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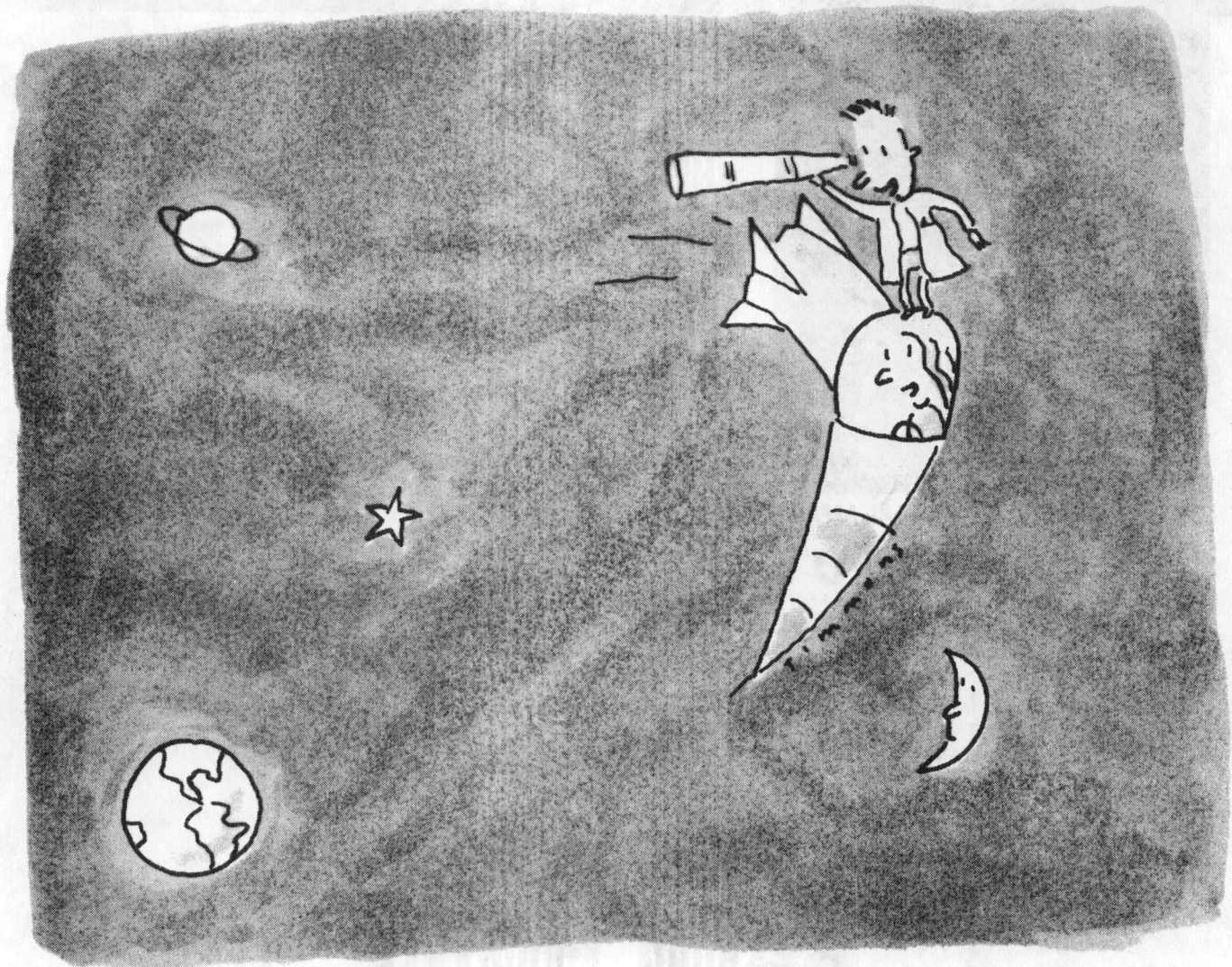


THE WAR BACK HOME

**Cities Making Energy Policy
Where Feds Fear to Tread**

**Bikes Not Bombs Puts
Nicaragua on Wheels**

**Coffee Boycott: The National
Security Council vs. Municipalities**



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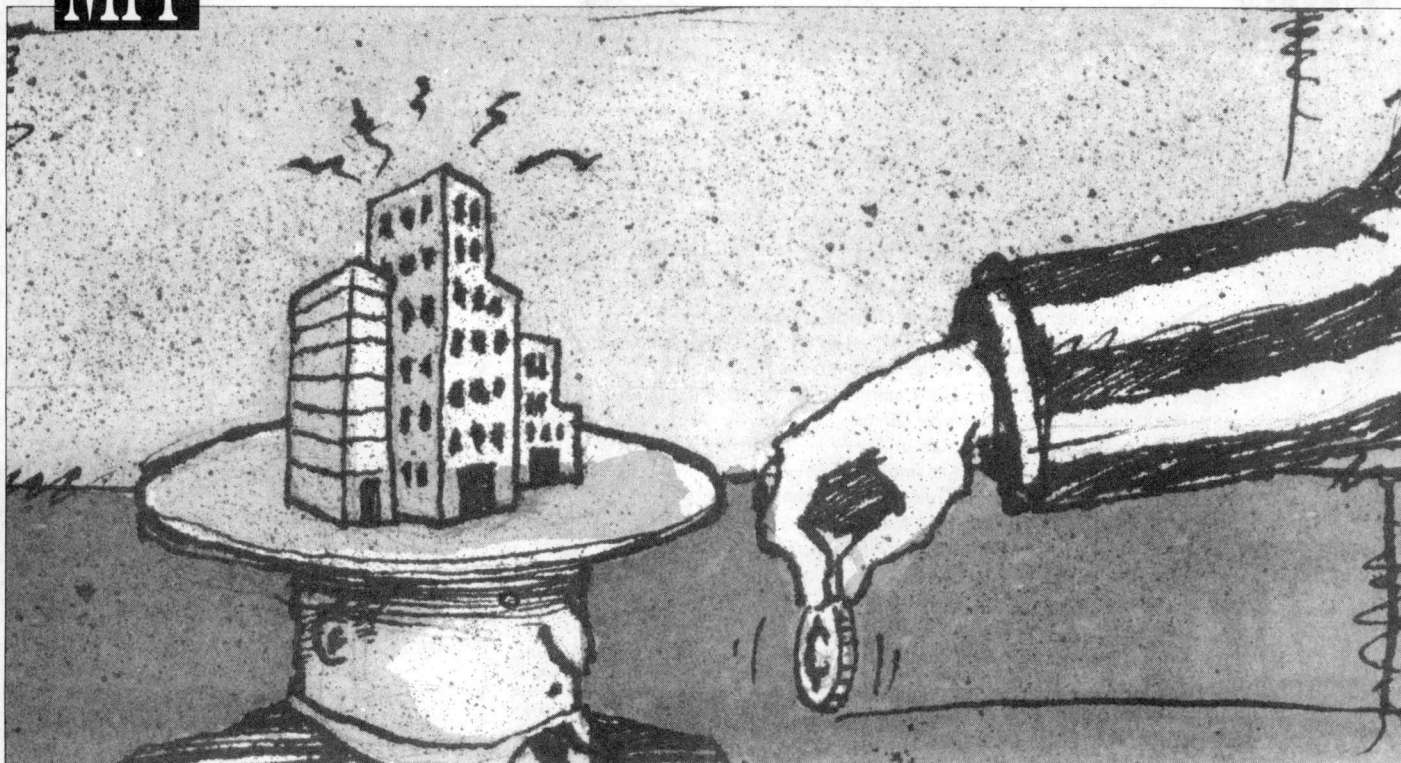
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A HELPING HAND?

With \$300 billion defense budgets and half-a-trillion dollar wars to pay for, U.S. cities are feeling the economic crunch (see page 4).

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From the Publisher

Municipal Foreign Policy: Still Working After All These Years

FOR FIVE YEARS NOW, WE AT THE CENTER for Innovative Diplomacy have proudly published MFP: The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy. Each issue of this magazine is testament to the increasingly popular belief that cities and citizens have a major role to play in the formulation and implementation of American foreign policy.

Our publishing experience has taught us — and we hope our readers, too — a profound lesson: *Municipal foreign policy works*. When cities and citizens undertake sustained involvement in international affairs, good things usually happen.

■ Throughout the 1980s — during the darkest days of the Cold War — cities and citizens worked to reverse the nuclear arms race and build a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union. Municipal foreign policy activists employed the now-familiar tactics of local democracy: They organized a city-based Freeze movement; they embarked on individual missions of citizen diplomacy; they established U.S.-Soviet sister-city ties, along with scores of technical and cultural exchanges. Quite simply, they helped expose the illogic of the Cold War. In 1990, the Cold War was pronounced officially ended.

■ Working through scores of City Halls across America, thousands of municipal foreign policy activists organized against U.S. aid to the contras. The tactics of first resort were nearly 100 U.S.-Nicaraguan sister-city relationships, coupled with countless humanitarian projects totaling millions of dollars in technical and material assistance to the Nicaraguan people. In 1990, a shaky but nonetheless real transition to democracy was under way in Nicaragua.

■ By the late 1980s, municipal foreign policy activists, organizing in City Halls throughout the country, had forced the divestment of tens of billions of public dollars from firms doing business in South Africa. In fact, divestment became one of the principal weapons in forcing stronger U.S. government action to dismantle apartheid in South Africa. Although there is still a long way to go, by 1990 it became clear that great gains had been made in the worldwide movement to bring majority rule to South Africa.

Here at CID, we are indeed proud of these municipal foreign policy success stories. But we are also aware of how much remains to be done. In the two years since his inauguration, George Bush has initiated two wars: the first against Panama; the most recent, of course, against Iraq. The loss of life has been catastrophic. In Panama, the U.S. invasion killed hundreds of civilians, most of them still unaccounted for. In the case of the war against Iraq, estimates of Iraqi casualties at

the hands of U.S. and allied forces range as high as 100,000 to 150,000. In fact, the Persian Gulf war, brief as it was, proved to be the most concentrated killing field since World War II.

The challenge to municipal foreign policy activists is clear. We must use our city-based resources to establish city-to-city ties in the Mideast and elsewhere. Municipal foreign policy — fostering dialogue, democracy, cooperation and nonviolence — is the most promising vaccine available to us in our struggle against war. We have to ensure that it is administered early enough, wherever it is needed, and in ample doses.



After many months of careful planning, we are making some important changes at CID. For

reasons of economy, MFP will no longer be published in Irvine, California. Instead, Michael Shuman, president of CID, will be overseeing the redesign and publication of the magazine at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. Beginning this fall, it will appear under a new title, *Global Cities*. (See the back cover for additional details.) Subscribers will be further advised of these changes this summer.

Our entire staff at CID takes this opportunity to thank our many contributors for their generous support to sustain our pioneering work. ■

CID

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

MFP wishes to thank the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation for its generous support of specially commissioned articles on foreign policy issues. We also wish to thank the General Service Foundation and the North Shore Unitarian Universalist Society's Veatch Program, as well as the following foundations for their recent generous support of our work: The Boehm Foundation, C S Fund, The Ettinger Foundation, Inc., The William H. and Mattie Wattis Harris Foundation, The Max and Anna Levinson Foundation, Ruth Mott Fund, The New Land Foundation, Inc., The New World Foundation, Oshun Fund, James C. Penney Foundation, Ploughshares Fund, The Prospect Hill Foundation, Inc., Rockefeller Family Associates, Samuel Rubin Foundation, Stern Fund, Town Creek Foundation, Inc., Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Foundation, The Winston Foundation for World Peace, and Youth Project (Partnership for Democracy).

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The War Hits Home

The fallout from the Persian Gulf war will hit cities in the U.S. hard, further tightening their economic crises while leaving problems unsolved and people in pain.

by Michael H. Shuman

IMAGINE IF SADDAM HUSSEIN'S JETS HAD BEEN ABLE TO SWOOP down over New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and a dozen other great cities and wipe out countless factories, schools, police stations, and hospitals. Thousands of innocent Americans would have died not only from bomb blasts, but also from increased poverty, starvation, looting, and disease. The

dollars, roughly a third the size of the entire federal budget.

In fact, the total cost of the war could well be higher. No one has begun to assess the indirect costs of the war: lost wages and reduced productivity of American GIs killed or wounded; damage from terrorism and the expense of new anti-terror security measures; and the price tag for cleaning up the oil-fouled Persian Gulf and rebuilding Iraq.

The total cost of the war in the Persian Gulf could ultimately reach half a trillion dollars, roughly a third the size of the entire 1991-92 federal budget.

The fallout from these costs will fall primarily on the dilapidated streets of America's municipalities. According to the National League of Cities (NLC), three-quarters of federal aid to cities was eliminated in the 1980s, which left many major cities heading toward financial catastrophe. Philadelphia, which lost \$200 million per year in federal support,

effects of these bombing runs would have ruined any sense of triumphalism surrounding our victory.

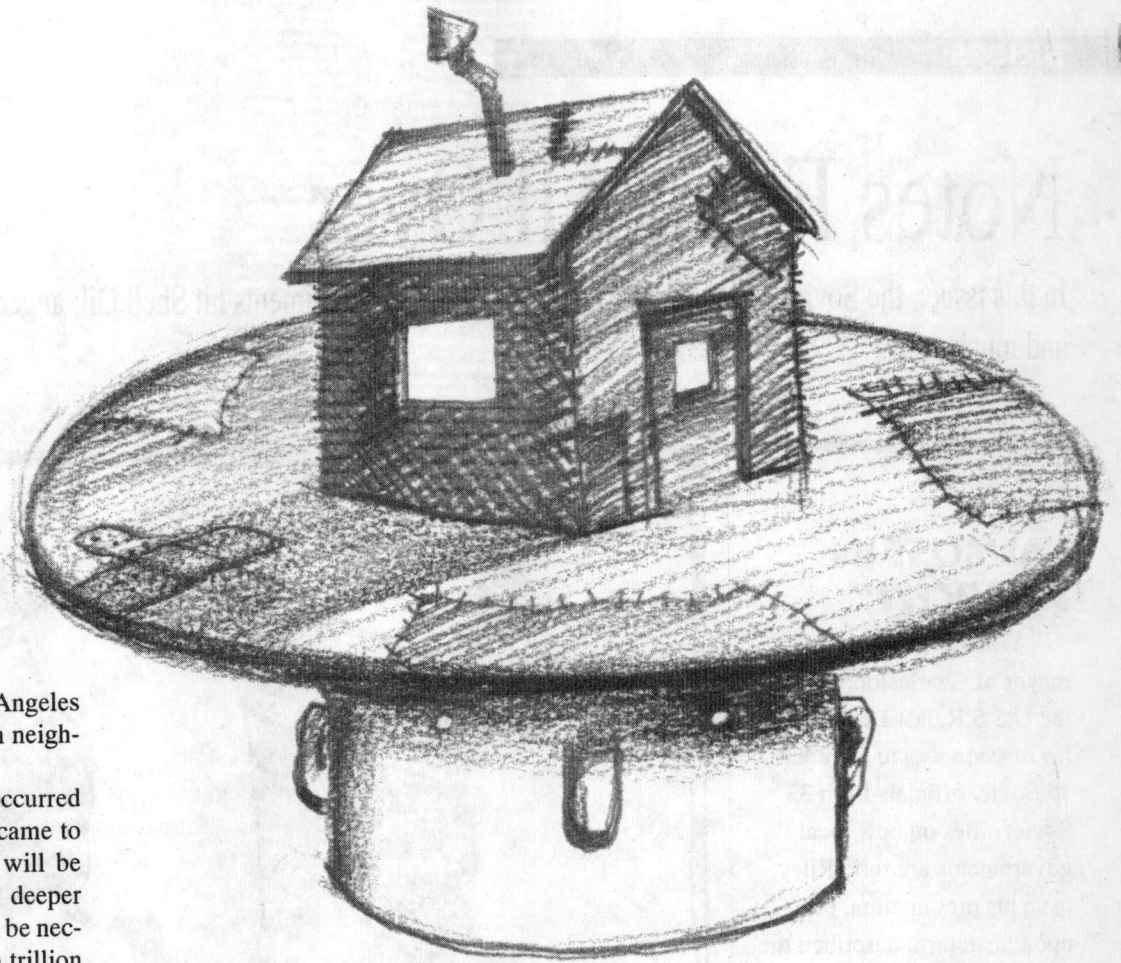
This scenario might appear far-fetched, but it is exactly what Hussein *did* accomplish without ever firing a shot on the mainland United States. For when the bill for the Persian Gulf War comes due, the real victims will be the poor, the elderly, the sick, and children. These are the Americans, primarily residing in our cities, who will have to absorb the massive federal budget cuts necessary to pay for the war.

Officials in Washington concede that the direct costs of Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm will be \$50-100 billion. To this, however, must be added medical and pension benefits to veterans of the war, which, according to American University accounting professor Ralph Estes, will cost over \$100 billion. Since no one is planning on paying these bills by raising taxes, another cost will be the interest payments made to Japanese and other bondholders who will lend us this money. Estes calculates that interest charges, paid out over the next three decades, could exceed several hundred billion dollars. In other words, the total cost of the war could ultimately reach half a trillion

now finds itself with a \$200 million deficit and on the verge of bankruptcy. Despite escalating problems of crime, crack, and homelessness, New York now must close a deficit of nearly \$1 billion by laying off 10-20,000 city workers.

Financial crisis has become a reality across America. A 1990 NLC survey of 576 communities with populations over 100,000 found that more than half were having more difficulties paying their bills than they had a year earlier. Red ink is also plaguing more than half the states. This year's revenues in Connecticut and Rhode Island, for example, are falling short of expenditures by twenty percent. Henry Aaron of the Brookings Institution says, "I think you would have to go back to the Great Depression to find similar anguish, in terms of the number of states that are facing unprecedented cutbacks in service or significant increases in taxes."

Cities are responding with cuts — deep, painful cuts. San Francisco slashed its mental health programs, including those serving juvenile offenders and the homeless. Baltimore has reduced its trash collection services and closed libraries and fire stations. Philadelphia cut street cleaning and assistance for the



homeless by \$65 million. Los Angeles and Louisville have shut down neighborhood health clinics.

All these fiscal problems occurred before the Persian Gulf piper came to be paid. But soon the piper will be pounding at cities' doors for deeper austerity measures. These will be necessary not just to collect half a trillion dollars for this war, but also for more Patriot missiles, for an expanded Strategic Defense Initiative, and for a permanent troop presence in the Mideast.

While we wave our flags and our yellow ribbons, boasting that "America is back," our economy is fast sliding to Third World status. Like many poor debtor countries, a fifth of our federal expenditures are already being eaten up by debt service. Three million homeless wander our streets, twenty-three thousand Americans are cut down by criminals' bullets each year, one out of five of our adults can barely read, and our bridges and roads are crumbling.

We have a simple choice: We can continue to "stand tall" and police the world while we economically strangle the country. Or we can restrain our unilateralist global impulses, set up a truly multinational security system through the United Nations, and begin to rebuild our factories and our cities. We cannot afford to do both.

Too many governors and mayors have yet to recognize that their fiscal problems are not unique. They pride themselves on saving nickels and dimes through accounting tricks and clever program reforms, while ignoring the real cause of their headaches.

Until local elected officials and the millions of inhabitants living in our cities begin to speak out against \$300 billion defense budgets and trillion dollar wars, none of their mounting problems will be soluble — and Saddam Hussein will have inflicted more misery on the American people than he ever dreamed possible.

Michael H. Shuman is a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.

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Notes From All Over

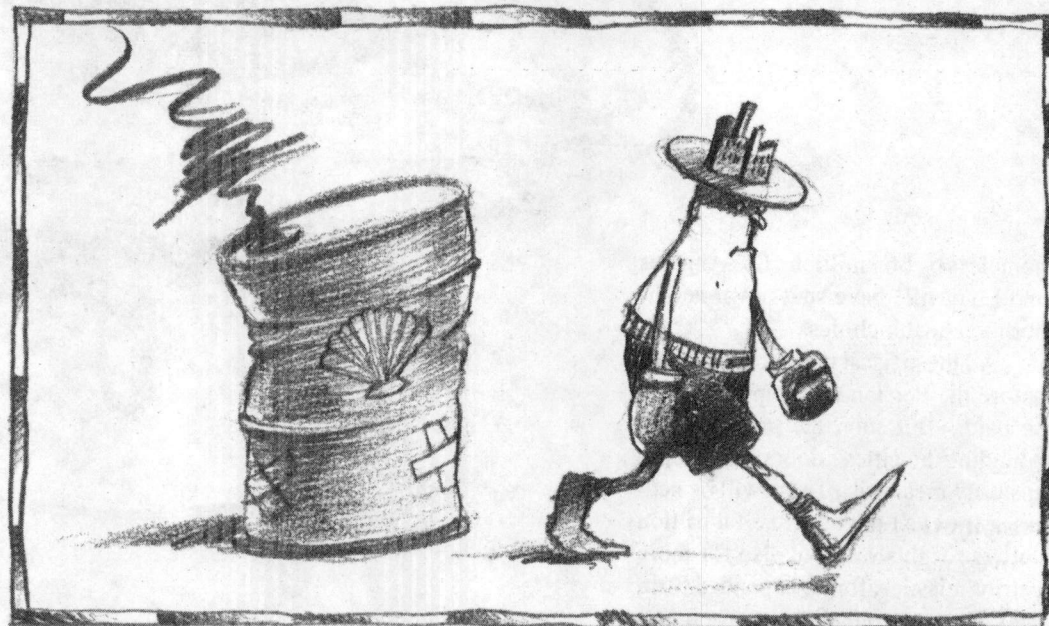
In this issue: the Soviet Union in transition; anti-apartheid sentiments hit Shell Oil; anger at homeporting in Japan; and much more.

"ALMOST IN ANARCHY"

WHEN JOSEPH RILEY, mayor of Charleston, visited the U.S.S.R. last December, his mission was to lecture to 75 Soviet officials from 33 Soviet cities on how local governments are run. Riley gave his presentation, but upon his return, described the U.S.S.R. as "almost in anarchy. The process of rapidly moving from a totalitarian to a democratic system is a convulsive one and its success is by no means assured."

According to Mayor Riley, food is scarce in Moscow, the annual inflation rate is 70 percent, crime is rising and corruption is increasing. In this setting, local officials are trying to establish local democratic governments. Said Riley, "Their local governments suddenly have self-rule, but no money, no taxing authority, no experience, few laws of governance, little power, great responsibility and huge expectations."

If the political revolution itself weren't chaotic enough, the city council



meetings in the U.S.S.R. might be more than any American could fathom. Moscow has a city council of 600 members! Leningrad's is 400 strong!

SOURCES: "Charleston Mayor Riley Helps Soviet Officials Develop Local Governance Skills," *U.S. Mayor*, January 7, 1991, p. 9.

ANOTHER BLOW AGAINST APARTHEID

IN RECENT YEARS, THE Shell Oil Company has felt the brunt of cities and states refusing to do business with it. Cities like Boston, Philadelphia and New York have pledged not to purchase gas, oil and other products

from Shell, whose Royal Dutch/Shell Group still has petroleum operations in South Africa.

In February, New Jersey Gov. Jim Florio cast one of the heaviest stones at Shell, announcing that the oil company would no longer be permitted to operate service stations along the New Jersey Turnpike, the state's most heavily traveled highway. Shell has operated all 13 service stations along the turnpike, but its contract will not be renewed.

Anti-apartheid activists estimate that Shell's turnpike contract is worth about \$50 million in revenues a year. Florio said, "Sanctions are

working. Victory is in sight. And now is not the time to let up."

SOURCE: Peter Kerr, "Shell's Link to South Africa Leads to Loss of a Contract," *New York Times*, February 12, 1991, p. C18.

BAN HOMEPORTING!

IN YOKOSUKA, JAPAN, some people are sick and tired of serving as a homeport for U.S. Navy ships. Since 1966, U.S. nuclear-powered vessels have made repeated calls on Yokosuka. In 1973, the Navy told the Yokosuka City Council that homeporting would last only three more years. But the ships are still there.

Anger has grown, and 130,000 signatures — one-third of Yokosuka's population — have been collected protesting the presence of U.S. nuclear-powered vessels. The outrage intensified when an American jet crashed in a residential area, killing a woman and her small children.

The NEPA Coalition, a Yokosuka citizens' group named after the U.S. National Environmental Policy Act, is leading the charge against homeporting. NEPA announced late last year that it would sue the U.S. government for violating its own environmental policies by neglecting environmental impact investigations examining the effects of Navy ships upon the foreign homeport cities where they dock. Midori Hattori of the NEPA Coalition hopes that the legal action will "make ripples throughout the world, gather force and momentum to get rid of all nuclear and other arms of the world."

SOURCE: NEPA Coalition, 4-1-2-303, Mabori Kaigan, Yokosuka-shi, Kanagawa 239 Japan.

THE TOKYO-HONOLULU CONNECTION

MANY U.S. CITIES ARE suffering a severe slowdown in tourism, thanks to the

recession and aftershocks from the Persian Gulf war.

Honolulu and other tourist cities in Hawaii, however, have proven recession-proof, thanks to a steady flow of tourists from Japan. "We never have in the past been affected immediately by slowdowns on the mainland," said David Ramsour, chief economist for the Bank of Hawaii. "In this case, I think the Japanese

element will defer the effect even further, probably to the end of 1991."

In 1990, the number of Asians visiting Hawaii grew by 15 percent. The unemployment rate in Hawaii is 2.7 percent, with many businesses scrambling to keep their service jobs filled.

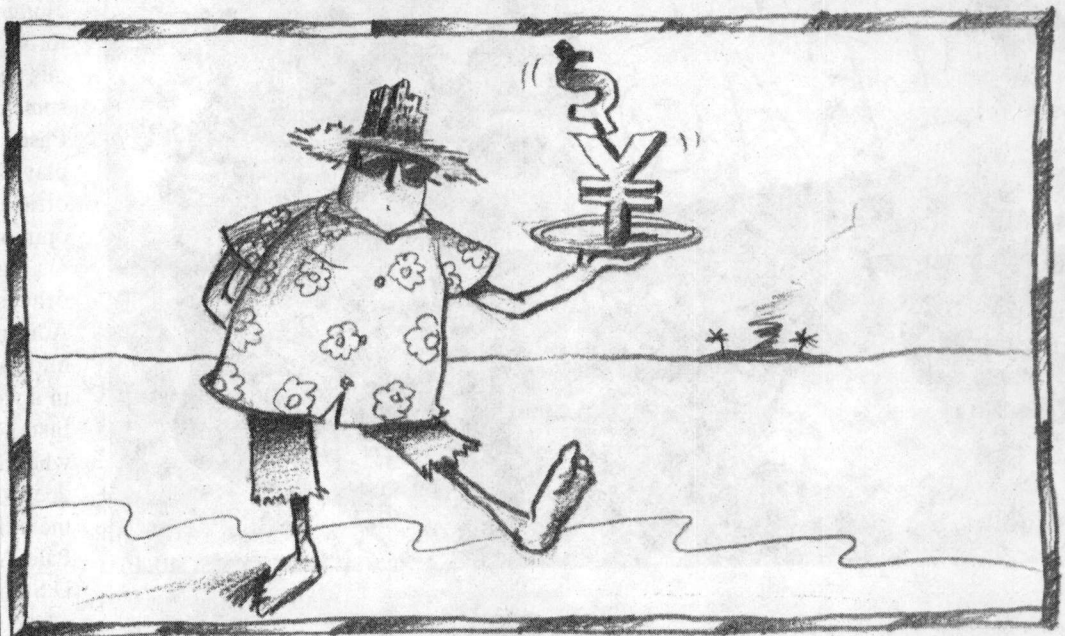
SOURCE: "Credit Japan," *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 1991, p.A5.

REGRETTABLE REMARKS

AT TIMES, JACK KELLY must wish he were still an actor. Best known for his TV work in "Maverick," Kelly is now a member of the Huntington Beach (CA) City Council. He came under attack recently for a remark he made about a sister city

picked up by a microphone and beamed via cable television into thousands of local homes.

Sister City Association President Steven Eggleston said that members of his group were "shocked and embarrassed by the thoughtless and disrespectful remarks." Mayor Green called upon Kelly to apologize, which the council-member did two weeks later,



delegation visiting from Anjo, Japan.

During a city council meeting in January, as Mayor Peter Green was accepting a \$93,000 check from Anjo Mayor Shuji Iwatsuki to help in rebuilding Huntington Beach's pier, Kelly remarked to a fellow councilmember, "How could guys who bow that much ever bomb [Pearl] Harbor." The comment was

saying that no bigotry was intended. At the same time, Kelly accepted an invitation to speak at a dinner this summer during which the sister city association will greet four students visiting from Anjo.

Stay tuned . . .

SOURCES: John Penner, "Councilman's Remarks About Japanese Brings Calls for an Apology," *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 1991, p. B1; Bill Billiter, "Kelly Issues Apology for Remark About the Japanese," *Los Angeles Times*, January 23, 1991, p. B12.

The War Back Home

As tensions in the Middle East erupted into violent warfare, city councils and their constituents responded to the fighting in the Gulf with everything from support to rage.



PHOTO: BETTIE LEE / IMPACT VISUALS

THE CONFLICT IN THE PERSIAN GULF was thousands of miles from the cities and towns of the United States, but the war sent shock waves reverberating along virtually every Main Street and through every City Hall. Several city councils passed resolutions—some supportive, some critical—of U.S. actions in the Middle East. Cities sponsored public forums or played host to rallies, allowing municipal officials and citizens alike to voice their opinions about the conflict.

As parts of the nation cheered and others agonized over the Bush Administration's decision to go to war in mid-January, city councils formally reacted in a variety of ways. In Los Angeles, for instance, the city council voted overwhelmingly to support President Bush's decisions in the Gulf. Other councils—including those in Berkeley (MA) and East Palo Alto (CA)—expressed concern over U.S. military action.

After a three-hour hearing, the Los Angeles City Council passed a resolution—introduced by Councilmember John Ferraro—that “deplores” Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, condemned President Saddam Hussein's “indiscriminate” attack on civilian populations in Israel and Saudi Arabia, and supported the international military efforts against Iraq. The council also approved an amendment introduced by Councilmember Nate Holden that urged President Bush to continue to pursue diplomatic avenues to end the war.

Los Angeles Councilmember Hal Bernson, a strong supporter of the resolution, said, “The world once before, in the late '30s, sat by and watched while another

insane dictator thrust his madness upon the world. This is not about oil; it is about safety and human rights and human freedom."

In Cambridge (MA), the city council reacted to the crisis somewhat differently. In a resolution approved in February, the council pointed out that it had previously unanimously voted to oppose U.S. military action in the Gulf. Even so, noting that the war was now underway, the council expressed its "hopes for rapid Allied success in fulfilling the United Nations' mandate with a minimum of civilian, American and Allied casualties."

The Cambridge resolution pointed out that opponents of U.S. military action "had the opportunity to make their case to the American people and Congress," but that the federal lawmakers, "led by those who had opposed military action, including our own Congressional delegation, has now nearly unanimously voted to support that effort in hopes of soon achieving victory."

The Cambridge measure, approved unanimously nearly four weeks after the war began, came on the heels of a series of public events in the Massachusetts city related to the Persian Gulf conflict. Immediately after the war began, city officials declared a "day of community togetherness," in which the City Hall opened its doors to citizens to express their views to the city's peace commissioners. In early February, a town meeting was held, in which citizens expressed diverse ideas about the war. Both pro- and anti-war banners were erected at City Hall by supporters of those viewpoints.

The East Palo Alto City Council passed a resolution within a week after the war began, which not only expressed "gratitude to American men and women serving their country in this time of international crisis," but it also urged the President to "continue diplomatic negotiations and to allow sufficient time for these tactics to succeed while refraining from an unnecessary military offensive."

The East Palo Alto measure noted that "an indefinite U.S. military deployment in the Middle East" will "adversely affect our

community as fewer federal funds will be available, in an increasingly troubled economy, for health, education, social and environmental protection programs."

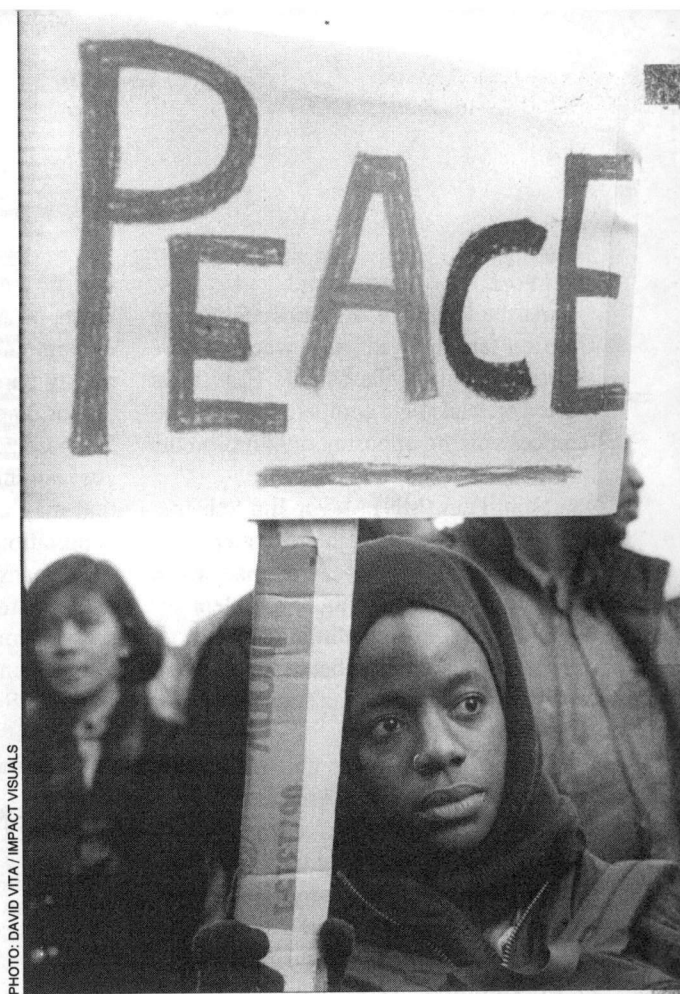
In February, the Burlington (VT) City Council—by a 7-to-5 vote—approved a resolution supporting and commending President Bush's action in the Gulf, and backing American troops there. Two months earlier, the same council passed a resolution that strongly urged the President "to pursue sanctions and negotiations as the proper way to resolve" the Middle East crisis.

After the war began, the city council in Berkeley reaffirmed its opposition to the U.S. government's "policy of war" in the Persian Gulf, while also expressing "strong support for the individuals serving in the Armed Forces."

Some city councils consciously chose to avoid taking a stand regarding the Persian Gulf war, even those that had been vocal before the shooting started. Last November, the Boulder (CO) City Council had passed a resolution declaring that the "citizens of Boulder do not want any men and women killed in an avoidable war," and urging the U.S. to "take all reasonable steps to avoid war in the Middle East."

In the aftermath of that action, the Boulder City Council "was battered pretty badly by the pro-war people," says Dr. Robert McFarland of Boulder's Middle East Peace Initiative, a citizens' group that had encouraged the council to take a stand on the issue last fall. After a large anti-war demonstration in the city on January 14, Boulder Mayor Leslie Durin said she received a tidal wave of phone calls, 100-to-0 against the protesters.

"The public in Boulder is divided about 50-50 between the pro- and anti-war point of view," says McFarland. "But the pro-



war forces have been very vocal and have quieted the city council here."

In other parts of the country, many councilmembers have articulated their thoughts about the war at local rallies and other war-related events. Dallas Councilmember Diane Ragsdale spoke out against the war at a rally at Kennedy Memorial Plaza. Washington (DC) Councilmember Hilda Mason told an anti-war rally in her city that scarce resources were being diverted to the Persian Gulf when they are desperately needed at home.

"People in the District of Columbia and the whole country are in great need of services that need to be met by the money that is being wasted on this war," said Mason.

In a pro-war rally, Santa Ana (CA) Mayor Daniel Young called President Hussein "a barbarian who must pay the...price for his treatment of our POWs."

At the same rally, Orange County Supervisor Roger Stanton referred to public opinion polls indicating that 83 percent of Americans supported the Gulf war. "I didn't feel too good about that because it should be 100 percent," said Stanton. "I think the other 17 percent have a problem,

and I hope they come around.”

At the Congress of Cities meeting in Houston late last year, just weeks before shooting began in the Middle East, local elected officials held competing press conferences voicing opposing opinions on the Middle East crisis.

Saint Paul (MN) Mayor Jim Scheibel led a delegation of municipal leaders who urged President Bush to let diplomacy work and refrain from resorting to a violent solution to the confrontation in the Gulf. If there is a war, said Scheibel, it should “be a war against drugs and other social ills in our cities.”

At the other press conference, Indianapolis (IN) Councilmember Beulah Coughenour read a statement from her city’s mayor, William Hudnut, which urged local officials to “stay away from the easy headlines and return to the business of working together to make our cities better places We support the President’s decision and hope that a peaceful solution will be achieved. Let’s get back to the business at hand — municipal government.”

In some U.S. cities, mayors reacted with disgust to an increased incidence of hate crimes against Arab-Americans. The number of these crimes rose to a record high during the war, with 58 such crimes reported nationwide during the month of January, compared with only one such case in January 1990.

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young said dozens of bomb threats had been reported by his city’s 45,000-member Arab-American community. Young declared a state of emergency and asked for the Michigan National Guard’s help in protecting the city against terrorism, noting that Detroit had been cited by national and international organizations as a possible target of violence.

In Berkeley (CA), the city council passed a resolution promis-

ing “to support and protect the human rights of Arab residents.” It ordered city departments not to “violate any civil rights of any person of Arab, Iraqi, Palestinian and/or other Middle East descent,” nor to “jeopardize the safety and welfare of Arabs residing in this city, by acting in a way that may cause their arrest, detention or deportation.”

Meanwhile, even local officials sympathetic to anti-war demonstrators expressed concern about the organized protests’ financial drain upon their city’s resources. San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos

noted that policing the rallies and cleaning up graffiti and other vandalism could severely strain the city’s budget and cause reductions in social services. The police monitoring of large rallies cost the city about \$100,000 a day, he reported.

Agnos expressed anger over scattered vandalism at some of the demonstrations. He urged protestors to “respect a standard of peace in our own city” and said the police would not tolerate violence aimed at people or property. “Peace is the best message San Francisco can send,” he said.

ONE CITY’S RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS

The Burlington (VT) City Council passed resolutions both before and during the war in the Persian Gulf. The resolutions differed in their messages to the President and the Congress.

DECEMBER 17, 1990:

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Burlington, as follows:

1. The City Council of Burlington, Vermont strongly supports the President’s and the international community’s demand that Iraq end its occupation of Kuwait; and
2. The City Council strongly supports the United Nations’ economic sanctions and embargo against Iraq; and
3. The City Council strongly urges President Bush and the Vermont Congressional delegation to pursue sanctions and negotiations as the proper way to resolve the current Persian Gulf crisis; and
4. The City Council strongly desires the safe return of all U.S. military and civilian personnel; and
5. The City Council strongly opposes the use of military force by the United States against Iraq and calls on the President and our Congressional delegation to take all reasonable means of avoiding use of such force in defending threatened Gulf nations and enforcing sanctions.

FEBRUARY 11, 1991:

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Burlington, as follows:

Whereas, the President of the United States, with the authorization of Congress, has ordered military action against Iraq in an effort to force Iraqi armed forces from occupied Kuwait; and

Whereas, 415,000 men and women of the United States armed forces are now involved in armed conflict; and

Whereas, 158,000 members of the Reserves and National Guard have been called to active duty since August 22 and may become involved in armed conflict; and

Whereas, the City Council and the people of Burlington have the greatest pride in the men and women of the United States armed forces and support them in their efforts;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the City Council of Burlington, Vermont commends and supports the efforts and leadership of the President as Commander in Chief in the Persian Gulf hostilities; and

Be it further resolved that the City Council unequivocally supports the men and women of our armed forces who are carrying out their missions with professional excellence, dedicated patriotism, and exemplary bravery.

The Backlash Against Peace

After the Arcata City Council declared the community a “sanctuary,” passions ran high on the issue, and the council quickly backed down.

AS WAR RAGED IN THE PERSIAN GULF, one California city found itself coping with its own war of words and emotions that bitterly divided the community.

Just hours after President Bush unleashed the first bombing missions against Baghdad, the Arcata City Council censured the Administration’s action and proclaimed the community a sanctuary for military deserters and others not supporting the war against Iraq.

The vote set off a backlash throughout the community of 15,000 residents, complete with charges that the councilmembers were traitors, as well as death threats aimed at the city leaders. In the midst of this uproar, only a week after the council had passed the measure, it rescinded the resolution, with some councilmembers apologizing to the community for the anger and dissension it provoked.

Arcata, located nearly 300 miles north of San Francisco, is a city known for its generally liberal leanings. It is the home of Humboldt State University, and its redwoods have helped make it a hotbed of environmental activism.

As a result, the city council was unprepared for what awaited it after it approved the resolution declaring the community a sanctuary for anyone opposed to the Persian Gulf war for ethical, moral or religious reasons. Immediately after it passed, the community erupted.

“The next morning, the phones started ringing off the hook at City Hall, at our businesses and at our homes,” recalled Mayor Victor Schaub. There were demands for a recall election. There were hastily-arranged patriotic rallies. Within days,



PHOTO: ROBERT FOX / IMPACT VISUALS

6,100 people — almost three times the number who had voted in last November’s election — had signed a petition criticizing the resolution.

The council called a special meeting for the following week, attended by an overflow crowd estimated at nearly 1,000 people. The majority of citizens who spoke that evening denounced the council. Even some of those who opposed the war said they disliked their town being viewed as not supporting the troops in the Middle East. At 4 a.m., the council voted to rescind the sanctuary resolution.

Looking back, Mayor Schaub says the original resolution was written and passed during an emotional time for everyone. “We were all in a state of shock over the war,” says Schaub, who introduced the resolution. “In retrospect, we weren’t in a frame of mind to be doing business and we probably should have just had a moment of silence for the troops overseas.”

At least three councilmembers apologized for voting in favor of the sanctuary resolution. “I feel I made a very large mistake,” said Councilmember Sam Pennisi. “I want to look you all in the face

and give you a formal apology.”

Similar sanctuary resolutions were passed by city leaders in San Francisco and Berkeley, without provoking any of the fury that surfaced in Arcata. In Madison (WI), the city council considered — but defeated by one vote — a resolution that would have offered sanctuary to military deserters and draft resisters. The measure, which proponents labeled “Operation Deserter Shield,” would have discouraged city employees, including police, from cooperating with federal authorities in the arrest of deserters.

During the debate over the Madison measure, the council chambers were filled, in part by pro-war activists who had arrived by charter bus from Milwaukee to voice opposition to the resolution.

Alderman Joe Szwaja, a supporter of the measure, said, “As the war intensifies, they’ll realize we’re not playing Nintendo” in the Persian Gulf.

SOURCES: Sam Stanton, “Arcata At War With Itself Over War,” *San Francisco Examiner*, February 3, 1990, p. B8; Kevin Roderick, “Arcata Council’s Anti-War Stance Touches Off a Furor,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 1991, p. A11; “Arcata Drops Sanctuary Idea After 1 Week,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 25, 1991, p. A11; “A Crack in the Shield,” *In These Times*, January 30, 1990, p. 6.

Riders on the Storm

Tel Aviv Mayor Told Residents to Buckle Down

WHEN A SCUD MISSILE DESTROYED the front of a Tel Aviv theater, Mayor Shlomo Lahat good-naturedly talked the owner into displaying a sign: "We're more open than usual."

Mayor Lahat tried to keep his citizens as relaxed as possible during the terror that reigned down upon them amid the Persian Gulf war. He was usually one of the first on the scene of the missile attacks, comforting the injured and finding new shelter for the homeless.

At the same time, however, the Tel Aviv mayor created an uproar when he criticized residents of his city who fled to outlying regions to escape the missile attacks from Iraq. They are, he said, "deserters."

"Of course, everyone is afraid of missiles," said Lahat, who has been mayor of Tel Aviv since 1973. "It's human. But it's our duty as Israelis to stay home." He added that "Saddam Hussein's goal is to terrorize us," and by leaving the city, Israelis were showing that Hussein accomplished his goal.

Lahat's comments created a furor. Some residents declared that they had the right to choose how they would cope with Hussein's missile barrage. And they got some sympathy from the mayor of Eilat, a resort town on the Gulf of Aqaba where as many as 10,000 Tel Aviv residents fled.

Rafi Hochman, Eilat mayor, noted that the newcomers felt like sitting ducks in Tel Aviv, waiting for the next Scud missile to fall. "So you can't call anyone a coward just because he decided to move to another city," he said.

Meanwhile, Lahat encouraged Israelis to meet with Palestinians to negotiate a settlement to their long-standing dispute. Although Lahat is a member of the ruling Likud party, he supports a separate Palestinian state in the occupied territories.

"I belong to those who think we should find a way to sit down with the Palestin-

ians." But he urged Palestinians to appoint other leaders for themselves besides the PLO, who are supporting a "murderer" like Saddam Hussein.

SOURCES: Daniel Williams and Carey Goldberg, "Direct Hit on Psyche of Israel," *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1991, p. 1; "Feisty Mayor," *U.S. News and World Report*, February 4, 1991, p. 16.

PHOTO: HENRIK SAXGREN / IMPACT VISUALS



CAN U.S. CITIES WITHSTAND THE GULF WAR?

IN LATE JANUARY, AT THE WINTER MEETING OF THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS in Washington (DC), local officials criticized the government for ignoring critical needs at home while pursuing the war in the Persian Gulf.

"How come we can instantly commit half a billion dollars a day on this war and can't do it on funding domestic needs, simply saying we'll figure it out later?" asked Art Agnos, mayor of San Francisco. "How come we can pay whatever it takes to win this war and not for the war against homelessness, drugs and AIDS?"

Even mayors sympathetic to U.S. efforts in the Persian Gulf were concerned about the impact domestically. "I do not want to take away necessary resources from the conflict in the Middle East," said Houston Mayor Kathryn Whitmire. "But when it's over, I want to see the same kind of effort in the war on drugs that is killing our children."

According to Charles Bowsher, comptroller general of the United States, costs of the Middle East war (estimated at between \$500 million and \$1 billion a day) could "totally swamp" any of the deficit savings the Congress had hoped to reap.

Michael White, mayor of Cleveland, criticized the priorities of the federal government. "I sit here like everyone else, watching CNN, watching a half-billion dollar a day investment in Iraq and Kuwait, and I can't get a half-million dollar increase in investment in Cleveland or any other city," he said.

Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn said that he had recently helped open a soup kitchen and shelter for homeless Vietnam veterans in his city. He cautioned that America's cities will soon be faced with caring for soldiers from the Persian Gulf war, too. Steps need to be taken, he added, to ensure that "they have something to return to other than standing in line at a soup kitchen."

SOURCES: Ellen Perlman, "Will Federal Funding Survive Gulf War?" *City & State*, January 28-February 10, 1991, p. 1; Frank Shafroth, "Local Officials Ponder Burdens of War and Peace," *Nation's Cities Weekly*, January 28, 1991, p. 1; Jill Lawrence, "US Mayors Request Increased Federal Aid Despite Cost of War," *Orange County Register*, January 26, 1991, p. A17.

LAKE CHARLES (LA)

WHEN MAYOR JAMES SUDDUTH heard that comedian Jay Leno was traveling to Saudi Arabia to meet with American troops, he contacted the entertainer and asked him to deliver some messages of encouragement from the home front. Leno agreed, and Sudduth prepared an "Appreciation Week" proclamation, while 1,600 messages were collected from residents for Leno to carry to the Middle East.

WHITEVILLE (TN)

ROBERT WILEY WAS CAMPAIGNING for the city council here when his National Guard unit was sent to Saudi Arabia. Although Wiley's personal campaigning came to an abrupt halt, five other candidates for alderman praised his sacrifice, and friends carried on the electioneering efforts with the slogan, "If he can fight for us, we can vote for him." But on election day in February, Wiley came up 11 votes short of victory in this town of 1500 people.

LOS ANGELES (CA)

SCHOOL BOARD PRESIDENT Jackie Goldberg believes the school district's recent \$88 million in budget cuts has a direct link with military spending in the Middle East. The crisis in education, she said, "in part is a consequence of policies that destabilize the economy by transferring so many dollars to things that go up in smoke."

ANDOVER (MA)

DURING THE LATTER HALF OF

1990, the Raytheon Company here laid off 300 workers. But when Patriot missiles — manufactured by Raytheon — began shooting Iraqi Scuds out of the sky, morale soared at the company plant, where an around-the-clock production schedule went into effect to meet orders for more Patriots. "We are pleased the Patriot is doing well," said R.S. Stapczynski, Andover's town manager. "Maybe there'll be some jobs created by this success."

SAN CLEMENTE (CA)

WHEN THOUSANDS OF MARINES from Camp Pendleton shipped out to the Persian Gulf, businesses in nearby San Clemente felt the economic sting immediately. Shops shut down and restaurants were put up for sale. "We've already got more license renewals returned (by the post office) from businesses that have closed than ever before," said Assistant City Clerk Sue Cunbar. "There's no doubt the economy is down, and it's reflected in the number of licenses that aren't coming back paid."

NEW YORK

A NUMBER OF U.S. MAYORS signed a full-page advertisement that ran in the *New York Times* in February. Headlined "We Are Outraged," the ad expressed "concern for the people of Israel" in light of the missile attacks on civilian populations there. "Whatever views we may hold about this war, we share a fundamental concern for human life and for the standards of international human rights," the

signators proclaimed. The mayors whose names appeared in the ad included David Dinkins (New York City), David Mann (Cincinnati), Tom Bradley (Los Angeles), Frederico Pena (Denver) and Norman Rice (Seattle).

HOMER (AK)

MAYOR HARRY GREGOIRE declared last December a "Month of Peace" in his city. In his proclamation, he stated that "the crisis in the Middle East challenges the democratic system to resolve conflict and restore justice without bloodshed and destruction." Gregoire said that although he was concerned about Saddam Hussein's terrorist weapons, "we don't have to go to war over it." A World War II veteran, the Homer mayor served in the Pacific theater, and spent time in the flattened remains of Hiroshima after the war.

BOCA RATON (FL)

CITY OFFICIALS URGED MUNICIPAL employees to conserve gas as part of a campaign to rise to the challenges presented by the Gulf crisis. City Manager Robert LaSala urged city employees to car-pool, and asked city truck drivers not to leave their vehicles idling while visiting a job site.

OAKLAND (CA)

A WEEK BEFORE WAR ERUPTED in the Middle East, the Oakland Board of Education voted unanimously to deny military recruiters lists of senior students (including their addresses and phone numbers) who attend local

high schools. State education laws permit schools to supply the military with students' names, and many districts do so. But according to Oakland School Board Member Sheila Jordan, "A lot of the students are very confused. They don't want to be unpatriotic, but they feel specially targeted."

CLEVELAND (OH)

MAYOR MICHAEL WHITE proclaimed "Tie a Yellow Ribbon Week" in his city, encouraging residents to place ribbons around trees and lightpoles, and on business windows and monuments. (Other U.S. cities with similar campaigns included: Alexandria (LA), North Olmstead (OH), Quincy (MA), Revere (MA), Springfield (MA), Taunton (MA), and Yonkers (NY).)

COMPTON (CA)

SOME OF THE HARSHTEST STATEMENTS questioning U.S. action in the Persian Gulf came from Compton Mayor Pro Tem Maxcy Filer. Writing in *U.S. Mayor*, Filer said, "The federal government spends more the \$600 million per day protecting American oil interests [in the Middle East] and spends less than \$100 per day to repair the infrastructure of our cities. . . . The Federal government gets 'its money' from residents of our nation's cities. However, it tells us in so many ways that it cannot spend 'its money' on cities. . . . We do not support the wasting of federal dollars in a distant land. We are not isolationists; we are realists seeking to survive."

Making Energy Policy, Not War

Although the Persian Gulf war turned attention toward U.S. dependence on foreign oil, the Bush Administration has relinquished its leadership role in energy conservation.

by Nancy Skinner

THE PENTAGON'S DAILY GULF WAR BRIEFINGS NEVER TOUCHED on energy policy. But no one can doubt the role of U.S. dependence on foreign oil as a major factor in the Middle East crisis. The lessons should be clear to everyone: Unless we as a country move closer to the path of self-reliance for our resource needs, resource-motivated hegemony as a justification for war will become a staple of U.S. policy. Meanwhile, the federal government and media continued to insist that the only way we can maintain the "standard of living" and "quality of life" that Americans expect is to be ready to wage war in order to keep foreign oil flowing our way.

With the launching of the Persian Gulf war in January, the U.S. played out the national energy strategy first articulated in the late 1970s. Then, President Carter declared the country willing to go to war in the Middle East to protect our access to oil. Now, more than ten years later, having waged a costly and deadly Middle East war largely over oil, President Bush has just released his own Administration's draft national energy strategy. This "strategy" calls for oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, emphasizes nuclear power, but casts aside plans that would have created incentives for energy conservation. Earlier, the White House had rejected other energy conservation measures proposed by the Energy Department for inclusion in the Administration's bill—such as greater auto fuel efficiency, energy taxes to discourage consumption, and requirements for employers to reduce automobile use by their employees.

According to Administration officials, the main thrust of the proposed strategy is to *increase* the production of energy, imported and domestic, rather than to *require* energy savings.

The absurdity of these policies should be self-evident. By most estimates, the remaining oil supply on the planet will only last between 40 and 60 years at current levels of consumption. Unfortunately, consumption is growing every year, and wars don't help make the supply last.

The Pentagon is the single largest consumer of oil domestically. During peacetime, the U.S. military uses approximately 37 million tons of oil each year, or approximately 91 million barrels. At its peak, the Vietnam war consumed more than 1 million barrels of oil every day.

If it meant preventing a war, maybe drilling in the Arctic Wildlife Refuge could be considered a tolerable tradeoff. But the total amount of oil available from the Arctic Refuge and offshore drilling in Alaska, the Florida Gulf, California and the Atlantic Coast is only a two-year supply — probably less than the amount

burned, spilled or consumed in the Persian Gulf war.

Should U.S. policy result in a choice to pursue increased energy consumption and production, rather than energy conservation, there will be direct adverse consequences. Our urban areas, already choking from air pollution primarily caused by the burning of fossil fuels, will pose 24-hour-per-day health hazards. The increasing levels of CO₂ in the atmosphere, already threatening to lead to catastrophic global warming, will only accelerate because of the burning of fossil fuels.

Local Government Action

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACTIONS COULD HAVE A POWERFUL IMPACT ON both how energy is produced, and the amount of energy consumed. Although the nation's energy policy may downplay conservation and renewable energy production, local governments don't need federal approval to "do the right thing" right now. Local measures could include providing low-income weatherization programs, establishing incentives for solar and other renewable energy sources, and mandating energy conservation for buildings and land use.

Policies adopted by local governments also can play a strong role in market development. Prior to the passage of local government regulations on ozone-depleting compounds, there were few manufacturers and few models available of CFC "vampire" units—machines that remove freon from refrigerators and air conditioners to enable the freon to be recycled. In the two years since local governments started passing CFC regulations, more manufacturers have begun producing the vampire units, making available a variety of models at lower, competitive prices. Energy conservation and renewable energy incentive measures adopted by local governments can spur similar market development in these areas and set new standards for state and national government policies.

In addition to the environmental benefits associated with reducing our communities' use of fossil fuels, energy conservation measures save money for the local government and the consumer alike. And unlike the money that goes to pay our energy bills, money spent on conservation tends to stay in the local economy.

Comprehensive Plans

A NUMBER OF CITIES HAVE RECENTLY UNDERTAKEN COMPREHENSIVE energy conservation planning. Interestingly, few of them began this planning process with conserving energy as the

primary or explicitly stated goal.

In 1989, the city of Toronto decided to develop a plan to reduce the community's CO2 emissions by 25 percent. In developing its plan, Toronto discovered that planting trees and replacing vegetation was not adequate to achieve its reduction goal. Instead, it realized that the city had to take significant steps to reduce energy use, not only in buildings but also in transportation, specifically in reducing single passenger automobile use.

Vancouver created a task force on atmospheric change. The city council asked the task force to explore what Vancouver could do to lessen the city's impact on ozone destruction and global warming. After months of study and hearings, the task force's conclusions again pointed to energy conservation in all aspects of community life — in land use, transportation, and residential and commercial energy use.

Perhaps the most comprehensive plan to date is the energy policy adopted last year in Portland, Oregon. This policy calls for promoting land use patterns that increase energy efficiency, and for making energy efficiency a critical factor in land use decisions made by the city. The plan also mandates that the city of Portland provide opportunities for non-auto transportation, including buses, light rail, bikeways and walkways.

Resources to Help You

HERE ARE SOME SOURCES OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THESE issues:

■ The Local Government Commission, a California-based organization providing technical assistance to local governments, is developing energy efficiency guidelines for cities in the areas of land use, transportation, solid waste recycling, and energy conservation in buildings. Contact LGC at 909 12th St., Sacramento, CA 94814.

■ The Global Cities Project has extensive materials on actions that local governments can take to promote renewable energy and energy conservation. Contact the Project at 2962 Filmore St., San Francisco, CA 94123.

■ Local Solutions for Global Pollution has compiled information packets on actions that local governments can pursue to reduce their community contributions to global warming, specifically by focusing on automobile trip reduction. The packets include sample ordinances, program descriptions and background and fact sheets. The organization can be reached at 2121 Bonar St., Studio A, Berkeley, CA 94702.

Nancy Skinner, a contributing editor of MFP, is a Berkeley (CA) City Councilmember.



The main thrust of the proposed Bush strategy is to increase the production of energy, imported and domestic, rather than to require energy savings.

Working Together for a Cleaner Planet

Minneapolis has found it can accomplish its environmental goals by cooperating with local businessmen and the plastics industry.

COOOPERATION, NOT CONFLICT.

That has been the strategy pursued by Minneapolis city officials as they finally begin to phase in restrictions on plastic food and beverage packaging, aimed at keeping the planet a little healthier. Rather than assuming a "big brother" persona and intimidating local businesses into compliance, Minneapolis has tried to involve all interested parties in the process, with surprisingly amicable results.

Rather than assuming a "big brother" persona and intimidating local businesses into compliance, Minneapolis has tried to involve all interested parties in the process, with surprisingly amicable results.

In early 1989, the Minneapolis City Council passed an ordinance placing restrictions on plastic food packaging on grocery store shelves and at fast-food restaurants. The law was designed to ban all non-recyclable or non-returnable plastic packaging for which an environmentally acceptable alternative is available. Although the ordinance was initially opposed by groups like the Minnesota Grocers Association and the Council for Solid Waste Solutions (a plastics industry group), it was passed unanimously by city policymakers.

The regulations began to take effect this January 1, but only after input was received from an advisory committee which solicited participation from throughout the community.

In other local jurisdictions where anti-plastics ordinances have been approved—

such as Suffolk County, NY—the plastics industry has chosen to battle the local ordinance rather than try to work with local officials. But in Minneapolis, the Council for Solid Waste Solutions offered to sponsor a six-month pilot recycling program to prove that recycling was possible. The program impressed city environmental leaders, who now believe that recycling is a realistic option for certain products. As a result, the ban will not be as sweeping as

originally proposed.

"When the ordinance was first passed, people expected to see all kinds of items pulled off store shelves," said John Schnickel, Minneapolis' director of environmental health. "But the advisory committee began looking toward developing systems to make better use of waste. Two years ago, there wasn't even a glimmer of plastic recycling, at least not in this part of the country. Now, residents citywide are able to recycle their plastic bottles and jugs, and restaurants are putting recycling programs in place, too.

"To meet the new law's guidelines, an actual recycling system must be operating," adds Schnickel. "McDonald's clamshell containers, for instance, have always been technically recyclable, but no one was doing it here. Restaurants are now starting to recycle items like this, with a

gradual phase-in aimed toward a July 1 target date."

Many proponents of the plastics ban were somewhat surprised by the eventual cooperativeness of local business leaders and the plastics industry itself. When the ordinance was initially drafted and hearings were held, the local retailers' association ran newspaper advertisements criticizing the proposed legislation and listing the names and phone numbers of councilmembers, urging citizens to call and voice their opposition. The response to the ads was enormous—but it was quite different from what the business community had anticipated. The calls were 9-to-1 in favor of the ordinance's passage. Some observers think the opponents got the message that continuing to fight the ordinance would be a public relations disaster.

"The advisory committee worked wonderfully," says Schnickel. "Everyone—government, industry, consumers—worked together. We all dropped our stances and our rhetoric, and decided to work with one another. The law went into effect six months later than originally planned just so we could work out the major points of contention."

Similar pilot recycling programs are under way in cities like Palo Alto (CA), where last April the city council approved recycling efforts to reduce the amount of non-biodegradable plastic. As in Minneapolis, the Palo Alto recycling program is a cooperative effort involving the city, the local sanitation company, local businesses and the plastics industry.

According to Mike Miller, deputy director of operations for Palo Alto, "This pilot program is important because it can turn polystyrene into a renewable resource and reduce the amount of waste going into our landfill."

Setting the Trend

Maine outshines every other state in its campaign to adjust to changes in federal military spending.

by Michael Closson

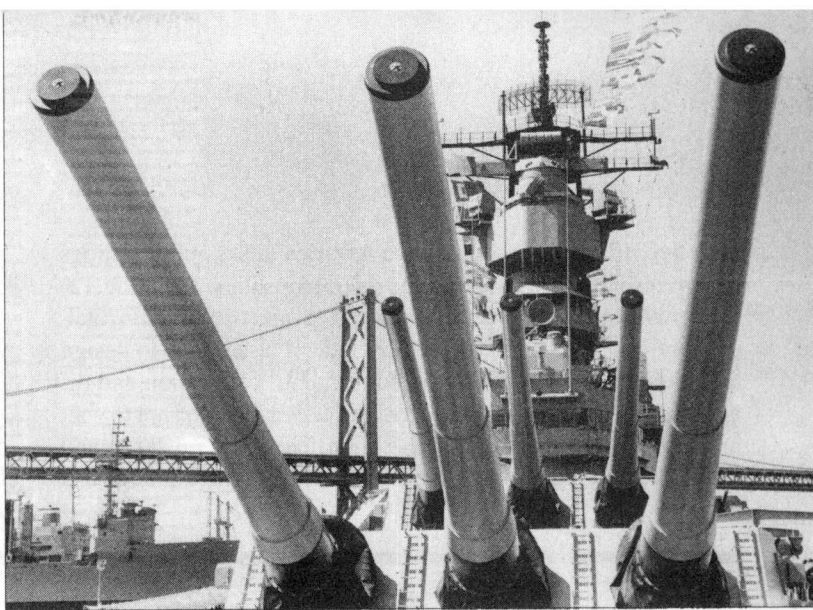
ALTHOUGH FEW IN NUMBERS, THE PEOPLE OF MAINE think big when it comes to addressing the problem of military dependency. In fact, spurred on by the energetic efforts of the non-profit Peace Economy Project (PEP), no other state in the union can match Maine's variety of conversion-related activities.

One vehicle used effectively in Maine is action research. For example, PEP recently sponsored a series of studies in cities around the state assessing the impact of federal budget priorities on the state's economy. The upshot was the startling finding that, in 1989, Maine's taxpayers sent more money to the Pentagon than even exists in the combined budgets of *all* cities and towns in the state. As a case in point, citizens in the town of Kennebunkport (site of President Bush's summer retreat) spent more on taxes to support the Pentagon (\$4.63 million) than they spent locally on education, public safety and social services combined (\$4.47 million). The report's findings were widely publicized and led many people to conclude that federal spending priorities are indeed a local issue worthy of careful scrutiny.

Hot on the heels of this study came another PEP-initiated report by Employment Research Associates of Lansing, Michigan. Entitled "A Shift in Federal Spending: What the Peace Dividend Can Mean to Maine," the report was co-sponsored by a number of state-wide organizations and endorsed by the Maine Conference of Mayors. It posited a seven percent annual cut in military spending between 1991 and 1994, with those funds being reinvested in a range of domestic programs. In such a scenario, Maine would lose an annual average of \$166 million in military spending, resulting in the loss of 5,200 jobs. But the transfer of federal funds would result in an increase to Maine of \$380 million spent on education, infrastructure, the environment, social and health services, housing, transportation, civilian research and development, and employment and job training leading to the creation of 8,200 new civilian jobs for a net annual gain of 3,000 jobs in the state.

The findings of these two studies, plus the likelihood of a substantial decline in Pentagon spending during the 1990s (the Middle East war notwithstanding), have many Mainers concerned. Although the state's economy is quite diversified, nine percent of its total work force is in defense and defense-related jobs, most of which are highly skilled and well paying. As a result, significant cutbacks in military spending in the state could be

PHOTO: RACHEL JOHNSON / IMPACT VISUALS



AIMING IN THE WRONG DIRECTION?

Maine's largest civilian employer is almost totally dependent on Navy shipbuilding contracts.

damaging, especially in the short term.

Bath Iron Works (BIW), the state's largest civilian employer with 11,800 workers and \$500 million in annual sales to the Pentagon, is almost totally dependent upon Navy shipbuilding contracts. The company has few other obvious options, since virtually no commercial shipbuilding occurs in the U.S. Due to Navy cutbacks, BIW is expected to reduce its work force by some 2,500 employees over the next several years. Similarly, Portsmouth Naval Shipyard is also expected to downsize. And it is quite likely that the Brunswick Naval Air Station will be closed sometime between 1991 and 1995, during one of the phases of the new round of military base closures.

As a result of the impending military cuts, many of Maine's public officials, business leaders and ordinary citizens have started to take action to explore alternatives. Governor Jock McKernan recently created by executive order a Task Force on Defense Realignment and the Maine Economy. Composed of local and state officials plus representatives from business, labor and academia, the Task Force has thus far conducted hearings in four military-dependent localities. Its purposes are to determine Maine's economic dependence upon military spending and the likely effects of Pentagon cuts on the state; to assess the capabilities of existing agencies and programs to meet adjustment and conversion needs; and to recommend a strategy for Maine's public and private sectors to cope with the coming changes.

Maine's most military-dependent region is the Bath-Brunswick area. Military-related employment accounts for 46 percent of all jobs in that area and for 54 percent of its total wages. Concerned citizens there have moved to confront likely Pentagon cuts by establishing the Bath-Brunswick Conversion Task Force. Its members represent a diverse group of stakeholders. They will concentrate upon identifying creative economic development strategies for the region. As part of that effort, the Task Force is preparing a grant proposal to the Pentagon's Office of Economic Adjustment for funds made available by economic adjustment legislation included in the 1991 Defense Authorization Act.

Not to be outdone, activists have developed an initiative to be considered by town meetings across the state this spring. The

initiative, "Reinvest in Hometown America," asks municipalities to pass resolutions calling for: (1) reduced military spending, (2) the reinvestment of federal resources to meet environmental, economic and social needs, and (3) federal assistance to design and implement local economic adjustment, conversion and diversification processes. Recently, four towns decided not to wait and immediately adopted the resolution. The state legislature and Maine's Conference of Mayors are also considering signing on in support of the initiative.

A successful outcome from this flurry of activity is by no means certain but the energy and diverse talents applied to the problem give cause for optimism. The state has already developed a model for others to emulate. Conversion adherents are hopeful that the old political adage rings true in this case as well: "As Goes Maine, so goes the nation."

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

ECONOMIC CONVERSION BRIEFS

ST. LOUIS

AS ST. LOUIS INTENSIFIES its effort to come to grips with its overreliance on military spending and the defense industry, recent events demonstrate that the effort is coming none too soon. Spurred on by the threat of major layoffs, St. Louis city and regional officials applied for and received a planning grant of \$100,000 from the Office of Economic Adjustment of the Department of Defense. The funds will actually come out of Commerce Department monies appropriated last year. Plans are to measure the region's defense dependency and to identify strategies to diversify the St. Louis economy.

In order to prepare such an economic adjustment and diversification plan, the St. Louis County Economic Council sought technical assistance for various components of the program. Long-term grassroots activists at the St. Louis Economic Conversion Project won a sub-contract to prepare the community outreach compo-

nent and to promote the planning process overall. Scheduled completion of the final plan, which will include defense dependency information, assistance available to defense-related firms, and future diversification strategies for the St. Louis economy, is August 1991.

As if to prove the grant's necessity and timeliness, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney announced in early January the cancellation of the Navy's \$57 billion contract for the carrier-based A-12 attack jet. In response, St. Louis-based McDonnell Douglas, a prime contractor for the A-12, rapidly announced the layoff of 5,000 defense workers in that metropolitan area.

BURLINGTON, VT

AS CITIES GO, BURLINGTON may not be very large. But that fact hasn't kept its local officials from speaking out in a big way.

Last October, the city of Burlington put itself on record as supporting diversification efforts at the declin-

ing General Electric plant in Burlington, as well as proposing a variety of other conversion and adjustment initiatives. Citing the city's responsibility to protect and enhance those activities which provide well-paying jobs and contribute significantly to the local economy, the city council noted that over 1,000 jobs have been lost since 1986 as G.E. "downsized" in response to declining defense orders and concern for its competitiveness. Furthermore, the local and regional job market remains incapable of absorbing so many dislocated machinists and engineers "whose talents represent an important resource."

Doug Hoffer, an economic development planner with the city, has been pushing Burlington in this direction for some time. He feels that one of the most important aspects of the council's actions was its support for cooperative diversification planning. The mayor, for example, has called upon G.E. management and labor to join with the city in establishing an Alternative Use Committee.

Other broad-based efforts to involve business, labor and community interests in strengthening the local manufacturing sector were endorsed by the council as well.

Central to the council's resolutions was the need for national as well as state and local action. In addition to promoting diversification at G.E., the council stressed the importance of utilizing reallocated federal funds to meet pressing social and environmental needs. It called upon the Vermont Congressional delegation to support strong federal legislation on economic adjustment strategies, "including adequate funding to conduct necessary alternative use studies and for job (re)training for dislocated workers," as well as legislation that would allocate reduced defense expenditures to states and localities for use "in addressing neglected social and environment needs such as mass transportation, solid waste, water quality, alternative energy sources and conservation, health care, education and pollution control."

An "Historic Opportunity for Peace"

Mayors from the U.S. and the Soviet Union met to examine their roles in promoting a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban.

LOCAL OFFICIALS MUST "RAISE OUR VOICES and say that it's time to stop exploding bombs underground and start paying attention to what is happening above the ground."

New York Mayor David Dinkins spoke those words not only to a contingent of U.S. mayors, but also to a group of Soviet mayors as well. A U.S.-Soviet meeting of local leaders convened in New York in January to explore the implications of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty for cities.

Mayor Dinkins was joined by Mayors Ted Mann of Newton, Sharpe James of Newark, Brian Sarault of Pawtucket, John Bullard of New Bedford, Al Divirgilio of Lynn and Juanita Crabb of Binghamton in playing host to Soviet mayors from Baku, Murmansk, Kazan, Kuibyshev, Semipalatinsk-21 and Ust-Kamenogorsk, as well as the governor of the state of Semipalatinsk. Mayor Mann called the gathering an "historic opportunity for peace."

The mayors' meeting was scheduled to coincide with the United Nations Test Ban Treaty Conference. At the mayors' meeting, Carl Sagan urged the local officials to pressure their respective federal governments to ratify a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. "I believe," said Sagan, "that the two nations that began the nuclear arms race and that are responsible for 55,000 nuclear weapons on the planet have a profound responsibility to themselves, to their children and grandchildren, and to everyone else on the planet to stop testing nuclear weapons. . . . If it cannot happen from the top down, it can happen from the bottom up."

The 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty

banned the testing of nuclear weapons in space, underwater and in the atmosphere. A comprehensive agreement to include a ban on testing underground has not yet been achieved, despite vows by the original signers to the 1963 agreement to continue negotiating until "all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time" come to a halt.

As well as visiting New York, the Soviet mayors also spent time in Newark, where Mayor James recalls one unexpected turn of events when he joined a group of protestors demonstrating against vacating a local Veterans' Administration hospital to make room for casualties that might arise from the Persian Gulf war. The mayor of Baku, watching the demonstration, couldn't restrain his enthusiasm; he jumped out of the car that was giving him a tour of the city, and he joined the protest march.

Mayor James said, "The differences between us are far less than the similarities which bring us together."



PHOTO: JOAN VITALE STRONG

"It's time to stop exploding bombs underground and start paying attention to what is happening above the ground."

New York Mayor David Dinkins

SOURCE: Lance Simmens, "U.S.-Soviet Mayors Join to Ban Nuclear Testing," *U.S. Mayor*, January 21, 1991, p. 10.

Bikers Put Nicaragua on Wheels: What Goes Around, Comes Around

Like the sister-city movement, the Bikes Not Bombs project in Nicaragua remains strong despite Nicaragua's recent political changes. It continues to grow through a strategy of "symbiotic" community organizing that addresses both local and international issues.

by Sheldon Rampton

SADDAM HUSSEIN HAS GRASPED THE JUGULAR VEIN OF THE petroleum-addicted global economic system by threatening the world's easy access to cheap oil," said Michael Replogle. "For decades, the U.S. has been building its economy and its communities upon the assumption that there are nearly limitless supplies of cheap oil available to sustain growth. Now the price of oil is measured not just in dollars, but in the blood of our children and in the standard of living of our future generations."

Replogle has argued this case since 1984, when he and Carl Kurz founded an organization called Bikes Not Bombs to promote non-motorized transportation in Nicaragua.

As the price of imported petroleum skyrockets and the bus system breaks down, the demand for affordable, reliable transportation swells.

Kurz, a bicycle mechanic, decided to combine his interest in Nicaragua with his belief in bicycles as an environmentally sound means of transportation. He saw the project as a way to challenge the spread of "auto-mania" into the Third World.

"The saturation of the automobile market in the U.S. is causing the auto industry to look to the Third World as a potential market," Kurz said. "In 1985, only 1 percent of the population in the Third World could afford a car, but auto and oil companies have successfully sold motor transportation as the only transportation policy in many Third World countries."

Nicaragua has to import all of its oil and motor vehicles. Kurz and Replogle thought they could help reduce this dependency by promoting a non-motorized transportation system based on bicycles, which provide up to 85 percent of the transportation in Asia, India and throughout the Third World.

Starting through word of mouth, Kurz and Replogle established Bikes Not Bombs chapters to collect and repair donated bicycles in U.S. cities such as Boston, Boulder and Washington, DC. In 1985, they sent their first shipment of 110 bikes to representatives of Nicaragua's teachers and health care unions as a means of delivering education and medical services to Nicaragua's countryside.

"Things really started to happen once we hooked up with the Organization of Disabled Revolutionaries (ORD), which serves Nicaraguan war veterans," Kurz said. "For them, the project was an opportunity to develop bicycle shops in Nicaragua where their members could find employment reassembling bikes that we sent down. They really ran with the idea, and ORD is now the major 'pedal pusher' in Nicaragua."

After setting up a shop in Managua, Bikes Not Bombs (BNB) worked with the New Haven-Leon Sister City Project to develop a second shop in Leon and is working to establish a third shop in an Atlantic Coast city.

Nicaragua entered a period of social and economic turmoil following the country's February 1990 elections, which saw the defeat of Nicaragua's Sandinista government. Despite its origins during the Sandinista revolution, BNB maintained cordial relations with the new government and continued to grow. In 1990 it shipped a record total of 1,850 bicycles.

"The demand is unquenchable," Kurz said. "We are filling a significant social and economic need by addressing Nicaraguan society's need for low-cost transportation. In fact, the current



WHAT GOES AROUND...

In Managua, Carl Kurz of Bikes Not Bombs promotes alternative technology solutions for Nicaragua's transportation problems.

economic situation makes Bikes Not Bombs more relevant than ever. As the price of imported petroleum skyrockets and the bus system breaks down, the demand for affordable, reliable transportation swells. We are becoming the center of a dynamic network of bicycle and wheelchair import, assembly and distribution enterprises serving the economic and social needs of low-income Nicaraguans."

Global-Local Connections

IN THE UNITED STATES, BIKES NOT BOMBS BUILDS ITS NETWORK through community-based activism aimed at simultaneously changing local, national and international transportation policies. "Automotive culture has fouled the air of our cities and weakened the fabric of our communities, and the problem is burgeoning to a planetary scale," Replogle said. "Daily traffic jams clog the freeways of suburbia, where residents often have no choice but the car to get to work or accomplish other daily tasks."

To drive these points home in Boston, a BNB chapter collaborated with Earthworks, a local environmental group, in a series of morning Rush Hour Bike Rides. For ten weeks prior to a city-wide Bike-to-Work Day in September, cyclists gathered on Friday mornings at some of Boston's most congested intersections, displaying messages such as "I get 950 miles per gallon," and "I park for free."

In Boston's black and Hispanic communities of Jamaica Plain and Roxbury, BNB joined with a local bike shop and the city Department of Transportation's safety program to sponsor classes in bike safety and maintenance. Several students received the opportunity to earn "recycled" bicycles in exchange for helping to organize a September Bicycle Safety Rodeo.

The Edmonton, Canada chapter of BNB has developed a

video entitled "The Air Solution" which talks about problems of urban traffic congestion and highlights the bicycle transportation alternative for cities.

In Seattle, BNB donated 60 bikes to an African-American community group, which in turn committed itself to developing ways for neighborhood kids to earn income to purchase the bikes.

"Many BNB activists see a need to go beyond just shipping bikes to Nicaragua and they are busy making all sorts of things happen locally and globally," Kurz said. "Some BNB chapters are deeply involved in working with international refugees, local youth groups, and artists. Some have developed joint fundraising activities, such as a work-a-thon in which a neighborhood shelter for the homeless was repaired while money was raised to ship bikes to Nicaragua."

Kurz is urging Bikes Not Bombs chapters to develop closer links with municipal governments in dealing with issues such as recycling and community development. "The 6,000-plus bicycles we've sent to Nicaragua would have ended up in garbage dumps in the United States," he said. "BNB chapters could become part of local recycling and expand their operations by having their cities pay a person to collect bikes for recycling."

Following the example of the ORD bike shops in Nicaragua, the BNB project in Boston is working to establish its own local shop where recycled bicycles would be sold and converted into a capital seed fund for community-controlled businesses.

Kurz believes these initiatives have potential to spread because bicycles are "appropriate technology" suited to the scale on which transportation occurs in cities. "Sixty percent of the travel in the world is for distances of under five miles. There's no natural reason why we need automobiles to travel those distances."

Should City Halls Spill the Beans?

The National Security Council has become involved in trying to disrupt the campaign of municipalities to pour Salvadoran coffee down the drain.

IN SOME CITY HALLS IN THE UNITED STATES, coffee breaks are a little more complicated than they used to be. A number of city councils have endorsed boycotts of coffee from El Salvador—not only keeping the coffee out of City Hall percolators, but also encouraging their constituents to avoid buying the Salvadoran beans.

advocacy group), organized the coffee boycott, claiming that Salvadoran coffee exports indirectly support the right-wing Salvadoran death squads, since the wealthy coffee growers subsidize the squads.

The city councils in Boston, Berkeley, Detroit, Los Angeles and Chicago have passed resolutions lending their support to

and legal adviser to the NSC, said, "The National Security Council, indeed the entire Executive branch, favors repeal of such laws and ordinances on the grounds that the Constitution confers on the Federal government exclusive responsibility for the nation's foreign policy and that such local efforts to dictate our foreign policy risk creating confusion and policy Balkanization."

Rostow advised, "We would encourage you and your colleagues in your efforts to move away from municipal foreign policy."

But Carol Lynne D'Arcangelis, organizing associate for Neighbor to Neighbor, told MFP that "cities have every right to take a stand on international issues. Local governments represent the population of their cities, all of whom pay federal taxes and have an interest in how those funds are spent."

James Acoba, an attorney and an Irvine resident, urged the city council to support the boycott. "We're talking about an issue where people lose their lives for doing what we're doing here tonight [speaking openly on political issues]. This is a very inexpensive, symbolic act, but it's going to take a stand on human rights."

Carlos Vaquerano of the Central American Refugee Committee in Los Angeles agreed. "I like (Salvadoran coffee); it tastes very good," he said. "But it's the cause of death

of 75,000 people in my country." He explained that the boycott would be felt only by wealthy coffee plantation owners, as well as by those who support the Salvadoran government's war against rebels fighting for land reform.

Although only five percent of the coffee imported into the U.S. is from El Salvador, over 50 percent of Salvadoran coffee exports are shipped to the U.S.

SOURCES: Irvine City Council, P.O. Box 19575, Irvine, CA 92713; Neighbor to Neighbor, 2601 Mission St., Suite 400, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415-824-3355); National Security Council, Washington, DC 20506.



PHOTO: ROBERT FOX / IMPACT VISUALS

PRAYER VIGIL.

Protestors from Neighbor to Neighbor demonstrate at D'Agostino's Supermarket in New York City in front of a Folger's Coffee display..

That has apparently disturbed people in the Bush Administration, specifically those in the National Security Council. As a result, some city councils contemplating whether to join the boycott have been advised to stay clear of the issue by the National Security Council. In the process, the NSC has called into question the entire issue of municipal foreign policy.

The boycott's origins date back to 1989, when the Salvadoran military murdered six Jesuit priests and two female witnesses. Shortly thereafter, Neighbor to Neighbor (a San Francisco-based political

the boycott. But in January, when the Irvine (CA) City Council was encouraged by its own human rights committee to join the boycott, councilmembers declined to even deal with the matter, insisting that it was a "non-municipal" issue.

The day before the matter came before the Irvine council, the National Security Council corresponded with Irvine Mayor Sally Anne Sheridan on the issue of "local laws purporting to create municipal foreign policy with respect to certain countries, including El Salvador." Nicholas Rostow, special assistant to President Bush

Human Rights?

A Portland sister-city activist still seeks justice in the murder of his son in Nicaragua four years ago.

IN SEPTEMBER, WHILE THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION WAS pressing its case against Iraqi human rights violations in Kuwait, U.S. District Court Judge Stanley Marcus dismissed a \$50 million damage suit brought against leaders of the U.S.-sponsored contras for the torture and execution of Benjamin Linder.

Linder, a U.S. citizen, was murdered in Nicaragua on April 28, 1987, in the northern town of San Jose de Bocay while building a hydroelectric plant there. His father, David, a forensic pathologist who leads the Portland-Corinto Sister City Project, participated in the autopsy which showed that Linder was killed by a rifle shot fired no further than two inches from his head.

In his decision, Marcus said the Linder family's lawsuit intruded too far into diplomatic areas: "Political branches could be hampered in their ability to conduct sensitive foreign policy initiatives with foreign groups involved in civil war if the conduct later becomes subject to private citizens challenging the nature of war-making on foreign soil."

John Linder, Ben's brother, accused Marcus of attempting to "use U.S. support of the contras as blanket immunity in a clear-cut case of murder." Elizabeth Linder, Ben's mother, said the family had decided to appeal the ruling, which she said "allows anybody the U.S. supports to do anything they want to U.S. citizens abroad."

The Linder case and similar instances of the U.S. government's apparent indifference to human rights in Central America reinforced skepticism among peace activists about the Bush Administration's moral justifications for the Gulf war. The Quixote Center, a Catholic-based humanitarian aid organization that works in Nicaragua, pointed out that "the U.S. government routinely gives millions in aid to countries with gross violations of human rights. . . . With this history, we are unconvinced that concern for human rights has anything to do with the current posture of the Bush Administration."

BEN LINDER AT A NICARAGUAN CIRCUS.

Since his death, peace activists have questioned the Reagan/Bush Administration's human rights record.



PHOTO: OSCAR CANTAERO / IMPACT VISUALS

Living in a Global Village

The time has arrived for an enlightened municipal foreign policy.

DO CITIES NEED A FOREIGN POLICY? Sacramento Mayor Anne Rudin thinks so.

When Mayor Rudin spoke to a gathering celebrating the 45th anniversary of the United Nations last autumn, she called for the creation of "enlightened municipal foreign policy to ensure a secure and peaceful world."



Sacramento Mayor Anne Rudin

Here are excerpts from that address:

"[F]ighting a war, even a cold war, shifts priorities away from such local needs as roads, bridges, public buildings, air and water purity, waste disposal and sewage

treatment, and energy conservation and alternatives. Local government must compete for capital against the rising national and private sector debts.

"With domestic needs so tied to foreign policies that can lead to war, it is imperative that cities assert themselves on foreign and military policy, just as they do on domestic policy. . . .

"We have the capacity for mutual nuclear annihilation, or, at least, total destruction of cities anywhere on earth, as [Immanuel] Kant predicted. The exhausted superpowers can no longer restrain nations with less to lose (except lives) and with access to nuclear and biochemical weapons. Thus, the danger of accidental or terrorist genocidal destruction is greater

than ever before. That is why cities, especially cities governed by freely-elected representatives and governing in freely-elected states, must now represent the ethical standards of their citizens, who have so much to lose if the values that can generate and maintain peace are not brought to bear on domestic and foreign federal policy. . . .

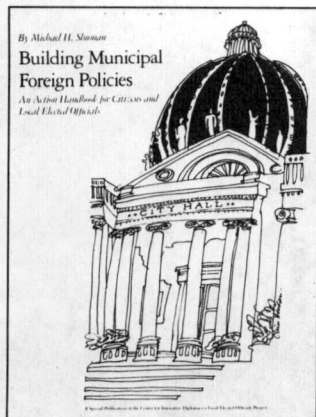
[T]he climate of peace could provide unprecedented opportunities for cities like Sacramento to catch up with pressing local needs. That is why Sacramento is justified in taking a position on foreign policy. . . . "Sacramento's opportunities to implement a peace-promoting foreign policy are great if we act in an informed way. But if the opportunities are great, so are the costs of transition from war or war-readiness booms to peace booms. We have been living in a war economy for so long, we have forgotten how a peace-promoting economy works. . . .

"As walls fall and iron curtains are lifted, Sacramento has new opportunities. . . . As we become better acquainted with our counterparts in other nations, as I have with mayors throughout the world, I am more impressed with how much we have in common than with how different we are. As we meet on each other's turf, fear and distrust of unknown places and persons is diminished. . . .

"I believe Sacramento *can* make it in this changing world. Indeed, we can make it quite well. We need only deal openly and respectfully with each other, being clear about what we have, what we need, and what we want. We can be creative, empathetic and realistic, as we face our changing world together. With that combination, we can thrive on the opportunities of this dramatically changing world."

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Building Municipal Foreign Policies

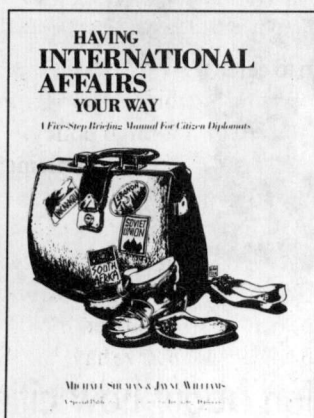
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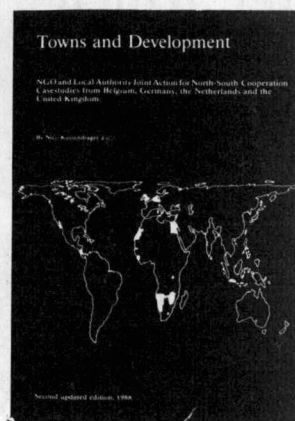
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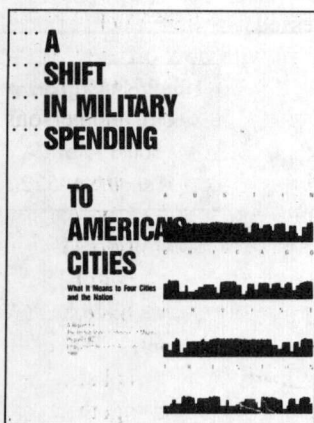
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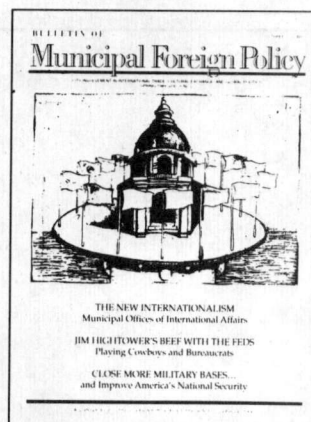
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We have bad news and good news...

The bad news is
that this will be your
last issue of MFP.
The good news is
that we're coming back
in the autumn with a
new newsletter called
GLOBAL CITIES.



With GLOBAL CITIES you'll continue to get up-to-date information about how cities here and abroad are ending the arms race, human rights abuses, global warming, and Third World poverty. Watch your mail for details in June.

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