R. K.
Beloit, WI

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

Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy
Letters to the Editor
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THERE THEY GO AGAIN

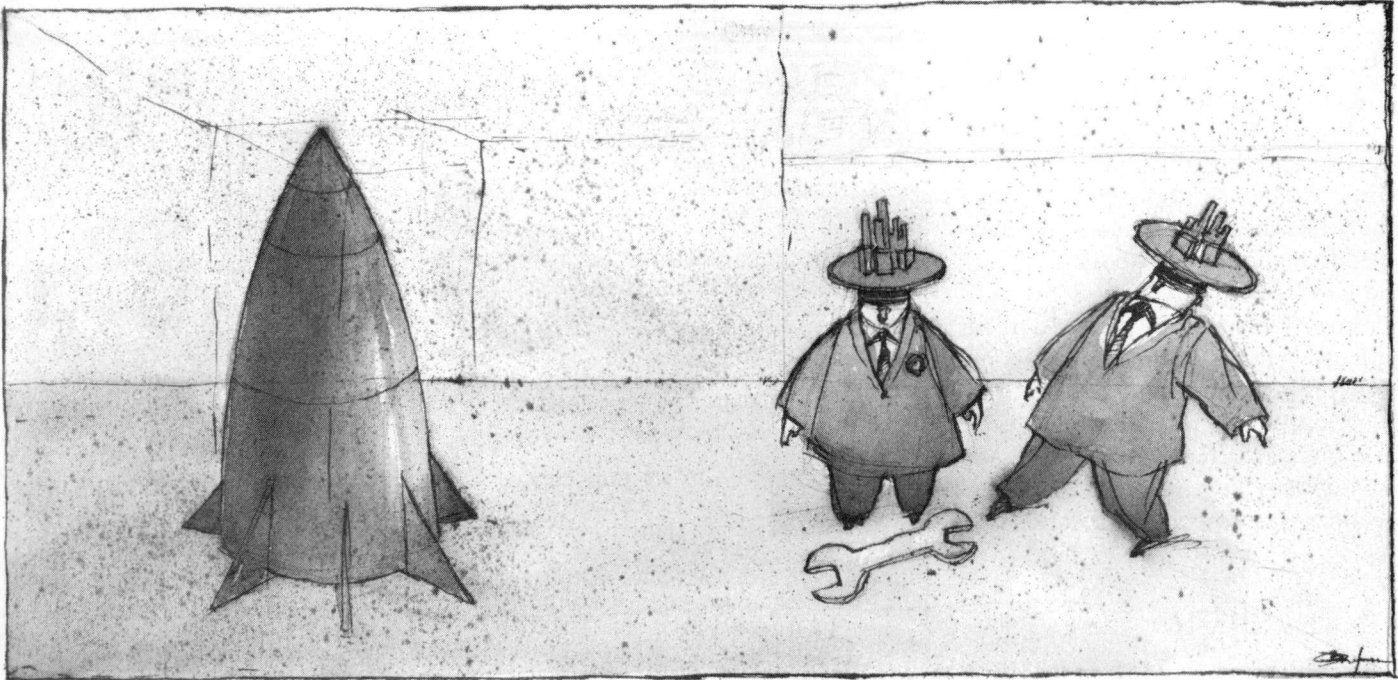
*When it comes to public policy,
the Wall Street Journal is miles from Main Street*

Larry Agran
Senior Editor

The number of fools may be infinite, but I'd swear most of them write editorials for the *Wall Street Journal*.

Don't get me wrong. I wasn't surprised that the *Wall Street Journal* (May 8) applauded the Oakland business people who, in early May, asked a federal judge to throw out their city's nuclear free zone ordinance.

But surprise is the stuff that news is made of, and I guess it was news to me – and would be to anyone who either wrote or read the Constitution – to find the *Journal* claiming that Oakland's nuclear free zone ordinance infringes on the federal government's "exclusive domain over foreign affairs."



In fact, the words "foreign policy" and "foreign affairs" don't appear in the Constitution. Skeptical of centralized authority, the Founding Fathers carved a very narrow set of powers for the federal government. According to Alexander Hamilton, the most extreme advocate of centralized federal power, "commerce, finance, negotiation and war seem to comprehend all of the objects" of federal authority.

Indeed, the Constitution grants to states and localities numerous foreign policy making powers. The First Amendment guarantees the right of all citizens, even mayors and city council members, to speak out on foreign policy. The Fifth Amendment grants them the right to travel abroad. The Compact Clause allows states and cities to negotiate agreements with jurisdictions abroad, providing Congress does not object. Article III, Section 2, gives federal courts jurisdiction over "controversies between a State...and foreign States" precisely because it envisions communications and deal-making between U.S. local governments and foreign nations. Similarly, when the Framers gave Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations" (Art. I, Sec. 8), they assumed that vigorous economic intercourse between local and foreign jurisdictions

would continue. The Tenth Amendment further underscores that "powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

In short, nothing in the Constitution says local governments have to grant business permits to private nuclear weapons contractors. Nor does the Constitution forbid local governments from deciding with whom to invest their money or enter into municipal contracts.

It's true, of course, that over the past 200 years the courts have tried to rewrite the Constitution and claim expansive and exclusive foreign policy powers for the President and the Congress, including the power to wage war and order into battle hundreds of thousands, even millions, of American soldiers in the absence of a formal declaration of war. But that is precisely the sort of judicial activism which the *Wall Street Journal* and many conservatives rightly denounce. If Congress and the President wish to stop Oakland and 160 or so other local governments from establishing nuclear-free zones, the solution is for them to pass explicit prohibitions against nuclear-free zones, not to call on the courts for unlimited

judicial activism.

Constitutional issues aside, one wonders if *Journal* editorialists have been asleep for the last year. This nation isn't, as the *Journal* suggests, threatened by nuclear free zones. It's threatened by a runaway military budget and by the frenetic pace of nuclear arms development. And those constitute not just Constitutional, or even foreign policy issues, but issues of local health and safety. Beginning nearly one year ago, the *New York Times* revealed almost daily the horrors of government-supervised, privately-owned weapons plants around the country – plants carrying out activities like those banned by Oakland's nuclear-free zone ordinance.

The stories seemed modest enough at first. On October 1, 1988, the *New York Times* reported that the Savannah River weapons plant in South Carolina – "an enormous Government complex that produces fuel for the nation's nuclear weapons" – had been troubled for 31 years by "serious" reactor accidents.

The Energy Department claimed ignorance and, in retrospect, that's not hard to believe. But just a few days later, on October 4, the Energy Department admitted that it had, in

fact, known all along about "mishaps" at Savannah.

One week later, the Rocky Flats Plant near Boulder, Colorado, was shut down and, on October 14, the feds admitted that a third plant, in Fernald, Ohio, had leaked uranium for decades, that they knew about it along, and had still refused to act.

From then on, the *Times* was filled with a welter of stories, each one throwing just a little more light into the dark closet of the febrile effort to produce weapons that would incinerate our enemies but which had, in the meantime, poisoned the air, land, and

*The Energy
Department claimed
ignorance and,
in retrospect,
that's not hard
to believe.*

water of entire American communities.

Conservative estimates suggest the clean-up will cost \$150 billion. But don't look to Washington for help. President Bush has already told the American people "we have more will than wallet," a rallying cry, if ever there was one, to mediocrity. Absent federal support, we can be sure that the burden of cleaning up the arms factories will fall squarely on the stooped shoulders of local governments around the nation.

In cities and towns in South Carolina, Colorado, Ohio, Washington, Idaho, Missouri, California, New Mexico, Nevada, Tennessee, Kentucky, Texas, and Florida, the arms race has truly come home. To insist, as the *Journal* does, that local governments have no interest in foreign policy – and in nuclear arms production – is more than undemocratic. It's downright dangerous. ■

TROUBLED DOE FACILITIES AT A GLANCE

FEED MATERIALS PRODUCTION CENTER. FERNALD, OHIO. Two silos at Fernald are filled with hundreds of thousands of cubic feet of radioactive wastes that emit radon gas. The plant has released more than 380,000 pounds of uranium oxide, contaminating soil and water supplies.

HANFORD RESERVATION. NEAR RICHMOND, WASHINGTON. Liquid radioactive and toxic wastes were dumped into unlined trenches from 1944 until the early 1980s. The wastes are contaminating the Columbia River and large underground reservoirs used for drinking water and irrigation.

IDAHO NATIONAL ENGINEERING LABORATORY. NEAR IDAHO FALLS, IDAHO. The plant has discharged radioactive and toxic wastes into unlined waste lagoons, and these wastes have leached into the Snake River Aquifer.

KANSAS CITY PLANT. KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI. PCBs and other carcinogens are stored in leaching waste pits contaminating sewer lines and soils. The plant has also released hundreds of tons of toxic chemicals into the atmosphere.

LAWRENCE LIVERMORE NATIONAL LABORATORIES. LIVERMORE, CALIFORNIA. The lab has leached toxic contaminants from its operations into the groundwater, and ranks third in severity among facilities in the 1988 Department of Energy Survey Report. The report predicts the contamination will migrate to nearby residential communities dependent on ground water.

LOS ALAMOS NATIONAL LABORATORIES. LOS ALAMOS, NEW MEXICO. Test firings of high explosives have contaminated the test area with uranium and other toxic and radioactive materials.

MOUND FACILITY. MIAMISBURG, OHIO. Waste pits at the site are believed to be leaching toxic chemicals into soil. Officials are concerned about plutonium leaching into groundwater.

NEVADA TEST SITE. LAS VEGAS, NEVADA. About 75 square miles of the test site are thoroughly contaminated with plutonium, cesium, strontium and other radioactive materials. Downwinders have experienced elevated cancer rates; thyroid and bone cancer rates are many times the national average.

OAK RIDGE NATIONAL LABORATORY, Y-12 PLANT. OAK RIDGE, TENNESSEE. The plant has streams polluted with mercury. A pond at the plant containing arsenic, boron, and sulfate is leaking into surface streams. Area crops and livestock are contaminated by atmospheric releases. **GASEOUS DIFFUSION PLANT.** In 1983 and 1984, 7.5 pounds of uranium were accidentally released into a drain at the plant.

PANTEX FACILITY. AMARILLO, TEXAS. Thousands of gallons of toxic solvents from the plant were discharged into a giant unlined pit from 1954 to 1980. The chemicals are believed to be leaking into the Ogallala Aquifer, the primary water supply for Amarillo.

PINELLAS PLANT. LARGO, FLORIDA. Underground storage tanks containing chemical compounds are believed to be leaking.

PORTSMOUTH URANIUM ENRICHMENT COMPLEX. PIKETON, OHIO. As of 1988, about 36 pounds of cancer-causing and toxic hexavalent chromium used in the process of enriching uranium for reactor fuel are being released into the atmosphere every day through the plant's cooling tower.

ROCKY FLATS PLANT. NEAR DENVER, COLORADO. The plant is leaking volatile, cancer-causing organic chemicals into underground water north of Denver. Soil around the plant is contaminated with plutonium at elevated levels. There have been 200 fires at Rocky Flats.

SANDIA NATIONAL LABORATORIES. ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO. Underground storage tanks have leaked. Open lagoons are still receiving contaminated wastes and may be leaking.

SAVANNAH RIVER PLANT. NEAR AIKEN, SOUTH CAROLINA. The plant has released millions of curies of tritium gas into the atmosphere from accidents. A primary aquifer in the area has been contaminated with solvents. Seepage basins are leaking cesium, strontium, and tritium. There have been countless near-critical reactor accidents.

SOURCE: Excerpted from Physicians for Social Responsibility, *PSR Monitor* (January 1989). PSR, 1000 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Friends In Deed: the Story of US-Nicaragua Sister Cities

by *Liz Chilsen and Sheldon Rampton*

"For anybody who cares about peace, not just in Nicaragua but around the globe, the publication of this book is a cause for hallelujahs. It's a book based on love, hope, faith in humanity, and a belief in the future of us all. It may well hold the key to creating a consciousness of peace across the United States."

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Author, *The Milagro Beanfield War*

"*Friends In Deed* begins the work of healing—not just the body, but the souls of nations at war."

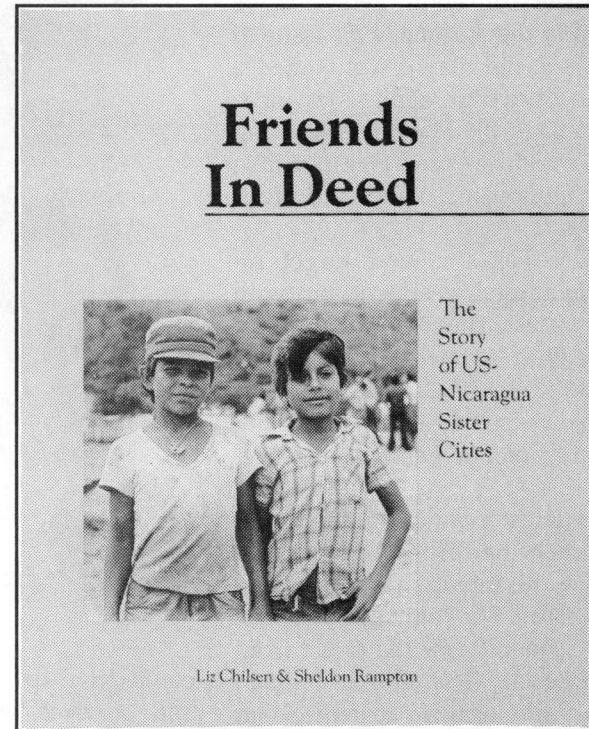
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Author, *Diet for a Small Planet*
and *Now We Can Speak: A Journey Through the New Nicaragua*

"A very important book! The citizen diplomacy of *Friends In Deed* represents the new transformational politics, a people-oriented politics which begins at the community level."

JEREMY RIFKIN

Author, *Entropy and Time Wars*



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Friends In Deed tells the story of cities throughout the US that have established "sister-relationships" with Nicaraguan counterparts. It includes:

- The history of sister-cities and citizen diplomacy in Latin America.
- How-to sections for groups wishing to initiate and institutionalize programs of intercultural travel, exchange and material aid between their communities and Nicaraguan counterparts.
- 55 photographs conveying the personalities and daily lives of the Nicaraguan people.
- Case studies of US-Nicaraguan sister city programs including New Haven, Connecticut/León; Ann Arbor, Michigan/Juigalpa; and Wisconsin's 25-year-old "sister state" relationship with the entire country of Nicaragua.
- Directories of 85 US-Nicaragua sister cities and 101 other interest-affiliated groups.
- Examples of successful ordinances used to formalize sister-city relationships.

FASI FACES OFF WITH THE CHURCH

FRANK F. FASI, HONOLULU'S outspoken mayor, has never been one to shy away from controversy. As we reported in the Summer 1988 issue of the *Bulletin*, the mayor has waged a one-man campaign against Japanese investment in the Hawaiian housing market, which he claims is responsible for soaring housing values and property taxes.

Mayor Fasi's newest target remains Japanese investment, but with an added twist. The city leader is upset not only with Japanese investors, but with the Roman Catholic Church, which seems on the verge of becoming a customer of Far Eastern entrepreneurs.

This latest political donnybrook began when the Bishop of Honolulu announced his intention to sell to Japanese investors St. Augustine Catholic Church – just across the street from Waikiki Beach. The church, built in 1962, is a modernistic structure that occupies about three-quarters of an acre on Kalakaua Avenue. Parishioners opposed the deal, but the proposed sale price – \$45 million – was apparently irresistible. City officials became miffed when they learned that the likely buyers, the Tokyo-based Hama Kikaku real estate company, intended to demolish the church and build a luxury, high-rise condominium complex on the site.

Though recovering from heart surgery, Mayor Fasi rushed to his typewriter, and sent a sharply-worded letter to the bishop, warning him that real estate deals with Japanese buyers had become a disturbing phenomenon. He accused the church of profiteering, and added: "Purchases of prime land by foreign investors have reached alarming proportions, and the prices paid recently by such investors have escalated beyond reason." The result, said Fasi, will be continued inflation of land prices that



could drive up the costs of other goods and services beyond the reach of Hawaiian residents.

A parish delegation recently traveled to the Vatican to express its displeasure about the proposed sale. But Honolulu's bishop is standing firm, insisting that part of the proceeds from the transaction is needed to pay for social programs. "It's a question of justice," says Bishop Joseph Ferrario, "the haves serving the have-nots."

As the *Bulletin* went to press, plans for the sale were proceeding but had not yet been finalized. Meanwhile, Abe Poe-Poe, an aide to Mayor Fasi, said the mayor remains interested in having the state legislature enact a bill that would limit foreign investment in residential areas of Honolulu. But as the 1989 legislative session came to a close this spring, the Fasi-supported bill had died in committee.

SOURCES: Abe Poe-Poe, Office of Mayor Frank Fasi, City Hall, Honolulu, HI 96813 (808-523-4141); Bishop Joseph Ferrario, Roman Catholic archdiocese (808-533-1791); Douglas Frantz, "Honolulu Mayor Takes On Bishop, Japanese Investors," *Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 1988, p. IV:1.

JAPANESE SET INVESTMENT RECORDS

WHO OWNS THE TALL HIGH-RISE hotels and office buildings in your downtown area? If Japanese investors can't already claim them as their own, they might be thinking about adding them to their portfolio.

Japanese investors spent a record \$16.54 billion on U.S. real estate in 1988, up nearly one-third from the 1987 figure (\$12.77 billion). The Japanese now own \$42.88 billion worth of U.S. real estate, more than two-thirds of it acquired in the last two years.

In Los Angeles, for instance, Japanese acquisitions in 1988 included the former Wells Fargo office building, the Century City Marriott Hotel, and the historic Riviera County Club.

The largest single real estate purchase in 1988 was the \$2.27 billion acquisition of the Inter-Continental hotel chain, which includes San Francisco's Mark Hopkins Hotel and the Willard Hotel in Washington.

These figures and buying trends come from a study by Kenneth Leventhal & Co., an accounting firm specializing in real estate. Its research found heavy Japanese investing in cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Honolulu, Chicago, Atlanta, Boston, Dallas, Seattle and Washington.

The study projected that new Japanese investments will continue on a large scale in 1989, falling into the \$16 billion to \$19 billion range. And a recent ruling by Japan's Ministry of Finance permits Japanese pension funds to invest as much as 20 percent of their assets abroad – up from a previous limit of three percent. That could open the floodgates for a new surge of yen into North American cities.

SOURCE: Kenneth Leventhal & Co., 2049 Century Park East, Los Angeles, CA 90067 (213-277-0880); Douglas Frantz, "Great Japanese Land Rush," *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 1989, p. IV:1.

NEVADA SAYS 'NEIN' TO CASINO OWNER

RALPH ENGELSTAD, A LAS VEGAS casino and hotel operator, says he just wanted to boost employee morale. But the Nevada Gaming Control Board said throwing parties in honor of Adolf Hitler was going too far and hit Engelstad with a \$1.5 million fine for besmirching the state's reputation.

"The charge was honoring and glorifying Hitler," said a member of the board. "It was an improper act which affected the reputation of Nevada."

Not everyone was sure Las Vegas had all that much to lose. "This state is the American home of nuclear weapons explosions," said John L. Smith, a columnist for *The Las Vegas Review Journal*. Smith went on to point out that Nevada is also home to "legalized gambling, upstanding gangsters, all-night carousing, legalized prostitution and the International Brotherhood of Elvis Impersonators. The federal government thinks so much of us it is going to build a nuclear waste dump here. All we need is a bad tie and goggle eyes and we are the Rodney Dangerfield of states."

Nevada Governor Bob Miller told the *New York Times* that he hoped the \$1.5 million fine would help fund Holocaust education.

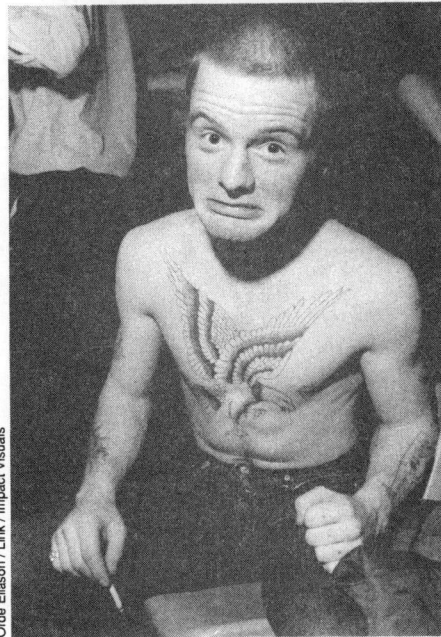
SOURCE: Robert Reinhold, "Nevada Draws the Line: No Hitler in the Casinos," *New York Times*, April 3, 1989.

GERMAN EXTREMISTS: "GET RID OF FOREIGNERS"

THE NEWS WASN'T GOOD FOR moderates in Frankfurt, West Germany. In local elections last March, the extreme-right National Democratic

Party won seven city council seats, winning representation in that city's government for the first time in two decades. The election came barely a month after another far-right party, the Republicans, captured 11 seats in West Berlin's legislature.

The strident campaign of both parties was similar: Reduce the number of foreigners in West Germany. Frankfurt's National Democratic Party heralded the campaign slogan, "Germany for the Germans." According to their candidates, foreign workers and petitioners for asylum account for much of the drug-related crime and the housing shortage in Frankfurt.



Orde Eliason / Link / Impact Visuals

The new face of Europe? Spring city council elections in Germany took a skinhead twist.

About 100,000 foreigners applied for asylum in West Germany in 1988, and some extremist politicians are now calling for the deportation of all immigrants.

"Some districts are 80 percent foreigners," said Karl-Heinz Vorsatz, a National Democratic Party spokesperson. "People feel themselves foreigners in their own city."

The Republicans are determined to see their Berlin victories repeated throughout the country. Recognizing that neo-Nazi parties are barred by law, they deny any fascist ties, por-

traying themselves instead as merely conservative.

According to one recent poll, 10 percent of West Germans would vote Republican if national elections were held today. Although not an overwhelming endorsement, it still concerns some Germans who know just how unpredictable the far right can be.

SOURCES: "Extreme Rightists Win Frankfurt Council Seats," *Los Angeles Times*, March 13, 1989, p. 1:5; Serge Schemann, "German State's Voting Seen as Anti-Bonn Protest," *New York Times*, March 14, 1989, p. A5.

PURSUING A PRAGMATIC APPROACH

ELI DAYAN SOMETIMES SEEMS peculiarly out of place. He is the do-vish Israeli mayor of Ashkelon, recently re-elected in the conservative beachfront town located just five miles from the occupied Gaza Strip. And while national leaders like Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir compare Yasser Arafat to Hitler and pledge never to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the 39-year-old Dayan talks about "the time being more ripe than ever for discussions with the Palestinians."

Dayan, a Moroccan-born Jew and a member of the Labor Party, has spoken out repeatedly on the Palestinian issue, insisting that "the majority of Israelis are not afraid anymore. . . . They don't trust Arafat, but they know this is a political problem and they want a political solution."

As well as emerging as a city official with an outspoken international point of view, Dayan is personally doing what he can to bridge the gap between Arabs and Jews. He and the Ashkelon City Council voted to dedicate a square and erect a stone to honor Mohammed V, the father of Morocco's King Hassan, both known for their friendly ties to Moroccan Jews.

However, within hours of the

dedication ceremonies, the reality of the Middle East interfered: An Israeli taxi driver was stabbed to death in Gaza City, and vandals soon destroyed the stone.

"It was a sad day for us," recalls Dayan, adding, "When you have emotions, logic doesn't work. The stone was destroyed—but the square still exists."

SOURCE: Glenn Frankel, "A New Way of Looking at a Very Old Problem," *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, March 3, 1989, p. 17.

MAYBE YES, MAYBE NO

SOME FEDERAL OFFICIALS MAY NOT LIKE it, but the Commerce Department wants cities involved in foreign affairs.

Well, at least some foreign affairs.

In late 1987, Commerce launched "Export Now," a media campaign to hype the department's 25-year-old export services.

While most of those services are fairly routine – international export statistics, research facilities, and overseas trade exhibitions – the practice of providing them to local governments is not, said Eric Hunt, a trade specialist in the department's San Francisco office.

"We are currently in contact with Chambers of Commerce, cities, and county development organizations," Hunt said. "We're working together to have a more coordinated policy on who plays what role in international trade."

The change in policy resulted from budget reductions that cut staffs in most offices in the Commerce Department, as well as from a growing realization that local governments could play a vital role in reaching manufacturers.

"We have started to work a lot closer with state trade organizations so we don't duplicate services," said trade specialist John Bodson.

But, Bodson said, there's a differ-



Roll Stogren / Impact Visuals

Drug bust in New York. Would our money be better spent on education?

ence between the policy of helping cities become more involved in international trade and cities wanting to have a say in international affairs.

"The federal government doesn't feel cities should be involved in international affairs," Bodson said. "But," he added, "we want everybody to be involved in global trade."

But Michael Shuman, president of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, responded "The Feds are kidding themselves if they think that global trade has nothing to do with international affairs. Every decision to sell your goods in, say, the Philippines, or to encourage a South Korean firm to set up shop in your town is extremely political. Look at the controversy generated as Honolulu has considered whether to boot Japanese investors out of the city."

The municipal movement to divert from firms operating in South Africa seemed especially to bother Hunt. "We find it going against United States policy. But we can't be the strongman in every situation," he said. "We realize we can't have everybody marching in step."

SOURCE: John Bodson, Commerce Department (202-377-0093); Eric Hunt, Commerce Department (415-556-5868).

COLOMBIAN MAYOR TELLS U.S. WAR ON DRUGS BEGINS IN SCHOOLS

SPEAKING TO REPORTERS IN A HEAVILY guarded suite at New York City's Waldorf Towers, Bogota, Colombia, Mayor Andres Pastrana said the U.S. should spend less on guns, jails and courts, and more on drug education and treatment in the war on drugs.

Pastrana was in New York to serve as New York City Mayor Ed Koch's co-chair at a March 8-10 international meeting of mayors sharing information about drug trafficking. Representatives from U.S. cities included the mayors of Boston, Massachusetts; Brownsville, Texas; Charleston, South Carolina; Kansas City, Missouri; Miami, Florida; Newton, Massachusetts; Trenton, New Jersey; Washington, D.C.; and Wilmington, Delaware. Mayors from eight Latin American nations, Canada and Europe also attended.

Mayor Koch's requests to Secretary of State James Baker failed to persuade the U.S. government to admit mayors from Managua, Nicaragua, and Havana, Cuba. New York City officials said the mayors had planned to attend, but that the State Department had refused to issue them visas.

The 35-year-old Pastrana – whom cocaine smugglers held for eight days in January 1988 – told the mayors they could not ignore the international impact of U.S. drug sales.

"Consumption in New York spurs production in our Andean mountains," he said. "Violence that grows out of drug traffic in the streets of New York...echoes in waves of violence unleashed in those distant regions. The path of the bullet is the same in Medellin or New York, in Los Angeles or Miami."

SOURCE: "Colombian Mayor Urges U.S. to Halt Drugs," *New York Times*, March 13, 1989, p. 31.



Ed Greevy

*Roland Kotani has seen Hawaii's future.
It's not all pineapples and palm trees.*

BUILDING THE GENEVA OF THE PACIFIC

There are some who like Hawaii for the relaxed atmosphere, the sense of isolation, even provincialism, that eludes them on the mainland. But State Representative Roland Kotani is not among them. "If we're going to move into the twenty-first century as a progressive state, and not a Pacific backwater, we're going to have to become more involved in international affairs," Kotani says.

Kotani has a vision: He'd like to capitalize on "the Aloha spirit — which still, to some extent, exists here" — and on Hawaii's cultural diversity to transform the former island empire into a center of Pacific Rim cultural exchange and business trade. "A Geneva of the Pacific," he calls it, a place where academics, business people, athletes, politicians, and common folk meet to get on with the business of Pacific Rim culture, politics and trade.

Kotani's vision is at least partly founded on political ideals that grew out of the 1960s. "What influenced me most was the anti-war movement and the Third World peoples' movements. My education," he says, "was a result of seeing how international affairs affected domestic politics."

It's an education that still affects the way Kotani sees state politics. In April and May, Kotani sponsored two foreign affairs resolutions on trade, cultural exchange and militarization, and drafted a letter urging the federal government to provide full reparations to Japanese-Americans interned during World War II.

In an address designed to muster support for the reparations resolution, Kotani proved himself an orator skilled in the uses of irony. Echoing the lofty rhetoric President Franklin D. Roosevelt employed to rally support for the war against the Japanese, Kotani called February 19, 1942 a "day of infamy for the U.S. Constitution." On that day, Kotani told House colleagues, Roosevelt "signed Executive Order 9066 and authorized the forced evacuation and incarceration in detention centers and internment camps of 120,000 American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry."

Kotani reminded his colleagues, "Last August 10, President Reagan finally recognized the need to address this 'grave injustice' by signing Public Law 100-383." That Act provided "for a national apology and \$20,000 in restitution to each American of Japanese ancestry who was forcibly evacuated and incarcerated in a U.S. concentration camp during the war."

"For more than four decades, the wartime detainees have waited for our country to make amends. Unfortunately, their long wait is not over."

Kotani's "Dear President Bush" letter — signed by all 51 members of the state House — pointed out that President Reagan's last budget "undermines the intent of P.L. 100-383

by providing a level of funding that would ensure that most of the former evacuees would never live to see their reparations payments."

Never short on irony, Kotani, a Democrat, and co-author Mike Liu, a Republican, respectfully asked the President to "reaffirm your commit-

international role in bringing the spirit of *glasnost* to the Pacific region," Kotani told the House as he introduced the bill. "Our state can lead in developing cultural and economic ties with the Soviet people."

Kotani was quick to point out that Primor'ye, at the extreme southeast-

Hawaii can play a significant international role in bringing the spirit of glasnost to the Pacific.

ment to a 'kinder, gentler America' by directing the Secretary of Treasury to pay forthwith the victims of the wartime evacuation."

LITTLE GRASS SHACK IN PRIMOR'YE

But Kotani didn't stop with the plight of aging Japanese-American internees. In early April, he sponsored a bill establishing sister-state relations between Hawaii and the Soviet maritime territory of Primor'ye.

"Hawaii can play a significant

ern tip of the Soviet Union, "is closer to Hawaii than Guam or Japan." Hawaii already has sister-state relations with Okinawa and Fukoka Prefectures in Japan, Guangdong Province in the People's Republic of China, Cheju Island in Korea, and Ilocos Sur Province in the Philippines. On the other side of the world, Hawaii is linked with the Portuguese Azores.

On April 10, Kotani told the House of Representatives that Hawaii's interest in Primor'ye is natural.

"Vladivostok is the entry port to a vast and ruggedly beautiful region of Soviet Asia, a region well-endowed

with untapped supplies of coal, natural gas, oil and timber," he said. "The Soviets want to develop this region and are looking to the nations of the Pacific Basin as sources of technology and investment.

"In considering the future of our islands, we can no longer afford to

Senate passed Kotani's House resolution on Primor'ye, Kotani — with the aid of five colleagues — introduced a resolution urging the U.S. government "to consider the relocation of some military bases" on the Japanese island of Okinawa.

All nine sponsors of the House

couched in diplomatic language, Kotani says Okinawa Governor Nishime has written that the dense concentration of U.S. bases on his islands leaves "an impression on the prefectural people that the U.S. occupation is still continuing."

While Okinawa constitutes less



Hawaii Visitors Bureau Photo

Kotani would like to make Hawaii a bridge between East and West.

languish in provincialism or in outmoded preconceptions of foreign nations," Kotani concluded before the roll call. "Today's world is truly interdependent. Establishing sister-state relations with Primor'ye may yet enable Hawaii to become a bridge between East and West."

The House unanimously passed the resolution in support of sister-state relations on April 10. Two weeks later, the Hawaiian Senate followed suit.

U.S. OUT OF OKINAWA

Just a few days after the Hawaiian

resolution, and of a similar resolution in the Senate, are of Okinawan descent.

"Being another island with a high level of military activity, Hawaii is concerned with the military's extensive use of Okinawa's limited resources," Kotani says. "These resolutions support Okinawa Governor Junji Nishime's call for the reevaluation of U.S. military needs. The relocation of certain U.S. facilities would improve relations between the American and Okinawan peoples."

While the resolution itself was

than one percent of the total land area of Japan, Kotani's office reports, 29 percent of Japan's American bases are located there.

American bases on the island occupy more than 11 percent of Okinawa's land area, "including many of the prime lands and beach property on the island."

Kotani says Governor Nishime "favors the release of some military lands in order to expand the civilian economy."

SOURCE: State Representative Roland Kotani, State Capitol, Room 327, Honolulu, HI 96813 (808-548-7883).

MISSOURI AND THE MX

WHEN HE ENTERED OFFICE LAST January, President George Bush was confronted with a choice between two mobile missile systems. National Security Adviser Brent Skowcroft wanted the President to increase funding for the small, truck-borne single-warhead Midgetman missile; Defense Secretary Dick Cheney wanted the President to scrap the Midgetman in favor of a proposal to remove 50 MX intercontinental ballistic missiles from their silos and mount them on freight trains — the MX rail garrison.

Never one to disappoint friends, President Bush chose both.

*Hiding the MX
in our civilian
railyards will
not fool the Soviets,
but will
endanger us all.*

It's an issue on which intelligent minds can disagree, of course. But if they had their druthers, some folks in Missouri would like to see the MX rail system scrapped altogether.

And why not? Within moments of a launch command from Washington,

trains at eleven Air Force bases around the country — one of them at Whiteman Air Force Base in Missouri — would rumble out of rail yards and onto tracks normally packed with commercial and passenger traffic — each train bearing its burden of two MX missiles and 20 warheads.

The idea, says the Air Force, is to create a moving target for incoming Soviet missiles.

Some idea, say some Missourians. At the state capital in Jefferson City, state Representative Sue Shear introduced a resolution urging the U.S. Congress and the President to delete funding for the rail garrison.

Shear says the resolution — which points to the dangers of storing warheads in a loosely guarded military base, of deploying them along “our aging [railroad] tracks,” and of diverting “urgently needed financial resources away from other pressing national and local needs” — had little hope of passage. And, indeed, as the May 12 legislative session ended, the state House of Representatives had yet to pass the resolution.

Which is just what Shear promised her colleagues. To get the resolution addressed at all, she had first to promise the chairman of the Miscellaneous Resolutions committee that she would not take the resolution to the floor for a vote. Why introduce a resolution with no hope of passage? Shear hoped that the committee hearing on the resolution — which attracted some 150 people — would itself be of some value. She believes it was.

“We accomplished our real purpose, which was education,” Shear says. “A lot of people just don’t understand the seriousness of this issue.”

Not all the anti-MX activity was at

the state level, however. On April 13, 60 citizens and their elected representatives gathered at City Hall in St. Louis to speak against the MX rail system.

"We wanted to raise the issue of spending priorities," says the hearing's organizer, Anna Ginsburg. "That's why we held it at City Hall."

Many speakers at the hearing expressed their concern about the dangers of deploying weapons systems in populated areas. Bill Ramsey of the American Friends Service Committee called the proposal to base MX missile-carrying trains in his state "a clear violation" of international law.

"The Geneva Convention of 1949 explicitly prohibits the use of a civilian population to shield a military operation," Ramsey told the hearing. "Hiding the MX in our civilian railyards will not fool the Soviets, but will endanger us all."

Janet Becker, a St. Louis housing activist, said deploying the MX at Missouri's Whiteman Air Force Base would make "us feel like sitting ducks."

Becker told the audience money for the MX would be better spent on housing for the homeless — whose numbers in St. Louis have risen by 25 percent annually in recent years.

That was a sentiment echoed by others at the packed hearing. Loretta Horton, director of Good Samaritan Center, testified, "There is no security in the deployment of the MX. Real security is funding programs, such as housing, that strengthen families and help children grow."

St. Louis Alderperson Mary Ross agreed. Ross told the audience their city had "inherited six radioactive waste sites" as a result of one local



firm's involvement in nuclear weapons production that began in 1942 in St. Louis. Funds for the MX rail garrison, she said, ought to be spent first on clean-up of existing bomb production facilities.

"It is the civilian population that pays the price of nuclear weapons production in the form of taxes, and in a reduction of the quality of the air we breathe and the water we drink," Ross said.

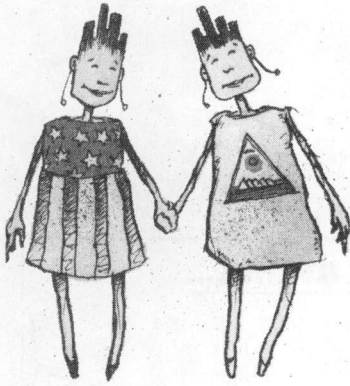
Anna Ginsburg, one of the organizers of the April hearing, says, "MX is an issue that mobilizes people in a way that the Comprehensive Test Ban doesn't. The idea of huge missiles coming down tracks where accidents happen all the time is pretty frightening. It's hard to miss the local impact of this."

But the Air Force says the missiles won't be roaming the nation's rail system waiting for a war.

"The only time these missiles would leave the base is in time of national emergency or attack," says Capt. Ron Joy, assistant director of public affairs for the Ballistic Systems Division of the Air Force at Norton Air Force Base in San Bernardino, California. "We are not going to have nuclear warheads rolling around the state through people's backyards."

Indeed they're not, says Ann Krumboltz of the Washington, D.C.-based Union of Concerned Scientists. "Even proponents acknowledge it would require up to six hours to disperse the trains from their garrisons. An intercontinental Soviet nuclear missile takes only thirty minutes to reach American soil. The trains could be hit before they left the station," Krumboltz says.

SOURCES: Anna Ginsburg, Missouri Derail the MX Coalition, 438 Skinker, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314-862-5770); State Representative Sue Shear (314-751-4163).



Here are highlights of the activities of some of the growing number of U.S.-Nicaraguan sister city (and state) relationships. They were compiled and written by Beth Katz of the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua (WCCN). To be included in future issues of the Bulletin, send your newsletters, stories, letters, etc., to Beth Katz, Sister City Briefs Editor, WCCN, P.O. Box 1534, Madison, WI 53701. News can also be sent via PeaceNet to "wccn."

BURLINGTON SENDS MEDICINE AND SCHOOL SUPPLIES

THE BURLINGTON (VT)-PUERTO CABEZAS Sister City Program has responded to the outbreak of a malaria epidemic in Nicaragua following Hurricane Joan with a large donation of vitamins and medicines purchased from INMED in Washington, D.C. The funds were generated from local contributions, and shipped with the assistance of Quest for Peace. These items arrived in Nicaragua in May, and Claudia Marieb, coordinator of the program, writes that "we appreciate Quest for Peace's flexibility and organizing efforts enabling us to send these medicines down!"

The sister city program has also helped form a twinning relationship between the Lower Branch School in Braintree, VT and the El Muelle School in Puerto Cabezas. The Vermont children recently sent down a package of letters and a box of school supplies to their "companeritos" in Nicaragua.

CONTACT: Jo-Ann Golden & Roger Clapp, Burlington-Puerto Cabezas Sister City Program, 113 Church Street, Burlington, VT 05401 (802-864-0659 or 863-9572).

ROCHESTER PLANS WATER PROJECT

ACCORDING TO HENRIETTA LEVINE OF THE Rochester (NY)-El Sauce Sister City Project, the group is currently "discussing plans for expanding water service in El Sauce through the construction of a new water storage tank, installation of new water mains, and the extension of lines directly into houses which are presently without water pipes." Folk singer Pete Seeger, who has a long-standing interest in clean water and in Nicaragua, generously contributed his talent for a special fundraiser for the water project in January.

Levine writes that "Rochester's last sister city shipment to El Sauce left the U.S. [as part of] the October New Haven/Leon container. . . . We included 22 repaired and restored bicycles . . . which will be sold to the various institutions such as the Ministries of Health and Education, UNAG (the

national farmers' organization), and TELCOR (the national communications system)—and the money will be put into a fund for the construction of the water system."

Upon returning from El Sauce this February, Henry Padron, a local Rochester poet, wrote the following:

*Nunca me Imagine Como me Afectar/ia
esta naci/on
Revolucionaria y simpatica Amante a la
libertad
Guardaespaldas del campesino oprimido
Un ejemplo para
toda America . . .*

*I never Imagined How It would affect me
This revolutionary and kind country
Lover of liberty
Bodyguard of the oppressed peasant/An
example for
all America...*

CONTACT: Henrietta Levine, Metro Act/Ciudad Hermana Sister City Task Force, 50 N. Plymouth Avenue, Rochester, NY 14614 (716-325-2560 or 473-3015).

PITTSBURGH DIVERSIFIES ITS SISTERLY ACTIVITIES

PITTSBURGH (PA) IS PAIRED WITH SAN Isidro in the northern Department of Matagalpa. The energy and creativity of this project is evident in the various activities it has undertaken in the past year:

■ The program has raised money with International Dinners open to the public and with a five-kilometer road race ("The Sister City Sprint") in which 240 people participated. Informational signs about social progress in Nicaragua were posted along the race route. The project also activated its phone tree and used phone banking to raise money for hurricane relief.

■ Volunteers filled two 1200-cubic-foot cargo containers with material aid for the people of San Isidro. The first, sent in January 1988, included medical supplies, toys and clothes. The second, which was shipped this April, was destined for the Mothers of the Heroes and Martyrs of San Isidro. They will sell the clothing contained in the shipment at a low price and

use the money for a water project in a poor neighborhood.

■ Sister city workers have educated the people of Pittsburgh about Nicaragua by holding annual memorials to Ben Linder; hosting the Linder family's speaking tour; participating in "Eyewitness Week" in which people who have traveled to Nicaragua speak publicly about their experiences; developing a sister city slide show for schools and churches; organizing a march of 150 people during Central America Week; activating a phone tree to lobby against contra aid and the sending of U.S. troops to Honduras; providing free cups of Nicaraguan coffee (with messages about the embargo taped to them) to passersby at the Federal Building in Pittsburgh; and developing pen-pal exchanges between Pittsburgh and San Isidro students.

■ The program has sponsored people-to-people exchanges: In addition to the regular delegations of community members who travel to San Isidro, Pittsburgh hosted the mayor of San Isidro and an agricultural cooperative leader in May 1988. The guests were introduced to the Pittsburgh city council, went to a Pittsburgh Pirates game (where a personal welcome was flashed on the scoreboard!), visited farms and steel mills, and spoke to numerous local groups and the media.

■ During a visit in February 1988, a Pittsburgh doctor provided eye exams and eyeglasses to over 700 citizens of San Isidro.

■ A local radio personality has been active in organizing sports exchanges with San Isidro: Pittsburgh has provided equipment and materials for a shed, and a group of children from San Isidro may participate in the Pittsburgh Little League.

■ Members of the project have produced a video documentary on the Atlantic Coast called "Nicaribe."

Future plans for this active sister city project include bringing a delegation of students and members of the Mothers of the Heroes and Martyrs from San Isidro to Pittsburgh; organizing a work brigade to help with a construction/agricultural project in San Isidro; and continuing vigorous community outreach efforts.

CONTACT: Jane Dirks and Jules Lobel, Pittsburgh/San Isidro Sister City Project, c/o Thomas Merton Center, 5125 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15224 (412-361-3022 or 521-7109).

PORTLAND HELPS BUILD HOSPITAL IN CORINTO

SISTER CITY ACTIVISTS IN PORTLAND (OR) have been strengthening an already close relationship with Corinto, the major port city on Nicaragua's Pacific Coast.

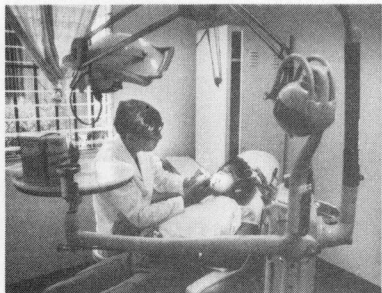
In February, the third Ben Linder Construction Brigade left for Corinto "to carry on the work and spirit of its namesake, the young Portland engineer who was killed by the contras in May 1987," according to *Tales of Two Cities*, the newsletter of the Portland-Corinto Sister City Association. The members of this brigade will continue the repair work of previous brigades on Corinto's Carlos Tinoco Hospital. "They'll add privacy partitions in the men's ward, remodel the administrative office, and finish hooking up the generator donated by the sister city association," says the newsletter. Before going to Corinto, the brigade raised money for its transportation and expenses in part by auctioning off goods and services donated by local businesses. Members also became acquainted with the "technical and consciousness-raising aspects of the work awaiting them in Corinto" by working together in Portland on the offices of a local organization of Hispanic tree-planters and farmworkers and the Black Education Project.

Also this winter, ten Oregon wheat farmers and church leaders visited Nicaragua, where they studied the wheat distribution system and surveyed damage caused by Hurricane Joan. Their 10-day visit was part of Wheat for Peace, a project sponsored by Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon and the Council for Human Rights in Latin America, and endorsed by the Portland-Corinto Sister City Association. According to *Tales of Two Cities*, "Wheat for Peace plans to donate Pacific Northwest wheat to Nicaragua next summer, to offset the expected food shortages caused by the worst natural disaster in Central America's history. Money from the sale of the grain will be used to support family and community vegetable gardens."

Van Rietmann, a wheat farmer who participated in the visit, says that "our delegation made a thorough investigation



Gregory Fox



of the grain delivery infrastructure. There seemed to be good cooperation between government and the private sector, and we saw no problem that would prevent the milled wheat from getting to the consumer in the form of flour or baked goods." *Tales of Two Cities* adds that "wheat products are a staple of the Nicaraguan diet. Having an unsuitable climate for wheat production, Nicaragua was a regular buyer from the U.S., including the Pacific Northwest, until the U.S. imposed the economic embargo. Although food is allowed through, the cost of shipping it has become too expensive, since commercial shipping routes were virtually eliminated."

Hurricane Joan took its toll on Corinto, as it did almost everywhere in Nicaragua. Corinto's dock was damaged and four warehouses lost their roofs. According to the newsletter, "port activities stopped for a week while 70,000 tons of goods had to be moved out of Corinto for safekeeping. Four thousand [Corinto residents] were evacuated and 30 houses were damaged."

Finally, Portland now boasts the first and only "sister station" relationship in the U.S. Portland radio station KBOO has linked up with Radio 19 de Julio in Chinandega, Nicaragua, the public station that serves Corinto. The stations now have direct communication and the possibility of exchanges of programs, news, music, and personnel.

CONTACT: Tim Calvert and Margaret Thomas, Portland-Corinto Sister City Association, 3558 SE Hawthorne, Portland, OR 97214 (503-233-5181 or 295-7783).

BOULDER DONATES SAWMILL TO NICARAGUA

MEMBERS OF THE BOULDER (CO) FRIENDSHIP City Projects, Inc. (FCP), which maintains a sister city relationship with Jalapa, Nicaragua, have been especially busy since the fall, when they joined the nationwide relief effort following the devastation of Hurricane Joan in October.

In January at the Boulder Theater, Kris Kristofferson gave a concert benefiting FCP. The money from the concert contributed approximately one-third of

the \$12,000 that FCP spent to buy and send a sawmill to the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, where much of the rain forest was leveled by the hurricane.

According to the FCP newsletter, "The downed trees need to be used before they rot in the tropical climate, or their usefulness will be lost." Relying on the donated sawmill, the people there are making use of the lumber "to rebuild houses, lobster pots, and other structures destroyed by the hurricane."

The other two-thirds of the money for the sawmill was donated by individuals in what the newsletter called a "truly inspiring outpouring of generosity."

Five hundred dollars in additional hurricane relief aid was raised at a "February Burrito Bash."

FCP has successfully developed working relationships with several area grocery stores, which regularly donate five to ten percent of their proceeds to the organization. At times, the stores have designated days where some portion of total sales are donated to FCP. Alternatively, the stores sell coupons to FCP which grocery consumers then purchase from the project and use in place of money at the grocery store. "The only difference," says the newsletter, "is that FCP receives a percentage of the money spent on the grocery coupons."

Yet another activity of FCP is "The Bean Project." As part of a southwest regional effort to provide this staple crop (much of which was destroyed in Hurricane Joan), FCP's goal is to collect and send 100 tons of beans, giving 1,500 families a steady supply of food until the next crop can be harvested. The project solicited donations of both beans and money and declared May 12-21 as Bean Week.

According to the FCP newsletter, Bean Week activities included a showing of the movie, "The Milagro Beanfield War," a lecture and reception for John Nichols (who wrote the book upon which the movie was based), establishing FCP tables at churches and businesses to collect beans, creating bean units in schools and churches, soliciting at local restaurants and other businesses for donations, and sponsoring a victory party at the end of the week.

Additional 1988 sister-city plans include a large fundraising garage sale, Spanish classes and the project's eleventh delegation to Nicaragua, which will include a visit to Jalapa.

CONTACT: Bonnie Carol, P.O. Box 7452, Boulder, CO 80306 (303-442-0460).

AKRON PROJECT OFF TO GOOD START

WITHIN ITS FIRST EIGHT MONTHS OF ACTIVITY, the Akron (OH)-San Lorenzo Sister City Project had already managed to accomplish a great deal. In terms of material aid, the project:

- Donated \$2,000 to San Lorenzo in January 1989, which was earmarked for four projects – a water project, a new high school, a community building and a children's park;

- Donated 40 books to the new library in San Lorenzo; and,

- Planned to work with the Women's Convoy in June to transport gynecological-exam and medical-sterilization equipment for a local clinic, dough-making equipment for a local women's baking collective, and sports equipment for the women and girls of San Lorenzo.

Back in Akron, the project has sponsored a Nicaraguan folk art exhibit at the public library and pen-pal exchanges between high school students in the sister cities.

The project raises money for its activities with grassroots events like rice and bean dinners, information tables at community functions and recycling efforts.

Organizer Ruth Gibson stressed that the project wants to maintain strong links with the three other sister city projects in Ohio (Athens, Yellow Springs and Youngstown). "We're trying to organize not just here in Akron but in the whole state," she said, adding, "Eventually we would like to see the sister city movement be national in scope."

Gibson also said that the project felt it was important that all donations go through official channels, and that all of their efforts be sustainable. "It's not a question of how quickly this or that project

can be completed, but for how long the concrete solidarity of the sister city relationship can be maintained."

CONTACT: Ruth Gibson, Central American Solidarity Association, 647 Nome Avenue, Akron, OH 44320 (216-867-4542 or 864-9103).

WORCESTER NEEDS A RABBIT EXPERT

THE WORCESTER (MA)-COMALAPA SISTER City Project, in addition to its usual educational and material aid activities, is busy responding to the request of a group of women who live on a Comalapa dairy cooperative for help with a rabbit-raising project. In the co-op, the men have exclusive responsibility for the cows, so the women see the rabbit project as a potential source of income for themselves and as a way to supplement the diets of everyone on the farm.

The Worcester project's most important need now is to find people with skills and experience in rabbit-raising and breeding who can volunteer some of their time to work with the women in Comalapa.

CONTACT: Lucy Candib and Richard Schmitt, Worcester/Comalapa Sister City Project, 65 Tory Fort Lane, Worcester, MA 01602 (617-757-0814 or 754-6070).

HARTFORD: IT'S OFFICIAL!

THINGS ARE REALLY HAPPENING IN HARTFORD (CT), the "Insurance Capital of the World" – or at least at the Hartford-Ocotol Sister City Project which, after many years of trying to gain official sponsorship from the city government, finally won unanimous support for their work from the new mayor and city council last year.

The Hartford project, whose main focus is on health and health-related issues, will now be able to benefit from the legitimacy and networking opportunities that go along with official sponsorship. According to Jan Baker, a long-time member of the project, some of the immediate benefits of being "official" have been: participation in the mayor's Committee on Sister Cities International, which links all of Hartford's official sister city organiza-



Liz Chilsen



Liz Chilsen

tions; and access to offers of hurricane relief materials from the local insurance industry via the mayor's office.

Meanwhile, the project has been keeping busy with its ambitious material aid program, which includes:

- The purchase of a \$15,000 ambulance for the Ocotal Hospital; and,
- Another \$15,000 contribution to a large water provision and purification project, which is a top priority of the municipal leaders of Ocotal.

The Hartford project also arranges for children in Ocotal who have special medical needs that cannot be met in Nicaragua – heart surgery, for example – to be brought to the U.S. with their parents to receive the care they need. So far, the project has sponsored three children and their parents, and is planning to assist two others. The project itself pays for transportation, but all the medical services are donated by doctors and hospitals in the U.S. Any group interested in this kind of work can make medical arrangements through Heal the Children or One Kiddo at a Time.

CONTACT: Jan Baker, 30 Arbor Street, Hartford, CT 06106 (203-236-1295 or 242-8620).

INDIANA PROJECT SPONSORS MUSEUM DISPLAY

"THEY'RE PROBABLY IN THE WORST STAGE of the revolution yet," comments Bill Ney of the Indiana-Rio San Juan Sister State Project. "Our most important work now is to lift the trade embargo and disband the contras."

To this end, the Indiana project has been working together with other Central American solidarity and peace organizations in Indianapolis to keep Nicaragua in the public eye. In addition to raising funds for hurricane relief, the project recently sponsored a display at the local Children's Museum, where children and their parents could see artifacts and weavings and hear music from Nicaragua. The exhibit also included a videotape of Hurricane Joan (which is available from Quest for Peace) and brochures describing the Indiana hurri-

cane relief effort.

CONTACT: Bill & Judy Ney, Indiana/Rio San Juan Sister State Project, 524 Buckingham Dr., Indianapolis, IN 46208 (317-283-9493 or 283-3057).

ATHENS REACHES OUT WITH POETRY

THE ATHENS (GA)-CHAGUATILLO SISTER City Project has a unique resource to share with anyone interested in adding a cultural dimension to his or her Central America solidarity work. Christopher Debarr, an organizer with the project, has developed a performance series based on Native American and Central American poetry, with help from a grant from the Georgia Council on the Arts. The script for the performance is available in both Spanish and English.

CONTACT: Christopher Debarr, Athens/Chaguatillo Sister City Project, 498 Franklin St., Athens, GA 30606 (404-549-4416 or 353-0796).

New Sister Cities

COLUMBIA COUNTY (NY)-MALPAISILLO SISTER CITY EXCHANGE

THE MUNICIPALITY OF MALPAISILLO IN THE Department of Leon, Nicaragua, now has two sister counties – Berkshire County in Massachusetts and Columbia County in New York. The Columbia County volunteers hope to promote people-to-people exchanges and various twinning projects, in addition to conducting outreaches and providing material aid.

CONTACT: Joan Unger and Gary Stoller, Columbia County/Malpaisillo Sister City Exchange, Box 521, Hudson, NY 12534 (518-392-2618 or 838-0361).

BOZEMAN LINKS UP WITH RIVAS

BOZEMAN HAS JOINED WITH MISSOULA AND Helena in linking their state of Montana with Rivas in southern Nicaragua.

CONTACT: Bob Roughton, Bozeman Friends of Rivas, Box 6575, Bozeman, MT 59771-6575 (406-388-1919).

ECONOMIC CONVERSION BRIEFS

LOCAL EFFORTS

Long Island (NY)

In times of military cutbacks, Long Island would seem to be particularly vulnerable. After all, Pentagon-financed programs there (such as the F-14) tend to be in their more mature or older phases. Without new contracts to replace the ones that are running out, the region could be hard-hit.

And, in fact, when the Business Research Institute at Hofstra University took a close look at this possibility, it couldn't offer much encouragement if Long Island continues to cling to its dependence on military spending. The Pentagon provides jobs for 12 percent of the workforce, and one-third of the manufacturing workforce. But just within the last two years, the study documented the loss of 5,000 military-related jobs on Long Island – mostly layoffs as contracts have run out.

The Hofstra report recommended that retraining programs for displaced workers be expanded. (At present, about one-third of laid-off defense workers leave the area, another one-third retire early, and the remainder are retrained for positions that often provide them with lower standards of living.) The study also urged the government to provide incentives to encourage the creation of new industries on Long Island that would address problems such as water pollution and toxic wastes.

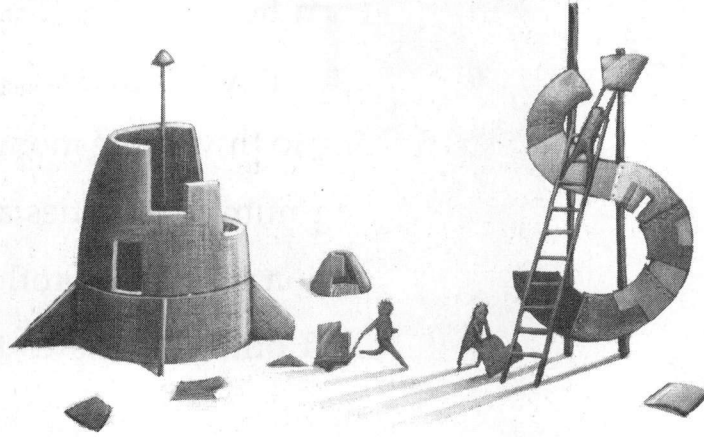
Since the report was issued, members of the Long Island Alliance (funders of the study) have met with local elected officials and business leaders to discuss the results and implications of the study.

CONTACT: Margaret Melkonian, Long Island Alliance, 38 Old Country Road, Garden City, NY 11530 (516-741-4360).

Bristol (UK)

In March 1988, British Aerospace's Dynamics Division announced a program of "restructuring" – one that would cost 3,500 jobs over a 12-to-18-month period.

That was particularly bad news



for Bristol, which is the most militarily dependent city in Britain. Nearly one-third of those lost jobs would occur among Bristol workers.

The city fathers couldn't afford to sit still as defense jobs were being lost. Last August, the city council commissioned a study at the University of Bristol to look at the reasons behind the layoffs and their effects on the economy.

When the study findings were recently released, they urged the city council to build a better relationship with British Aerospace, in hopes of encouraging product diversification and preserving the labor force.

It also recommended that the council create a bridge with other defense contractors and "establish an apparatus for monitoring the local defense sector as a whole" The intent of this recommendation is to provide "new avenues for companies affected by defense spending to assess their prospects and examine alternatives."

CONTACT: John Lovering, University of Bristol School for Advanced Urban Studies, Rodney Lodge, Grange Road, Bristol, UK BS8 4EA (0272 741117).

STATE EFFORTS

Minnesota

Like other parts of the country, Minnesota is learning how costly military spending can be to the state economy. In May, the Minnesota Task Force on Economic Conversion issued the findings of its year-long study, "Military Production and the Minnesota Economy," which showed that Minnesotans pay more to the Pentagon than they get back. In 1987, for instance, state residents paid \$4.7 billion in taxes to the military, and received \$2.9 billion in military expenditures, largely contracts for durable goods.

The study concluded that if the military budget were reduced by 20 percent – and those funds were spent instead in the social sectors (housing, medical care, education, infrastructure) – Minnesota could expect a net gain of 9,400 new jobs. Even if the 20 percent cut were returned to taxpayers and used for private consumption, the state would experience a net gain of 8,100 jobs.

The report urged an expansion of the state's program of economic conversion, and a budget-neutral shift at the federal level from military spending to social spending "based upon the true needs of our nation's defense and the true needs of the people."

"Every Minnesotan loses when military spending increases, while the state gains when federal domestic spending is on the rise," said State Rep. Karen Clark of Minneapolis, chair of the task force.

CONTACT: Mel Duncan, Minnesota Jobs with Peace, 1929 S. 5th St., Minneapolis, MN 55454 (612-338-7955).

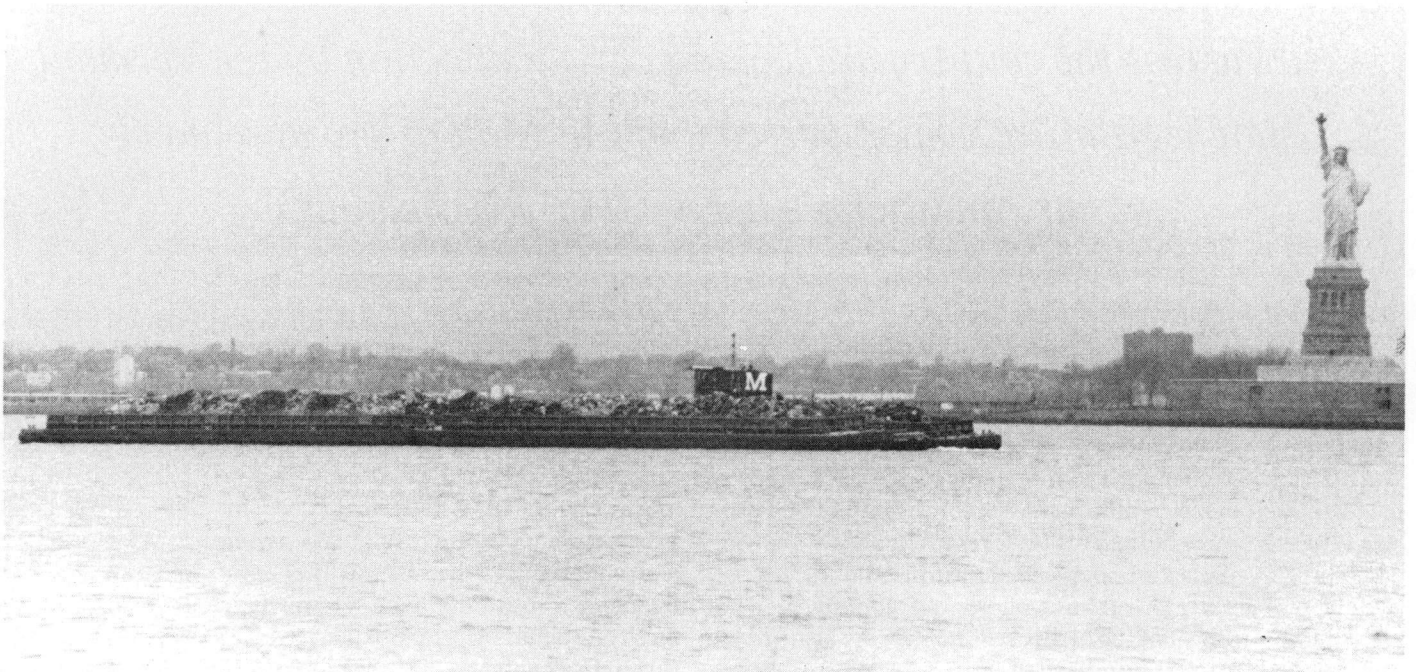
Economic Conversion Briefs chronicle local and state efforts to convert military production facilities into more socially beneficial enterprises. These updates were provided by Louise McNeilly of the Center for Economic Conversion (CEC). For additional information, contact the name or organization listed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

PLASTICS INDUSTRY FIGHTS BACK

**Today,
Suffolk County.
Tomorrow,
Minneapolis
and St. Paul?**

The plastics and petroleum industries have shifted into high gear, attempting to thwart the momentum of the growing number of cities and counties taking action against chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and other threats to the global environment.

With the help of the courts and perhaps some sympathetic Suffolk County (NY) legislators, the industry is trying to undermine that jurisdiction's comprehensive ban on polystyrene foam and polyvinyl chloride (PVC), which was passed in 1988 with the provision that it go into effect this summer. It would force fast food restaurants, grocery stores, bars, delis and roadside stands to switch to paper products. At the same time, industry lobbyists have attempted to influence Minnesota state legislators to block implementation of strong packaging legislation in both Minneapolis and St. Paul.



Kirk Condules / Impact Visuals

Liberty? Or Environmental Chaos? The plastics industry's "right" to market non-biodegradable products has run up against municipal fiscal and environmental concerns. Waste disposal is now the fastest growing municipal budget item.

In Suffolk County, six parties – including the Society of the Plastics Industry – filed a suit earlier this year to overturn the packaging ordinance. They claimed that the local legislation is preempted by state law, that it violates interstate commerce laws, and that it bypasses pre-existing environmental procedural requirements.

A court decision on May 24 upheld the constitutionality of the legislation, but ruled that before the ordinance could go into effect, additional environmental impact studies were needed. At press time, Suffolk County's attorneys were deciding whether to appeal the court ruling – a move that would apparently permit implementation of the legislation while the upper court studied the case. Without an appeal, the ordinance's implementation would be blocked until additional environmental research was conducted.

At the same time, the industry attacked on another front in Suffolk County. Although the original legislation had passed nearly unanimously (16 yes, 0 no, 2 abstentions), the industry convinced Suffolk County Legislator Michael O'Donohoe to introduce legislation this spring to delay implementation of the legislation for six months.

At first glance, the proposed six-month moratorium seemed relatively innocuous, allowing local businesses more time to prepare for the ban. But the motives of the bill's supporters were more insidious. "Everyone in the county legislature is up for re-election this November," notes Bob Clifford, an aide to Stephen C. Englebright, the chief sponsor of the original Suffolk environmental bill. "And they want to politicize this whole issue."

By providing financial backing to candidates sympathetic to its own point of view, the industry hopes to gain a pro-plastics majority in the legislature by the end of the year – who they presume will completely overturn the packag-

ing law. "We're fairly certain that whoever runs against Mr. Englebright is going to have a lot of oil money and a lot of McDonald's money," says Clifford.

At hearings on the proposed moratorium, the Mobil Corporation sent a representative to testify, as did the Dow Chemical Company. "We think they're concentrating on Suffolk County because we were the first," says Clifford. "Also, if they can succeed here, they'll employ the same strategies in other municipalities across the country," says Clifford.

At press time, the Suffolk County Legislature was nearing a vote on the moratorium, although the measure had been tabled temporarily until the county decided whether it would appeal the court ruling.

To date, Suffolk County is the only jurisdiction singled out for legal action because of its anti-CFC legislation. But other cities and counties are aware that they, too, may eventually end up in the courts.

"The city has major litigation risk from plastics manufacturers," says Terry Trumbull, referring to Palo Alto, California, which passed its own anti-CFC legislation last year. Trumbull, head of Palo Alto's CFC task force, says that the city is nevertheless considering expanding the scope of its ordinance, based on recommendations submitted by his committee to the city council in April.

As for Minneapolis and St. Paul, they presently find themselves in a sticky situation, even without imminent legal hassles. In March and April, the city councils of the two Minnesota cities passed almost identical ordinances, banning most plastic food and beverage packaging from grocery store shelves and fast-food restaurants. Beginning in July 1990, the laws would prohibit all non-biodegradable, non-recyclable plastic packaging for which an environmen-

Cities across the country are looking closely at action by the Vermont state legislature, which passed a bill in May to ban automobile air conditioners using CFCs for coolant.

tally acceptable alternative is available.

The Minneapolis/St. Paul legislation allows for some exceptions. For instance, exemptions might be granted to companies able to prove to the city health commissioner that they would be placed at a distinct economic disadvantage if they had to switch to more acceptable packaging.

Bruce Hoheisel, a policy analyst for the city of St. Paul, says that the milk industry's own research shows that by switching from plastic to paper milk cartons, the added cost would be barely more than a penny per container. The greatest cost impact of the ordinance, he says, appears to be with the switch by supermarkets to paper grocery bags, which cost about three to four cents more per unit than plastic bags.

The ordinance passed unanimously in Minneapolis, and by a 6-to-1 vote in St. Paul, despite opposition ad campaigns unleashed by the Minnesota Grocers Association and the Council for Solid Waste Solutions (a plastics industry group).

But even before the celebrating by environmentalists had waned, members of the state Senate took the offensive. They tacked on an amendment to a sweeping environmental bill that would, in essence, prevent any Minnesota city, including Minneapolis and St. Paul, from enacting these kinds of environment-sustaining ordinances. Charles Berg, a state senator supporting the amendment, claimed that the local measures would "create chaos in the whole packaging industry," and would produce a hodgepodge of packaging rules throughout the state.

Lobbyists from the plastics industry were working overtime to sway state legislators to support the amendment. Even so, when the legislative session ended in May, the bill had died on the floor without a vote being taken, although there was a possibility that the governor would call a special session to consider the legislation.

Nevertheless, supporters of the local ordinances in Minnesota don't believe their problems will be over, even if the state legislature fails to rescind the local measures. "We've been threatened both overtly and covertly that the industry wouldn't hesitate to use litigation" to overturn the ordinances, says John Gisselquist, an aide to Minneapolis Councilmember John Cramer, who introduced the bill in that city.

In other municipalities where packaging ordinances have been passed, there have been fewer problems to date. Barbara George, a Portland (OR) city council advisor on environmental issues, notes that the city ban there on foam food containers and packaging is being implemented in

phases, beginning last March and continuing through next January 1st. "We've seen some businesses adopting portions of the ordinance even before they had to," she observes. "They saw it was going to happen anyway, so they decided to switch early. As yet, we haven't had a great deal of controversy."

Terry Trumbull recalls that in Palo Alto, businesspeople were initially hostile when his task force first started talking to them. "But after continued dialogue, the business community has been much more receptive to the environmental improvements the city is trying to make."

In Berkeley (CA), a city council-passed anti-styrofoam ordinance is being phased in between September 1988 and next January 1st. In the meantime, the council has already moved to expand its efforts. In April, it unanimously voted to ask the city manager to develop a proposal to require local companies that release CFCs into the air to make regular reports to City Hall. Councilmember Nancy Skinner, sponsor of the resolution, notes that although the banning of plastic foam containers is important, these products account for only about 13 percent of CFC use in the country. Much more significant, she pointed out, is gas escaping from hospital sterilizing units, refrigeration units, and automobile air conditioners.

Meanwhile, cities across the country are looking closely at action by the Vermont state legislature, which passed a bill in May to ban automobile air conditioners using CFCs for coolant. The new law will go into effect beginning with model year 1993 cars sold and/or registered in the state. Governor Madeleine Kunin, who hailed the bill as "landmark legislation," signed it into law within two weeks after its passage.

According to the Vermont Public Interest Research Group, auto air conditioners contributed more than 26 percent of the 330,000 tons of CFCs released into the atmosphere in the U.S. in 1985. Nationally, about 90 percent of all new cars are equipped with air conditioning. The nation's Big Three automakers, perhaps recognizing that the sky really is becoming the limit, say they're working as quickly as possible to develop an alternative automobile cooling system.

SOURCES: Suffolk County Legislator Steven Englebright, 149 Main St., East Setauket, NY 11733 (516-689-8500); Councilmember Steve Cramer, Minneapolis City Council, 307 City Hall, Minneapolis, MN 55415 (612-348-2211); Councilmember Bob Long, St. Paul City Council, City Hall, St. Paul, MN 55102 (612-298-4473); Barbara George, City Hall, 1220 S.W. 5th Ave., Portland, OR 97204 (503-243-7995); Terry Trumbull, Palo Alto CFC Task Force (415-321-2211); Councilmember Nancy Skinner, Berkeley City Council, 2180 Milvia St., Berkeley, CA 94705 (415-644-6359); Associated Press, "Vermont to Ban Autos' Use of Ozone-Depleting Chemical," *New York Times*, May 10, 1989, p. A14; Steve Cramer, "Minneapolis Adopts Precedent Setting Packaging Ordinance," *Nation's Cities Weekly*, April 17, 1989, p. 1; William E. Schmidt, "Ban on Plastics Wins Approval in Minneapolis," *New York Times*, April 1, 1989, p. A1.

TREES TO THE RESCUE IN L.A.



Spencer Grant

Is the municipal planting effort a “courageous first move” – or “just totally unrealistic”?

On a particularly smoggy day, few cities are quite as nasty as Los Angeles. Visibility is limited, eyes sting, and noxious vapors fill the air.

No wonder Los Angeles is finally becoming hypersensitive to its environmental problems. Earlier this year, Mayor Tom Bradley asked the city council to review and adopt a list of 60 comprehensive recommendations to reduce the city’s air pollution – measures that regulate everything from backyard barbecue grills to gasoline-operated lawnmowers to deodorant spray.

But as the city council considers what action it will take, Los Angeles is already moving ahead on an ambitious tree-planting program designed to help reverse the “greenhouse effect.” Mayor Bradley has helped launch a plan to put five million new trees to work in the city, soaking up carbon dioxide, nitrogen and sulfur gases.

Although Mayor Bradley concedes that Los Angeles' tree-planting efforts can only make a small dent in the battle against the greenhouse effect, he hopes that his city will serve as a prototype for others to emulate. He has written letters to the mayors of Los Angeles' 14 sister cities (including Mexico City, Athens, Berlin and Bombay), asking them to adopt similar programs. And he will host an environmental conference in the fall, inviting mayors from around the world to learn what they can do to avert global warming.

The cost of the tree-planting to the city is minimal, thanks largely to the involvement of groups such as Tree People, the Global Greenhouse Network and Campaign California. Primarily, the city will pay to maintain trees planted on city property.

In preparing for the tree-planting campaign, Los Angeles officials were in touch with a Virginia-based company called Applied Energy Services (AES), which has been an innovator in tree-planting campaigns. AES builds and operates power plants, and when a new coal-burning facility was in the planning stages along the Thames River in Connecticut, AES chief Roger Sant told his staff to devise ways to absorb the carbon dioxide emissions from the power station – enabling his company to show its concern about the greenhouse effect. The proposed solution: Plant trees – 52 million trees, to be exact – to compensate for the chemicals that will be emitted from the power plant over its 40-year life span.

Cheryl Sturges, AES' director of strategic planning, says that initially, trees were not exactly what the company brass had in mind. Some company executives thought it was a "crazy" idea, but when presented with all the facts, they were won over. With advice from the World Resources Institute (a Washington environmental policy research center) and various government scientists, AES is moving ahead with its tree-planting program.

After learning that the trees could be planted anywhere in the world –

trees in one country help soak up the carbon dioxide emissions in another – AES enlisted the help of CARE, and the tree-planting is underway in Guatemala, spread out over a 10-year period. AES is contributing \$2 million to help finance the project, and 40,000 poor farmers have been hired to do the planting over a 350-square-mile area. The Guatemalan forestry service and the Peace Corps also are participating in the project.

"This is an imaginative experiment in the quest for solutions to the greenhouse effect," says James Gustave Speth, president of the World Resources Institute. "The project is also a viable solution to the serious deforestation problems of a developing country, and has strong local support in Guatemala."

Greg Marland of the U.S. Energy Department's Oak Ridge National Laboratory says these kinds of ambitious tree-planting efforts are "courageous first moves." But while emphasizing that you have to start somewhere, he concedes that "if we think

we're going to solve the whole [global warming] problem by planting trees, that's just totally unrealistic." His studies show that to stop the greenhouse effect from worsening with trees alone, dense forests would have to be planted over an area the size of Australia. Tree-planting, nevertheless, could help slow global warming, he adds, and buy more time for cities and companies to create more significant and permanent solutions.

Meanwhile, other energy companies and municipalities have been in touch with AES and Los Angeles to see how they are going about making an impact on the world's environmental problems. And if Mayor Bradley has his way, every big city in the world will be planting trees before long.

SOURCES: Mayor Tom Bradley, Los Angeles City Hall, Room 305, Los Angeles, CA 90012 (213-485-5182); Cheryl Sturges, Applied Energy Services, Arlington, VA (703-522-0073); World Resources Institute, 1735 New York Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (202-638-6300); Andrew Kimbrell, policy director, Global Greenhouse Network (202-466-2823); Elizabeth Voisin, "L.A.'s Bradley Turns to Trees to Clean Up Air," *City & State*, February 13, 1989, p. 5; Robert Reinhold, "Los Angeles Turns to Trees in New Environmental Effort," *New York Times*, January 12, 1989, p. A1; *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio, March 14, 1989.

ARBOR DAY GOES GLOBAL

ARBOR DAY USED TO BE A RATHER BLAND AFFAIR, ITS DRAB RESPONSIBILITIES LEFT to city hall officials.

Things have changed. With public attention focused on the demise of the global environment, Arbor Day has taken on some of the gravity of a hospital emergency room.

At stake, of course, is nothing less than life on the planet. Over the last century, tons of carbon have poured from coal- and oil-burning engines in the First World. The forests that might have purified the air have fallen rapidly to the axes and fires of the land-hungry in the less developed world. The result is what the public now knows as the "greenhouse effect" – trapped carbon and gases from combustion combine to form a lid that seals in the planet's heat.

"It used to be among the minor constellations of observances," *A New York Times* reporter wrote. "But this year with global warming and the greenhouse effect and drought, planting trees seems more urgent.

And so it was, on this April 28, that Arbor Day activities were commenced with an unusual sense of vigor. In Chicago, city workers passed out 1,500 honey locust seedlings. In Wisconsin, Gov. Tommy G. Thompson exhorted his state's residents to plant a million trees.

"Trees in general are getting to be a very hot issue, pardon the pun, because of the greenhouse effect," said Edith Makra, founder of Chicago's Neighborwoods, a tree-planting civic organization.

SOURCE: William E. Schmidt, "Arbor Day, 1989: A Sense of Urgency," *New York Times*, April 29, 1989, p. 6.



BATTLESHIP EXPLOSION SHARPENS NY HOMEPORT DEBATE

By John Miller

THE APRIL 19 ACCIDENT ABOARD THE BATTLESHIP IOWA, IN which 47 sailors were killed, heated up the debate about Navy plans to homeport the ship in New York Harbor. Both opponents and proponents of the Staten Island base for the nuclear-armed ship quickly responded with expressions of regret for the loss of life in the tragedy, but agreement on the meaning of the accident ended there.

Several hours after the first reports of the accident, the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor, Voters for a Nuclear Free New York and Councilmember Miriam Friedlander held a press conference to call for a freeze on construction of the base until the city studied the accident and its meaning for the homeport. They also called for completion of the city's emergency plan for a nuclear-weapons accident at the base, followed by a city-wide vote.

A week later a number of candidates for city office appeared jointly at a press conference to call for a freeze on city funding for the homeport. Mayoral candidate and current Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins said the "tragedy illustrates the city's failure to properly assess the dangers involved in docking nuclear battleships in our harbor."

Candidates for comptroller and Manhattan borough president also joined the press conference. In addition to Dinkins, two other mayoral candidates – current Comptroller Harrison Goldin and former Metropolitan Transit Au-

thority head Richard Ravitch – also issued statements calling on the city to take another look at the safety of the homeport. Municipal elections take place this fall.

Key supporters of the base, including Mayor Ed Koch, accused opponents of taking advantage of the Iowa accident. Staten Island Congressman Guy Molinari charged opponents with using "a tragedy like this to make a political point against the armed services or against the homeporting program."

"I've held this position for years," Dinkins responded. "I voted against the plan . . . and I have testified on many occasions regarding the potential danger."

Meanwhile, maneuvering on the homeport continues in court. On May 2, a federal judge in Brooklyn ruled that he could not consider whether the Navy had studied the impact of basing ships carrying nuclear weapons in New York Harbor. Under the Navy's policy of "neither confirm nor deny," the Navy does not have to publicly discuss the nuclear issue. The judge agreed, saying that to consider whether the Navy actually carried out the required secret studies would "inevitably compromise privileged information," because any decision would have to be made public.

Several other aspects of the suit, which alleges that the Navy has failed to comply with the National Environmental Policy Act, remain to be decided.

SOURCE: John Miller, Foreign Bases Project, P.O. Box 150753, Brooklyn, NY 11215.

HOMEPORTING & MILITARY BASE BRIEFS



NAVY ASKS ALASKA FOR A HANDOUT

WHEN IT COMES TO HOMEPORTING, THE Navy hasn't given up on Alaska.

As we reported in the winter 1988-89 issue of the Bulletin, voters in Juneau rejected a ballot measure that would have endorsed homeporting for that city of 30,000 people. So instead, the Navy has refocused its sights on two other Alaskan towns – Kodiak and Seward – as preferred locales for two of its frigates.

But this time, the Navy has added a new twist to the homeporting story: It wants Alaska to foot the entire bill for the Navy's homeporting support facilities – at a cost of as much as \$130 million. On top of that, it has asked the state to appropriate \$750,000 to pay for the Navy's Environmental Impact Statement.

The Navy claims that it is short of funds, and that Alaskans should pitch in. But that isn't how Governor Steve Cowper sees it. He responded to the Navy in rather terse fashion: The state isn't interested in that kind of deal. Alaska, he said, would only finance port construction if it is repaid through a long-term, lease-purchase plan. "What we're not going to do is go out and buy the Navy and bring it to Alaska," proclaimed Cowper.

U.S. Senator Ted Stevens (R-AK) insists that homeporting is still on the drawing boards for the state, although it may not happen in 1989. And while there is some public opposition in Seward to the homeporting effort there, these forces aren't yet well organized. Seward's mayor and most other city officials support homeporting, while Kodiak has a long history of hosting the Coast Guard.

"Juneau was really an exception to

the rule here in Alaska," says Chris Toal, executive director of SANE/Alaska. "It's a very progressive city, it's the state capital, and a lot of its city officials were fed up with getting the runaround from the Navy, which wouldn't respond to many of their requests for information."

Toal is concerned about the plans for Seward and/or Kodiak. The frigates that the Navy hopes to port there are capable of carrying tactical nuclear weapons, he warns.

At the moment, the Alaskan press isn't enthralled with the Navy, either. An editorial in the *Anchorage Daily News* concluded:

"The Navy has an important role to play in the North Pacific, but Alaskans would be fools to bankroll Uncle Sam. Now that the Navy has finally said 'Check please' – and then pushed the check in the direction of Alaskans – Alaska homeporting finally has been recognized as a bad idea that has preoccupied too many people for too long."

SOURCES: Chris Toal, Executive Director, SANE/Alaska, 2605 Arctic Blvd., #1717, Anchorage, AK 99503 (907-272-0621); David Postman, "Homeport Bid Hits New Snag," *Anchorage Daily News*, February 7, 1989, p. A1; "No Homeporting in the Navy Report," *Anchorage Daily News*, February 8, 1989, p. B8.

JAPANESE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WORKING TO CLOSE U.S. BASES

IN THE SPRING ISSUE OF THE BULLETIN, senior editor Larry Agran urged U.S. cities to embrace the closing of military bases proposed by Congress. City governments in Japan have done just that.

There are 118 U.S. military bases in

Japan, says Charles Scheiner, who reports on Pacific Rim base-closing efforts. "There are local campaigns around nearly all of the major U.S. military facilities," Scheiner says.

Many of those campaigns translate themselves into battles for control of Japanese city councils.

Two local battles have become "national symbols of people standing up against the Japanese federal government" which works closely with the U.S. military.

Scheiner says a "housewives' group" has taken over the city government of Zushi "to prevent the U.S. Navy - with Japanese national cooperation - from building sailors' housing in a nature preserve."

On the island of Miyake-Jima - 100 miles south of Tokyo Bay - the U.S. Navy's plans to build an airstrip for night landing practice drove the island's 4,300 residents to organize in opposition. In 1988, the island's anti-base mayor was re-elected in a race with no opponents.

SOURCE: Charles Scheiner, P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 (914-428-7299); Foreign Bases Project, P.O. Box 150753, Brooklyn, NY 11215 (718-788-6071).

MORE SUPPORT FOR U.S. BASE CLOSINGS

WHEN CONGRESS ANNOUNCED ITS plan to close 86 military bases around the nation, Rabbi Chaim Stauber was elated.

Rabbi Stauber is president of the United Jewish Organizations of Williamsburg, an umbrella group for Brooklyn's chasidic community, as well as 120 other Jewish organizations. And he wants government officials to

give his group the Brooklyn Naval Yard to provide housing for Brooklyn's growing number of chasidic families.

And why not? The rabbi pointed out that the base had been paid for with "tax dollars from American citizens." Why should American citizens pay again for the privilege of using a base they already own?

Glenn Flood, a Defense Department spokesperson, wasn't getting it. He pointed out that other branches of the armed forces will have first crack at the navy yard, then federal agencies, then local government.

In any case, Flood said, the base will not go for free. Interested buyers will have to buy the place - *again*, the rabbi might point out - "for some type of negotiated fee."

SOURCE: "Chasidim Eye Navy Yard for Housing," *The Jewish Week*, March 10, 1989.

4 SWEDISH PORT TOWNS PULL IN THE NUCLEAR WELCOME MAT

SWEDES ARE DEBATING ABOUT FOUR municipalities that have declared their ports out-of-bounds for nuclear-capable vessels. The national government has fought back, criticizing the local bans as contrary to the national interest and counterproductive to Sweden's efforts to promote disarmament.

In the fall of 1987, Sweden's governing Social Democratic Party, followed quickly by the Social Democratic-dominated Parliament, began pressing for an international ban on tactical nuclear weapons and cruise

missiles at sea.

But the Swedish peace movement wasn't waiting. Peace activists and smaller political parties began almost immediately urging port-city governments to enact their own bans.

Four ports, including Gotenberg, now officially refuse hospitality to visiting warships capable of carrying nuclear arms.

In late April, two top officials in the Foreign and Defense Departments counter-attacked in an article criticizing local politicians who had taken stands on the issue.

They argued that the matter ought to be left to the federal government and that Sweden "should have one foreign policy only." A port-call ban, they said, would reduce Sweden's international influence and would hurt relations with its Nordic neighbors, several of whom are NATO members.

Swedish supporters of the port-call ban argue that their national government's insistence on a global ban on nuclear arms at sea masks a policy that supports the naval arms race and provocative military exercises.

According to Cilla Lundstroem of the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society, acceptance of the national policy by local officials means "they will get nuclear weapons in their towns."

Lundstroem says the national government "wants local authorities to take an active part in foreign policy . . . represent[ing] Sweden when nuclear ships arrive. . . . But in this case it is more important for the local authorities to meet local demands.... Someone has to take responsibility for local safety."

Source: Foreign Bases Project, PO Box 150753, Brooklyn, NY 11215, (718) 788-6071; The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (SPAS) Braennkyrkagatan 76, S-117 23 Stockholm, Sweden; Pierre Schori and Jan Nygren, "We Can Have One Foreign Policy Only," *Dagen Nyheter*, April 19, 1989.

JERSEY TOWN FIGHTS RIGHTS ABUSES IN BRAZIL



Luz Carlos Murauskas / Agencia Folhas

Amnesty International Strategy Focuses on Municipalities

As demand for imported agricultural products rises in the developed world, the struggle for land in the Third World heats up. In Brazil, powerful landowners involved in that ten-year-old struggle have murdered more than 1,000 small landholders – peasants, Indians, and their advisors. The Brazilian National Bishops Conference wrote in February 1980 that, in many of those cases, “There is ample proof that such violence involves not only hired thugs and professional gunmen, but also the police, judges, and officers of the judiciary.”

When Amnesty International, the worldwide human rights watchdog, launched a campaign against the murders in September of last year, Amnesty's Northern New Jersey Group 111 went to town hall.

"By the end of December, our group members had sent out more than 60 letters of protest to Brazilian authorities, including President José Sarney and his ambassador in Washington, Marcilio Marques Moreira," says Group 111's co-coordinator Kathy King Wouk. Group 111 also approached Catholic priests in Teaneck and in neighboring towns, encouraging them to write letters, and persuaded two suburban newspapers to run stories about the campaign.

But by January, Amnesty members agreed the letters weren't generating enough heat. "We had to find some other way to publicize Brazil's refusal to take action," Wouk says. "I reminded the group that Peter Bower, Teaneck's deputy mayor, had offered to help us."

Bower had been a guest speaker at a December orientation party for Group 111 and had told Wouk then "he thought the town council might be willing to pass a resolution on human rights issues."

Some Amnesty members were skeptical. "They asked me if the council had ever passed resolutions dealing with matters outside the community," Wouk says, "and I mentioned that the council had, in fact, within the last few months passed a resolution asking for commutation of the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six" in South Africa.

"That resolution contained a sentence referring to Teaneck as a town that cares about human rights. I said obviously the council did, on occasion, respond to issues outside of its own borders," Wouk says.

Wouk spent a morning composing the Brazil resolution – using the framework of the council's Sharpeville resolution and inserting the names of several prominent, now dead, Brazilians, including Chico Mendes, a 44-year-old environmentalist and trade unionist



Luiz Carlos Muraskas / Agencia Fofhas

The Agribusiness Brigade. Amnesty activists say Brazil's police, judges and local officials often work with landowners to evict small-holders.

gunned down on December 22, 1988. She ran the draft by Amnesty's Regional coordinator for Brazil, received the blessing she hoped for, and had the resolution added to the council's working session agenda a day later.

At the council's working session, it was up to Deputy Mayor Bower to argue Amnesty's case.

Bower says his own interest in the resolution was personal as well as political. "I'm an environmentalist myself, by profession," he says. Hence his interest in environmental problems and in human rights abuses in Brazil – especially abuses committed against those defending small land-holders.

In a council working session, Bower says, some councilmembers expressed concern that there "might be 3,000,000 resolutions we could pass about human rights abuses all over the world," and that this resolution in particular would have no effect.

But Bower argued that the council

wasn't responsible for 3,000,000 resolutions, just resolutions supported by local groups.

"Wherever there's a local group that's active, and where local residents are asking us to act, we have to be responsive," Bower says.

Council participants at the working session agreed in principle, and the Brazil resolution wound up on the February 14 council agenda. Bower told Wouk to be there, ready to testify.

"As a member of Amnesty's public speakers bureau, I often address large audiences," Wouk says. "But I felt extremely nervous that evening, waiting my turn to face the council."

When Teaneck Mayor Frank Hall asked for public comment on "Resolution G: Protest Violations of Human Rights in Brazil," Wouk approached the bench.

"I said that I was proud of Teaneck's history as one of the first suburban communities to actively fight for racial integration and fair housing," Wouk remembers. "Teaneck

eck was obviously a community that cared about all its citizens and their rights," she told the council.

Then Wouk read two graphic paragraphs from an article in *The Christian Science Monitor* on the murder of Ivair Higino Almeida. "I emphasized that Sr. Higino Almeida was running for the local town council in Xapuri, in the state of Acre in Brazil, and that he had openly sided with those wanting to preserve the Amazon rain forest from destruction."



Amnesty International's Kathy Wouk (l) and Gloria Bernstein with Teaneck Deputy Mayor Peter Bower.

"I recognize and believe that the first priority of the council must be to satisfy the needs of the township," Wouk told the council. "But I also believe that occasionally the town might be asked to look beyond its own borders – in this case to preserve human dignity and save human life." Brazilian men, women and children – "children like our own" – were being arrested, tortured, and murdered, Wouk told the council.

"This resolution can make a difference," she concluded. "It can generate a great deal of heat with its loud voice of protest."

A little more than an hour later, the council voted unanimously to adopt 21 resolutions, including Resolution G. When Wouk approached Bower and his colleagues to thank them for their support, she says, "almost all of them told me how much they admired Amnesty International's work, and how they hoped the resolution would help."

SOURCES: Kathy King Wouk, Amnesty International, Northern New Jersey Group, 554 Cumberland Ave., Teaneck, NJ 07666 (201-836-4796); Deputy Mayor Peter Bower (201-837-1600).

WITH A LITTLE HELP FROM CITY HALL

LOOKING TO CITY HALL IS NOTHING NEW TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ACTIVISTS. In fact, says Amnesty's Campaign Director Jack Rendler, it's become pretty routine.

"In each campaign," Rendler says, "there's the suggestion that Amnesty chapters go to their city governments to get a resolution passed."

And not just resolutions. Rendler says Amnesty activists often work through sister cities to combat human rights abuses throughout the world. "We try to ask city officials in this country to use their good offices to point out the human rights abuses in their sister city. That's usually done in a supportive fashion."

Neither is it uncommon for Amnesty activists to encourage "colleague-to-colleague" communications. Amnesty used that strategy in its Colombia campaign in the Spring of 1988 when Colombian mayors were democratically elected for the first time in that nation's history. It was natural for Amnesty activists in this country to ask their own mayors to write a "Dear Colleague" letter to the new mayors. Those letters included congratulations, of course, but also let the newly elected mayors know they had supporters in the U.S. – supporters in the battle for local human rights protections.

In the Turkey campaign – designed to end torture and stanch the flow of blood in Turkish police stations – Amnesty told its activists to seek the support of local police officials in U.S. cities and towns.

Rendler estimates that "one or two hundred" such Amnesty-inspired municipal efforts have fortified the writing of letters, Amnesty's preferred modus operandi in opposing human rights abuses.

"My sense is that we need both," Rendler says of letter-writing from citizens and the host of city hall efforts. "In order to generate pressure, we need volume mail from the general citizenry. But we also need officials in the target country to perceive that opinion leaders in our country...are aware of the abuses, that those abuses are ruining the country's reputation abroad."

Official letters, Rendler concludes, "are bound to help."

Amnesty's David Nova agrees. "In some ways, it's always great to have state legislators, city councilmembers and mayors passing ordinances and resolutions," says Nova, deputy director of Amnesty's mid-Atlantic region. "A letter from a mayor, or an ordinance or resolution by a city council, obviously has a lot more weight than a letter from the average citizen."

But too often, Nova says, local officials simply pass resolutions and do nothing to support them.

"If a council follows up a human rights resolution with letters to "officials in parallel positions in Brazil," for example, then the resolution is likely "to have some impact," Nova says.

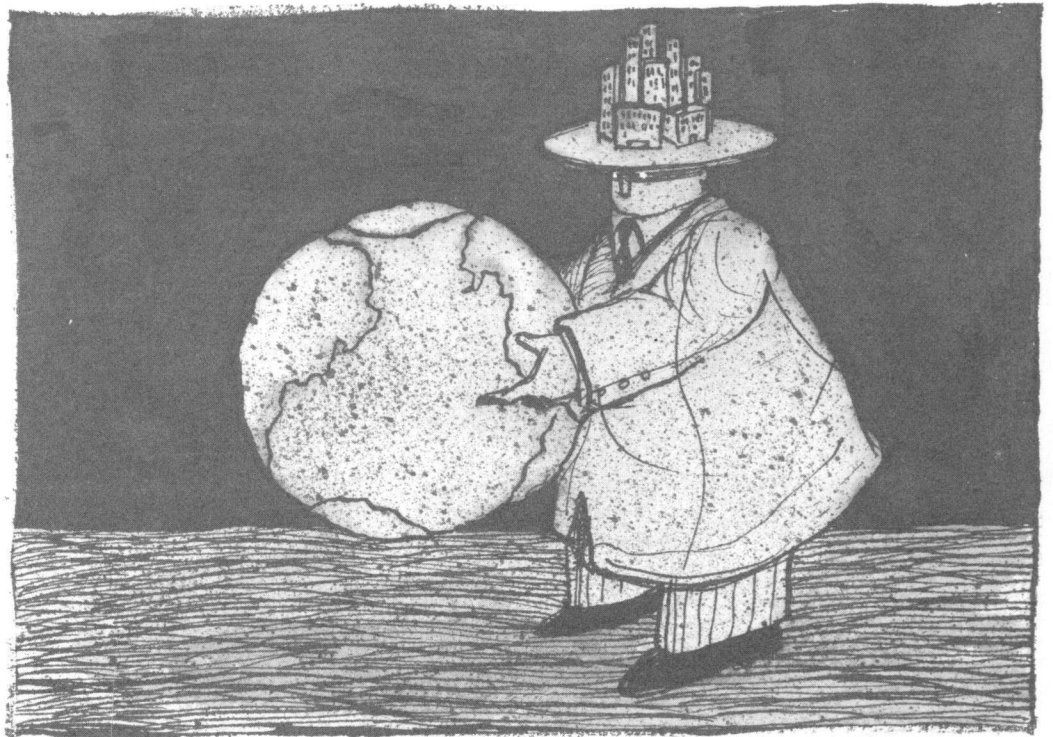
"If, for instance, the Teaneck council sent the resolution to the Brazilian embassy, and if they followed that up with letters, then that would insure their resolution meant something," Nova says.

The Teaneck resolution was, in fact, sent – with a Portuguese translation – to Brazilian President José Sarney, to Brazil's ambassador to Washington, D.C., Marcilio Marques Moreira, and to more than 40 other Brazilian officials, including police chiefs, mayors and state governors.

Local activists should also work to make sure that the resolution is covered by the media, Nova says.

SOURCE: Jack Rendler, Amnesty International, 655 Sutter, Suite 406, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415-441-2114); David Nova, deputy director, Amnesty International mid-Atlantic regional office (202-547-4718).

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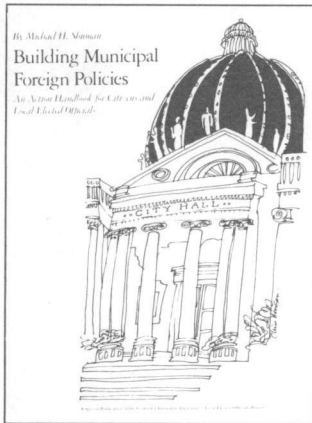


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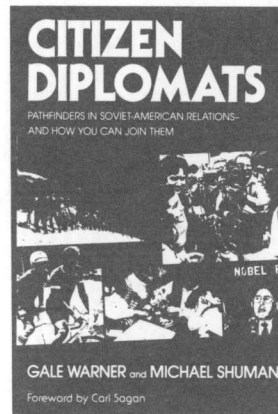
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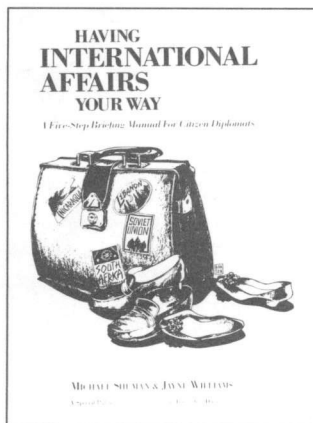
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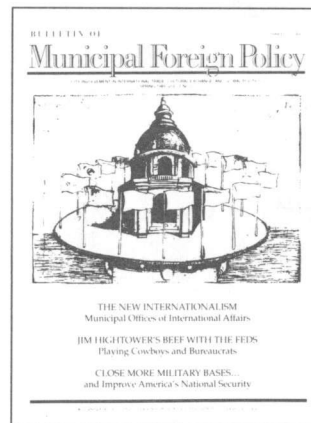
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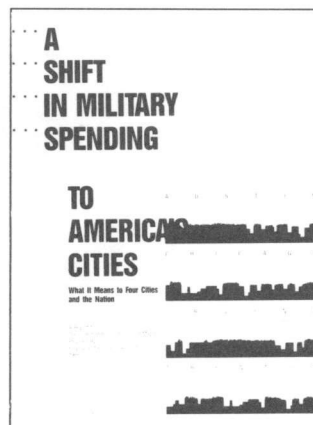


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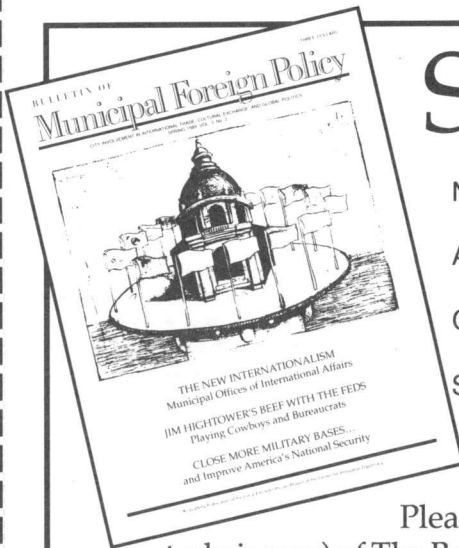


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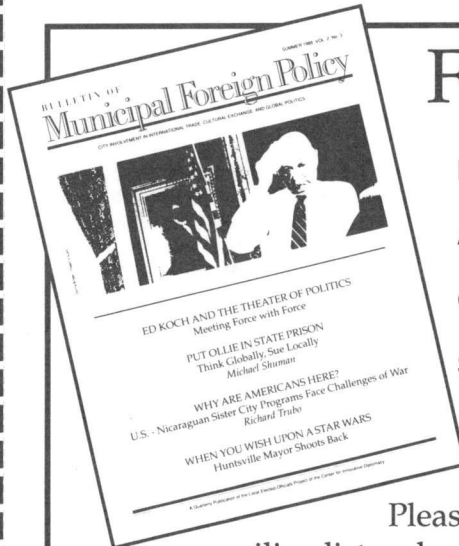
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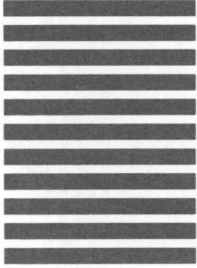
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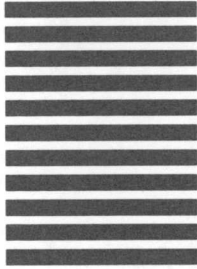
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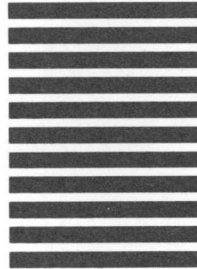
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**Don't
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Act
Locally.**

More Cities Sign on to MacBride Principles



Donna DeCesare / Impact Visuals

IT STARTED WITH AN OFFICE MEMO written by Harrison J. Goldin, comptroller of New York City. In 1984, he instructed a staff member, Patrick Doherty, to “do some research on Northern Ireland” in order to “generate a Sullivan type proposal.”

Doherty’s research turned up what he considered to be job discrimination against Catholics by U.S. companies in Northern Ireland. He drafted a set of nine fair-employment principles, and Sean MacBride was asked to attach his name to them. MacBride, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, agreed, and the MacBride principles were born.

Since then, 12 state legislatures and at least 24 city councils in the U.S. have enacted statutes supporting the principles, and the number continues to grow. Observers concur that the MacBride campaign is moving faster

The British government has strongly opposed the MacBride campaign from its inception, and sees it as a tremendous embarrassment.

than did the embracing of the anti-apartheid Sullivan principles in the 1970s.

The MacBride anti-discrimination code asks U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa to increase “the representation of individuals from underrepresented religious groups in the work force, including managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.” It urges “special recruitment efforts” to attract Catholic applicants, and asks for protection from harassment on the job and while traveling to and from work.

Some (but still a minority) of the MacBride legislation passed by U.S. cities and states call for disinvestment of pension funds from American companies that do not adhere to the code of conduct. In February, Massa-

The British
government has said
it will take legal action
against companies
that publicly
endorse the
MacBride principles.

achusetts became the first jurisdiction to order such disinvestment, when State Treasurer Robert Crane called for withdrawal of the state's holdings in three companies—NYNEX, Sonoco Products and Teleflex.

Tucson (AZ) and San Francisco are two of the newest cities to lend their support to the MacBride principles. "The concept [of MacBride] is a little easier to sell than South Africa was initially, simply because South Africa came first," Doherty told the *Bulletin*. "Legislators are now more aware of how pension funds can be used to influence events abroad."

In Tucson, the city council passed the MacBride ordinance by a 4-to-3 vote, with Mayor Tom Volgy casting the deciding vote in favor of the measure. The councilmembers who opposed the ordinance argued that the city shouldn't get involved in foreign matters. But in the past, two of them had supported a measure endorsing the Sullivan principles.

"Perhaps they found it more acceptable to come out against South Africa, and less acceptable to criticize England," says Scott Egan, an aide to Tucson Councilmember Bruce Wheeler, who introduced the MacBride legislation.

Tucson's South African ordinance called for the divestment of over \$20 million of city funds. But to gain the necessary city council votes for the MacBride ordinance, supporters of the measure deleted the paragraph mandating divestment by 1990 in companies not adhering to the anti-discriminatory principles. The San Francisco ordinance, approved by a seven-to-one vote of the board of supervisors, mandates that city contracts include a statement urging companies doing business in Northern Ireland to move toward resolving employment inequities, and encouraging them to abide by the MacBride Principles. It also asks San Francisco companies to conduct business with corporations that adhere to the principles.

Father Sean McManus of the Irish

National Caucus (an Irish lobbying group in Washington, D.C.) says that the flurry of activity in state houses and city council chambers has "caught the attention" of U.S. corporations. Nevertheless, none of the 34 publicly-held U.S. companies doing business in Northern Ireland has yet officially subscribed to the principles.

"It will take time," says McManus. "We knew that when we launched the campaign."

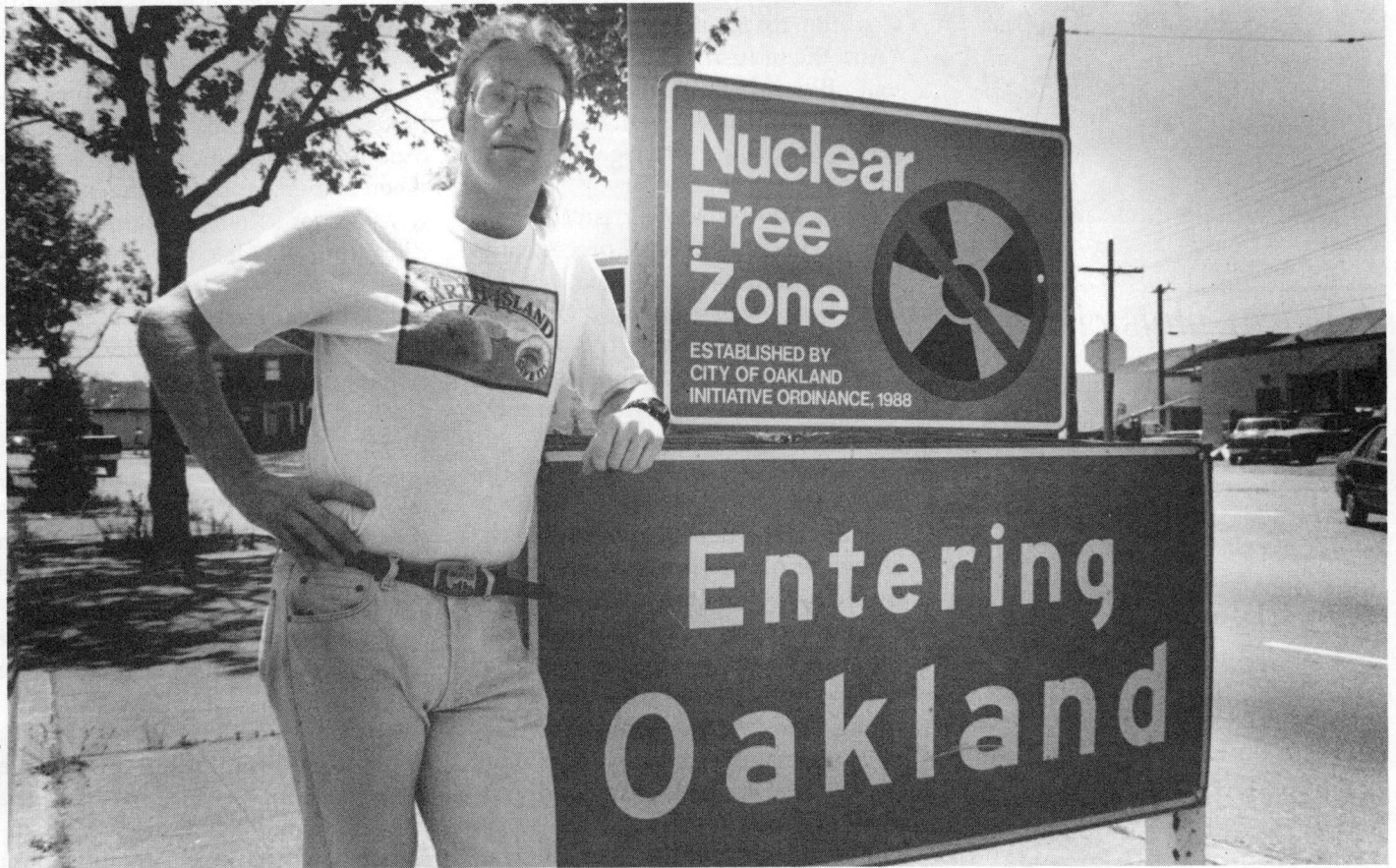
The situation is complicated by pressure applied by the Thatcher government. According to Doherty, "The British government has said it will take legal action against companies if they publicly endorse the MacBride principles, claiming this would be *prima facie* evidence of corporate intent to discriminate against Protestants. The British government has strongly opposed the MacBride campaign from its inception, and sees it as a tremendous embarrassment."

Even so, the pressure from U.S. firms may be having some positive effect. Doherty says that when problems with employment practices have been pointed out to these corporations, a number have taken steps to correct them. "Ford has adopted its own set of guidelines taken almost word for word from the principles. But it doesn't have the name MacBride associated with it directly, so as a result, it hasn't triggered a response from the British government."

Meanwhile, the Reagan and Bush administrations have joined the Thatcher government in firm opposition to the MacBride code. According to the U.S. State Department, the MacBride campaign has created "new uncertainties for businesses in the already difficult Northern Ireland environment."

SOURCES: Patrick Doherty, Office of the Comptroller, The City of New York, 1 Center St., New York, NY 10007 (212-669-2012); Father Sean McManus, Irish National Caucus, 413 E. Capitol St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-0568); Councilmember Bruce Wheeler, 940 W. Alameda, Tucson, AZ 85745 (602-791-4326); Supervisor Harry Britt, City Hall, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415-554-5145); Investor Responsibility Research Center, 1755 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (202-939-6500); Helen E. Booth, Kenneth A. Bertsch and the Investor Responsibility Research Center, *The MacBride Principles and U.S. Companies in Northern Ireland*, 1989.

THE CASE FOR OAKLAND



John Jernegan

Oakland's Steve Bloom. "The nuclear industry is out to get us."

HERE COMES THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS INDUSTRY. After the creation of more than 160 nuclear free zones in the U.S., the nuclear industry has apparently had enough. And it has chosen Oakland, California, as the battleground for the first broad legal challenge of NFZs.

In May, a conservative legal group filed a suit aimed at undermining the law that declared Oakland an NFZ. City voters had approved the NFZ at the ballot box last November by a 57-to-43 percent margin.

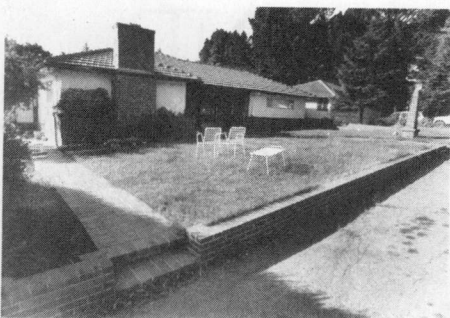
"This is the first challenge of any kind against an NFZ ordinance on the grounds that it affects the nuclear weapons industry," says Albert Donnay of Nuclear Free America.

At the time the ordinance passed, Oakland had no thriving nuclear industry – and the law is intended to keep it that way. The measure bans production of nuclear weapons or their components within city limits. It also requires the city to divest from any financial or contractual involvement with nuclear weapons makers, ban nuclear waste from the city, and severely restrict transporting any banned materials on city streets.

But the lawsuit, filed by the Sacramento-based Pacific Legal Foundation in U.S. District Court in San Francisco, claims that the Oakland ordinance unconstitutionally interferes with the national defense, illegally allows cities to regulate areas such as nuclear weapons, and illegally disrupts businesses.

In the suit, four plaintiffs are named – an Oakland nuclear physicist working on the Star Wars project who claims he would have to report his classified work to the city; an office equipment company whose sales of IBM typewriters to the city might be barred; a retired city finance director who insists that city pension funds might be divested from military contractors; and a Georgia company that transports radioactive materials through Oakland. All plaintiffs claim they will be harmed by the NFZ act.

Why was Oakland chosen for this challenge? Some observers believe that nuclear weapons manufacturers are still fuming over their defeat in the Northern California city last November, despite their futile expenditure of \$70,000 just in the last two months of the campaign. It was the most expensive local campaign ever waged by the nuclear industry.



*Nuclear physicist
Glen Dahlbacka says
he brings work home.
Posting a sign
explaining the kind
of work he does would,
he says, expose him to
public ridicule.*

"Oakland is a broad ordinance with many provisions and a lot of actual effects," says Steve Bloom of the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Oakland. "And the industry wants to try to get us." Bloom believes that the Oakland suit "is now the national test case for NFZs," and could set a legal precedent for the rest of the country.

But NFA's Donnay isn't so certain. "This will set legal precedent in the San Francisco Bay area, but not elsewhere," says Donnay. "Oakland, not the whole movement, is going to court. This is an important case, but no single NFZ suit can bring down the entire movement."

Ann Fagan Ginger of the Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute concurs. She believes that since the language of NFZ ordinances differs from city to city, the Oakland decision will not set a national legal precedent.

But Oakland Councilmember Wilson Riles Jr., says that the court ruling could impact not only other NFZ ordinances, but also municipal laws related to South African divestment and minority purchasing. "Any preferences or special intention given in the investment or purchasing area to particular groups are under attack by this lawsuit," he explains.

One or more major nuclear weapons manufacturers are believed to be funding the current legal action under the veil of the Pacific Legal Foundation. "If you were looking to challenge an NFZ, rather than having corporate lawyers do it directly, it looks better to have an innocuous-sounding legal foundation do it," said Bloom.

Glen Dahlbacka is the nuclear physicist named as a plaintiff in the suit. He also was the treasurer of last November's election campaign against the ordinance, says Bloom. Although his office is in nearby Alameda, he claims that since he brings work home to his Oakland residence, he is subject to the ordinance's reporting requirements, and its provision that he post a sign explaining the kind of work in which he's involved.

According to the suit, "Both the

report and sign requirements are designed to hold individuals, including plaintiff Dahlbacka, up to public ridicule for engaging in a politically and ideologically disfavored industry."

Oakland City Attorney Jayne Williams says the city will defend the ordinance. "I think it's our business when 57 percent of the citizens of the city vote for it," she explains. Wilson Riles, the sole Oakland councilmember who supported the NFZ ordinance in last November's election, says the city has hired an outside law firm specializing in constitutional law, and has received offers of support from lawyers' groups across the country.

Although the suit is a highly visible attack on a nuclear free zone, it is not the only recent frontal assault on the movement. Last November, the prestigious *Hastings Law Journal* published an article titled, "Taming the New Breed of Nuclear Free Zone Ordinances."

Patrick J. Borchers and Paul F. Dauer, the attorneys who authored the 31-page journal article, criticized the "second generation" of NFZ ordinances which they consider more than "symbolic gestures," since they prohibit contracts between cities (or counties) and vendors who produce nuclear weapons components. They argued that NFZ contracting provisions are preempted by federal and state statutes, including sections of the federal Atomic Energy Act of 1954. They also wrote that the contracting prohibitions violate the federal government's constitutionally-granted authority to regulate military and foreign affairs. "The new breed ordinances are invalid and should be struck down by the courts or the legislature," they concluded.

SOURCES: Steve Bloom, Coalition for a Nuclear Free Oakland, 4042 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611 (415-653-5027); Albert Donnay, Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575); Councilmember Wilson Riles, Jr., 505 14th St., Suite 642, Oakland, CA 94612 (415-273-3266); Harriet Chiang, "Oakland's Nuclear Ban Challenged," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1989, p. A8; "Sanity Disarmament," *Wall Street Journal*, May 8, 1989, p. A16; Patrick J. Borchers and Paul F. Dauer, "Taming the New Breed of Nuclear Free Zone Ordinances: Statutory and Constitutional Infirmities in Local Procurement Ordinances Blacklisting the Producers of Nuclear Weapons Components," *The Hastings Law Journal*, November 1988, p. 87-118.

U.S. Cities, South African Apartheid

WHERE DO WE STAND?

By Kate Pfordresher, Guest Editor

Scores of municipalities across the country are being actively called upon to join the anti-apartheid divestment movement and enact or strengthen sanctions prohibiting their governments from doing business with corporations that do business in South Africa.

Everywhere the issue surfaces, it provokes intense debate. Working as the coordinator of the Labor Committee Against Apartheid in New York City, I have a first-hand appreciation of the complexities. Over the past year, New York unions – together with progressive elected officials, religious and community groups – have been campaigning for tough new legislation to close the loopholes in existing city sanctions.

Underlying the debate are often distinct sets of questions, which tend to get entangled. The first and fundamental set of questions involves whether or not government sanctions and corporate disinvestment have desirable impacts on the apartheid system. A second set of questions involves whether or not we are pursuing effective forms of sanctions and setting appropriate standards for disinvestment. A third set of questions involves whether or not sanctions and disinvestment are enough – should we do more than economically “quarantine” apartheid in the current situation?

The commentaries that follow raise a number of challenging points in response to these different issues. It may be helpful, however, to first construct a sounding board for these various viewpoints. Here’s how I read the debate.

DO SANCTIONS WORK?

Do sanctions and disinvestment work? The first response has to be, work for what? What do we want

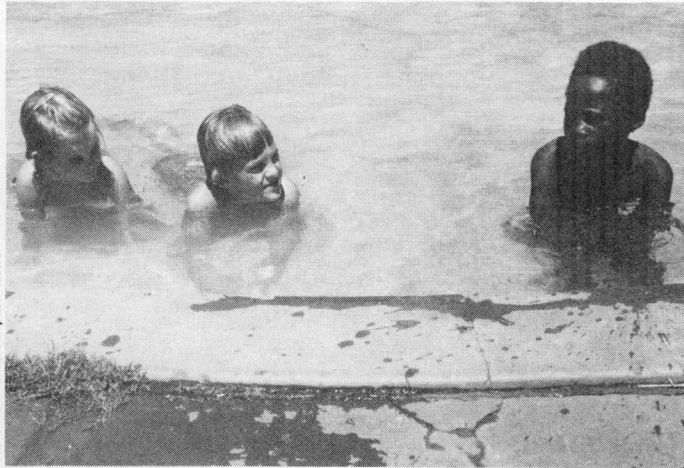
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sanctions to do? It is common to find critics citing the obvious fact that sanctions have not brought apartheid to its knees. This is the stance taken by Peter Spiro in arguing against municipal legislation in the opening commentary, "Back-Seat Drivers, Would-Be Secretaries of State."

But very few proponents of sanctions ever expected to bring down apartheid overnight. Even in the heady days of



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1984-86, when the South African resistance was staging a general insurrection and the demise of apartheid was conceivable, it was widely understood that sanctions were not the ultimate weapon. Sanctions are one powerful weapon in what is realistically going to be a long, shifting struggle, waged on many fronts.

As several commentators forcefully point out, that struggle will be determined and directed by the people of South Africa, not by their supporters abroad. Indeed, one of the reasons sanctions have been pursued is that the democratic forces in South Africa – from the South African Council of Churches to the United Democratic Front to the Congress of South African Trade Unions to the African National Congress – have called for international action to economically isolate and pressure the apartheid government. Sanctions are one of the few means to exert such pressure from abroad.

What, then, about the more pointed argument, also advanced by Mr. Spiro, that sanctions have become counter-productive to reform in South Africa? Mr. Spiro is in fact arguing the case for the Reagan-Thatcher policy of "constructive engagement," which asserts that the presence of multinational corporations and capital in South Africa creates an institutional base for reform and a leverage point for influencing the pace of change.

Others of us believe there is nothing in the 41-year history of codified apartheid, including the current state of emergency, to indicate that more capital and more business lead to greater democracy and less repression. Nor is there

any evidence that the presence of multinational corporations has altered the fundamental pillars of apartheid as an economic system, where blacks receive grossly lower pay, where the majority are consigned to migrant labor status, and where employers rely on the police state.

Mr. Spiro also argues that sanctions have eroded the formation of a coherent U.S. foreign policy in the region. But what Mr. Spiro cites as the failure of the sanctions movement to unify U.S. policy can be seen from the other side as the triumph of the sanctions movement in discrediting "constructive engagement." We cannot unify behind an unconscionable policy, any more than we can accede to Mr. Spiro's naive claim that if sanctions were the right thing to do, the federal government would enact them.

Mr. Spiro's position does ask us, however, to better establish what sanctions have accomplished. The second commentary, "City of Philadelphia Banks on South African Liberation" by Patrick Bond, cites the significant impact that sanctions on banking activity have had in cutting capital flows to South Africa. In this decade, with the passage of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, and parallel sanctions bills in major cities and other countries, South Africa has gone from being a capital-importing to a capital-exporting nation.

Mr. Bond rightly points out that stopping banks from extending loans and credits to South Africa is the area of highest impact for sanctions. Yet, his remarks also suggest that we needn't be concerned about stopping trade and corporate operations in South Africa. That position underestimates some of the more general impacts of corporate disinvestment raised by Rob Jones in his commentary, "Economic Sanctions Work."

Mr. Jones discusses the pressures that corporate disinvestment, prompted by sanctions and public protest, have exerted in squeezing government resources and creating cleavages within the white ruling class. He cites, for example, the ways that the South African business community has begun to distinguish its interests, which are maintaining profits, from the interests of the ruling National Party and the neo-Nazi right, who are dedicated to preserving racial supremacy and minority rule at all costs.

Mr. Jones perhaps overstates the case, since South African business leaders have substantially supported the recent crackdown by the government on the democratic opposition and black labor movement.

Nonetheless, South Africa now operates under both a state of emergency and an austerity program that is for the first time affecting whites as well as blacks. The government can no longer afford the armed occupation of Namibia, although it is doing its best to retain control through political sabotage and terrorism.

Moreover, the government must now contend with the

re-grouping of white moderates to its left, who are deeply affected by the country's growing isolation from the world community (and from turn-of-the-century realities). Sanctions impose a political and psychic toll on apartheid, as well as an economic cost.

RESPONSIBLE DISINVESTMENT

Sanctions work, in the sense that they restrict resources to apartheid and narrow its options. Do they work well enough? The answer is no. Sanctions have not gone far enough in this country or internationally. For instance, South Africa is facing a major renegotiation of its international debt in 1990, but there are few laws in place to force banks to take a hard line. We have yet to pass a truly comprehensive national sanctions act, like the Dellums-Cranston bill, or enforce the U.N. international oil embargo.

Recent experience also makes clear that we need more sophisticated kinds of sanctions to deal with corporate responses. Most companies disinvesting from South Africa since 1986 have circumvented the spirit of the law by maintaining lucrative licensing and franchise agreements. The South African unionists we work with call this "sham disinvestment" and "corporate camouflage." They remind us that if they are to make economic sacrifices in the struggle against apartheid, they want the cause to be for real.

In addition, South African unions have pointed out numerous cases where a multinational company has used the pretext of disinvestment to abrogate union contracts, terminate union recognition, and renege on worker benefits. They seek sanctions legislation which recognizes the rights of South African workers and their unions to advance notice of disinvestment, full disclosure of assets and plans, and good faith negotiations over the terms of withdrawal.

South African unions seek to retain profits made from disinvestment in worker-controlled trusts, they seek the continuance of union rights and benefits under new owners, and compensation where jobs are lost. These demands are, in fact, parallel to those put forward by American unions faced with plant closings, buy-outs and bankruptcies.

A current example is the dispute of the South African Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU) with the Mobil Oil company, which unilaterally announced its pull-out in April. Mobil has thus far refused to disclose the details of the deal and has refused to negotiate seriously. CWIU has struck Mobil plants in South Africa and called for sanctions to uphold labor rights.

In New York City, we have taken these issues to heart. We have backed new legislation, known as Intro. 1137, which extends sanctions to companies with non-equity ties in South Africa (such as licensing and franchise agreements)

and to banks making loans there. The bill also prevents companies still in South Africa from selling to the city through local third-party vendors. Further, the LCAA and the city labor movement are pressing hard for the bill to recognize the rights of South African workers to notice and negotiation when companies disinvest.

These provisions have widespread support (it's an election year in New York), but we still have a difficult fight ahead to strengthen the enforcement mechanisms. It is significant that business opposition has not frontally attacked the bill, but has focused on measures to exempt existing ties and to set cut-off dates for disinvestment far into the future.

We believe the anti-apartheid movement should be championing stronger standards of responsible disinvestment. Sanctions can and should be more than a symbolic gesture of moral repugnance to apartheid. Sanctions can put economic pressure on apartheid, and even short of total effectiveness, they can do it in ways which promote, rather than undermine, the rights of workers and communities affected. Sanctions can create another front in a prolonged state of siege.

ARE SANCTIONS ENOUGH?

The third set of questions surrounding the sanctions debate is whether or not sanctions legislation and disinvest-



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ment should remain the central thrust of the American anti-apartheid movement. Rob Jones takes up the issue in the second half of his essay by citing the new interest in "black empowerment" strategies, apart from sanctions work.

There are many different ways to define empowerment and therein hangs the debate. Mr. Jones poses to us that anti-apartheid advocates should be looking at ways of aiding and assisting democratic, grassroots organizations within South Africa. He rightly cautions, however, that the

South African anti-apartheid movement must define the terms of empowerment and determine the appropriate forms of material aid.

The issue is less clearly presented in the commentary by Joan Bavaria, "Selectively Invest *and* Disinvest." While Ms. Bavaria endorses the symbolic value of sanctions and disinvestment, she more fervently supports a "re-investment in black South Africa." This is an ambiguous and perhaps poor choice of words.

There are many corporations now in South Africa, and some private foundations, which claim that their presence achieves just this end – the provision of resources to the victims of apartheid. But on whose terms, and to whose ultimate benefit, does this "re-investment" occur? The Chemical Workers cite the case of the Mobil Foundation spending large sums to train a black petroleum engineer, when the same expenditure could have wiped out illiteracy in the local townships.

Perhaps more troubling is the philanthropic interest in developing "black capitalism" under apartheid, an American concept sometimes equated with "black empowerment." However, the creation of a small sector of black businessmen, in the face of the massive power of the apartheid state and the overwhelming poverty and disenfranchisement of the black majority, is a band-aid that does far more to mask the wound than heal it. Indeed, the ruling Nationalist Party itself promotes "black capitalism" as a way to develop a black middle class with a stake in the status quo.

If we raise the banner of black empowerment, we need to be specific about who, how and what we are investing in. We need to be aware that there are those, not long departed from the "constructive engagement" camp, who wish to build black institutions as more compliant alternatives to the leading organizations of the democratic opposition, such as the UDF, COSATU or ANC.

We need to guard equally against attitudes of paternalism that distort our support for and understanding of black South Africa. For example, Ms. Bavaria's conclusion that our support should "build the grassroots infrastructure that would give black South Africa pride and a sense of direction" is a serious misreading of reality.

The liberation forces in South Africa, the millions of people who are resisting apartheid, do not lack pride or a highly developed sense of direction. They have built extraordinarily democratic and resilient grassroots organizations, with a real depth of leadership, which U.S. activists could learn much from. They are explicitly dedicated to the transformation of South Africa into a democratic, multi-racial society, where social wealth benefits those who create it.

Presently, the African National Congress has initiated a far-reaching effort to forge a post-apartheid constitution.

The unions are engaged in contributing a workers' bill of rights. The obstacle is not pride or vision, but a fascist state.

Noah Pickus' article, "Bayard Rustin Went This Way", is more to the point in suggesting concrete avenues for contact, exchange and assistance. Quite rightly, he stresses the need for greater solidarity work around cases of repression and the importance of Americans "bearing witness" in defense of the democratic movement. It would be more appropriate, for instance, for municipalities to adopt the detainees of a city in South Africa than to adopt "sister cities" themselves.

Mr. Pickus, with Mr. Jones, stresses that it is essential to pursue support work through careful and direct contact inside South Africa. While Mr. Pickus worries about getting ideologically blind-sided, the more common problem is that genuinely democratic anti-apartheid organizations are often so wary of aid from U.S. sources. They have read the history of American aid in the Third World, both governmental and philanthropic, and want no imperialist strings attached.

Yet, there is much work to support and the possibilities are rapidly multiplying: worker cooperatives, township clinics and child care services, libraries serving "people's education" programs, and much more. In the LCAA, we promote union-to-union activities, such as shop steward exchanges, health and safety programs, and "sister local" contacts.

In this work, we have learned several guiding principles: Our help must be requested; our involvement must be developed in consultation with COSATU and its affiliates; and the collaboration should work two ways, strengthening union activism here as well as union struggles there.

The final question is whether such solidarity activities are meant to supplant or supplement divestment strategies. Both Ms. Bavaria and, in passing, Mr. Pickus suggest we should be moving away from sanctions. Let me reiterate my own strong conviction that we should not lay down the weapons of sanctions and disinvestment, a view emphatically taken by Wilson Riles, Jr. in his piece, "*Invest in the Front Line States.*"

I strongly support Mr. Riles' view that international economic investment should not be directed to South Africa, but instead to the Front-Line states that are so much a part of the struggle against apartheid. However, I can't agree with Mr. Riles that any form of material support to the anti-apartheid struggle amounts to a doctrine of "constructive engagement." Nor would liberation forces within South Africa agree. They seek aid, but very clearly on their own terms, based on their own assessment of specific conditions and stages of struggle.

Perhaps that is the most important point to re-state: We are support players in this drama – the activists of South Africa are writing the script.

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BACK-SEAT DRIVERS, WOULD-BE SECRETARIES OF STATE

The anti-apartheid movement stands at a watershed. It has met with unprecedented success on the domestic scene. The immediate object of bypassing traditional, federal mechanisms for making foreign policy – to force the divestment of state and local funds from corporations that do business in South Africa – has largely been achieved.

That victory, however, now forces the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement, along with other local foreign policy activists, to re-examine the goals of their strategy and the means by which it has been pursued. Has divestment made majority rule more likely in South Africa? More generally, have state and local governments that have divested made a constructive contribution to the making of a *national* policy towards South Africa? There are important lessons here for those now pursuing further local involvement in the making of foreign policy.

Although it has figured prominently in dozens of corporate withdrawals from South Africa, state and local divestment will not hasten the fall of the white regime in Pretoria. Apartheid's end is not around the corner, and it is simply not within the power of American states and localities to change that, regardless of how effectively they may diminish the attractiveness of American investment in South Africa.

But divestment has not only been ineffectual, it is arguably counterproductive. By its own terms, the strategy demands a halt to all ties with South Africa. It demands a halt to ties with the oppressed as much as with the oppressor. It eliminates all opportunity for an American role in supporting those groups which can contribute to political change in South Africa. It likewise severely discourages state and local officials from pursuing initiatives that would heighten

their understanding – and that of their constituencies – of the present situation in South Africa, and of the ways in which apartheid might be made thankfully to pass into history.

Even though state and local divestment may have been ineffectual in bringing about an end to apartheid, it has marked a significant institutional development in the making of our foreign policy. Instead of undermining the regime in Pretoria, divestment has undermined our own government, namely its capacity to establish a coherent and unified policy towards South Africa. If there were a realistic hope that divestment would have brought an end to apartheid, it surely would have been the choice of federal policy-makers. (And if a majority of the American people support divestment, then their representatives in Congress presumably will effect it.)

The federal government chose rather to pursue a policy which seeks to uplift those elements of South African society that have suffered under apartheid or have worked to abolish it. Diluted in the face of conflicting measures at the non-federal levels, this policy has not been allowed even the chance to succeed. State and local officials have made themselves back-seat drivers, would-be secretaries of state, on the South Africa issue.

This is one role that the founding fathers clearly did not intend to devolve to mayors, governors, and city councils. In the realm of foreign policy, our nation must speak with one voice. This rule is well established in constitutional practice and is well grounded in common sense; the divestment example should serve to reaffirm it. It is difficult enough to formulate a coherent foreign policy among the various executive branches and 535 members of Congress. Adding thousands of state and local entities to the process would make it only that much more unwieldy.

This is not to say that state and local officials cannot make a constructive contribution in foreign affairs. Activities that increase the participation of all Americans in the foreign-policy process, through heightened awareness of and communication with the peoples of other countries, deserve welcome and praise.



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Today, in the wake
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might heed the
Philadelphia
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But there must be limits to these activities. The city of Los Angeles should not, for instance, be allowed to conclude a treaty of friendship with Libya, nor would one think they would want the power to do so.

Divestment is a less extreme example of the type of non-federal interference in foreign policy that emerges unwise against both constitutional and practical standards. Cultural exchange and development aid, by contrast, would not constitute such interference, and they should be encouraged to the extent that they make Americans more likely to understand the situation in South Africa and contribute positively to its change. They should be welcomed also to mark a new cooperation between localities and Washington in working towards more successful U.S. foreign policy.

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THE PHILADELPHIA STORY

Since mid-1986, when the U.S. Congress, overriding the veto of then-President Reagan, took action against South Africa, there's been a fruitful debate among international policy experts on which kinds of anti-apartheid sanctions work and which don't.

An important consensus is emerging from many experts, across the spectrum of radical to conservative persuasions, that such selective "financial sanctions" produce the greatest pressure on the South African economy.

Two loopholes in the badly misnamed "Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986" are most critical in keeping economic relations between the U.S. and South Africa intact. First, South Africa continues to conduct billions of dollars in trade with the U.S., and second, U.S. banks continue to reschedule, on very favorable terms, more than \$2.5 billion in loans to South Africa. It is especially in these areas that policymakers

and economists opposed to sanctions worry about South Africa's vulnerability.

Late in 1987, banking journalist Howard Preece wrote, "The critical point is that the country has suffered heavily - and will continue to do so - from the loss of foreign capital to help develop the economy. It is that capital cut-off, not equity disinvestment, that matters." During a balance of payments crunch in the summer of 1988, David Mohr, chief economist at South African Mutual Life Assurance Co., told Reuters, "If we had free access to foreign capital and credit lines, we wouldn't have to worry so much about our reserves."

The pro-sanctions movement has largely endorsed this establishment opinion and analysis. The noted progressive economist Steven Gelb of the Johannesburg-based Labour and Economic Research Centre wrote in *Indicator South Africa* early this year of "financial 'sanctions' implemented by private banks, especially from the U.S., in July/August 1985. This is perhaps the one action thus far which could be said to have worked. The massive flight of capital reflected a continuing lack of confidence in South Africa on the part of international business. It thereby forced a significant, if temporary, rethink among important elements of South African business, about the costs of apartheid, and the value of continued support for it."

That rethink was temporary, for in spite of appeals from church leaders Desmond Tutu, Allen Boesak and Beyers Naude, leading international banks let South Africa off the hook in February 1986 and again in March 1987, by rescheduling \$14 billion in South African foreign debt.

Black South Africans hoped that, with anti-apartheid movement pressure, further financial sanctions could have been applied, leaving Pretoria no way out but to either immediately opt out of the world economy, or make substantial concessions leading to one-person, one-vote majority rule. Given the need for foreign capital on the part of the state and big business, this recipe was not inconceivable. Consider, after all, how many indebted foreign governments have toppled in recent years under International Monetary Fund pressure.

Best of all, the financial sanctions route

would not necessarily create de-industrialization and job loss, as has been alleged of other forms of disinvestment. Financial sanctions, unlike trade or business sanctions, may leave intact the fundamental economic base necessary, following liberation, to sustain popular demands for redistribution of wealth, adequate housing, health care, and education.

Still, many U.S. banks continue to maintain both their outstanding loans to South Africa and other ties to banks in that country ("correspondent banking ties"). Several, including some New York banks that are invading most major cities in the current interstate banking wave, have led the way on the loan rescheduling. For smaller, so-called regional banks (those typically with between \$3 billion and \$30 billion in assets), the ties to South Africa make it possible for local businesses to forge trade routes to South Africa.

Heeding Tutu's appeal for a new pressure point, Philadelphia City Council members Angel Ortiz and Augusta Clarke decided in early 1986 to push for strong legislation against bank ties to South Africa. Their bill, Ordinance 543A, passed the council by 15-2 and mandates the city of Philadelphia to withdraw public deposits from city banks that continue to carry out even minor commercial transactions with or in South Africa and Namibia.

This language makes it difficult for Philadelphia banks to reschedule loans or conduct correspondent banking business, for if they do, they stand to lose tens of millions of dollars of cheap and reliable deposits from the city.

Shortly after the bill passed, the huge Philadelphia National Bank sold South African loans worth hundreds of thousands of dollars on the secondary loan market (thus driving down the market price and reducing South Africa's credit rating), and ended its correspondent accounts with South African banks.

Today, in the wake of "sham disinvestments," the return of petty apartheid laws, and ever more frequent criticisms of the sanctions mechanism, those supporting freedom for South Africa might heed the Philadelphia lesson: Move to and beyond simple corporate divestment and end local

banks' relations with South Africa. This lesson is especially important now, for in 1990, the huge South African debt is due to be rescheduled once again, and many large and medium-sized U.S. banks will be taking part.

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ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WORK

No matter what the strategy, people in the U.S. are not and should not be the ones who will end apartheid. That is the task of the people of South Africa and their organizations. What people in the international community can and should do is to listen to the legitimate voices coming out of South Africa and support their requests.

To date, the overriding theme of these requests has been for the isolation of apartheid. The leading liberation movement, the African National Congress of South Africa, has made this call clearly and consistently for more than thirty years. Inside the country, the organizations and confederations of organizations that are the most representative of a democratic alternative for South Africa have all called for sanctions.

The United Democratic Front, COSATU, the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Tutu and many others have consistently called for comprehensive sanctions. They are also very careful to point out that, while they need and welcome other support for their work, that support must be in addition to, not instead of, working for sanctions.

They say this because they realize the long- and short-term nature of the problem. In the immediate sense, they need support, but over the long term they need to have all possible pressure brought to bear on the regime, so that it will be forced



Giselle Wulfsohn / Afrapix / Impact Visuals

to respond to their demands.

As we respond to these requests, it is imperative to have a clear idea of what divestment and sanctions can and cannot do. Economic pressure cannot end apartheid; that is not the goal. Sanctions are a way to put pressure on the South African government, to increase the costs of maintaining apartheid and to force the South African government to make hard choices about the lengths to which it is willing to go in continuing apartheid.

Although sanctions do not work overnight, they are working inexorably to cut off support for apartheid, forcing the white minority government to make important "guns or butter" economic decisions. Even before the impact of U.S. divestment and sanctions measures, the international oil embargo, imposed more than ten years ago, has cost the apartheid regime an additional \$2 billion each year to acquire the oil needed to run their economy. That money could have been spent shoring up South Africa's military strength, building jails or pumping out propaganda about the "reforms" that have been taking place in their country.

Perhaps the most striking example of the effectiveness of international pressure came in 1985, when the international banks that held \$14 billion in South African debt refused to roll over their loans. In less than a month's time the South African government was forced to declare a moratorium on repayment of this debt. This has forced the apartheid regime to use its shrinking supply of reserves just to stay afloat economically. Within a month of the banks' actions, South African businessmen were calling for new reforms and making their first contact with the exiled African National Congress.

This new economic reality is having a real political impact inside South Africa. Over the last three years, we have begun to see real division within the white population of South Africa.

Part of this process has been the rise in conservative, right-wing activity. Faced with escalating rebellion in the townships, the white minority regime has increasingly resorted to bannings, arrests and repression. It is unreasonable to expect that South

Africa's leaders, who have gained such wealth and power at the expense of the black majority, will just give over power. They are bound to fight, and that is what we are seeing.

The other side of this division, however, is the increasing realization on the part of white business interests in South Africa that a continuation down the present road of economic distress is a formula for disaster. As Henri De Villiers, chairman of Standard Bank Investment Corp., said in a July 1988 *Wall Street Journal* article, "In this day and age there is no such thing as economic self-sufficiency and we delude ourselves if we think we are different.... Those countries that turn away from the world have remained economic backwaters. South Africa needs the world. It needs markets, it needs skills, it needs technology and above all it needs capital."

A South African daily was even more explicit in an editorial last October when it said, "The only way of getting the economy back on track is by getting the political situation sorted out... Foreign investments are finally going to depend on the proof we can give of our ability to adapt and make this a stable society."

Finally, when advocating a policy change away from divestment, toward what are often labelled as "black empowerment" strategies, we must bear in mind the character of apartheid. What does the concept of black empowerment mean in the context of a society that denies black people fundamental rights such as control over who governs, where they live and where they go to school? Can we address such issues simply by increasing the economic power of a small segment of the black population?

Similar questions arise when we begin to consider support for black-run structures inside the country. Clearly it would be out of the question to set up formal, city-to-city relations with what are called local governments in South Africa. Those government structures that exist in the homelands are not recognized by anyone other than the South African government. The urban town councils have just held elections that were almost universally boycotted due both to the undemocratic nature of these bodies and to the fact that they are



viewed as being nothing more than local extensions of the apartheid government.

Indeed, the creation of the above mentioned structures plays into the "reform" scheme that the South African government is hoping to institute as an alternative to majority rule. Under this twisted vision, the majority of blacks will be citizens in the Bantustans (or homelands), with a small, "more manageable" number of blacks integrated into the urban areas with South African citizenship and economic advantages as a way to show that apartheid South Africa can be a "pluralist" society.

The democratic organizations inside South Africa today have a different agenda: establishing democratic mechanisms that can be held accountable to the priorities and needs of their communities, priorities that are dictated by the day-to-day realities of apartheid and the struggle against it. The Kahiso Trust, which has on its board members of all the major democratic organizations and which serves as a major funding and disbursement umbrella, is an example of how this type of community control can be established and made to function.

And while we would all like to think we are knowledgeable enough to identify which projects are worthy of support and which are attempts at cooptation, too often we are not. That is why it critical that we work with those South African organizations, like the Kahiso Trust, that are in a better position to guide us.

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SELECTIVELY INVEST AND DISINVEST

Reinvestment in South Africa would be extremely destructive if it allowed conditions to return to the pre-divestment status quo. I would qualify my support of reinvestment to include a continuation of selective *disinvestment* strategies.

As Michael Shuman wrote in the Fall 1988 issue of the *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, "Development problems are extremely complex and require thousands of small, specially tailored city-to-city projects."

Worldwide, anti-apartheid tactics have been diverse, but most of the public education that has taken place in this country has been the direct result of the ongoing local debate over disinvestment – as city after city and state after state join religious institutions, individuals and universities in publicly taking the position that it is immoral to derive profits from operations that even tacitly support this abhorrent system. This debate has heightened public awareness of the social blindness of the capitalist system and the dangers inherent in that blindness.

The intent of the parties sponsoring divestment legislation across the country has varied. The intent in most cases is simply to refuse to participate in the support of the apartheid regime, and to *make a statement* to that effect – a statement that would bring public attention to the plight of black South Africa. To that end, the disinvestment campaign has succeeded.

But true social change is never accomplished simply by isolating and dramatizing a problem. Only intelligent solutions to those problems insure progress for future generations. In this case, we have concentrated on divestment and made our point. Let's add intelligent, coordinated reinvestment to that agenda!

In addition to the divestment movement, we *must* begin to think about reinvestment in black South Africa. Whereas corporations, regardless of their intent, are unable to bring about massive social change, intense and targeted investment in the economy of the blacks (which today is virtually nonexistent) could conceivably be pivotal in bringing them to the point of self-governance. Support of local micro-business, community loan funds, housing funds (similar to Habitat for Humanity), education exchanges and thousands of other initiatives would begin to build the grassroots infrastructure that would give black South Africa pride and positive direction.

*We have
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Let's add
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*The future of
South Africa
will be
determined by
South Africans,
not by the U.S.,
the U.S.S.R.,
or even the
Front Line
States.*

NOAH PICKUS *traveled through South Africa researching the intersection of religion and politics as a 1986-87 Thomas J. Watson Fellow and was Program Consultant for Project South Africa in 1988. He is a graduate student in Politics at Princeton University.*

**BAYARD RUSTIN
WENT THIS WAY**

South Africa is once again intensifying its repression of anti-apartheid opposition groups. And for thousands of Americans who have worked to advance racial justice in South Africa, this renewed evidence of the durability of apartheid is disheartening news, indeed. It has also provided reason to wonder whether sanctions and disinvestment will in fact improve the situation.

These developments have confirmed my sense of the need for new approaches to change. A particularly promising one was conceived by Bayard Rustin, who, in the last period of his creative life, organized Project South Africa (PSA). Through PSA, Rustin demonstrated that Americans could directly work with the victims of apartheid and support local community forces at the forefront of the struggle for human decency in South Africa.

Rustin understood that the struggle in South Africa would continue for many years. As he wrote in October 1986, "There are no Hands Across America quick-fix treatments for the wounds of South African history." He insisted that the single aim of ending apartheid was inadequate, that it needed to be expanded in ways that also stimulate progress toward a democratic, multi-racial South Africa and that maximize the chances for desirable change coming without mass violence.

But Rustin did not merely proclaim these principles. He recognized hundreds of South African organizations are already committed to these principles and acting to bring them into being. Groups dedicated to grass-roots activities on a range of issues are creating a new South Africa now.

These independent organizations are developing the values and the leadership that can make the difference between an endless struggle for power and steady prog-

ress toward a free society. Not counting on external pressures or apocalyptic political change for their salvation, these groups have already begun building a more hopeful future in South Africa.

A remarkable range of South African opposition leaders, including Desmond Tutu, Helen Suzman, Allan Boesak, H.J. Bill Bhengu, S.M. Motsuenyane, Beyers Naude, and Sheena Duncan, have joined Rustin in seeking American groups which provide technical, material and moral assistance for these groups.

Local governments, as well as non-governmental organizations, can provide at least three different kinds of support: general contact, informational and technical support, and financial and material support. Simply establishing human contact is an important place to start. Many South African groups have expressed a pressing need to establish a flow of values and experiences between their country and the U.S. Additionally, international attention constitutes one of the few defenses South African groups possess against repressive measures.

When smaller South Africa organizations stage boycotts, strikes, and demonstrations, local governments and organizations can publicize those efforts by sending letters of support to the authorities, the press and the organizations involved. Pressure from the U.S. especially makes a difference when members of smaller South African opposition groups are unjustly detained. On many occasions detainees have eventually been freed and have acknowledged the importance of the support they received.

One of the great ironies of South African life is that Americans often possess more information on the South African conflict than South Africans themselves. Consequently, one of the greatest services local U.S. governments and organizations can easily provide is to send information on South Africa and on areas of mutual professional interest. From basic reference materials to the most current journal articles, Americans can provide South Africans with information helpful to establishing their independence.

Local governments and organizations can also provide cash donations, subscribe to a South African group's publications, sponsor an international tour, purchase and

market products made by independent self-help projects, and donate materials. A donation of a few hundred dollars, doubled in South African rand by the current exchange rate, can help shoestring South African organizations provide key services.

This kind of contact, as well as proposals encouraging local officials and others to travel to South Africa, could be the occasion for a new, multi-pronged approach to the now long-standing evil of apartheid. But it is worth noting that fellow travelers – of both the Right and the Left – have a long history of traipsing through South Africa causing more harm than good.

Travelers to South Africa often see what they came to see: In South Africa that means they see either the need for external pressure, no matter how indiscriminate, or the need for an immediate and reactionary clamp-down on dissent. Those conclusions are almost assured by some pro-government and opposition groups in South Africa who are well-practiced in the art of shaping reality for the visitors they drag through a series of Potemkin villages. Hence, any direct contact with South Africans needs to be undertaken carefully.

The future of South Africa will be determined by South Africans, not by the U.S., the U.S.S.R., or even the Front Line States. Action from outside will at best have limited effect. But within South Africa a new kind of social power is being brought to bear by groups already creating a post-apartheid democratic society. They require the support of local governments and other American organizations who want to incorporate their work and goals into the American search for ways to bring change to South Africa.

WILSON RILES, JR. *is a councilmember in Oakland, California, and one of his city's leading anti-apartheid activists.*

INVEST IN THE FRONT LINE STATES

There is a need for a new anti-apartheid strategy, or at least a need for some extension of the divestment strategy. And some

Americans have suggested that we ought to selectively invest in South Africa, always careful to send our aid to democratic, anti-apartheid forces. But returning to the old methods – of using economic power to influence events in South Africa – would only give the racists what they value most: recognition as a legitimate government among decent, civilized nations.

Sending aid to South Africa, no matter to whom we send it, would bolster apartheid. The South African regime has the power to adjust its internal resources and can directly prohibit or frustrate any attempts to target economic assistance to blacks.

There will only be change when the continued maintenance of apartheid undermines the standard of living of white South Africans – when international outrage, expressed in economic sanctions, derails the South African economy and makes apartheid untenable. And that is where U.S. cities come in. We can lend support to South Africa's internal opposition. The trade unions, the United Democratic Front, and the African National Congress (ANC) are key among those forces. These groups recognize the economic destructiveness of complete divestment and they would rather inherit an economically sound South Africa. But their own communities are in severe economic crisis *now* – in addition to the political repression they suffer. They know that this is not a civil rights movement in which nonviolent tactics and discussion groups can make any significant change.

Even limited divestment has shown results. Corporate divestment has accelerated because of losses of profits and assets in the U.S., as well as in South Africa. To the degree that South African law allows, there has been capital and technological flight. As a consequence, representatives of South African corporations have initiated discussions with the ANC. Other groups have also approached the ANC for discussions on political power sharing.

There is also a role for American business to play: American business can and should invest in the Front Line States so that they can break South Africa's stranglehold on their economies and defend themselves from South African Aggression. ■



Alrapix / Impact Visuals

SISTER CITY CONFERENCE FOCUSES ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

Profiting from Peace

MORE THAN 300 MAYORS, CITY councilmembers, business people and sister city committee members from 95 U.S. and Soviet cities met in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, from May 29-31 for the Fourth Annual U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference, the first held in the Soviet Union.

Most American participants arrived together in Tashkent from Moscow at about 8:00 p.m. on the evening before the conference began. After an official welcome and reception at the airport, the delegations were taken to the Hotel Uzbekistan in downtown Tashkent, an ancient city which was destroyed by an earthquake 20 years ago. It was a sultry evening, in the mid-90s, nothing like the pleasant coolness of Moscow. Even the breeze was hot.

At the hotel, Soviet journalists took advantage of the opportunity to interview American mayors, particularly Andrew Young of Atlanta, who is well known in the Soviet Union, and Charles Royer of Seattle, who is well known in Tashkent, his sister city. Gainesville, Florida, Mayor Cynthia Chestnut, was overwhelmed by the lavish attention she received from her Soviet hosts. Besides hugs, kisses, and souvenirs, Chestnut was interviewed by national newspapers and television, and invited to participate in the filming of a documentary about the conference.

During dinner, the electricity went out in the hotel for 25 minutes. The food was finally served by candlelight at about 10 p.m. Despite the lateness of the hour, the heat, jet lag and culture shock, the excitement on the eve of the conference began to

build. The feeling of being part of a historic event in a mysterious city in Soviet Central Asia was exhilarating.

Later that evening, as the breeze cooled down, many of the American visitors left the hotel on foot to explore the ancient city at midnight. Uzbek restaurateurs kept their cafes open after hours to accommodate their American guests, who were surprised to find Tashkent Mayor Hamidulla Gulyamov out greeting people in the streets. It was not a scene one would be likely see in a U.S. capital city.

On Monday morning, May 29, the conference — sponsored by the U.S.S.R.-based Association for Relations Between Soviet and Foreign Cities and the U.S.-based Sister Cities International — opened with a general session, chaired by Mayor Gulyamov. Gulyamov, head of the Uzbekistan Communist Party, read a letter of greetings from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who had previously mentioned the conference in a televised speech. The president of Sister Cities International conveyed a similar message from U.S. President George Bush.

CONFEREES HEARD PRESENTATIONS FROM mayors and sister city officials, and attended workshops on subjects of youth and education, trade, communications, professional exchanges, structure and financing of programs. U.S. mayors in attendance included Andrew Young of Atlanta, Georgia, Charles Royer of Seattle, Washington, J. Sensenbrenner of Madison, Wisconsin, Coleman Young of Detroit, Michigan, Tom Neilsen of Salem, Oregon, Cynthia Chestnut of Gainesville, Flor-

ida, Dorothy Inman of Tallahassee, Florida, and Arthur Holland of Trenton, New Jersey. Washington, D.C., Vice-Mayor Wylie Williams also participated.

Atlanta Mayor Young told conferees that the Soviet Union and the U.S. may soon become "third- and fourth-rate economic powers" unless they each develop a "peaceful economy for export." And that, Young said, will be accomplished "only by working together [to] achieve the peace for which we fought together some 45 years ago.

"As we work together for peace, we will find the strength that we have as nations coming together, not against the Japanese and Europeans, but with the Japanese and Europeans, to feed the hungry of the world, to cloth the naked of the world, to heal the sick of the world, and to make possible growth and development for all of the children of the world."

Seattle Mayor Charles Royer agreed. "The need for sister city programs is greater today than ever before. Sister city relationships encourage people in our communities to develop language skills, international expertise and a global perspective. Through our program," Royer said, "we are making a long-term investment in our ability to live peacefully in an increasingly interdependent world."

The greatest interest among the conferees was clearly in the area of trade between sister cities, which has been made possible by recent Soviet legislation allowing cities and local enterprises to deal directly with foreign companies. Many sister city partners are also becoming economic partners in mutually beneficial trade, barter,

and joint ventures.

Mayor Andrew Young spoke of Atlanta companies building hotels in Tbilisi. The president of the Trenton, New Jersey, Chamber of Commerce told of selling pizza in the Lenin District of Moscow. Seattle Mayor Charles Royer said a Seattle firm is participating in a joint venture with Tashkent to refurbish the terminal building at Tashkent International Airport. Detroit's John Cherveney reported that Michigan companies are selling tons of food every day to Byelorussia for hard currency, and that the city of Minsk wants to open a factory in Detroit. Many deals were undoubtedly discussed at a reception sponsored by the Coca-Cola Company, which is selling its products in the Soviet Union.

Long-time trade advocate Bud Salk of Chicago was obviously thrilled by the rapidly expanding economic relations between sister cities. Salk laid the foundation for sister city trade in a remarkable speech at the First U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference in 1986 at the Gold Lake Ranch in Boulder, Colorado. At that gathering, representatives of 30 U.S. cities affiliated with Soviet cities explored ways to work together to achieve official recognition for the relationships that were already in progress. Tom Gittins, executive vice-president of Sister Cities International, announced that he had just returned from a meeting with Soviet "brother city" officials in Moscow, and that 10 new programs had been approved. Molly Raymond, deputy coordinator of the newly formed President's U.S.-U.S.S.R. Exchange Initiatives Office, proclaimed the administration's support for sister city relationships.

THE SECOND ANNUAL U.S.-SOVIET SISTER CITIES CONFERENCE, in May 1987, brought together 275 representatives of 104 U.S. and Soviet cities in Seattle,



Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young told conferees that the Soviet Union and the U.S. may soon become "third- and fourth-rate economic powers" unless they each develop a "peaceful economy for export."

Washington. A direct outgrowth of the gathering at Boulder, the Seattle conference was sponsored by Sister Cities International and the Association for Relations Between Soviet and Foreign Cities, in cooperation with the National League of Cities, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council, and Citizen Diplomacy, Inc., among others. A 10-member Soviet delegation included the mayors of Tashkent, Odessa, Vilnius and Baku, the secretary of the Moscow city council, experts on trade and sister city officials.

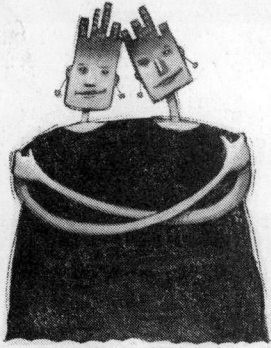
The Third U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference, November 18-20, 1988, in Gainesville, Florida, brought together the pioneers of the movement for in-depth sessions on the future of U.S.-Soviet community relations. Sponsoring organizations were Detroit-Minsk, Gainesville-Novorossiisk, Jacksonville-Murmansk, Salem-Simferopol and Tallahassee-Krasnodar, and the Chicago Center for U.S.-U.S.S.R. Relations and Exchanges, which coordinates the Chicago-Kiev relationship. Also represented at the conference were directors of the Dallas-Riga, At-

lanta-Tbilisi and Dixon-Dickson affiliations, and international observers from Stockholm, Sweden, and Delhi, India.

Participants at the Tashkent conference set the following goals for the next five years:

- 100 official pairings and 50-100 new prospects;
- an active U.S.-U.S.S.R. Community Relations Council;
- an extensive electronic communications network;
- a trilateral assistance program for developing countries (U.S.-Soviet teams helping other nations);
- normal U.S.-Soviet relations;
- a joint U.S.-Soviet educational program for affiliations in early stages of development.

After the conference, the U.S. delegations traveled to their Soviet sister cities for three days of follow-up discussions before heading back to Moscow for the flight home.



SOVIET SISTERS

U.S.-SOVIET
SISTER
COMMUNITY
BRIEFS

by
Steve Kalishman

ATLANTA (GA) - TBILISI

Mayor Andrew Young led an Atlanta Chamber of Commerce delegation to Tbilisi in May to explore trade relations between the two cities. Following the visit, Tbilisi Mayor Irakli Andriadze joined the Atlanta delegation to the U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference in Tashkent, where Mayor Young was a featured speaker.

The chairman of the Tbilisi Peace Committee accompanied 10 visitors from Tbilisi who spent a week living in Atlanta homes in April. Other delegates included an architect, a poet, a professor of American history, a law student, a microbiologist, a pharmacologist and an English teacher.

Also in April, the president of the Atlanta-Tbilisi Sister City Committee spent a week in Tbilisi preparing for the simultaneous dedication of the Atlanta Garden and the Tbilisi Garden. Two reporters from Atlanta's Channel 11 News were on hand for the ceremony as part of a six-week exchange of broadcast journalists.

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

DULUTH - PETROZAVODSK

A television and print journalist in Petrozavodsk has organized a cooperative firm called "Intercenter," whose "main aim is to help promote sister city ties" with Duluth.

Sergei Lukin, who visited Duluth with an official delegation in December 1988, said the first step for the firm will be to establish the "Duluth Center" in Petrozavodsk, to assist Duluth's "Petrozavodsk Center" in promoting people-to-people exchanges between the two cities. One of the programs planned for 1989 is the joint selection of a developing world city for a "three way relationship, as the logical next step for the citizen diplomacy movement." The Soviet-American Friendship Society in Moscow has indicated its willingness to promote the idea, which was also recommended by the Duluth delegation to other U.S./U.S.S.R. cities at the

Tashkent conference.

Following the Tashkent conference, the Duluth delegation traveled to Petrozavodsk, where they met with a Duluth youth group spending six days there.

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

EUGENE (OR) - IRKUTSK

City Council President Ruth Bascom, County Commissioner Jerry Rust, Chamber of Commerce President Dean Owens and two members of the Eugene-Irkutsk Committee represented Eugene at the Fourth U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, from May 29-31, followed by a three-day visit to Irkutsk. The delegates hand-delivered more than 60 letters from Eugene elementary school children to prospective pen pals in Irkutsk. The letters were written at the "Peace Post Office" exhibit of the Willamette Institute of Science and Technology's "Play Fair."

The Eugene-Irkutsk relationship was formalized last October with the signing of a "Declaration of Friendship" during a visit by an official delegation from Irkutsk, led by Mayor Yury Shkuropat. Since that time, the Eugene-Irkutsk Sister City Committee has grown to 250 members, and 45 exchanges have been proposed.

Among the projects underway are: a physician exchange, including eye surgeons from both cities; publication of a book of photographs on the theme of "A Day in the Life of Eugene and Irkutsk;" recording of a cassette tape with music from both cities; an "Irkutsk Festival Day" in Eugene one year, followed by a "Eugene Festival Day" the next year; and a teacher exchange between Lane Community College and the Pedagogical Institute of Irkutsk.

The first Eugene teacher to participate in the pedagogical exchange will be Joseph Kremers, secretary of the Eugene-Irkutsk Sister City Committee. Kremers, a professor of political science at Lane Community College, said his visit to Irkutsk later this year will "lay the groundwork for expanded exchanges" of teachers in both cities. Kremers said last year's visit by the

Irkutsk delegation has "spawned a wave of interest" among the people of Eugene for the sister city relationship.

"We raised \$22,000 and got hundreds of people involved in hosting the delegation," Kremers said. "Now we have so many people corresponding with Irkutsk, we had to appoint a 'pen pal secretary' just to handle the letters."

CONTACT: Mary Wright-McIntosh, Sister City Administrator, 22 West 7th Avenue, Eugene, OR 97401-2750 (503-687-5304).

GAINESVILLE (FL) - NOVOROSSIIISK

Mayor Cynthia Chestnut led a Gainesville delegation to the Tashkent Sister Cities Conference in May, followed by a three-day visit to Novorossiisk. Mayor Chestnut and her friend, Mayor Dorothy Inman of Tallahassee, Florida, were roommates at the conference.

Also included in the Gainesville delegation were representatives of the Gainesville-Novorossiisk Sister City Committee and the Chamber of Commerce. Dave Ferguson, vice-president of marketing of PCR, an international chemical manufacturer based in Gainesville, joined the group in order to "broaden the economic dimension of the sister cities program" by exploring trade relations with Novorossiisk. PCR is the world's leading producer of 5-Fluorouracil, an anti-cancer drug, and other products.

The day the delegation left for Tashkent, a group of 15 engineering students and a teacher from the Novorossiisk Merchant Marine Academy ended a 22-day adventure on the high seas when they cleared customs and immigration at the port of Miami. The saga began when academy officials were unable to secure airline tickets for the group of English-speaking cadets to travel to Gainesville as part of a student exchange program. Rather than postpone the visit until autumn, the officials decided to put the group on a 700-foot grain ship headed for New Orleans. But before the ship sailed, its destination was changed to Canada. The students' visas

were valid only until May 31, so the shipping company decided to transfer the group to another ship, an oil tanker headed for Cuba.

Once the students boarded the second ship, academy officials discovered that the tanker would not be allowed to dock at any U.S. port before the May 31 deadline, due to a State Department requirement of 14-days' notice for Soviet ships entering U.S. territorial waters. To make matters worse, when contacted for assistance, neither the U.S. State Department nor the Soviet Embassy in Washington seemed to know anything about the student group.

After a flurry of telexes, faxes and phone calls to and from the Novorossiisk Shipping Company, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, the U.S. State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington, shipping agents in New Orleans, Philadelphia and Miami, U.S. Senator Bob Graham's offices in Washington and Tallahassee, the sister city office in Gainesville and a ship somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean, arrangements were made to bring the cadets ashore in Florida.

On May 26 at 0800 hours, a Soviet ship was waiting in international waters between Miami and Cuba for a motor launch to pick up the cadets. Later that day, the cadets and their teacher arrived in Gainesville for a two-month stay. The students are studying to be engineering officers on merchant ships. The voyage was their first experience at sea.

CONTACT: Steven Kalishman, 9421 SW 61st Avenue, Gainesville, FL 32608-5542 (904-335-7433). Peacenet: skalishman.

JACKSONVILLE (FL) - MURMANSK

City Council President Terry Wood and Jacksonville-Murmansk Committee Chair Jane Fleetwood represented Jacksonville at the sister cities conference in Tashkent in May, followed by a three-day visit to Murmansk.

While in Murmansk, the Jacksonville delegation held talks with city officials regarding the possibility of producing a live television "space bridge" between the





two cities. Dr. Karen-Jean Munoz, former chair of the Murmansk Committee, said Jacksonville Mayor Tommy Hazouri supports her idea of "exchanging direct, live images" of the people of both cities, and has pledged his support in convincing Jacksonville television stations to participate.

Dr. Munoz said the space bridge would be held during a week of celebrations in October sponsored by "Peace with Justice," a coalition of local churches and community organizations. The space bridge would also provide an opportunity to renew friendship ties between Jacksonville and Murmansk students who recently completed an exchange of reciprocal visits. The Murmansk students spent two weeks in Jacksonville last fall, and 21 Jacksonville students traveled to Murmansk from May 13-25 of this year.

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

OAKLAND (CA) - NAKHODKA

For the first time in the 14-year history of the Oakland-Nakhodka relationship, a group of young citizen diplomats from Nakhodka have come to visit Oakland.

Representatives of 10 Nakhodka high schools, accompanied by the superintendent of schools, an English teacher, and an Intourist interpreter, arrived in Oakland on April 1 for a 12-day stay to complete a school exchange initiated last September when an Oakland teacher and 10 students visited Nakhodka. Oakland teacher Wendy Harris met the group in Washington, D.C., for two days of sightseeing before bringing them to Oakland.

The students, ages 15 to 17, stayed in the homes of Oakland students from the high school that participated in the trip to Nakhodka last year. They attended English and American culture classes prepared especially for them, and sat in on regular math and science classes. The adults met with Oakland school administrators and visited other schools and child care centers.

Superintendent of Schools Galina Fedorovna Solomai was already known to everyone from Oakland who has travelled

to Nakhodka during the past two years. Last fall she catered to every need of the student delegation, endearing herself to the delegates with her graciousness, thoughtfulness, and warmth.

Members of the Oakland-Nakhodka committee looked forward to repaying her hospitality during her visit to Oakland. In addition to school-related activities, the visitors were treated to trips to the Oakland Museum, the Exploratorium, the Zoo, backstage at Marine World, and the opening game of the Oakland Athletics, where they were delighted to see their names appear on the scoreboard.

The Oakland-Nakhodka Sister City Association wants to continue the school exchange next year. President Bonnie Hamlin and Vice-President Carole Agnello, along with Karoline de Martini, deputy city manager for sister cities, travelled to Nakhodka in June to discuss future exchanges. The delegation also represented Oakland at the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Sister Cities Conference in Tashkent.

CONTACT: Bonnie Hamlin, Oakland/Nakhodka Sister City Association, P.O. Box 11375, Oakland, CA 94611 (415-524-5619)

ROCHESTER (NY) - NOVGOROD

Mayor Alexander Buzin led the first official delegation from Novgorod to Rochester in April, accompanied by the head of a 6,000-employee industrial complex and the same Intourist guide who had welcomed many Rochester delegations to Novgorod.

Perhaps because Mayor Buzin's had told friends in Rochester, "I didn't come here to sleep," the agenda for the group's week-long visit was filled with media coverage, tours, meetings and receptions.

The high point of the visit was an event at Rochester's Memorial Art Gallery. Judge Anthony Sciolino, whose correspondence with Valery Zelenin of Novgorod initiated the pen-pal connection now linking more than 200 people in both cities, presided over the ceremonies. A barbershop quartet and a string ensemble from the Eastman School of Music provided American and Soviet music. A proclamation from the Rochester city council was presented, and

welcoming letters from the county executive and congressional representative were read. Greetings were offered from Binghamton, Buffalo, and Corning – other New York cities with Soviet partners. The evening concluded with exchanges of gifts and emotional proposals for future exchanges.

CONTACT: Dick Fitts, Linkages of Rochester, Inc., 89 South Main Street, Pittsford, NY 14534-2128 (716-586-1936).

SALEM (OR) - SIMFEROPOL

Twenty-two representatives of six Oregon cities with ties to Soviet cities participated in the first Oregon-U.S.S.R. Sister Cities Conference in Salem on May 6. Salem, Portland, Eugene, Grant's Pass, Lebanon, and Corvallis sent delegates to the conference, which demonstrated Oregon's commitment to the U.S.-U.S.S.R. community relations movement.

Roundtable discussions were held on fundraising, non-currency exchanges, sending and receiving delegations and alternative committee structures.

A representative of Sister Cities International made a presentation about its annual conference, to be held in Portland in July 1989. Conferees also discussed ways of maximizing opportunities at the Tashkent conference. A few days later, Salem Mayor Tom Neilsen led a delegation to Tashkent, followed by a visit to Simferopol at the invitation of Mayor Vladimir Lavrinenko.

In other Salem-Simferopol exchanges, a Crimean youth soccer team, which hosted 17 young soccer players from Salem last August, successfully completed the exchange with a week-long visit to Salem in April. The group stayed in private homes, and was treated to a variety of activities, including a Portland Trail Blazers' basketball game and a meeting with Oregon Governor Neil Goldschmidt at the state capital.

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

SEATTLE(WA) - TASHKENT

Mayor Charles Royer led 30 business and trade delegates, sister city committee mem-

bers, and community leaders to the Fourth U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, Seattle's Soviet partner since 1973. Seattle was the only U.S. city invited to bring more than three delegates to the conference.

Also traveling with the delegation for performances at the conference were the classic rock and roll band, "Jr. Cadillac", and Hank Bradley, Seattle's nationally known folk musician.

The group spent an extra two days in Tashkent to discuss the 17 ongoing exchange projects between the two cities.

Exchanges include alpinists, amputee soccer players, broadcasters, chefs, cinematographers, classical folk dancers, fine arts photos, graphic arts, lawyers, middle schools and high schools, organizational development, paired hospitals, physicians, puppet theatre, Peace Park, universities, and youth summer camps. In addition to the official exchange projects, at least nine tourist delegations to the Soviet Union are currently being organized in Seattle, as well as a Summer Uzbek Language Program.

The Near Eastern Languages and Civilization Department of the University of Washington is offering the 15-credit course in intensive elementary Uzbek, which will also include Uzbek movies, performances of Uzbek dance and music, lectures on Uzbek literature and culture, and preparation and tasting of Uzbek national dishes.

The program is part of the ongoing exchange between the University of Washington and Tashkent State University.

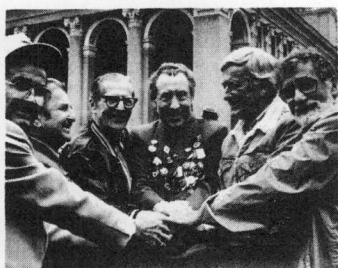
Another group of 84 students and teachers representing nine Seattle schools recently spent two weeks in Tashkent attending sister city schools and renewing friendships with Tashkent students who have visited Seattle in the past.

CONTACT: Virginia Westberg, Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee, 630 Randolph Place, Seattle, WA, 98122.

TALLAHASSEE (FL) - KRASNODAR

Mayor Dorothy Inman led a Tallahassee delegation to the Sister Cities Conference in Tashkent, followed by three days in Krasnodar. Joining Mayor Inman were





Mark and Sandy Greenfield, who helped start the Tallahassee-Krasnodar relationship by hand-delivering a resolution from the Tallahassee City Commission to the mayor of Krasnodar in 1984. Also representing Tallahassee was Bob Broedel, a charter member and vice-president of the Tallahassee-Krasnodar Board of Directors. Broedel, telecommunications consultant for the "Press Bridges" project which links U.S. and Soviet community newspapers, was invited to attend the conference as the guest of Editor-in-Chief Natalya A. Yakovleva and staff writer Nikolai S. Vishnevsky of the North American Department of the Novosti Press Agency in Moscow.

Krasnodar's "Friends of Tallahassee" association, a citizen support group, also invited Broedel to spend 10 days in Krasnodar following the conference, and then to accompany the first official delegation to Tallahassee. The delegation, which was previously scheduled to visit Tallahassee in April, was led by Mayor Valeri Samoilenko, and included the head of one of the district soviets, the manager of the Krasnodar branch of Intourist, a local *Pravda* correspondent, a surgeon and an interpreter. The group is scheduled to spend a week in Tallahassee.

In a recent telex message to Tallahassee in honor of International Twin Cities Day, the "Friends of Tallahassee" association wrote, "The world movement of the sister cities program is one of the striking manifestations of citizen diplomacy, when ordinary people take the cause of peace in their hands. We have made only the first step toward a world without wars and weapons. Knowing that lots of noble people of good will and with fine hearts live in the USA supports and inspires us in our efforts to promote good, friendly relations between our two cities and our two nations."

CONTACT: Bob Broedel, P.O. Box 20049, Tallahassee, FL 32316 (904-576-4906), telex 6502980782MCI UW. Peacenet: bbroedel.

VERMONT - KARELIA

Vermont Governor Madeleine M. Kunin and Karelia President K.F. Filatov have signed a "Declaration of Intent" to create the first official pairing of a U.S. state and an

autonomous Soviet socialist republic. The signing ceremony took place in the Karelian capital city of Petrozavodsk, which is the sister city of Duluth, Minnesota, without the knowledge or prior consent of anyone in the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

"Imagine," said a high-ranking Soviet Foreign Ministry official at a U.S. Embassy reception in Moscow after the signing, "you have brought an official delegation to our country, headed by the governor of an American state, without anyone in the Soviet Foreign Ministry either knowing of this visit or having to give official approval for it."

During a two-and-one-half-hour briefing session at the U.S. Embassy, Ambassador Jack Matlock expressed optimism for the future of U.S.-Soviet relations and his belief that the Gorbachev "revolution" was bringing an end to the cold war.

The Vermont delegation included the president of Middlebury College, which has one of the best Russian language programs in the United States; the president of Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream, which has been developing trade relations with the Soviet Union; a member of the Vermont legislature; the governor's chief of staff; and the president and executive director of the Greeley Foundation, which lists its sponsorship of the Vermont-Karelia relationship as "one of our most important accomplishments."

The group met with trade and education ministers, the first deputy and secretary of the Karelian Presidium, and the head of the Karelian branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Karelia, population 750,000 (Vermont has 550,000), lies eight hours north of Leningrad by train, just east of Finland. It has 62,000 lakes, and is 55 percent forested, which accounts for the fact that one-third of all newsprint in the Soviet Union comes from Karelia.

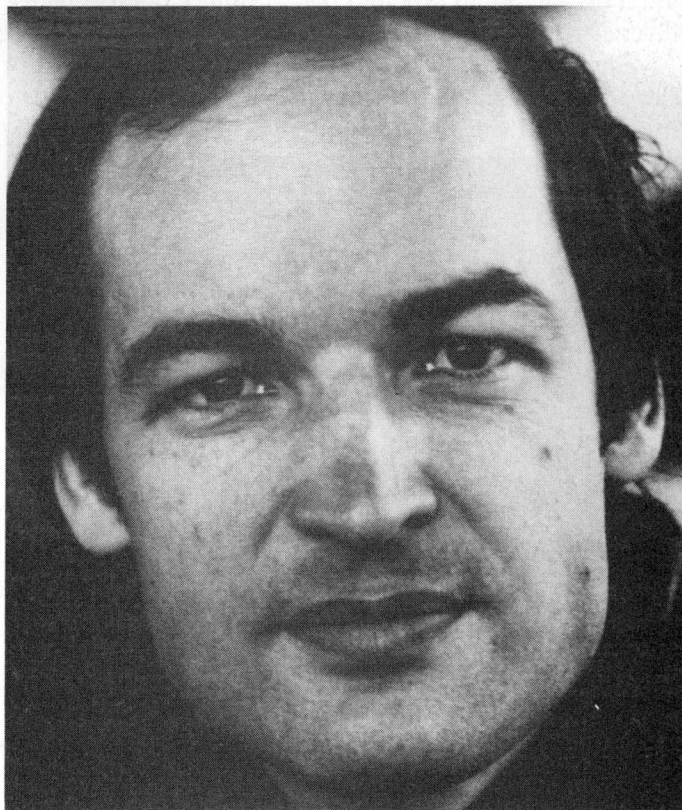
A return delegation from Karelia is expected to arrive in Vermont in July or August 1989 to pursue exchanges in the fields of education, medicine, human services and industry, particularly dairy, lumber, and tourism.

CONTACT: Warren Salinger, Executive Director, The Greeley Foundation, 33 Bedford Street, Concord, MA 01741 (508-369-7386).

*An Interview With***PAUL VAN TONGEREN**

Paul van Tongeren, 47, is deputy director of the Dutch National Committee for Information on Development Cooperation (NCO). For more than twenty years, he has helped build an impressive network of hundreds of towns, both within Holland and throughout Europe, actively assisting Third World nations with economic development. He has also tried to link cities involved in development with cities involved in peace and anti-apartheid work.

This past March, van Tongeren brought together more than 200 mayors, aldermen, staff, and activists from the 40 largest cities in Holland to discuss their various municipal foreign policies. After the conference was over, CID President Michael Shuman, an invited speaker at the conference, interviewed van Tongeren for the Bulletin.



How many Dutch municipalities are involved in international development projects?

The Netherlands has 14.5 million people living in 700 towns, from little villages to cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam. More than half, about 380, are in some way involved in development cooperation. The larger the towns, the more involved they are. Of the 40 largest cities, all but one are involved in development cooperation, and more than 20 also have either a local peace policy or an anti-apartheid policy.

Have Dutch cities become more active in recent years?

Yes, the last few years have been especially dynamic. Cities were spending, for example, only \$400,000 on development cooperation in 1982. Now they spend about \$700,000.

As you know, before our March 1989 conference on "international aspects of municipal policy," we sent a questionnaire to all the 40 largest cities. We asked about their involvement in three fields: development cooperation, anti-apartheid work, and peace. All but one of these cities were active in Third World development. Nearly all these towns – 36 out of the 40 – have been active or very active in at least two of the fields. Twenty-six were active in all three. These 26, incidentally, now spend each year a total of \$600,000 on Third World development, \$175,000 on anti-apartheid work, and \$200,000 on peace work.

What do you mean by "very active"?

We call a town very active if there is a local policy plan, a budget, and concrete activities. Nearly all the 12 largest towns are very active in all three policy areas.

Why are these activities so popular?

Perhaps because the outlook on life of Dutch municipalities has developed and broadened to take in not only Europe, but the world as a whole. Tackling big global issues like peace, development, and world ecology is considered more and more an urgent task and responsibility of all of us, on all levels, even on the level of municipalities.

Some activities, like "twinning" or "linking" with a Third World or Eastern European community, can be very attractive and can produce tangible results. They make



The Soesterberg Conference where Dutch local officials declared, "Municipal foreign policy is not just the latest fashion, but a necessary and desired response to a world that, in getting smaller, must become more just and peaceful, as well."

complex global issues concrete and put human faces on them. They meet people's wishes to act as a community in addressing global problems.

Haven't Europeans always been more "international" than Americans?

A little, perhaps. But it is increasingly clear that international affairs, the big global issues, are affecting Dutch towns.

Indeed, Dutch municipal governments increasingly see the benefit in supporting and stimulating local non-governmental organizations [NGOs] as they deal with international issues. More and more mayors and city councils see the benefit in developing a local international policy and in influencing the policies of the national government.

Is there a legal basis for municipal involvement in international development?

Yes, there is. At first, however, the legal concept of "community household" – that local governments can only undertake activities for the benefit of the local inhabitants – restricted our activities. But in 1972, when the Dutch House

of Parliament debated whether municipalities could support projects in the Third World, it concluded that this fell within the limits of the "community household," providing that the projects really involved community people.

Parliament's decision effectively expanded the "community household" to include people in other nations?

That's right. Municipalities now have the freedom to undertake activities in development cooperation as long as the inhabitants of the Dutch community are really involved and as long as local initiatives are not interfering with national policy.

Is there any conflict with national policy?

In fact, the relationship is a very good one. In recent years, both national NGOs and the national Ministry for Development cooperation have encouraged the involvement of municipalities in development cooperation by publishing brochures or organizing seminars for town councillors. National NGOs have also supplied cities with useful surveys and reports about what was happening in the field.

How do these city-to-city development initiatives usually get started?

The process usually begins with one or more local groups trying to create a municipal policy. They contact other groups and persons, and establish a planning group. They will debate questions like: What are we aiming for and why? What do we expect? Do we choose linking with a city in another country? How?

They then will often write a memorandum providing answers to these questions. Finally, the memorandum is sent to the town council asking it to get started on the project.

What do the groups expect of their town council?

Well, most often they'll want the town council to establish a "development cooperation plan," as well as a working group to implement the plan that will include representatives of local NGOs and the town council.

They'll want the council to appoint an alderman, who will be responsible for development cooperation, and a civil servant to execute the tasks for the working group and the town council.

What about funding?

Yes, of course. They'll want the town council to provide a budget for development cooperation. Our goal is one guilder – or about 50 cents – per citizen each year. Currently

DUTCH CITIES AND THE WORLD: THE SOESTERBERG STATEMENT

In March, 160 aldermen, councillors, civil servants, and members of community-based groups representing the 40 largest Dutch towns gathered in Soesterberg for a two-day "Conference on Aspects of Municipal Foreign Policy." Some twenty other representatives of national and regional government institutions also attended.

The following are excerpts from the Conference's final statement.

I. THE WORLD AND DUTCH MUNICIPALITIES IN 1989

The world has become smaller as a result of the availability of communication technologies developed over the past decades. Countries and continents have become increasingly interdependent in their needs in the fields of economy, ecology, and security. The people of these nations have come to understand the connections between global issues such as development, the struggle against apartheid, international peace, and the environment. Developments in one country affect developments in others – e.g., Chernobyl, refugees fleeing wars and desertification, the impact of changes in Soviet policy, and regional conflicts in the Third World. As a result of these forces – technological, environmental, social and political – and as a result of the activities of individuals and groups, municipalities face foreign affairs issues....

Municipal foreign policy is not just the latest fashion, but a necessary and desired response to a world that, in getting smaller, must become more just and peaceful, as well.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MUNICIPALITIES AND PROVINCES

The degree and character of cooperation between municipal councils and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) differs from city to city. Still there are a number of similarities.

1. Consultation between NGOs and Local Authorities

Local authorities and NGOs both have their own responsibilities, their own activities, and their own roles to play in municipal foreign policy-making. Through consultation and cooperation, they can complement each other. Moreover, experience has shown that consultation can lead to better mutual understanding and better coordination. Consequently, municipal foreign policy projects can be more successful.

Therefore, it is essential that local authorities and

NGOs closely consult with each other about the development and implementation of sound municipal foreign policies.

This consultation can serve various functions: Advising local authorities, assigning tasks, assessing policy and activities, and discussing new initiatives.

2. Impact on national policy

Experience has taught us that municipal foreign policies can have considerable impact on national policy. This impact can be enhanced if local authorities exchange ideas with the national authorities in a more conscious and direct way. Greater effort and creativity in this field on the part of local authorities are desirable. Proceeding along political lines – from local councillors to members of parliament and national parties – is also of importance.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OTHER PARTIES INVOLVED IN MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

The national government has supported a number of municipal foreign policies, particularly in the field of development cooperation. Still, more could be done. The national government could help finance city-based international development cooperation initiatives. And in the areas of peace and apartheid, the national government views municipal activities with some reluctance. We hope the national government will assume a more active and positive attitude in these areas.

The involvement of the Association of Netherlands Municipalities (VNG) in municipal foreign policies is clearly growing. We appreciate the establishment in the Association of a staff member for development cooperation, and welcome the VNG's willingness to cooperate with the Platform of Municipalities for Peace and the Local Authorities Against Apartheid. The VNG's increased interest in municipal foreign policies will be an advantage for smaller municipalities in particular.

SOURCE: Paul van Tongeren, NCO, Postbus 186, 1000 AD Amsterdam, 312717, The Netherlands.

seven big cities achieve this goal.

What kinds of activities might a working group propose for a city?

There are generally four types of activities. One is linking or twinning with towns in the Third World. A related activity is sending municipal experts to a twin town as a part of a long-term program of cooperation. A third activity is to support local information and education activities, perhaps a Development Education Center or a Third World shop. Finally, a city might try to obtain goods and services from developing countries. It might try to expand trade relations with specific developing countries. A lot of towns with anti-apartheid policies, for example, have decided to support projects and towns in the Front Line states.

Are Dutch cities really doing all of these?

Many are. Most, for example, support and subsidize local information activities and Third World shops. Supported

International affairs are increasingly becoming part of municipal policy.

by both the town council and the local group over a period of several years, these activities wind up involving many citizens and are an excellent instrument for community education.

How do the municipalities identify potential towns to work with?

Often projects or partner organizations in the Third World are chosen with the help of national organizations like the British Oxfam.

How involved are city staff in municipal foreign policy programs?

In the 26 towns dealing with all three issue areas, 21 have a

civil servant who serves as a coordinator or a responsible elected official.

The tasks of this civil servant have changed as experience has been built up. At first his or her only task was to write an occasional memorandum or to advise on subsidy proposals. In time, however, the civil servant has had to consult more and more frequently with local groups in order to formulate a local policy, say, on twinning. We believe that an effective municipal foreign policy requires that each city set up an advisory board made up of representatives of local NGOs. This means, of course, more work for the civil servant. Five towns actually have one or more people employed just to coordinate local groups.

How are your cities keeping one another informed about their work?

More and more towns now publish notes on global policy, in which they describe the interrelationship of development cooperation, anti-apartheid, and peace policies, as well as the connection between those issues and human rights, ecology, refugees, tropical timber, etc.

There have also been a number of conferences – national and regional ones – on “towns and development,” “towns and peace,” “cities against apartheid,” and so on in the last five years in the Netherlands. Our conference in March was the first time we discussed the connections among these global issues, and each city’s various municipal foreign policies.

What were some of your conclusions from this conference?

The biggest one is that international affairs are increasingly becoming part of municipal policy.

For cities to create more effective municipal foreign policies, they must support and stimulate local NGOs involved in international affairs, develop a coherent multi-issue international policy, and try to influence directly the policy of the national government.

What do you see ahead for the Dutch municipal foreign policy movement?

Of the 700 Dutch towns, 380 are now involved in development cooperation, 200 in a local peace policy, and about 100 in anti-apartheid policy.

We have confidence that this broad movement will grow.

Next year, elections for new town councils will be held in the Netherlands, and city officials will be formulating new policy plans for the 1990-1994 period. Our hope is that the experiences of the 40 largest Dutch cities will stimulate hundreds of towns to include a good paragraph on international relations in their municipal policy plans for the next four years. ■

EL PASO, CIUDAD JUAREZ UNITE TO SOLVE PROBLEMS

EVERYONE, IT SEEMS, HAS AN IDEA OF how to cement U.S.-Mexican relations. Some, like the private Federation for American Immigration Reform, want to use real cement. The organization has proposed building 25 miles of sunken concrete fences in El Paso and San Diego to help keep out illegal Mexican immigrants. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has made a similar suggestion, discussing the possibility of a \$2 million, four-mile-long, 14-foot-wide ditch along the San Diego border.

On the theory that good fences do not always make good neighbors, some border cities, however, are trying to approach U.S.-Mexican relations differently. Take El Paso and Ciudad Juarez, neighboring communities on opposite sides of the Rio Grande. Together they have created a number of joint programs in areas ranging from disease control to crime prevention. Some of these cooperative efforts have been formalized in written agreements; others have sprung from little more than a cordial handshake between local officials.

One example is a truck that travels every working day from the County Health District offices in El Paso, and ends up at an 18-mile-long open sewage ditch in Juarez. There, workers spray pesticides to ensure that disease-carrying mosquitoes do not breed.

Most of this kind of assistance moves from the El Paso side of the border to the Juarez side. And not surprisingly. Ciudad Juarez, a city of nearly 900,000 people, has a per-capita income of just \$2,000 a year. Even so, because El Paso ranks as the U.S.'s fifth poorest city, some wonder whether the Texas community of 500,000 residents can afford to help almost 1 million Juarez residents to the south. But



Trekking the desert en route to work. These migrant workers must commute 40 miles. It takes them two days and two nights.

El Paso's officials believe they cannot afford not to help. In matters like health and welfare, they say, the fate of the two cities is tightly linked.

"Mosquitoes don't know north from south," says Dr. Laurance Nickey, Director of the County Health District in El Paso. "And they don't carry green cards."

Planners in the two cities have recently finished blueprints for a new bridge capable of handling the 80 million crossings between the cities each year. Both Mexicans and Americans worked together on every detail, from road paving to landscaping.

Another joint program is aimed at helping Mexican children (ages 14 to 17) who have committed crimes on the U.S. side of the border. Rather than having them face the Texas justice system, they are returned home, where a social worker hired by the Texas Youth Commission works with them and makes sure they go back to school. Only seven of the 90 Juarez children who have been counseled

over the past three years returned to El Paso and broke the law again.

Community groups in El Paso are conducting educational campaigns against AIDS on the southern side of the Rio Grande. Speakers from El Paso's Southwest AIDS Coalition have traveled to factories in Juarez, where they have spoken to workers in Spanish. The same group has also purchased billboards in the Mexican city warning about the risks of AIDS.

Even federal government officials see the benefits of this type of working relationship. Enrique Buj-Flores, Consul General of Mexico's consulate in El Paso, says, "It is much easier to solve these problems at the local level than address these issues at the rarefied federal level."

SOURCES: Department of Planning, Research and Development, El Paso City Hall, 2 Civic Center Plaza, El Paso, TX 79999 (915-541-4024); County Health District, 222 S. Campbell, El Paso, TX 79901 (915-543-3509); Lisa Belkin, "Separated by Border, 2 Cities Are United by Needs," *New York Times*, December 17, 1988, p. 6; Associated Press, "A Proposal to Wall Off Mexico from U.S.," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 27, 1989, p. A16; Bruce Tomaso and Richard Alm, "Blight on the Border," *The Orange County Register*, March 5, 1989, p. L1; Richard L. Berke, "Battle Over a Ditch Reflects Deep Tensions Along Border," *New York Times*, March 6, 1989, p. A1.

WORLD PEACE IS A LOCAL VIDEOTAPE

WHEN DOROTHY FADIMAN went to city hall on the night of April 23, 1983, she knew things might be interesting. A group of citizens had worked for weeks to persuade city officials to adopt a local nuclear freeze resolution like the ones ultimately adopted in some 900 other cities and towns across America. On that night the resolution's supporters would, more than likely, encounter fierce council opposition.

But even Fadiman, a Palo Alto, California filmmaker who brought her video camera to city hall that night, wasn't ready for what a Palo Alto councilmember later called "one of the most remarkable demonstrations of the democratic process I've ever had the privilege of seeing."

What unfolds in Fadiman's visual record of that evening, *World Peace is a Local Issue*, is more than the struggle between citizens who want their local officials to speak out on international issues and councilmembers who refuse to address anything beyond a narrowly defined constellation of "local issues."

The film also shows how citizens, confronting overwhelming odds – a mayor resolutely opposed to city involvement in global affairs, the specter of the international arms race, and a distant, unsympathetic federal government – rise to the level of heroes.

Other Fadiman films are the products of modern technology, subtle writing, production, direction and editing, and sophisticated graphics. This one is different. Fadiman hadn't come to city hall prepared to make a film,

just to record the evening's events.

"I have a film consciousness, but all I had was a piece of videotape," Fadiman said. "So I tried to make it like a film."

She succeeded. The grainy images, the city hall's poor acoustics, the awkward camera position, and

*What happened at
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Fadiman's understated narration add a sense of urgency and realism that might be lost in more polished films. People, not techniques or technology, are at the center of the film.

And what people. The 300 or so Palo Altans who packed the city council chambers that night had first to overcome the opposition of Mayor Fred Eyerly, who let it be known be-

fore the council met that evening that he would oppose hearing public testimony on any international issue. Four others on the nine-person council declared themselves ready to support Eyerly's effort to table the resolution.

The issue, Eyerly told the crowd, isn't whether we agree or disagree with a nuclear freeze. "It is the propriety of our municipal council assuming a local leadership role in national and international issues. I feel tonight that this issue should be removed."

But Councilmember Betsy Bechtel disagreed. "Each city throughout the state and throughout the country will make a difference," she said.

Ultimately, perhaps persuaded by the sheer numbers of supporters, other councilmembers agreed that the public ought to be heard – some of them cautiously pointing out that a willingness to listen was not tantamount to support for the city's involvement in international affairs.

Councilmember Gary Fazzino was willing to listen, he said. "But I do not believe I possess the necessary information to have the city council formally support the proposal."

But the public testimony that followed the parliamentary wrangling – testimony that is at the heart of the film – takes the soft belly out of the argument that only experts "possess the necessary information" to determine the nation's future. By the end of the evening, said Councilmember Emily Renzel, "Knowing there's a million times the explosive force of Hiroshima to turn loose in this world is enough information."

Still, there was the basic issue of



Lights, camera, socially responsible action. Dorothy Fadiman, far right, on the scene of another project. Her *World Peace is a Local Issue* makes people, not techniques or technology, the center of attention.

jurisdiction: Should a city council speak out on international affairs issues? Mayor Eyerly was certain his council should not. But those who offered public testimony argued that, in the shadows cast by intercontinental ballistic missiles, jurisdictions disappear.

"When Washington, D.C., is bombed," said Barney Young, "every city will be on its own, if it survives at all. There'll be no question then of jurisdiction. Why must we wait for such a catastrophe? Why does this city not take action when there is time to take action? I implore the council to take responsibility for the city and their own actions."

Mairn Macafee echoed Young's sentiments. "I think I'm speaking for a lot of people here when I say we feel alienated from most of the political process in the country. I feel that many of the issues in the country are decided in smoke-filled rooms and in the form of the greased palm.

"This is a chance for us to participate in our government. And you are our government. This is the smallest level and," Macafee concluded, "at the same time, the greatest level."

Mayor Eyerly was unmoved. "My feelings haven't changed," he told his colleagues at the end of two hours and 40 separate statements. "If there are other councilmembers that desire to speak, they may do so at this time."

One at a time, with the exception of two councilmembers, each councilmember praised the testimony and offered his or her official support for the resolution.

"The discussion tonight has convinced me of just one thing: that on this particular national issue, I must take a stand," said Councilmember Michael Cobb as he approved the resolution.

When the vote was tallied, six councilmembers had supported the resolution and three others had abstained. Some of those participating

in the events of that evening six years ago clearly had a sense that something unusual had unfolded. One of those who testified, Bill Busse, quoted Albert Einstein's remarks upon hearing of the atomic bombing of Japan - "Everything has changed save our way of thinking."

"Tonight," said Busse, "there was a change of thinking."

Fadiman knew that her video record of the proceedings was meant for a wider audience. She spent the next year editing two hours of tape down to 15 minutes and framed that with her own comments about the significance of individual effort in peace-making.

"Just as the people of this one city spoke out and were heard by their government," says Fadiman in her epilogue to *World Peace is a Local Issue*, "so may the peoples of the world speak out."

SOURCE: Dorothy Fadiman's *World Peace is a Local Issue* is available from Concentric Media, 1070 Colby Avenue, Menlo Park, CA 94025 (415-321-5590).

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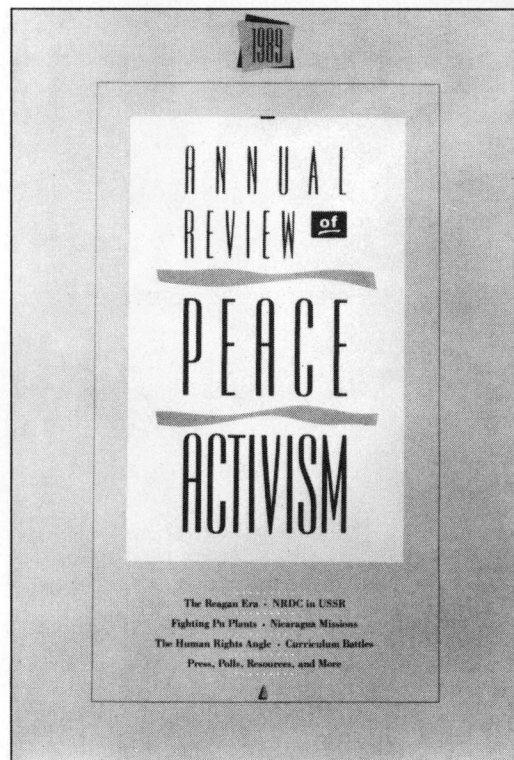
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rail cars to keep their movements secret.

The influx of Stealth workers at Whiteman has already strained public services in the overwhelming majority of local communities. Basing the rail garrison at Whiteman could add to this problem. Few communities, including the metropolitan areas of St. Louis and Kansas City, could muster the vast resources and expertise neces-

sary to deal with an MX rail disaster.

Critics and unquestioning supporters of increased military spending will argue that state and local officials have no place in the debate over national security issues like the MX rail garrison. They'll say we lack the access to information available to experts within the national security establishment.

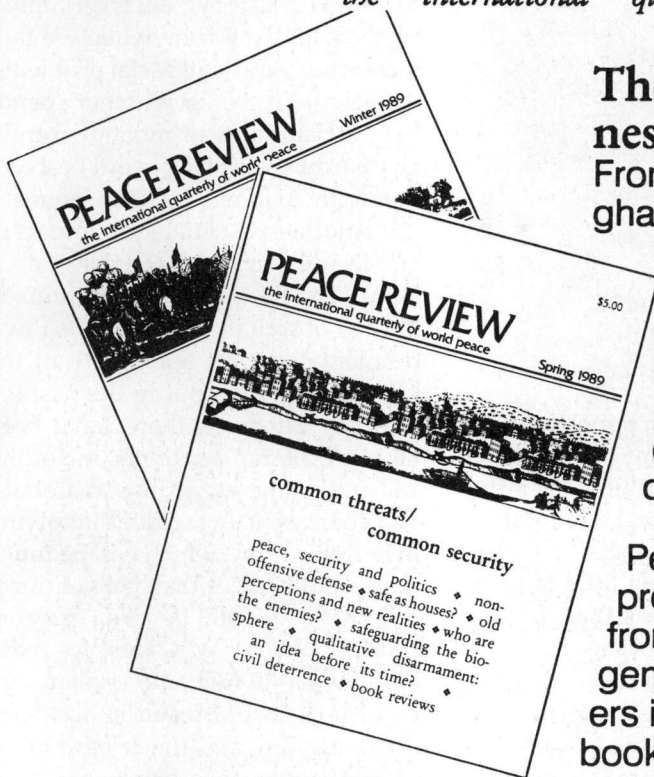
In my view, that ought to be seen as a distinct advantage. State and local elected officials have a contribution to make in the national security debate. We do not face the same pressures as

Senators and Congressmen on issues of national security. We do not attend Pentagon briefings, or receive contributions from political action committees with vested interests in particular weapons systems. Consequently we are much freer to look at issues in terms of their impact on our communities.

It is time for state and local officials to ask whether dangerous and destabilizing weapons systems like the MX rail garrison are in our best national - and local - interests. I'm certain they are not.

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by Sue Shear
Missouri State Representative

MX RAIL GARRISON BRINGS THE ARMS RACE HOME

*It's time for local officials to ask whether dangerous weapons systems
are in our best national – and local – interests*

Supporters of the MX missile have always pointed to its ability to defend us from something foreign, something "out there." It's always been defeated because prospective basing modes undermine national security, right here in our own communities.

The latest basing proposal for the MX is the rail garrison, and it too is drawing its share of grassroots criticism. Under the rail garrison plan, MX missiles would be stored in specially constructed garrisons at Air Force bases around the country. In times of tension between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., the missiles would be sent onto commercial rail lines, making them more difficult to detect and target.

Because I am concerned about the proposal to base MX missiles in garrison at Whiteman Air Force in Western Missouri – and about the possibility that those missiles might be traveling across the state – I introduced a resolution opposing MX rail garrison (HR 186) into the Missouri legislature with the co-sponsorship of nine other state representatives.

That resolution was never voted on. In order to get HR 186 heard, I had to promise the chairman of the Miscellaneous Resolutions Committee that I would not take it to the floor for a vote.

But that does not mean the resolution was without effect. HR 186 did provide spokespersons from 50 religious, civic, peace, farm, and environ-



mental groups with an opportunity to educate state representatives on the MX rail garrison. During the hearing on the resolution, the 15 legislators from both sides of the aisle did a lot of listening and relatively little talking. What they learned was that the MX rail garrison is a local issue.

As with any weapons system, the most publicized local effect is the creation of new jobs. On the surface, the lure of new jobs often makes defense projects like the rail garrison an attractive proposition for local communities. But military spending as a quick fix of new jobs bears closer examination. In the long run, spending the same amount of money on almost anything else will create more jobs. A U.S. Conference of Mayors report in


1988 concluded that \$1 billion of public services spending produces 6,600 more jobs than the same amount of military spending. Economists know that, overall, as military spending increases, the number of jobs declines.

And unemployment is certainly a local issue. At a time when we face increasingly difficult social problems, we need to consider whether spending vast amounts of money on military hardware is really in our best economic and national security interests.

Another potential local impact of an MX rail garrison is the risk of accident. The Air Force has minimized the risk of serious disaster in its Environmental Impact Statement on the MX rail garrison. But in the past ten years in Missouri, there have been nearly 2,000 rail accidents, including 187 involving hazardous materials. The chances of an accident involving the missile cars – which will be much larger and heavier than conventional rail cars – would be even greater. Sending armed MX missiles with highly volatile fuel onto civilian railroad tracks could result in accidents involving fire, and the release of radiation and toxic chemicals.

An accident could result in hundreds, even thousands, of injuries. Fire fighters seeking to contain a fire involving the missile cars would face a task made more difficult by federal laws that would prohibit labeling MX

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Ecological deficits, just as well as fiscal ones, threaten to rob the productive capacity of future generations. If growing population and resource depletion create an increasing cycle of poverty in the developing world, political instability will surely follow. America's security is, in a real sense, linked to the sustained management of the world's natural resources.

Managing Global Resources
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Amy Zuckerman / Impact Visuals

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