

# UC Irvine

## Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy

### Title

Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy - Summer 1990

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9zf2f0j8>

### Journal

Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy, 4(3)

### Author

Center for Innovative Diplomacy

### Publication Date

1990-07-01

### Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution License, available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Peer reviewed

**BULLETIN**

**MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY**

SUMMER 1990, VOL. 4, NO. 3 • THREE DOLLARS

**MFP**

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

# THE GREENHOUSE CENTURY

**Cities Face  
Global  
Warming**



■ **BACK TO THE  
FUTURE IN CHINA**

■ **IN SEARCH OF  
THE PEACE DIVIDEND**

■ **FEDS VS. CITIES: A  
TALE OF TWO COURTS**

■ **ALASKA: MELTING  
THE "ICE CURTAIN"**

**GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT • NUCLEAR FREE ZONES • CENTRAL AMERICA  
ECONOMIC CONVERSION • SOVIET UNION • HOMEPORTING • SOUTH AFRICA**



‘Listen, my momma may  
have raised a mean child,  
but she raised no hypocrites.’

—Molly Ivins, *The Progressive*

**Molly Ivins on George Bush:**

“Deep down, George Bush is shallow.”  
*The Progressive, March 1989.*

“We do have some minimal standards for citizenship. Real Texans do not wear blue slacks with little green whales all over them. Real Texans do not refer to trouble as ‘deep doo-doo.’ George Bush has a hard time passing.”  
*The Progressive, March 1988.*

“Now George Bush the Younger is running for governor of Texas. We call him ‘Shrub.’ ”  
*The Progressive, May 1989.*

**Molly Ivins on Ronald Reagan:**

“It’s such a fun Administration—half of it is under average and the other half is under indictment.”  
*The Progressive, June 1988.*

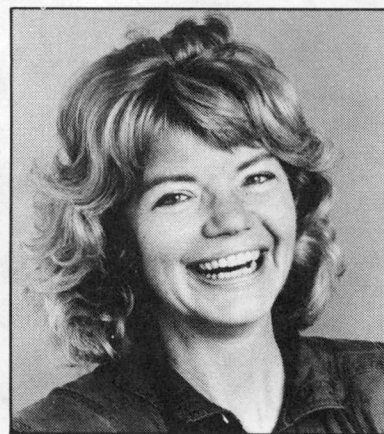
“If Reagan’s IQ slips any lower, we’ll have to water him twice a day.”  
*The Progressive, January 1987.*

**Molly Ivins on Texas:**

“The criterion for being considered an honest politician in Texas is as follows: If you can’t take their money, drink their whiskey, screw their women, and vote against ’em anyway, you don’t qualify.”  
*The Progressive, June 1989.*

“Things are so bad in Houston, the lawyers are walking around with their hands in their own pockets.”  
*The Progressive, September 1986.*

**You’ll get Molly Ivins’s humor and a whole lot more when you subscribe to *The Progressive*. . . Investigative reporting. . . Hardhitting editorials. . . Incisive interviews . . . And great columnists like Molly Ivins.**



**Molly Ivins makes you  
laugh . . . every month  
in *The Progressive*.**

**Make me  
laugh, Molly.**

**Send me a one-year  
subscription to  
*The Progressive* for  
only \$16.97.**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name (please print)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Address, Apt.

\_\_\_\_\_  
City

\_\_\_\_\_  
State, Zip

- My payment is enclosed.**  
 **Bill me later.**

Complete this form and mail to:

***the Progressive***

P.O. Box 54615  
Boulder, CO 80321-4615

SMFA



**LOOKING TO THE FUTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

Fourteen U.S. city councils have passed Mandela-inspired resolutions (*see page 29*).

**UP FRONT**

A Tale of Two Courts 4

**NOTES FROM ALL OVER**

In this Issue: Miami Awaits Castro's Fall; the blessings of immigration; corporate apartheid shell games; and much more. 7

**CHINA**

Back to the Future 10

**ENVIRONMENT**

Bracing for the Greenhouse Century 13  
A Future in Plastics 15  
After the Alaskan Spill... 16  
Atmospheric Update 17

**ECONOMIC CONVERSION**

In Search of the Peace Dividend 19  
Putting Federal Money Where Its Mouth Is 20  
America Needs to Turn to its Cities 21

**NUCLEAR FREE ZONES**

Federal Judge Undermines Oakland Law 22  
Outgunned in Northern California 23

**CENTRAL AMERICA**

Irresistible Forces and Immovable Objects 24  
U.S. - Nicaragua Sister City Briefs 27

**HOMEPORTING**

Can New York Sink the Staten Island Homeport? 28

**SOUTH AFRICA**

Pushing Ahead for Freedom 29

**SOVIET UNION**

When a Sister City Becomes Controversial 30  
Melting the "Ice Curtain" 31

**INTERVIEW**

Tom Holahan — Planning for Peace 32

**GLOBAL RELATIONS**

No Place Like Home 33

**REVIEW**

Waging World Peace 34

**THE LAST WORD**

Ending the Cold War at Home 36

COVER ILLUSTRATION  
DAVID HWANG



# BULLETIN OF MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

A Quarterly Publication of the Local Elected Officials Project  
Center for Innovative Diplomacy  
17931 Sky Park Circle, Suite F  
Irvine, California 92714  
714-250-1296

SENIOR EDITOR  
Larry Agran

EDITOR  
Richard Trubo

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
Beth Katz, Sheldon Rampton, Nancy Skinner

DESIGN  
John Simon

PHOTO EDITOR  
Jody Lyle

ILLUSTRATION  
David Hwang

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Chadwick Alger, *Professor, Ohio State University*  
Jeb Brugmann, *Field Programs Director, CID*  
Michael Closson, *Director, Center for Economic Conversion*  
Carolyn Cottom, *Coordinator, U.S. Comprehensive Test Ban Coalition*  
Albert Donnay, *Former Executive Director, Nuclear Free America*  
Peter D. Dyke, *Editor, The Front Line*  
Karen Franklin, *Director, Initiative Resource Center*  
Virginia Mayer, *International Trade Staff, National League of Cities*  
Stephen Mumme, *Professor, Colorado State University*  
Michael Shuman, *President, CID*  
Nancy Paige Smith, *Professor, St. Mary's College of Maryland*

## CITY CORRESPONDENTS

**Abilene, KS** Commissioner Connie Cooper. **Abilene, TX** Roy McDaniel, Asst. to City Manager. **Akron, OH** Mayor Don Plusquellic. **Albuquerque, NM** Millie Santillanes, Mayor's Assistant. **Allentown, PA** Council Member Benjamin Howells, Jr. **Anchorage, AK** Chris Toal, SANE/Alaska. **Ann Arbor, MI** Council Member Larry Hunter. **Arcata, CA** Council Member Thea Gast. **Arlington, TX** Warren Green, Chamber of Commerce President. **Aspen, CO** Mayor William Stirling. **Atlanta, GA** Anne Bassarab, Mayor's Assistant and Ellen Spears, Atlanta NFC, Jobs with Peace. **Aurora, CO** Council Member Steve Hogan. **Austin, MN** Council Member Brad Swenson. **Austin, TX** Council Member Sally Shipman. **Barrington, IL** Blanche Frey, SANE / Freeze. **Baton Rouge, LA** Council Member Pearl George. **Bellevue, WA** Council Member Don Davidson. **Berkeley, CA** Mayor Loni Hancock. **Birmingham, AL** Council Member William Bell. **Boston, MA** Councilmember David Scodras and Frank Doyle, Director of Mayor's Political Committee. **Buffalo, NY** Council Member David Collins. **Cambridge, MA** Councillor Alice Wolf. **Cedar Falls, IA** Mayor Doug Sharp. **Charleston, SC** Council Member Hilda Hutchinson-Jefferson. **Charlotte, NC** Gwen Harvey, Mayor's Assistant. **Chattanooga, TN** Hugh Jackson, Sister City Association. **Chicago, IL** Alderman David Orr and State Representative Clement Balanoff. **Cincinnati, OH** Conrad Haupt, Chair, Soviet-American Sister City Program. **Cleveland, OH** Pauline Silverman and Todd Strickland, SANE/Freeze. **Colorado Springs, CO** Howard Church, Senior Budget Analyst. **Columbia, MO** Council Member Allen Tacker. **Columbus, GA** Mayor J.W. Feighner. **Columbus, OH** Council Member Ben Espy. **Denver, CO** Council Member Bill Schietler. **Des Moines, IA** Council Member Elaine Szymoniak. **Detroit, MI** Council Member Maryann Mahaffey. **Duluth, MN** Council Member Joyce Benson. **Durango, CO** Council Member Ann Brown. **East Hartford, CT** Council Member Patricia Gately. **Evanston, IL** Alderwoman Ann Rainey. **Fall River, MA** Council Member Steven A. Camara. **Flint, MI** Gail Shulman, Special Projects Director. **Eugene, OR** Glen Potter, Intergovernmental Relations Staff. **Ft. Lauderdale, FL** Jim Hill, City Manager's Assistant. **Ft. Wayne, IN** Council Member Ben Eisbart. **Ft. Worth, TX** Carole Tayman, Sister City Association. **Franklin, LA** Mayor Sam Jones. **Freeport, ME** Councillor John Nelson. **Fresno, CA** Council Member Chris Petersen. **Gainesville, FL** Mayor David Coffey and Commissioner Cynthia Chestnut. **Gary, IN** Council Member Gardest Gillespie. **Georgetown, TX** Ruth Roberts, Texas Campaign for Global Security. **Grand Rapids, MI** Nancy Z. French, Communications Director. **Grants, NM** Council Member Kathy Chavey Staley. **Greensboro, NC** Joanna Colodin, Public Information Officer. **Henderson, NC** Council Member J. Green. **Honolulu, HI** Council Member Gary Gill and Eileen Fujimoto, SANE/Freeze, Hawaii. **Houston, TX** Mayor Kathryn Whitmire. **Indianapolis, IN** Mayor William Hudnut III and Debbie Wyeth, NWFC. **Iowa City, IA** Mayor Pro Tem Kate Dickson. **Jackson, MS** Council Member Doris Smith. **Jacksonville, FL** Ivan Clare, Mayor's Assistant. **Jersey City, NJ** Council Member Jaime Vasquez. **Kankakee, IL** Council Member Zepha Whatley. **Kansas City, KS** Council Member Richard Ruiz. **Kansas City, MO** Council Member Emanuel Cleaver. **Knoxville, TN** Mayor Victor Ashe. **Lacey, WA** Deputy Mayor Kay Boyd. **Laredo, TX** Mayor Aldo Tatangelo. **Lansdowne, PA** Andy Coleman, Dade County SANE/Freeze. **Laurel, MS** Council Member Lula Cooley. **Lawrence, KS** Commissioner Sandra Praeger. **Lawton, OK** Mayor Pro Tem Leila Barfield. **Little Rock, AR** Mayor Lottie Shackelford. **Long Beach, CA** Sheila Parsons, Mayor's Assistant. **Longmont, CO** Council Member Tom McCoy. **Los Angeles, CA** Council Member Robert Farrell. **Louisville, KY** Alderperson Reginald Meeks and Alderperson Melissa Mershon. **Madison, WI** Alderperson Eve Galanter, Alderperson Sally Miley and Alderperson Nicole Gotthelf. **Memphis, TN** Mayor Richard C. Hackett and Bill Akin, Mid-South Peace and Justice Center. **Mesa, AZ** Ellen Pence, Public Information Coordinator. **Miami, FL** Don Cleland, Dade County SANE/Freeze. **Milwaukee, WI** Council Member John Calwitz. **Minneapolis, MN** Council Member Carol Johnson and Council Member Sharon Sayles Belton; Sonja Dahl, Minnesota Freeze. **Modesto, CA** Angie Wiinikka, Administrative Analyst. **Montclair, NJ** Jan Berry, Essex County Office on Peace. **Moscow, ID** Council Member John Cunningham. **Nashville, TN** Council Member Charles French. **New Haven, CT** Majority Leader Martin Dunleavy. **New Orleans, LA** Al Stokes, Mayor's Assistant. **New York, NY** Council Member Ruth Messenger; Bruce Rosen, City Planner and Phyllis Grunauerst Side, SANE/Freeze. **North Little Rock, AR** Elizabeth Groppe, Mid-South Peace and Justice Center. **Oakland, CA** Council Member Wilson Riles, Jr. **Oklahoma City, OK** Mayor Ronald J. Noric. **Olympia, WA** Council Member Mary Lux. **Omaha, NE** Council Member Richard Takechi. **Orlando, FL** Commissioner Mable Butler. **Palo Alto, CA** Council Member Ellen Fletcher. **Philadelphia, PA** Council Member Joan Spector. **Phoenix, AZ** Doug Wilson, Chief of Protocol and Marybeth Woodall, Arizona Center to End the Arms Race. **Pittsburgh, PA** Mark Zabierek, Mayor's Assistant and Michael Freeman, Three Rivers SANE/Freeze. **Port Arthur, TX** Council Member Walter Mosely. **Portland, OR** Commissioner Mike Lindberg. **Princeton, NJ** Bob Moore, Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament. **Providence, RI** Tim Duffy, Assistant Director of Administration. **Raleigh, NC** Bob Cain, SANE/Freeze. **Richmond, VA** Vice Mayor Claudette McDaniel. **Riverside, CA** Council Member Ronald Loveridge. **Riverside, CT** Jane Milliken, Greenwich Nuclear Freeze. **Rochester, NY** Council Member Maxine Childress-Brown. **Rock Island, IL** Council Member Rita Coyne. **Sacramento, CA** Mayor Anne Rudin and Dan Galpern, SANE/Freeze. **Saganaw, MI** Council Member Louis Oates. **St. Louis, MO** Alderman Steve Roberts. **St. Paul, MN** Mayor James Scheibel. **St. Petersburg, FL** Richard J. Hickman, Public Information and Marketing Director. **San Diego, CA** Marcia Boruta, San Diego Economic Conversion Council. **San Francisco, CA** Board President Nancy Walker. **San Leandro, CA** Council Member Edwin Suchman. **Santa Ana, CA** Council Member Miguel Pulido. **Santa Barbara, CA** Council Member Hal Conklin. **Santa Monica, CA** Mayor Pro Tem David Finkel and Andrew Tomkovich, Westside SANE/Freeze. **Savannah, GA** Alderman Otis Johnson. **Seattle, WA** David Fleishman, Washington SANE/Freeze. **South Bend, IN** Tom Jones, American Cancer Society. **Spokane, WA** Council Member Sheri Barnard. **Springfield, MA** Mayor Richard E. Neal. **Springfield, OR** Councillor Christine Larson. **Stockton, CA** Council Member Loralle McGaughey. **Tacoma, WA** Utility Board Member Barbara Bicksel. **Tampa, FL** John Dunn, Communications Director. **Toledo, OH** Council Member Peter Ujvagi and Steve Miller, NW Ohio Nuclear Freeze. **Tucson, AZ** Councilmember Bruce Wheeler. **Tulsa, OK** H.M. Zachritz, Asst. Finance Commissioner. **University City, MO** Council Member Byron Price. **Urbana, IL** Council Member Bernadine Evans Stake. **Virginia Beach, VA** Mayor Robert G. Jones. **Warren, MI** Paul Wojno, Executive Administrator. **Washington, D.C.** Acie Byrd, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Advisory Board. **West Hollywood, CA** Council Member Stephen Schulte. **Wichita, KS** Carla Scheull, Mayor's Assistant. **Wildwood, NJ** Norm Cohen, Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament.

# Letters

## MAINTAIN THE TIES

Sheldon Rampton is right in his column, "One Step Back, One Up Front" (Spring 1990). The main purpose of sister cities is to meet, work with and support people — not governments — in foreign lands.

I have no love for the newly-elected government in Nicaragua — nor, for that matter, for the Sandinistas. But hopefully, the recent election results have brought an end to the war in Nicaragua and a chance for a normalization of life there.

It's time for rebuilding in Nicaragua. U.S. cities with sister-city ties can offer moral and material support for a country with a devastated homeland and economy. They can provide an international voice for Nicaragua's people if the new government should abuse its power or does not live up to its promises. Even with the disappointment that some people feel with the election returns, they should work even harder to keep the sister city ties strong.

Earl Travis

San Francisco, CA

## STAMP OUT HYPOCRISY

Recently, I read your article on the Slepak Principles (Winter 1989-90), and am struck by the hypocrisy of some of our city leaders.

Personally, I am just as appalled by human rights abuses in the Soviet Union as I am by those within the apartheid system in South Africa. Yet while cities can't wait



to get on the anti-apartheid bandwagon, few seem eager to take a stand against the U.S.S.R. and align themselves with the Slepak Principles.

Wouldn't it be nice if mayors and city councils maintained the same standards regarding political, economic or social repression, no matter where it takes place? Without doubt, *glasnost* is a hopeful sign, but that doesn't mean we should lower our own moral standards when it comes to the Soviet Union. Let's stop choosing to raise our voices selectively against human rights abuses—protesting loudly against some and ignoring others.

Frank Sears  
Des Moines, IA

## THE GREEN CAMPAIGN

I find the Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy very informative and thought-provoking. But I have to wonder why you don't take a stronger stand against the polluters who seem to feel no twinges of guilt as they ravage the environment.

Your article, "The Battle Over CFCs Escalates" (Spring 1990), is a case in point. While reporting on the attempts to undermine Suffolk County's anti-plastics law, you've let the plastics industry off too easily. The industry's efforts are part of a multi-million-dollar legal and public relations campaign more interested in its own bottom line than the fate of the earth.

During a recent visit to McDonald's, I was struck by that company's expensive

propaganda onslaught of booklets and handouts aimed at convincing consumers that McDonald's really does care about the environment and recycling. Meanwhile, its food is still packaged in CFC-spewing toxins. Who are they trying to kid?

If the Bulletin is really interested in the environment, I suggest you take a close, hard look at McDonald's and its allies, which are using every opportunity to keep cities off-balance in their anti-CFC efforts. The only real green campaign by the

McDonald's is the one aimed at lining its own pockets with dollars.

Stephen Meadows  
Denver, CO

## JUST SAY YES

Thanks for Michael Shuman's excellent editorial, "Cities on Drugs." The connection between the culture of greed, the culture of instant gratification and the culture of drugs seems to be overlooked by all but a few. Our country's "war on drugs" is, in essence, a war against itself.

It is refreshing to hear a reasonable voice calling for a reallocation of federal funds away from the military and toward the rebuilding of our cities. Only when America's resources are directed toward shared, positive ends will we, as a people, have the will to reject the culture of drugs.

Gail Fellows  
San Antonio, NM

# CID

CENTER FOR
INNOVATIVE
DIPLOMACY

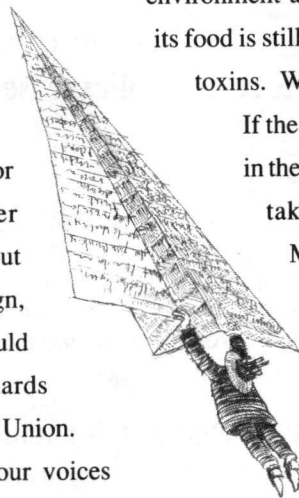
The Center for Innovative Diplomacy is a non-profit, non-partisan public benefit corporation dedicated to promoting global peace, justice, environmental protection, and sustainable development through direct citizen participation in international affairs. As a coalition of 6,000 citizens and local elected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

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

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

Bulletin of  
Municipal Foreign Policy  
Letters to the Editor  
17931-F Sky Park Circle  
Irvine, CA 92714

ISSN 1047-3556



# A Tale of Two Courts

Two recent decisions should force a re-evaluation of the legal arguments used in municipal foreign policy cases.

by Michael Shuman

**F**IRST, THE GOOD NEWS: LAST SEPTEMBER THE HIGHEST COURT IN Maryland upheld Baltimore's anti-apartheid divestment ordinances. Specifically, the court found that the laws did not violate the city's fiduciary responsibility to invest city workers' pension funds prudently, did not unduly burden interstate commerce, and did not conflict with the national Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. This was an important, much-deserved victory for the more than 100 local jurisdictions that have divested from South Africa and helped bring about many of the progressive changes now occurring there.

If you read the fine print of the Baltimore case, however, you discover some bad news as well — that the Maryland court based its decision on a factual finding that “the effect of the ordinances on South Africa is minimal and indirect.” Had the court found otherwise, it implied that it would have held the ordinances unconstitutional.

Come again? The court found that divestment had no major impact on South Africa or U.S. policy toward South Africa? Anyone even mildly in touch with reality knows that the Maryland judges were fudging here to get the result they wanted. To be sure, it's a result we like, but the logic is abominable. Must every municipal foreign policy prove its irrelevance to be legal?

Finally, the worst news of all: At the end of April a federal district judge in Oakland invalidated nearly all of the city's nuclear-free zone (NFZ) ordinance, declaring that it “is designed to establish a comprehensive policy that cannot help but conflict with the federal government and Constitution.” Federal judge John P. Vukasin, Jr. forced Oakland to resume granting business permits and entering municipal contracts with nuclear-weapons manufacturers, and to lift its restrictions on the storage or transport of nuclear materials within the city limits.

As in the Baltimore case, attorneys defending the Oakland ordinance contended that its impact on U.S. foreign and military policies was “speculative and indirect.” Their arguments echoed the long-standing legal strategy of the NFZ movement. In a 1985 handbook, for example, the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy recommended that ordinances should be “adopted pursuant to the ‘police power’ authority that gives state and local jurisdictions the power to adopt legislation to protect ‘health, safety and public morals,’ and is not merely an attempt to influence national military and foreign policy. The U.S. Constitution reserves to the federal government the development and execution

of foreign and military policy.”

Not quite. The U.S. Constitution gives many powers to state and local governments to formulate their own foreign policies, but more on that in a moment.

## **MASKS FOOLING NOBODY**

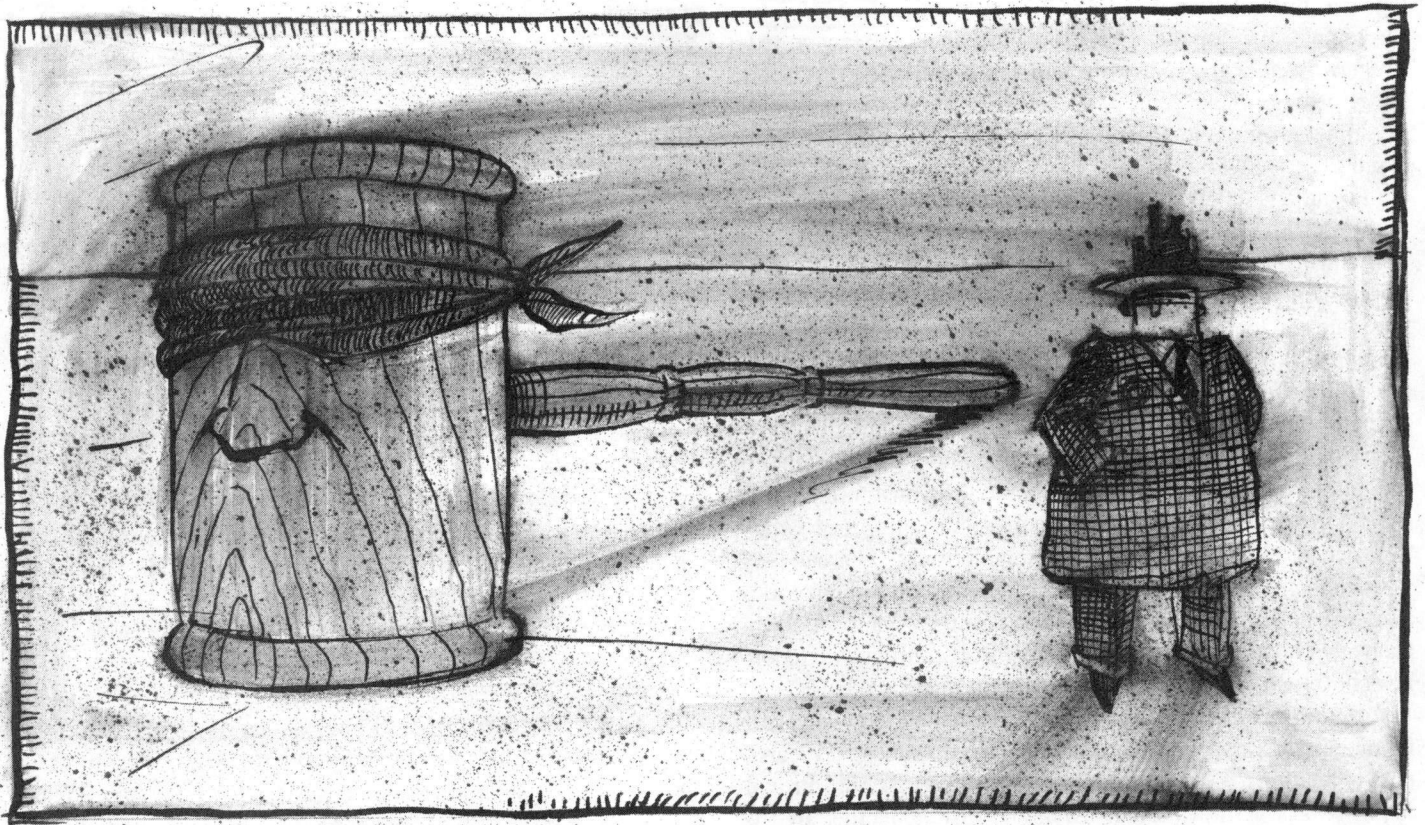
FOR NOW, IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT MANY NFZ ENTHUSIASTS have been too eager to parrot the arguments of conservative legal scholars — that cities and states can play no major role in U.S.

The U.S. Constitution gives many powers to state and local governments to formulate their own foreign policies.

foreign policy. But did Oakland's voters really care only about denuclearizing their own city? Hardly. They created an NFZ because they abhorred nuclear weapons and a national security policy based on nuclear genocide. Yes, they wanted to start in their own backyard, but no one wanted to stop there. Nuclear free zones aim to raise the moral, financial, and bureaucratic costs for the U.S. government to continue the nuclear arms race. If they didn't, why bother to pass them? But the leaders of the NFZ movement calculated that by emphasizing the local impacts of their measures they could avoid challenging the conservative view that cities should stay out of foreign policy. Well, the charade failed.

The initiatives in the Baltimore and Oakland cases clearly affected U.S. foreign policy. That was their whole point. But rather than defend the ordinances on bedrock principles of democracy — that Americans have a right to be involved in foreign policy, and that cities have a right to refuse to participate in apartheid or nuclear-weapons production unless there's a law to the contrary — their lawyers weaved clever arguments about how these cases were purely local matters. The tactic backfired. In





Baltimore we wound up with a Pyrrhic victory — a decision saying that divestment ordinances are fine providing they are impotent. In Oakland we suffered an unequivocal loss — a decision that says that all nuclear-free zones are unconstitutional.

The time has come to start making legal arguments that are more intellectually and politically honest. Cities are divesting from South Africa, declaring nuclear-free zones, forming peace and conversion commissions, sending humanitarian assistance to Central America, and undertaking a hundred other initiatives because they want to — and deserve to — participate in foreign policy-making. And if we ever want courts to sanction local involvement in foreign policy, we must begin by *insisting* that it is politically proper.

If we have learned anything from the Supreme Court over the past 200 years, it's that new legal principles usually emerge after new public norms. A civil rights movement was needed to promote court-ordered desegregation. A women's movement had to clamor in the streets for equal pay and reproductive rights before the court seriously pursued affirmative action and abortion rights. And a widespread environmental movement was needed to expand judicial review of dangerous and polluting development projects.

But could we ever convince the U.S. Supreme Court to support municipal foreign policy? Absolutely. In fact, the clear federalist understanding between 1787 and 1967 was that cities could participate in foreign affairs providing they violated no specific national laws. If we could convince the Supreme Court to return to this initial understanding, the results and the logic of the Baltimore and Oakland cases, as well as those of hundreds of

future cases, would come out more favorably.

### **TURNING AWAY FROM ZSCHERNIG**

THE KEY LEGAL PROBLEM WE NOW FACE IS THE 1967 CASE OF *Zschernig v. Miller*. At the height of the Cold War, Oregon had

If we have learned anything from the Supreme Court over the past 200 years, it's that new legal principles usually emerge after new public norms.

passed a statute preventing foreigners residing in the state from inheriting property if their home countries did not allow Oregonians to inherit property. Viewing the statute as designed to punish communist countries for their confiscatory estate laws, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated the law and, in the process, declared for itself the power to halt any local or state interference with U.S. foreign policy, even if there was no specific federal law being broken.

The time has come to mount a direct challenge, political and



legal, to this totalitarian doctrine. Why would a conservative Supreme Court in the 1990s consider backing away from *Zschernig* and granting state and local authorities power to participate in foreign policy? Consider four possible reasons.

First, most of the justices sitting on the Supreme Court now claim to be stalwart believers in upholding the original intent of our Founding Fathers. That intent — evident in the plain language of the Constitution, in the history of the Constitutional Convention, and in the pages of the *Federalist Papers* — is that the federal government should have stronger powers in foreign policy, not that state and local governments should be booted entirely out of the field.

If the Founding Fathers really intended to eliminate all foreign policy powers from local and state governments, surely they would have said so. But they simply put a small number of limitations on state power. According to the Constitution, states — and, by implication, cities — cannot enter into “any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation” with foreign powers. Nor can they, without the permission of Congress, put duties on foreign goods, keep troops or ships for waging war, or enter “compacts” with each other or other countries. And any direct conflict with federal laws or treaties is preempted under the Supremacy Clause.

None of these provisions contravene what we today regard as municipal foreign policy. Cities remain free to educate, research, pass resolutions, and lobby on foreign policy questions. Providing there is no written federal law being frustrated, cities are free to decide what countries or multinational companies with whom they will enter contracts or in whom they will invest their pension and surplus revenue funds. And since the “compacts” the Founders were prohibiting were later defined by the Supreme Court to be only the most egregious transgressions of national sovereignty (the last violation was found in 1840), virtually all of the cultural exchanges, trade agreements, environmental pacts, and sister

Could we ever convince the  
U.S. Supreme Court to support  
municipal foreign policy?  
Absolutely.

cities that exist are constitutionally permissible.

Meanwhile, the Constitution gave states numerous concurrent powers that underscored from the outset that they have some role in national foreign policy. The First Amendment guaranteed the right of all citizens, including governors and mayors, to speak out on foreign policy. The Compact Clause anticipated that state and local governments would continually meet and negotiate with foreign jurisdictions. Likewise, federal courts received jurisdiction over controversies between states and foreign countries precisely because communications, relations, and deal-making

between the two entities were expected. And whatever doubt remains about how to allocate various foreign relations powers was resolved by the Tenth Amendment: “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

It is easy to understand why legal scholars such as Columbia University’s Louis Henkin have criticized *Zschernig* as having “little basis” in the words or history of the Constitution. Overruling *Zschernig* would restore the original intent of the Framers.

## RENOUNCING JUDICIAL ACTIVISM

SECOND, DUMPING *ZSCHERNIG* WOULD ENABLE THE CONSERVATIVE justices to strike a blow against their most hated nemesis — judicial activism. *Zschernig* substantially expanded the power of courts in an area that the Framers intended to leave to the political branches of government. What business does a robed judge — typically without experience in foreign policy — have telling local, state and national governments how to run their international affairs?

Eliminating *Zschernig* would return the job of setting guidelines for proper state actions to where it belongs — the Congress. If a local initiative is so threatening to national security that it cannot await Congressional action, the executive can always issue an executive order. But if neither Congress nor the President can muster the political support to pass laws or issue orders banning certain kinds of municipal foreign policies, courts should no longer arrogate that power to themselves.

Third, *Zschernig* was — amazingly — written by Justice William O. Douglas, probably because he disliked the fact that the Oregonian statute in question was an example of knee jerk anti-communism. Most of the current justices sitting on the bench would feel no love lost rescinding another edifice of his liberal jurisprudence.

Finally, overruling *Zschernig* would protect one of the most sacred cows of the conservatives — states’ rights. Just as a unanimous court a decade ago upheld the right of states to give broader free speech rights than the federal government would, it is conceivable that the conservatives would set aside their own foreign policy views and allow states broader freedom of action in investment, purchasing, and other actions that touch on foreign policy.

Whether or not a campaign against *Zschernig* works, at least it puts the real issue on the table — our right to participate in international affairs. After 200 years of constitutional evolution we should know that progress occurs only when we are willing to take political risks. Everything we have accomplished in American law — banning racial and gender discrimination, expanding suffrage, eliminating child labor, and ending slavery — occurred because a few brave Americans were willing to buck the conventional legal wisdom. Both the Baltimore and Oakland cases are poignant reminders that we no longer have anything to lose by demanding what is rightfully ours.

---

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

# Notes from All Over

In this issue: Miami awaits Castro's fall; the blessings of immigration; corporate apartheid shell games; and much more.

## WELCOME MAT

THERE ARE ALWAYS THOSE who want to close the doors to immigration. But Elizabeth Bogen, director of the Office of Immigrant Affairs in New York's Department of City Planning, isn't one of them.

Bogen is quite aware that the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe and Hong Kong's return to Chinese rule in 1997 will pressure Congress to change U.S. immigration laws. And she says, "Our research shows that there has never been a time when immigrants hurt the city. They create new jobs, shore up flagging industries and move into those jobs that somehow carry the label 'immigrant.' Their children will go on to other, better-paying jobs, and the next wave of immigrants will step into our garment factories, green groceries and newsstands.

"Immigrants are New York," says Bogen, "an attraction for tourism, foreign investment, local investment and cultural life. We are a city of change. Change carries its discomforts, but also its inevitable blessings."

SOURCE: Elizabeth Bogen, "A Renewable Resource," *Newsday*, March 9, 1990, p. 72.

## IS CUBA NEXT?

AS COMMUNIST AND socialist regimes crumble in



eastern Europe, and Daniel Ortega falls from power in Nicaragua, is it possible that Fidel Castro's reign over Cuba may tumble as well, particularly as the U.S.S.R. reduces its economic support of the Castro regime? Many people in Florida think so. The Miami police have created a plan for crowd control on "the day Castro falls." The state of Florida has created an 18-member "Free Cuba" commission, whose mandate covers everything from assessing the social and economic impact on the state to post-Castro tourism.

But Miami Mayor Xavier Suarez is apprehensive. "I worry about the idea that the exile community can somehow plan the future of Cuba and somehow leave out the 10 million people who are [in Cuba]," he told Ted Koppel

on *Nightline*. He added, "One should be very careful not to build up the hopes of the Cuban people, either in exile or in Cuba, by thinking that either a state-created commission will bring about the liberation of Cuba or that this is somehow something that is going to happen in the next 12 months."

SOURCE: *Nightline*, ABC-TV, March 14, 1990.

## PRESSURE DROP

U.S. MAYOR NEWSPAPER recently asked Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica (a Washington-based lobbying organization), about the most effective action mayors and city governments could be taking to accelerate change in South Africa. Referring to eco-

nomie sanctions, Robinson responded:

"Many of the companies that are said to have left South Africa did not leave South Africa, inasmuch as they sold their assets to white South African buyers and continued to market their products to the buyers of their assets in the country. So there was a sleight-of-hand effort in many cases to circumvent the strictures put in place by cities and states across the country on how state and city monies, pension funds and investment monies could be legally used..."

"I think many of the laws put in place by cities should be redefined and recast to increase the pressure and to accelerate the departure of American corporations from South Africa — until we get the kind of meaningful re-

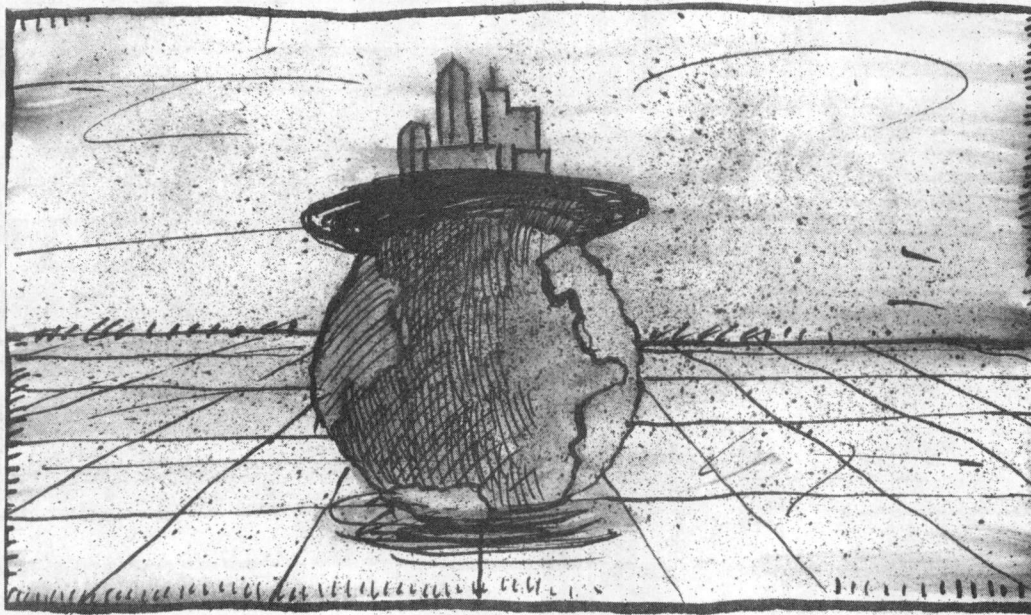


sponse, beyond gesture, beyond public relations devices, that would lead us quickly toward the kind of democracy that we all want to see. I

different countries at the local level. This people-to-people encounter is recognized as the most important factor on the road to international under-

## CONVERT NOW...

FOR MANY MONTHS, WORKERS at Unisys in St. Paul have



think that is a major role that American mayors can and must play at this critical time in South Africa's development toward a democratic outcome."

SOURCE: "U.S. Mayor Interview: TransAfrica's Randall Robinson," *U.S. Mayor*, April 16, 1990, p. 5.

## FIGHTING BACK

LIKE SOME OTHER PROponents of municipal foreign policy, Jersey City (NJ) Councilmember Jaime Vazquez has been the target of criticism for his international activities. But in the *Jersey Journal*, Vazquez responded to his critics, arguing, "There is a growing number of local elected officials who believe in the interaction of people from

standing, cooperation and world peace."

Vazquez explained that the concept of municipal foreign policy encompasses sister city ties, municipal offices of international affairs, and "the belief that international interaction must be conducted at all levels of a society and not just at the top.

"There are people who believe that I have no business involving myself in these issues. But there are others, more informed, who understand the correlation between problems and conditions at the local level, which are created by decisions and the misguided priorities at the upper level."

SOURCE: Jaime Vazquez, "I am traveling as citizen for peace," *Jersey Journal*, January 30, 1990, p. 16.

been calling on the company to develop a plan to convert from military to civilian production. They've had support from St. Paul Mayor Jim Scheibel and Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich, both of whom joined with employees in a pro-conversion protest at the Unisys plant gate earlier this year.

To date, Unisys hasn't responded positively to either the workers or municipal leaders, while laying off employees (151 in January) in response to military-spending cutbacks.

In its frustration, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers local 2047 established its own alternative products committee to come up with ideas of its own for Unisys.

"The union is looking at a transportation package, including computerized traffic monitoring systems, and computerized control systems for both personalized rapid transit and light rail transit," said Mel Duncan of Minnesota Jobs with Peace. Local 2047 took its ideas to Unisys this summer, and as part of its contract negotiations, is lobbying again for the company to establish a new products committee to include representatives from labor.

"We have taken the leadership to demonstrate that the cuts to the military budget do not have to cause job loss," said Vic Globa, president of the union local.

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

## "NO" TO PERPICH

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT and Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich don't see eye to eye. The governor had petitioned the Supreme Court to review a federal appeals court decision that upheld the four-year-old Montgomery Amendment, a law prohibiting governors from blocking National Guard missions "because of any objection to the location, purpose, type or schedule of such activity."

In June, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that the federal government does not need a governor's consent to order the National Guard to participate in training missions abroad. Justice John Paul Stevens, writing for the court, said that the ruling "recognizes the supremacy of federal power



in the area of military affairs.”

The Montgomery Amendment was passed by Congress after several governors had withheld their consent to send National Guard troops to Honduras for a road-building project near the Nicaraguan border.

SOURCE: Linda Greenhouse, "High Court Rules Governors Lack Power to Block Call-Up of Guard," *New York Times*, June 12, 1990, p. A13.

## SEEING RED OVER GREEN...

IT SEEMED INNOCENT enough. When a delegation of Jefferson County (Colorado) officials, residents and business people visited their sister county, Pingtung County in Taiwan, they brought flags, lapel pins and green baseball caps as gifts.

Well, they soon learned that in Taiwan, a man wears green to signify that his wife has been unfaithful. Green is also the color of the political opposition party, and as bad timing would have it, the Jefferson County delegation arrived just a month before the elections.

"I don't know whatever happened to those green hats," said Jefferson County Commission John Stone, who was part of the delegation that innocently carried the gifts with them to Taiwan. Maybe the members of the delegation themselves should have worn the caps, tugging down the green bills to hide their own red faces.

SOURCE: Renate Robey, "Jeffco group proves a bit green at world trade," *Denver Post*, December 18, 1989, p. 3-B.

## EGG-CEPTIONAL COSTS

SAN DIEGO RECENTLY DISCOVERED just how expensive hospitality can be. The "San Diego Arts Festival: Treasures of the Soviet Union" was a truly memorable event, but it required much more than the typical insurance and liability protection.

There were some gasps in San Diego City Hall when officials learned that the exhibit's centerpieces, 27 "Imperial Faberge eggs," had an appraised value well in excess of \$50 million! And that wasn't all: There were \$25 million worth of sacred Georgian icons, and about \$2 million worth of native

to host part of the exhibition, asking them to apply for riders on their existing policies, which substantially cut the costs of the coverage. But the festival had to pay for other types of coverage: \$30,000 for protection against a politically-induced no-show by the Soviets; a special-event, \$10 million liability policy costing \$41,000; and health and accident coverage for every Soviet visitor.

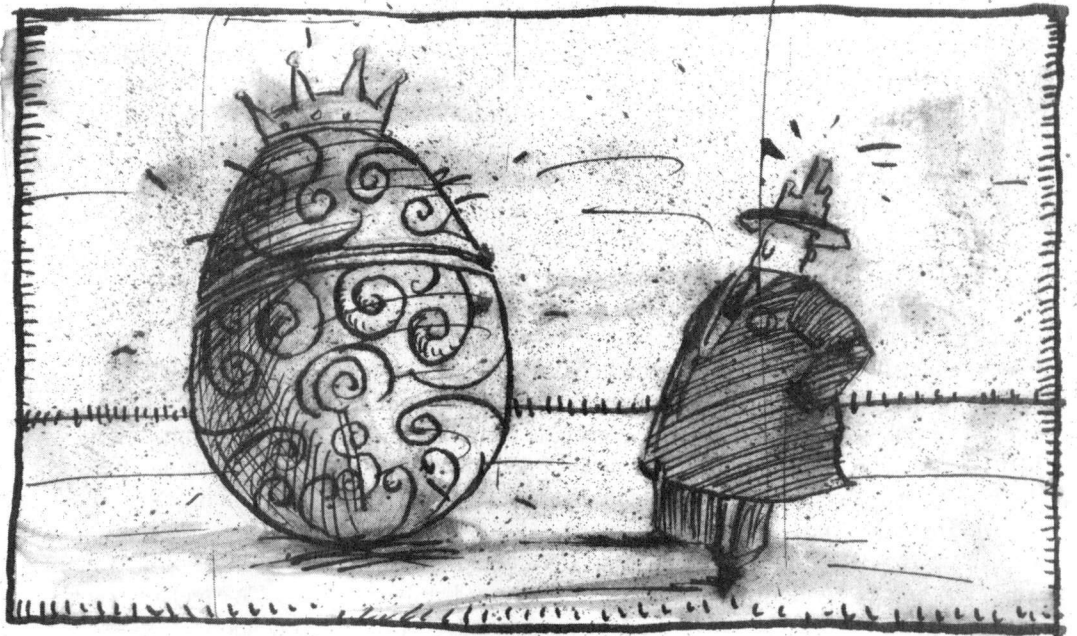
The art exhibit came off with barely a hitch. And in January, San Diego Mayor Maureen O'Connor accompanied the Faberge eggs to Moscow, without a single crack in any of them.

SOURCE: H. Lee Murphy, "Soviet arts need U.S. assurance," *City & State*, November 6, 1989, p. GM27; "About the Mayors," *U.S. Mayor*, February 19, 1990, p. 23.

towns can have international interests. Just ask the people of the tiny historical seaport of Sag Harbor on Long Island, NY — just two miles square. Sag Harbor's village board drafted a resolution to Mikhail Gorbachev, expressing its "spirited support" of the Soviet President.

The resolution, the idea of Board Member William C. Jones, reads in part: "We appreciate that there is no such thing as 'a little freedom,' and you have, therefore, opened the floodgates of Russian potential, which desires, as all human potential does, to actualize today, not tomorrow..."

"We support your efforts to open Soviet society to greater freedoms and to pro-



Russian folk art.

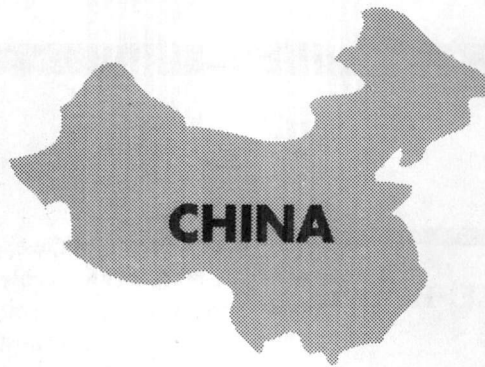
Fearing that its insurance costs could exceed \$100,000, the city successfully applied some gentle persuasion upon the three museums that were

## GREETINGS FROM THE HAMPTONS

EVEN THE SMALLEST OF

vide broader participation for all in the governing of their lives."

SOURCE: Linda Sherry, "Hamptons Astir With the New Season," *New York Times*, April 1, 1990, Sect. 12, p. 1.



# Back to the Future

A year after the bloodshed in Tiananmen Square, the U.S.-China sister city programs are getting back on track, paving the way for a renewal of people-to-people contacts.

by Richard Trubo

IT HAS BEEN MORE THAN A YEAR SINCE THAT JUNE NIGHT IN 1989 WHEN Chinese troops marched into the center of Beijing. Hundreds, maybe thousands, of people were killed by the time the shooting had ended. The following morning, a government loud-speaker blared over quiet, blood-splattered Tiananmen Square: "The rebellion has been suppressed and the soldiers are now in charge."

The demonstrations may have been stilled, but the shock waves are still being felt not only in China but throughout the world. For the Americans involved in the U.S.-China sister city programs, the healing process has been slow. Even so, most of the sisterly ties have survived, gradually shaking off the nightmares of last June 3rd and getting back to the future of strengthening links between the peoples of the two countries.

"A lot of U.S. cities are moving forward, renewing exchanges, but probably in a lot quieter fashion than in the past," says Megan Donnelly of Sister Cities International.

There are 43 sister city relationships between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China. The oldest of those ties — the link between St. Louis and Nanjing — is typical of the way most of these community bonds have weathered the storm of recent times.

"Last year was the 10th anniversary of our sister city relationship," says Joe Balcer, president of the St. Louis-Nanjing Sister City Committee. "As a result, a number of activities had been planned for the summer of 1989, like a major delegation of St. Louis residents traveling to Nanjing. But that was postponed. So was a mayoral delegation from Nanjing that was supposed to come here. We had talked about having a Naging trade fair in St. Louis, but that was postponed, too."

There was some soul-searching within the St. Louis sister city committee itself about what the future realistically held for the sisterly tie. "We decided that the essence of the program is people

to people," recalls Balcer, "and that we would continue the relationship at whatever level seemed appropriate at a given time."

Seven months after the crackdown in Tiananmen Square, Balcer headed a three-person delegation traveling to Nanjing. They met with the mayor there and talked about getting the program back on track. Since then, an art show of works by Nanjing artists was shown in St. Louis this spring, and discussions are under way for a St. Louis radio station to broadcast live phone discussions between citizens of the two cities.

"When we were in Nanjing, we made it very clear that it would be difficult to work toward any kind of substantial programs as long as the national policy continued as it was," said Balcer. "We had some frank discussions, we made our points and they made theirs."

Just days after the June 1989 bloodshed, Sacramento Mayor Anne Rudin wrote a letter to Zhai Yongbo, the mayor of Jinan, noting that she was "deeply troubled" by the Chinese government's actions, and notifying Yongbo that Sacramento would "cancel, for now, our plans to visit China and our sister city in October [1989]. We continue to extend our hand of friendship to the people of Jinan [and] look forward to... a change in policy by the government."

Dan Gorfain, president of the Jinan-Sacramento Sister City Association, says that some projects were "slowed down a bit" because of "the need to proceed with a little more caution" after the crushing of the Chinese pro-democracy movement. But, he adds, "We feel that maintaining an open line of communication is very important. We look at our objectives as promoting friendship and understanding."

This May, the sister city committee sponsored a major banquet in Sacramento, with food prepared by chefs from the Chinese consulate. "The event was attended by an overflow crowd," says Gorfain, who is now talking with his contacts in Jinan about bringing a children's acrobatic group to Sacramento and staging a trade fair in the California capital.





#### CHINA'S FRONT LINE.

Unarmed soldiers block the entrance to the Great Hall of the People in the first week of pro-democracy demonstrations last year.

#### COMMUNICATION BREAKDOWN

NO U.S. CITY REACTED MORE HARSHLY TO LAST YEAR'S EVENTS IN China than New York City. Then-Mayor Ed Koch announced that all activities between New York and its sister city, Beijing, were being suspended until further notice. A dozen projects were put on hold, where they remain to this day. There has been no communication between the two cities since June 1989.

"I thought with the change of mayors here [the election of David Dinkins last November], the Chinese would approach us," says Scott Harris, acting director of New York City's sister city programs. "But there hasn't been any inquiry from the other side. Things are status quo."

Some members of the sister city committee in New York seem content to continue the suspension as long as Chen Xitong, the mayor of Beijing, remains in office. He presided over Beijing during the June 1989 violence, and according to press reports, was in the forefront of the crackdown.

"The protocol of our sister city tie is a mayor-to-mayor relationship," says Harris. "And I think there's a lot of resistance here to resuming ties with the current Beijing mayor."

San Francisco also suspended its blanket memorandum of understanding with its sister city, Shanghai, announcing that it would henceforth examine projects on a case-by-case basis. Several projects are now ongoing, including a business school exchange and a Shanghai hospital construction program in conjunction with Project Hope, but the association does not have nearly the scope of a few years ago.

Mark Chandler, coordinator of San Francisco's sister city programs, says there were no members of the sister-city committee who resigned after the events of 1989. But, he adds, "It's very hard to generate new enthusiasm here. The people who were involved and interested before still are. But you can't find any new people who are interested."

A similar situation exists in Baltimore, where Dean Esslinger says that the level of enthusiasm may not be as high as it once was, although the depth of interest in maintaining Baltimore's link with Xiamen still remains. "Our committee is in its fifth year now, and as with most organizations, there's a fall-off in volunteers, leaving a hard core group of sincere and knowledgeable people who are still very active," says Esslinger. "But it's hard to sort out whether some of the ebbing of overall

For Americans  
involved in  
U.S.-China sister  
city programs,  
the healing process  
has been slow.





### HANDS ACROSS THE WATER.

Yingkou Mayor Xinliang Zhao (L) and Jacksonville Mayor Thomas Hazouri formalize the first sister city tie since the Tiananmen Square crackdown.

enthusiasm is the result of the events of 1989 or whether it's due to the maturing of the committee. I think it's probably a little of both."

Xiamen and Baltimore have maintained constant communication over the past year, and some cultural and educational exchanges have continued. Several Xiamen businessmen are expected to travel to Baltimore this fall to discuss entrepreneurial ventures between the two cities.

But Esslinger, chair of the Xiamen-Baltimore Sister City Committee, senses some caution in the Maryland city in areas such as sister-city fundraising. "Given the circumstances in China, there's no one here pushing hard to raise a lot of money," he says. "The feeling seems to be that we'll do what we can with the funds we have and we'll raise money with the same efforts as in the past. But there's not the enthusiasm to expand those efforts and broaden our programs."

### AFTER THE STORM

SINCE THE JUNE 1989 EVENTS, ONLY ONE U.S. city — Jacksonville, Florida — has formalized a new sister city bond with China, although plans for that relationship were well under way before the events in Tiananmen Square. Jacksonville Mayor Thomas Hazouri had led a delegation to Yingkou in May 1989, and had left China just eight days before the violence erupted.

In the aftermath of the crackdown, "we put everything on hold until we felt the time was better," says Ivan Clare, the mayor's liaison to Jacksonville's sister city association. "We let our contacts in Yingkou know that it was best not to do anything for a while, and they agreed. They understood that what had taken place in

Beijing had ramifications throughout the sister city program."

This March, communication between Jacksonville and Yingkou fully resumed, and in May, Yingkou Mayor Xinliang Zhao journeyed to Jacksonville to formally tie the sister-city knot with its Florida counterpart.

In Jacksonville, there was relatively little opposition to forming a bond with China so soon after the June 1989 crackdown. And Clare believes that Jacksonville's 15-year sisterly tie with the Soviet city of Murmansk — a program that endured some rocky times during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan — deserves some of the credit.

"People here seem to feel that people-to-people contact had a lot to do with changing the Soviet attitudes toward the U.S. and the West in general," says Clare. "A lot of President Gorbachev's thinking has come from the ground up, not from the top down."

Meanwhile, at Sister Cities International, Megan Donnelly reports several recent contacts by "U.S. cities seeking new sister city relationships in China."

## WHEN THE TIES START UNRAVELING...

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN A LOCAL GOVERNMENT BACKS OFF FROM ITS COMMITMENT to a sister city relationship?

In the case of the link between Boulder (CO) and Lhasa (the capital of Tibet), residents of the Colorado city have enthusiastically pitched in to keep the sisterly tie alive.

Last November, the Boulder City Council voted by a 5-to-4 margin to suspend the government-to-government protocol between the two cities, as a way of expressing its concern with recent events in China, including China's imposition of martial law in Lhasa. At the same time, however, the City Council did nothing to interfere with ongoing people-to-people ties between the two cities, and in fact, some councilmembers actually encouraged the continuation of these contacts.

As a result, the Boulder-Lhasa Sister City Project is still quite active. Its current focus is a fundraising campaign for the construction of a small medical clinic in Lhasa.

When the sister city link was originally launched, there was considerable governmental participation, including an official Boulder delegation that visited Lhasa in 1987, led by then-Mayor Linda Jourgensen. Later the same year, Lhasa Mayor Luo Gar traveled to Boulder.

But Bill Warnock, president of the sister city project, says that the events in Tiananmen Square last year clearly had an effect on the council's ebbing of enthusiasm for the governmental ties. "My personal feeling is that exchanges with the people of Tibet are even more important after Tiananmen Square," he says. "Other people think we should not carry out exchanges in order to make a statement."

Ironically, the city of Boulder has never sent any formal communication to Lhasa about its action. In February, three months after its decision to suspend government-to-government ties, the Boulder City Council held a public hearing to discuss the contents of such a communication. But no agreement was ever reached on the wording to be used, and thus a letter of notification has never been sent.

Meanwhile, sister city volunteers are hopeful that their fundraising efforts will result in a three-room medical clinic to open as early as this fall, staffed by one doctor and perhaps a nurse. China lifted martial law in Lhasa in May 1990, but at press time, the Boulder City Council had made no moves to reevaluate the suspension.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

**COMING SOON TO A CITY NEAR YOU?**

Some experts predict a recurrence of the "dust bowl" in parts of the U.S. as climate changes take place.

## Bracing for the Greenhouse Century

As the predictions of global warming become more dire, some cities are taking seriously the role they must play in dealing with climate changes.

**L**AST SEPTEMBER 21, A FEROCIOUS HURRICANE NAMED HUGO smashed into the heart of historic Charleston, South Carolina. Its 140-mile-per-hour winds were the most intense to strike the U.S. since 1969. Storm tides nearly 20 feet high were measured. From the Caribbean to the battered coastal shores of the U.S., Hugo exacted a staggering toll of 71 lives and \$8.6 billion in damage.

Hurricane Hugo, however, was probably not a climatological aberration. Examining models of global warming and the greenhouse effect, scientists are projecting that Hugo may be a sign of things to come. Hurricanes of increasing frequency and force may be just one of the devastating effects that cities will have to bear as climatic changes take place.

In May, a panel of 90 climatological scientists from 39 nations issued the most alarming findings to date on the prospects of radical climate alterations in the upcoming century. The U.N.-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change concluded that global temperatures would escalate dramatically over the next century, with potentially serious consequences for humankind, unless there is an immediate implementation of a 60 percent

reduction in the emission of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. The forecast projected that if nothing is done, worldwide temperatures could increase two degrees Fahrenheit by 2025, and about six degrees Fahrenheit by the end of the 21st century. Sea levels could rise by about eight inches by 2030.

While scientists and policy-makers might bicker over the exact percentages, the need for an immediate 60 percent — or even 40 or 50 percent — reduction in dangerous emissions has caught the attention of city officials. Many now recognize that they can't rely on national and international leaders to solve the problem. Even the world's most responsive federal government, West Germany, has committed to only a 25 percent reduction in greenhouse gases by 2005. The Bush Administration has resisted calls to aggressively combat the global warming crisis, insisting that more research is necessary.

Even when looking at the more conservative projections, a growing number of mayors, water managers, land use planners and utility directors are acknowledging that their cities' future could be filled with hotter temperatures, lengthy droughts, severe storms, devastating floods and eroding beaches. And they are



becoming aware that some hard political choices may be necessary to save their own cities and, in turn, protect the planet.

## STRONGER STORMS

WHY CAN COMMUNITIES IN THE HURRICANE BELT — ALONG THE EAST Coast and the Gulf of Mexico — anticipate stronger and more frequent hurricanes? “If you look at the large hurricanes that have occurred in the past, they were formed during times when the

existing beaches and barrier islands may be completely lost without the investment of \$50-\$75 million in protective infrastructure.

Camden, New Jersey, is a city that could be seriously damaged by rises in sea level. It is located on the Delaware River, and about 60 percent of it sits at an elevation of 15 feet or less; the highest point in the city is 40 feet above sea level.

“If storms and tidal surges are going to become more severe, we’ve got to look at the effect that may have on the city,” says Fred Martin Jr., director of utilities for Camden. “And if rises in sea levels occur, it could have sodium impacts on our water supply and thus effects on public health.”

In arid regions of the country, officials are examining how global warming might create a strain on water availability. As evaporation increases and runoffs are reduced, water supplies may decrease at the precise time that demand rises. One study shows that if a two-degree Celsius increase in temperature occurs, the virgin flow of the Colorado River could decrease by almost one-third. At the same time, if there were a 10 percent decline in rainfall in the Southwest (which some computer models are predicting), the water supply in the upper Colorado could plummet by a total of 40 percent.

“We’re concerned about the livability of our area if there is a rise in temperatures because of global warming,” says Rick Naimark, assistant to the mayor in Phoenix, Arizona. “We’ll have to use more water, and it could really hurt us economically.” At the Mayor’s urging, the city has launched a tree-planting effort (one million trees in the next five years), and this fall, the Phoenix City Council will consider implementing an anti-CFC (chlorofluorocarbon) plan.

A few foreign cities have made a commitment to significantly cut their greenhouse gas emissions — for instance, Hanover, West Germany is aiming toward reducing carbon dioxide emissions by 25 percent by the year 2000. But no city has shown more environmental-consciousness than Toronto. In early 1989, the Canadian city became the first in the world to pass a strict bylaw phasing out CFCs — a regulation that forced the Province of Ontario to adopt its own CFC-reduction statutes.

Later that same year, Toronto officials publicly announced their intention to take on the more difficult task of reducing the city’s carbon dioxide emissions to 20 percent below 1988 levels by 2005. A special advisory committee on the environment, appointed by the Toronto City Council, devised an action plan to cut the energy intensity of city transportation, increase the energy efficiency of buildings and create large-scale tree-planting programs. The City Council appropriated \$20 million to finance the ambitious program, and detailed strategies are now being created, including a program to increase building and occupancy density along main city arteries to reduce car use and promote walking and mass transit use; and a tailpipe emissions monitoring program to force better automobile maintenance.

According to Phil Jessup, co-chairman of the Toronto advisory committee, policies would require polluters to pay for inefficient energy use. Owners of commercial buildings would be charged a fee when their buildings exceed an energy performance standard. “Revenues raised could then be used to fund the city’s own retrofit program and to provide incentives to homeowners to retrofit with high efficiency furnaces and boilers,” he says.

water was warmer,” Dr. Stephen Leatherman, an environmental scientist and director of the Laboratory for Coastal Research at the University of Maryland, told MFP. “Their birth and size are a function of the water temperature.”

The thought of enduring another Hurricane Hugo is understandably unsettling for Mayor Joseph Riley of Charleston. In the aftermath of Hugo, Mayor Riley has launched an environmental committee which, among other goals, will examine the role the city might play to minimize the impact of global warming and its effects.

“Before Hugo, Mayor Riley had been concerned about global warming and sea level rises as they applied to Charleston,” says Mary Ann Sullivan, a mayoral aide. But the hurricane, she adds, has “forced us to deal with some lessons that we’ve had to face sooner than we had hoped.”

With rises in sea level a real possibility as the water in the oceans heats and expands, Charleston officials are evaluating ways to protect the city — and what that might cost — as the city’s infrastructure is routinely upgraded in the years ahead. One study showed that by spending an additional \$300,000 on the city’s drainage system to prepare for a 30-centimeter rise in the sea level, the city could avoid retrofitting costs of \$2.4 million later.

“A city might decide to build its sea walls or its dikes a little higher, which might cost an extra five percent now,” says Dr. Leatherman. “But that’s still less expensive than waiting 10 to 20 years down the road and having to rebuild everything when the next major storm hits.”

Many city officials are voicing concerns that even a small increase in sea level will push salt water into rivers, bays, ground-water and farmland. The South Florida Water Management District already spends millions of dollars a year to keep Miami’s public water supply free of salt water. In various parts of the U.S.,



# A Future in Plastics

Although the Suffolk County legislature had bid farewell to polystyrene foam and polyvinyl chloride, a court ruling has given fast food restaurants something to cheer about.

**T**HE BATTLE TO PROHIBIT PLASTICS AND save the atmosphere's protective ozone layer was dealt a legal setback in March that will keep Suffolk County, New York, brimming in products like fast food foam containers.

In 1988, Suffolk County's legislators passed a ban on polystyrene (or plastic foam) and polyvinyl chloride (used for grocery bags). The law, which had been scheduled to go into effect in July 1989, would have forced fast food restaurants, grocery stores, bars, roadside stands and delicatessens to use paper products.

While most plastic foam packaging materials are no longer blown with ozone-destroying CFC-12, the foam containers (such as those used by McDonald's) are made instead with HCFC-22, a weaker but nonetheless harmful ozone-depleting compound. But even stronger than their concerns about the ozone layer, the Suffolk legislators were also moved to action because of the need to reduce the amount of non-degradable materials in the county's solid waste stream.

The law, however, was never implemented, thanks to a successful legal challenge by the Society of the Plastics Industry and seven other parties. In March, a state appeals court invalidated the legislation on the grounds that the county did not technically comply with the state's environmental quality review act. According to the unanimous four-judge ruling, the local jurisdiction had not prepared an adequate environmental impact statement.

Stephen C. Englebright, a Suffolk legislator and chief sponsor of the anti-plastics law, saw some irony in the court's decision. "The state's environmental quality review act was developed to protect the environment," says Bob Clifford, an aide to Englebright. "Yet the plastics industry managed to use the technical end of that law to upset our anti-plastics legislation."

Clifford notes that before county legislators voted on the original bill, it went through more than eight months of public hearings, during which the effects of the plastics ban were examined and re-examined. Nonetheless, the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court in Brooklyn ruled that the county had "failed to take the requisite 'hard look' at the possible environmental consequences which might arise as a result of the implementation of the plastics law."

Pointing specifically to the state's environmental quality review act, the judges ruled that "there exists a relatively low threshold to trigger the need for preparation of the environmental impact statement (EIS)." According to the court ruling, an EIS was particularly important in light of "the broad range of potential environmental harms which the plaintiffs asserted would result from the implementation of the plastics law."

Patrick G. Halpin, Suffolk County Executive, said he was disappointed by the ruling. "It's a setback for the county's efforts to reduce the volume of plastic in our waste stream."

Meanwhile, at McDonald's, which has become a symbolic target for some environmentalists because of its status as the largest fast food chain, corporate executives point to their decision, "out of concern about the Earth's upper ozone layer," to insist that suppliers stop using fully halogenated CFCs in manufacturing its foam packaging.

In a 1990 McDonald's Corporation booklet, "McDonald's Packaging: The Facts," the company proclaims that "polystyrene foam is easily recycled," whereas the primary substitutes for foam packaging — paper or paperboard products coated with wax or plastic — are not since

"they have to be re-separated into paper and plastic, a process which is not presently commercially feasible."

Despite the overturning of the Suffolk law, Legislator Englebright isn't giving up. The original bill is being redrafted, perhaps with some added items related to recycling plastic foam — and with an EIS planned this time around. The new legislation is expected to be introduced this summer.

But while the original law was passed almost unanimously in 1988 (16 yes, 0 no, 2 abstentions), the fate of the new bill is more uncertain because of a change of



CINDY REIMAN / IMPACT VISUALS

faces in the county legislature and the controversy that has surrounded this issue. There are five freshman members of the legislature who have been elected since the vote two years ago, and no one knows whether the political arithmetic still favors an anti-plastics law.

Meanwhile, Suffolk County faces still other environmental challenges. Under a state law designed to protect drinking water, all landfills in the county will close down at the end of 1990. Incinerators and mass-burn plants are being looked at as alternatives by several cities in the region.

"When polyvinyl chloride and polystyrene burn together, they emit a gas that contains 57 percent chlorine," says Clifford. And with some of Suffolk's cities looking to mass-burn plants as a total or partial solution to their imminent garbage problem, the absence of the county's plastics law seems particularly unfortunate to environmentalists.

SOURCES: Suffolk County Legislator Stephen Englebright, 149 Main St., East Setauket, NY 11773 (516-689-8500); Dennis Hevesi, "Ban on Plastic Food Containers on Long Island Is Ruled Invalid," *New York Times*, March 4, 1990.



# After the Alaskan Spill...

The Exxon Valdez left a lasting, destructive mark on Alaska's coastline. In the aftermath of the oil spill, the Valdez Principles have won minimal support from corporations, but local and state governments are starting to take notice.

**S**HORTLY AFTER MIDNIGHT ON MARCH 24, 1989, Capt. Joseph J. Hazelwood of the Exxon Valdez radioed an ominous message to the Coast Guard: "Evidently, we're leaking some oil and we're going to be here for quite a

Principles, the response has been minimal. By June 1990, only three small corporations had signed the principles.

"The principles are rigorous; they aren't something a company can sign onto for the public-relations value without the intention of working toward meeting our goals," says Rick Schwartz of CERES. "So corporations are recognizing that becoming signatories is a fairly strong step, and they're taking their time. I didn't expect this to be a quick process."

But concrete action is starting to occur in city council chambers and state legislatures where elected officials are looking at how the Valdez Principles can be used locally. In March, the Berkeley (CA) City Council voted 9-0 to adopt the principles as guidelines for the city, and to ask the city manager to study how they can best be implemented in areas such as purchasing, investments and the development of new programs. Phil Kamlarz, Berkeley's assistant city manager, says that at the council's request, his office is now preparing a ballot measure for this November's election, in which voters will be asked to approve

ways in which the city can make use of the principles.

In Philadelphia this summer, Councilmember Joan Specter plans to introduce an ordinance related to the Valdez Principles. Steve Paisner, legislative assistant to Specter, says that the ordinance would require the city's pension board to examine each of the companies it invests in to determine which firms are signatories to the principles. "Those which aren't adhering to the guidelines would receive letters

## ENVIRONMENTAL CHARTER?

ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN, NEW YORK CITY COMPTROLLER, is actively urging corporations in whom public employee pension funds invest to adopt the Valdez Principles. But, says Holtzman, "If every business in America adopted the Valdez Principles, that wouldn't be enough."

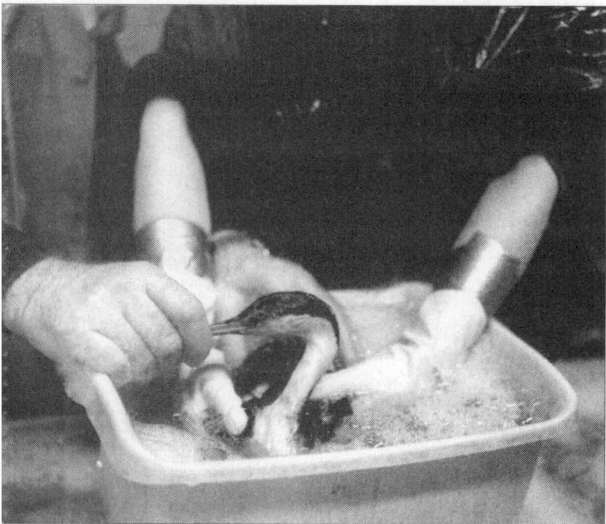
According to Holtzman, "Our cities and towns play a key role in determining the condition of our environment. Their governments are responsible for collecting garbage, supplying water, processing sewage, and controlling zoning and development."

Thus, in April, Holtzman announced an "Environmental Charter" for New York City, outlining specific goals for the city in both its own operations and enforcement of local environmental laws, while calling for regular environmental audits of city operations. "Local governments must put their own houses in order, and ensure that they live up to the highest possible environmental standards," she said.

The "Environmental Charter" contains goals for city operations in ten areas, including providing clean water, improving air quality, fostering sound energy policy, expanding recycling, planning for environmentally responsible growth, and implementing environmentally sound procurement policies.

"Every local government is either part of the solution or part of the problem," said Holtzman. "That's why I hope this charter is adopted by not only New York City, but cities across the nation."

SOURCE: Elizabeth Holtzman, New York City Comptroller, Municipal Building, New York, NY 10017 (212-669-3747).



PETER MUMFORD / IMPACT VISUALS

## THE BUSINESS OF CLEANING UP.

Few corporations are taking the Alaska spill to heart.

while."

As Hazelwood spoke, his ruptured ship was spewing 640,000 gallons of oil per hour into Prince William Sound. Beaches were ravaged. Wildlife was destroyed.

If any good came out of the nation's worst oil spill, it was a heightened environmental awareness that generated a code of Earth-conscious, corporate ethics called the Valdez Principles. Introduced last fall by the Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies (CERES), the principles provide guidelines on the release of pollutants, sustainable use of natural resources, reduction and disposal of hazardous waste, energy efficiency and conservation, and risk reduction to employees and nearby communities.

But although CERES has called upon corporate America to embrace the Valdez

from the pension board, urging them to change their practices and become signatories," says Paisner.

A measure is also moving through the Los Angeles City Council's committees this summer. "It calls upon pension commissioners to adhere to the Valdez Principles in investment decisions," says Kaifa Tulay, legislative aide to Councilmember Robert Farrell.

CERES has received inquiries from at least 18 other cities requesting information about the Valdez Principles.

In several states — New Jersey, California, Connecticut, Minnesota and New York — resolutions and bills are moving through the legislative process. In New York State, Assemblyman Thomas DiNapoli tried to push his bill to a floor vote this summer while confronting some opposition, particularly in the state Senate.

The New York legislation requires that "all other things being equal, our pension systems would invest in corporations that have adopted or are in compliance with the Valdez Principles," says

Michael Miller, a legislative aide in DiNapoli's office. However, the bill met resistance from legislators "who believe firmly that the purpose of pension funds is to generate revenues for the fund, and the only guideline should be the maximization of profits," says Miller. Plans for hearings on the bill are being made, and legislation will be reintroduced next session.

SOURCES: CERES, 711 Atlantic Ave., Boston, MA 02111 (617-451-0927); Councilmember Joan Specter, City Hall, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215-686-3440); Berkeley Assistant Manager Phil Kamlarz, 2180 Milvia, Berkeley, CA 94706 (415-644-6580); Los Angeles Councilmember Robert Farrell (213-485-3331); Assemblyman Thomas DiNapoli (518-455-5192).

## ATMOSPHERIC UPDATE

by Nancy Skinner

### Automobile Use and Global Warming

BY FAR THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTOR TO air pollution and the release of greenhouse gases in virtually every U.S. urban area is the automobile. Given America's love affair with the automobile, this is one of the most difficult policy areas facing any local government. Yet if we in fact want to decrease our cities' contribution to global warming, we must address its leading cause.

Efforts to relieve traffic congestion alone do not reduce air-polluting emissions or the amount of fuel consumed. Traffic demand management ordinances, which have been adopted in many cities, often are aimed primarily at spreading the flow of

traffic over time — for example, by staggering work hours — rather than actually reducing the number of automobile trips.

Just as many cities have set waste reduction as their main waste control goal, cities must now stress the reduction of single occupancy vehicle trips and alternatives to the automobile as the only sound ways to achieve improved air quality, reduce the energy consumption that is the main contributor to greenhouse gases and relieve traffic congestion.

Press reports on city actions to improve air quality have been dominated by the recent measures proposed for Los Angeles by the Southern California Regional Air Quality Control Board. While Los Angeles's plan deserves strong consideration by other urban areas, several cities have approached the issue of automobile use by enacting automobile trip reduction ordinances. Some

*Atmospheric Update is written by Nancy Skinner, a Berkeley (CA) City Councilmember. If your city, county, or state is planning action—or has taken action—aimed at protecting the ozone layer or halting the greenhouse effect, please contact: Nancy Skinner, c/o Local Solutions to Global Pollution, 2121 Bonar St., Studio A, Berkeley, CA 94702 (415-540-8843).*



SPENCER GRANT

of the best examples to date are the trip reduction measures enacted by the Silver Spring district of Montgomery County (MD) and the city of Bellevue (WA).

Montgomery County's ordinance requires new developments to prepare trip reduction plans that include such measures as personalized assistance with ride sharing, shuttle van services and subsidized transit passes. The county has also enacted a ride sharing ordinance that requires all employers to achieve a 30 percent rate of alternative transportation use among their employees.

Bellevue requires developers to encourage alternative transportation by distributing information on ride sharing, providing financial incentives for employees to use alternative transportation, providing a guaranteed ride home for employees, and appointing a transportation coordinator to work with employees to implement these programs. Bellevue also promotes ride sharing aggressively among all its citizens and employees through its "Easy Ride" ridesharing program.

As part of a package of Earth Day actions, the Berkeley (CA) City Council initiated staff review of a model automobile trip



reduction ordinance based on a boiler plate ordinance developed by Professor Elizabeth Deakin of the University of California at Berkeley's Institute for Transportation Studies.

In addition, the council made a commitment to increasing bicycle use in the city by designating a full lane — one half of several streets — for exclusive bicycle use. [For copies of this model ordinance and information on the Bellevue and Montgomery County programs, contact Nancy Skinner at the address on the previous page.

## Vancouver Studies Atmospheric Change

VANCOUVER RECENTLY ESTABLISHED A TASK FORCE ON ATMOSPHERIC change to study this complex issue and recommend specific actions. The task force's draft report recommends that the city invest not only in activities that reduce greenhouse gas emissions, but ones which also provide other benefits. As the most obvious candidate, the task force targeted increased energy efficiency. The report also encouraged improved land-use planning, recognizing that dependency on the automobile is decreased when residences are concentrated in the central parts of the city, near jobs and other services. The report also promoted "infill" development rather than suburban development in outlying areas.

Specific proposals for implementation of the recommendations are now being written. For more information on Vancouver's ordinances, contact Mark Roseland, Task Force on Atmospheric Change, City of Vancouver, 453 W. 12th Ave., Vancouver, B.C. V5Y 1V4.

## Local Governments Continue to Adopt Anti-CFC Ordinances

SAN JOSE, IN THE HEART OF CALIFORNIA'S Silicon Valley, recently adopted an ordinance that initiates a phased program of reducing chlorofluorocarbon (CFC) emissions. The program's first phase, which went into effect on July 1, 1990, requires that mobile air conditioner service centers and shops be equipped with recovery/recycling equipment; it also bans the sale of small freon (CFC-12) canisters. Later phases deal with foam blowing, sterilants, halons, refrigeration and solvents.

Denver (CO) has passed an ordinance regulating the release of CFCs, halons, methyl chloroform, and carbon tetrachloride. The ordinance bans or limits the sale of aerosol containers, fire extinguishers, building insulation and food packaging that use ozone-depleting compounds. It also prohibits the release of CFCs in the air by businesses that repair refrigeration equipment, air conditioners and automobiles, and by businesses that use major refrigeration systems.

Independence, an Oregon town of 4300 people, recently joined the list of cities regulating CFCs. Its ordinance, sponsored by Council-

member Michael Cairns, takes effect on January 1, 1991.

## Sierra Club Announces Conservation Campaign

ON ITS 100TH BIRTHDAY, THE SIERRA CLUB HAS LAUNCHED A NEW campaign on global warming. Unlike past campaigns which have focused on Congress, this one is centered at the state and local level.

A global warming local action kit, prepared by the Sierra Club, includes background information and sample global warming resolutions. These are aimed to help local governments start formulating resolutions that are appropriate to the conditions in their areas.

## Senate Removes Preemption From Clean Air Act

SUCCESSFUL LOBBYING BY LOCAL ELECTED OFFICIALS, MEMBERS OF the National League of Cities' environmental issues caucus, the Vermont state legislature, Clean Water Action, the U.S. Public Interest Research Group and many others resulted in the Senate passage of a Clean Air Act free of the clause that would have preempted state and local government regulations to protect the ozone layer.

Senators Gore, Leahy, Wirth and Jeffords introduced the amendment to eliminate section 519C (described in the Spring 1990 issue of MFP). The amendment passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote.

At press time, the House debate on the Clean Air Act was under way. Activists were working to ensure that the preemption clause would remain out of the bill and that the regulations on ozone-depleting compounds would be strengthened.

## CANADIAN MAYORS CALL FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

IF FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS WON'T TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO SOLVE SOME OF THE world's environmental problems, then mayors better do something to prod them into action.

That seemed to be the attitude of 50 U.S. and Canadian mayors who met in Milwaukee in May to discuss environmental and development problems in cities bordering the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence Seaway—a region in which 35 million people from the two countries live.

Several resolutions approved by the attending mayors called on both the U.S. and Canadian federal governments for action in areas of shared environmental concern. For instance, they urged federal authorities to take immediate steps to deal with the proliferation of the zebra mussel, an "ecological invader" which poses a multi-billion threat to drinking water systems and power plants. The zebra mussel was introduced by the dumping of ballast water from ships moving along the Great Lakes.

This fourth annual Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway Conference was originally conceived by Duluth Mayor John Fedo and former Toledo Mayor Donna Owens, working in conjunction with four Canadian mayors.

SOURCE: Guy Smith, "Canadian, U.S. Mayors Unite to Protect Great Lakes/St. Lawrence Community," *U.S. Mayor*, June 11, 1990, P. 14.

# San Diego: A City In Search of the Peace Dividend

**S**AN DIEGO HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE KIND of city that makes the Pentagon swell with pride. Its harbors are crowded with Navy ships. Sailors (and their spending power) have always been welcome. But the San Diego City Council has seen the future, and it's brimming with military-spending cutbacks. As a result, councilmembers are trying to take a leadership role in planning for the nation's future by endorsing and promoting a concept called the "Dollar for Dollar Act."

San Diego Councilmember Bob Filner has led the council campaign that is urging Congress to adopt legislation mandating that cuts in military spending in America's cities be returned to those cities, dollar for dollar. These cuts would be spent on "economic security" needs such as job training and placement, neighborhood crime and drug prevention, health care, housing, environmental health, infrastructure and public works.

"Sharp reductions in U.S. military spending are coming," says Filner. "San Diego — and all American cities and counties — must be protected from economic hardship when such cuts occur."

The Dollar for Dollar Act was drafted by the Institute for Effective Action in San Diego. The institute took the concept to Filner, who introduced it to the city council, where it won unanimous support.

"Some councilmembers had questions about it, but no one could go on record as opposing money for the city," says Donald Cohen of the institute. "Everyone recognizes that the military budget is going to be dramatically reduced, and I would expect the councilmembers to support rebuilding their community, no matter what end of the political spectrum they are on."

As well as endorsing the Dollar for Dollar Act, the San Diego City Council voted to create a three-person economic conversion subcommittee, chaired by

Filner. The function of the subcommittee will be to hold hearings on and prepare plans for the transition of San Diego to a peace-based economy.

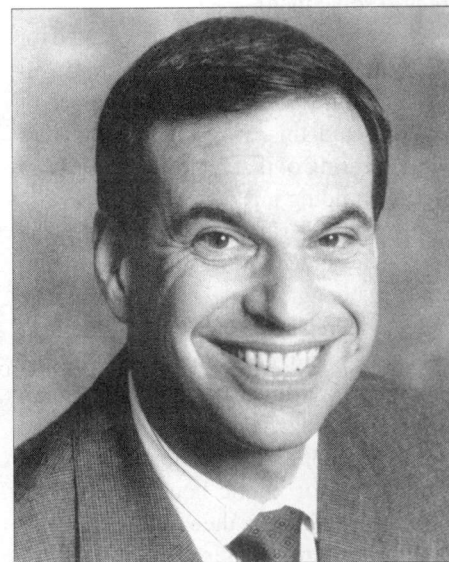
Federal military expenditures in San Diego now total nearly \$10 billion a year, accounting for more than 20 percent of the region's economy.

Meanwhile, California State Assembly Member Delaine Eastin introduced a resolution in her state's legislature, urging Congress and the President to enact the Dollar for Dollar Act. As described in the resolution, the proposed legislation would "require that, for 10 years from the time that any federal funds are cut from military spending in a county, these funds shall be shifted, dollar for dollar, into an Economic Security Fund for that county."

According to the resolution, "[F]or each base closing or weapons contract canceled, the dollars originally allocated to those projects would remain in the same county to retrain and place affected workers and to rebuild the community." It also states that funds "originally allocated to overseas projects would be shifted, dollar for dollar, into a National Economic Security Fund for national initiatives relating to job training and placement, health care, housing, environmental health, infrastructure, technology transfer, and public works projects."

Cohen hopes that the San Diego City Council and the California legislature represent just the beginning of widespread support for the Dollar for Dollar idea. "We're looking for people like Councilmember Filner in other parts of the country to take this concept and run with it, becoming organizers within their own constituencies," says Cohen.

SOURCES: Bob Filner, San Diego City Council, 202 C St., San Diego, CA 92101 (619-236-6688); Donald Cohen, Institute for Effective Action, 5380 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, CA 92115 (619-582-3990); San Diego Economic Conversion Council, 405 W. Washington St., Suite 143, San Diego, CA 92103 (619-278-3730); California Assembly Member Delaine Eastin, State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814.



San Diego Councilmember Bob Filner

"Sharp reductions in U.S. military spending are coming. San Diego, and all American cities and counties, must be protected from economic hardship when such cuts occur."



# The Feds: Putting Their Money Where Their Mouth Is?

**B**ALTIMORE MAYOR KURT SCHMOKE has seen the mounting problems of America's cities and realizes it will take more than a thousand points of light to solve them.

As a result, Mayor Schmoke called for the formation of an Urban Economic Policy Committee at the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and this May chaired the first public hearing of that panel at the Dirksen Senate Building in Washington, D.C.

At that hearing, Schmoke raised the issue of whether the federal government can save enough money from the military budget and raise enough revenues to meet the human and economic needs of the nation. He outlined some of the human problems facing Baltimore:

■ Over 35,000 Baltimoreans are on a waiting list for public housing, but "we have no housing for them and we do not have the resources in our city or the state of

Maryland to construct that housing."

■ About 1,250 persons, many of them families, are homeless each night in Baltimore, yet there are inadequate local resources to care for them.

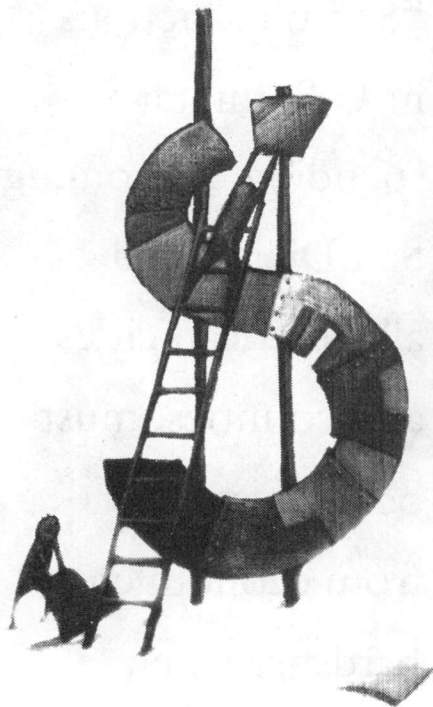
■ Baltimore has over 1,000 diagnosed cases of AIDS, and a high rate of infant mortality.

The federal government, said Schmoke, also "gives us new mandates to clean up our air, our water, and our waste disposal system. We support these goals, but we cannot be ordered to solve national problems without the financial backing of the national government." He urged the President and Congress "to give us a peace dividend large enough to fund education for our schools and housing for our people. I mean a dividend of at least \$40 to \$50 billion dollars this year." He also called for the enactment of new tax revenues to operate the federal government.

In April, Mayor Schmoke attended and spoke at the third annual public hearing of the Baltimore City Development Commission, a body formed in 1986 to study the effect of military spending on the city and recommend policies for more civilian-oriented jobs. He announced that the city would hire a full-time staff person to work with the commission in order to facilitate the diversion of money from the military budget to local needs. The commission was formed after years of campaigning by the Baltimore chapter of Jobs With Peace.

City Council President Mary Pat Clarke also addressed the hearing, noting that the public is finally starting to understand the conversion issue. "We can't just let the defense budget be cut," she said. "We have to let it be converted."

SOURCE: Mayor Kurt Schmoke, City Hall, 100 N. Holliday St., Baltimore, MD 21202; Jobs With Peace, 100 S. Washington St., Baltimore, MD 21231 (301-342-7404).



## DOD: "BASE CLOSINGS CREATE JOBS"

WHEN MILITARY BASES ARE SHUT DOWN, IT'S GOOD FOR THE LOCAL ECONOMY.

That's the conclusion of a Department of Defense study issued last March, which examined 100 base closures over a 25-year period (1961-1986). The study found that "a total of 138,138 civilian jobs are now located on the former defense facilities to replace the loss of 93,424 former DOD or contractor jobs."

The study, titled "25 Years of Civilian Reuse," was issued by DOD's Office of Economic Adjustment. Its findings include:

■ On the grounds of the former bases studied, there are now 24 four-year colleges and 33 post-secondary vocational technical schools or community colleges, educating 53,744 students.

■ Industrial and office parks have been located at the sites of 75 former bases.

■ Forty-two municipal or general aviation airports now operate at former DOD facilities.

The study concluded that base closures can provide communities with long-term opportunities, and that cities can bounce back effectively from these shutdowns.

The DOD study mirrors similar conclusions reached by a 1988 study commissioned by the U.S. Conference of Mayors and conducted by Employment Research Associates. The conference study found that a \$30 billion transfer from military to domestic programs — a 10 percent cut in the Pentagon's budget — would enhance the quality of life in the nation's cities by raising the country's GNP and creating almost 200,000 new jobs (see MFP, Winter 1988-89 issue).

SOURCE: Office of Economic Adjustment, Department of Defense, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301 (202-545-6700); Lance Simmens, "DOD Study Concludes Base Closings Will Create Jobs," *U.S. Mayor*, April 2, 1990.

# Mayors Concur: America Needs to Turn to its Cities

THE PEACE DIVIDEND TOOK CENTER STAGE IN CITIES ACROSS America on May 2 during a National Town Meeting. More than a dozen U.S. mayors took part in this major forum. The event, in which over 70 cities participated, was convened by the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament, and carried the title, "The U.S. After the Cold War: Claiming the Peace Dividend."

Most participating mayors talked about the need to shift spending priorities from a peacetime military buildup to domestic needs. Here is a sampling of some of their comments:



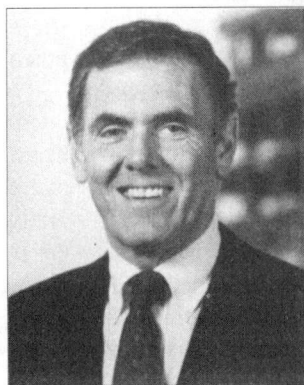
**MAYOR MAYNARD JACKSON, ATLANTA:**

"Our assigned myth is that there is no need to plan for economic conversion, and that we should use a business-as-usual approach. Obviously, America, the opposite is true... It is important that we understand that not only for past generations, but for the future, we have the obligation not to squander this opportunity. In-

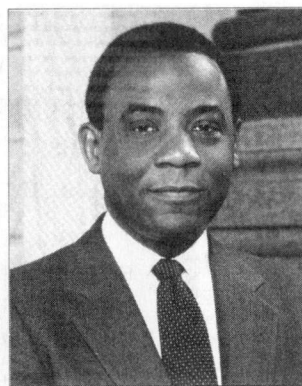
dividual defense industry workers, defense corporations, all levels of local, state and federal government, must form a partnership to plan for economic conversion. . . . We need a comprehensive national urban policy in a nation where 80 percent of the people live on two percent of the land. We need creative and inclusive and pro-active planning to ensure that we get a high rate of return on our peace dividend. America, a nation of cities, needs to reinvest in its cities on an emergency basis."

**MAYOR RAYMOND FLYNN, BOSTON:**

"Right now American cities are dealing with an epidemic of drugs, violence and crime, and these problems dominate the headlines. But these are really symptoms of the much more fundamental problem — economic injustice. I've often said that the reason we're fighting a war on drugs and violence today is because we abandoned the war on poverty years ago. . . . The end of the Cold War provides an opportunity to invest in our nation's future. Unless



we can offer our young people hope and opportunity, then they will be seduced by the false hope of drugs and gangs. We have the resources. It's really a question of a national priority and national leadership. I hope the President and the Congress realize that we either pay now, or we pay later. And if we wait to pay later it will be much more expensive in terms of both human lives and dollars. The biggest threat to our national security is poverty and homelessness. It's time we put our nation's wealth and talent to work dealing with these issues."



**MAYOR WILSON GOODE, PHILADELPHIA:**

"For the past decade, we've heard about the urgency of military buildup and the necessity for a Star Wars defense. And for the past decade, our cities, our people, our social institutions, have suffered as a result. . . . The results have been devastating to our cities and the people we serve. If you walk down the streets of any

city in our nation, the visible signs of this neglect are obvious... We must convert our policy from an attitude of abandonment of our cities to one of responsibility for the needs of our citizens. We can never lose sight of the fact that the business of government is to provide for the welfare and the future of its people."

**MAYOR DAVID DINKINS, NEW YORK CITY:**

"While the bells of freedom ring around the world, here at home we've watched bombs increase while hope declines. It's time to respond that reducing infant mortality increases national security. And it's time to demand that our national government attack the abuses of city life instead of evading the emergency of urban America. The issue is not whether there will or will not be a 'peace dividend,' for there can be one if the President and the Congress have the political will to seize this historic chance for change . . . . I know that the people of Eastern Europe have suffered from decades of tyranny and oppression — and they deserve our help. But I know as well that the people of East Harlem and East New York are suffering from crack and the crime it causes. I oppose poverty and oppression in Central America, but I oppose as well homelessness and hunger in central Harlem and central Brooklyn."



*Audio tapes of the National Town Meeting are available from the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament. Contact NCECD, 1621 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 350, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202-462-0091).*



## WEAPONS MAKERS TAKE AIM AT NFZs

IF THERE WAS EVER ANY doubt of how seriously military contractors are taking nuclear free zones, it was dispelled at a Nuclear Free America-sponsored press conference in March, during which internal memoranda of the Aerospace Industries Association (AIA) were revealed. These leaked documents showed a coordinated campaign by AIA to pressure federal officials into clamping down on local NFZ laws.

According to the memoranda, the AIA (a trade organization representing 40 of the largest nuclear weapons-producing corporations) met with high-level federal officials — including Deputy Defense Secretary Donald Atwood and Energy Secretary James Watkins — during which it lobbied for the government crackdown on the NFZ movement.

The AIA's proposals include the issuing of preemptive regulations by the Departments of Defense and Energy, and appealing to President Bush for an executive order to

# Judge Undermines Oakland NFZ Law

One of the nation's toughest NFZ laws is overturned by a Reagan-appointed judge who dismisses it as "invalid on its face."

**T**HE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS turned up the winner in its first legal challenge of a nuclear-free zone ordinance (NFZ). In April, a federal judge struck down nearly all of the NFZ law approved by the voters of Oakland, one of the most sweeping measures in the nation.

U.S. District Judge John Vukasin concurred with arguments presented by the Bush administration that the local ordinance interferes with the federal government's constitutional authority to establish policies in the defense of the nation.

Justice Department attorney Richard Stearns argued that the Oakland law violated the War Powers Clause, the Supremacy Clause and the Commerce Clause of the U.S. Constitution.

Judge Vukasin seemed to agree, stating, "The Oakland ordinance is so comprehensive, so complete, so all-encompassing that it is invalid on its face. (It) cannot help but conflict with the rights of the federal government."

Steve Bloom, a principal author of the Oakland ordinance, says that the suit escalated the entire NFZ campaign to a new level "where we have compelled the nuclear weapons industry and the federal government to stop ignoring us. Obviously, I would prefer to win these lawsuits. But having the opposition is something I see as a positive sign for the movement."

Chuck Johnson, executive director of Nuclear Free America, says he sees no indication that the federal government will challenge other existing NFZs. "There are 170 of them and that's an awful lot to chal-

lenge," he told MFP. "It looks as though the federal government is trying to scare people away from passing new ordinances by showing how hard-nosed they can be in the Oakland case. Perhaps the federal government feels it will reduce the number of cities and counties that will go forward with NFZs of their own."

The Oakland ordinance, approved by 57 percent of Oakland voters, banned the production of nuclear weapons or their components within city limits; required the city to divest from financial or contractual involvement with nuclear weapons makers; barred nuclear waste from the city; and placed restrictions on transporting banned materials on city streets.

Judge Vukasin granted a summary judgment on the government's claims, overturning all but some minor provisions of the law—namely, the right of the city to post NFZ signs and limit its investments in government securities.

Bloom told reporters that the decision is "the kind of ruling Vukasin was appointed [by former President Reagan] to make, not based on law but based on political expediency."

The Oakland City Council has decided to appeal Judge Vukasin's ruling. Wilson Riles Jr., an Oakland councilmember, said he was confident that the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals would overturn much of Vukasin's decision.

NFA's Johnson concurs. "There are good reasons to think that the 9th Circuit Court will uphold at least the investment and purchasing clauses of the law. It's pretty hard to argue that a city doesn't have the right to decide how to spend its own money."

SOURCES: Nuclear Free America, 325 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575); Steve Bloom, Nuclear Free Zone Coalition (415-843-8143); Western States Legal Foundation (415-839-5877); Martin Halstuk, "Court Rules U.S. Interests Outweigh City's," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 28, 1990, p. 1; Rex Bossert, "Oakland Loses Nuclear-Free Ordinance Suit," *Los Angeles Daily Journal*, April 30, 1990, p. 1; Mark A. Stein, "Oakland A-Weapons Ban 'Invalid,'" *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1990.

# Outgunned in Northern California

Alameda County nuclear-free zone supporters can't overcome a massive anti-NFZ campaign, while Nevada County voters make their community the nation's 170th NFZ.

**T**HE SUPPORTERS OF A NUCLEAR-FREE zone initiative in Alameda County, CA, knew they faced an uphill battle. After all, opponents of the June ballot measure spent over \$600,000 in an aggressive campaign to defeat it.

But many of the pro-NFZ activists still were surprised by the lopsided defeat that awaited them when more than a 2-to-1 majority voted against turning the county into a free zone. The final vote: 71,047 yes, 145,674 no.

Alameda County, across the bay from San Francisco, includes three cities that have already declared themselves nuclear free — Berkeley, Hayward and Oakland (although the Oakland NFZ was drastically weakened by a court decision in April). The county is also home to the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, where nuclear weapons are designed.

General Electric Co. made the largest single contribution (\$105,000) to the anti-NFZ effort, while other major corporations (AT&T, Hewlett-Packard Co., Hughes Aircraft, International Business Machines Corp., Rockwell International) also chipped in to make this the most expensive anti-NFZ campaign to date. Proponents of the measure spent \$55,000.

Chuck Johnson, executive director of Nuclear Free America, says that nuclear weapons manufacturers "understood that we could have had a major breakthrough if we had been able to win the Alameda County election. It would have made national news if we had directly taken on the Livermore lab, and it could have given us the momentum to spread the concept of NFZs around the country."

The measure would have prohibited the design and presence of nuclear weap-

ons, as well as the use of nuclear reactors. It also would have banned the county government from conducting business with companies participating in nuclear weapons work.

Opponents of the NFZ pointed to the 15-member elected commission that the measure would have created, insisting that it was a waste of taxpayers' money. They also claimed that the language exempting medical applications of radioactive materials was ambiguous enough so that cancer patients might be denied radiation treatments. The local medical society urged a "no" vote on the NFZ issue.

On June 5th, there was a split on two other NFZ votes in California. Nevada County, CA, approved its nuclear-free zone ballot measure by a 53 to 47 percent majority, making it the 170th NFZ in the U.S. But in Marin County, voters rejected (by a 57 to 43 percent margin) efforts to strengthen an existing NFZ law by closing a loophole that has permitted the county to purchase the products of nuclear weapons producers by buying them through third-party suppliers.

In May, the citizens of Eugene, OR, turned down a NFZ proposal by a 70 to 30 percent vote. It would have made the nuclear-free zone part of the city's charter.

In the future, says Johnson, "My advice is to proceed with NFZ measures with the understanding that the nuclear weapons makers are now taking NFZs extremely seriously. If you're going to the ballot, you should go with a very simple measure, one you know has broad public support. You have to assume you're going to be outspent."

SOURCES: Nuclear Free America, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-5457); Dan Stober, "Alameda County nukes Measure A," *San Jose Mercury News*, June 6, 1990.

preempt NFZ statutes.

The AIA memoranda warn that new NFZ laws are "much more onerous and restrictive" than earlier measures considered mostly symbolic. While the trade association welcomed the Justice Department's lawsuit that ultimately undermined most of the Oakland NFZ ordinance, "in and of itself, [that suit] is not sufficient to protect defense and energy contractors." The documents proposed that a sweeping and immediate executive order by President Bush could "avoid any inherent rule-making delays," including opportunities for public comment.

"It is grossly unethical for companies making a profit from nuclear weapons to sneak behind the backs of local voters and try to subvert their democratic decisions," Oakland City Council-member Wilson Riles Jr. said at the press conference.

"As representatives of democratically declared U.S. nuclear free zones, we demand an equal opportunity to meet with these same Bush Administration officials," said Hank Prenskey, Takoma Park (MD) City Councilmember.

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



# Irresistible Forces and Immovable Objects

In the U.S., organizers of sister-city projects with Nicaragua are struggling to decode the significance of all the sound and fury following February's elections.

by Sheldon Rampton

**E**L JICARAL WAS A GHOST TOWN," SAID LUPE CIVALLERO OF Chelsea, New York, recalling the mood in his sister city on the day after the Sandinistas lost the Nicaraguan election. "It was as if a hurricane had passed and destroyed everything. It was so silent. No movement. It was shocking. A lot of people were sorry they had voted for UNO. Others were saying that now they were going to see lots of dollars in El Jicaral and be able to live like Americans."

Frank Canella, another election observer from Chelsea, had similar recollections. "The family I stayed with was sitting around the radio in the living room. The women were crying. It was the same reaction as when Kennedy was shot."

At the national level, Nicaragua's elections brought to the surface an amazing welter of contradictions, fears, hopes and bitter animosities that have accumulated in Nicaragua during a decade of Sandinista revolution and U.S.-sponsored counter-revolutionary war. On inauguration day, supporters of the newly-elected United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) showed their hostility to the outgoing government of Sandinista President Daniel Ortega by attempting to pelt him with sticks and stones. Sandinista supporters responded in kind, hurling water balloons in the direction of UNO President-elect Violeta Chamorro.

At the local level, Nicaragua is now a political mosaic. The Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) won 28 of the country's 101 municipalities and carried two of the country's nine regions: Region I in the far north and Special Zone III in the far south of the country. Although on paper these results indicate a strong UNO victory, the realities on the ground are more mixed. In 9 of the 18 municipalities that UNO carried in Region I, its members are unwilling to take office and have asked outgoing mayors and other local Sandinistas to stay on. In Region V, a zone of frequent contra activity where UNO did especially well, some recently-elected mayors are also looking for substitutes. They hadn't expected to win and didn't calculate the implications of

accepting the responsibility.

In some communities, local politics mirrors the national split between UNO and the FSLN. When Worcester (MA) academics Tom Estabrook and Jerry Lembcke visited their sister city of Comalapa to observe the election, the city's mayor greeted them wearing a bandage over his left cheek, which had been sliced open with a broken beer bottle during a barroom brawl two weeks earlier. UNO can play "pretty rough," Lembcke commented. In addition to the attack on the mayor, which Comalapa residents said was politically motivated, UNO members were credited with several ambushes and assisting in a contra raid on the village.

Comalapa is "one of those divided towns and divided-loyalty kind of situations," Lembcke said in a *Worcester Magazine* article

At the national level,  
Nicaragua's elections brought  
to the surface an amazing  
welter of contradictions,  
fears, hopes and bitter animosities.

by reporter Tom Rogers. In the home where Estabrook and Lembcke stayed, their hostess favored the Sandinistas. Her son, Fernando Sandigo Suarez, was elected Comalapa's UNO mayor. Following a pattern that was common in many small villages, Comalapa voters elected a five-member municipal council, with UNO receiving three seats and the FSLN capturing the other two.

Elsewhere, the results were equally mixed but the campaigning was less contentious. In El Jicaral, observer Joe Cioffi witnessed "a very powerful cooperative spirit. Regardless of party affiliation, people seemed ready to accept the results of the election and work together to address community issues, such as health, water and electric power. The town is so far removed from everything that conflicts from the outside don't seem to matter much."



MARK LUDAK / IMPACT VISUALS

### VIOLETA'S VICTORY.

New Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro anticipates her win over Daniel Ortega on election day last February.

In an article for *In These Times*, David Thelen of Bloomington (IN) said the election in his sister city of Posoltega “was about things much more subtle than which party or ideology would govern Nicaragua.” Julia Martinez, a Sandinista poll watcher on election day, told him she “would accept a victory by Violeta Chamorro and UNO or by Daniel Ortega and the Sandinista Front. Both, she said, inspired confidence among Nicaraguans. . . . To UNO and Sandinista supporters alike, the election was less an opportunity to choose a president than an opportunity to create national reconciliation around a shared yearning for peace and democracy.”

### U.S. GOVERNMENT CAUGHT FLAT-FOOTED

THE NICARAGUAN ELECTIONS RECEIVED HIGH MARKS FOR procedural efficiency and fairness from the 40 U.S. sister-city projects that sent a total of over 450 observers to witness the elections. Many of the teams’ observations are available in a document titled “Mi Voto es Secreto: the Nicaraguan Elections of February 25, 1990,” which was authored in part by Kurt Berggren of the Ann Arbor (MI)-Juigalpa Sister City Program and Paul Doughty of the Gainesville (FL)-Matagalpa Sister City Program.

The report points out that while the electoral process was “technically fair and honest,” it took place in a “distorted political environment” created by U.S. intervention in Nicaragua which included military support for the contra war, a trade embargo, and

direct financial subsidy of UNO’s campaign. “Covert intervention by the CIA and other U.S. agencies, diplomatic pressures, and clear financial and rhetorical signals by the U.S. government strongly conditioned the anti-FSLN electoral atmosphere. The

The choice was not so much between candidates or their philosophies, but on how to end the war and economic crises that were manipulated by the United States government.

choice available to voters under these circumstances was not so much between political parties, candidates or their philosophies, but on how to best answer the question of how to end the war and economic crises that were manipulated by the United States government.”

Ironically, the U.S. government itself seemed unprepared to





MARK LUDAK / IMPACT VISUALS

**VOTING FOR CHANGE.**  
Nicaraguans wait their turn at the polls.

The day after the election,  
a Nicaraguan I  
know told me,  
“Don’t drop out.  
We need you now  
more than ever.  
Don’t go on to  
South Africa or some  
other country.  
Hang in with us no  
matter what.”

cope with the reality of an UNO victory. A month after Violeta Chamorro’s inauguration, President Bush’s proposed \$300 million aid package for the new Nicaraguan government remained bogged down in Congress. Meanwhile, Nicaraguan prices soared to four times their pre-election levels, prompting massive worker strikes and threatening to paralyze the new government, which campaigned on a promise to revive the economy within 100 days. The government is now admitting that it will take 20 years to repair the effects of the war.

Beyond the issue of federal bureaucracy and incompetence, a post-election flyer published by the Norwalk (CT)-Nagarote Sister City Project raised “serious questions” about the U.S. government’s newfound interest in aiding Nicaragua: “Are the Nicaraguan people more deserving of lifesaving medicines after the elections than they were before? Are the lives of children dying from malnutrition and diarrhea more valuable under a U.S.-supported government than they were under a Sandinista government? This example of cold-blooded behavior underscores the continued importance of citizens’ organizations which are able to operate completely independent of any government’s political agenda.”

**WHAT NOW FOR SISTER CITIES?**

“THE FAMOUS UNITED STATES AID IS NOTHING MORE THAN AN illusion,” declared Nicaraguan columnist Francisco Lacayo in the March 9 issue of the Sandinista newspaper, *Barricada*. And, he added, UNO’s plan for economic recovery through attracting foreign investment is equally problematic: “Is the government-elect going to deliver our country to the transnationals? But what is worse for them, will the transnationals risk their capital here, where political-social instability could endanger any possible generation of profit?”

Many observers, such as Julian Jacobs of the Nicaraguan Solidarity Campaign in England, feel that corporations are “unlikely to view investment in Nicaragua as a major opportunity while Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia beckon.” Even if political stability is achieved, Nicaragua is too small and poor to be targeted as a major market. Lacayo pointed out that Nicaragua’s total economic activity “does not even compare with one-tenth of a medium-sized transnational company. . . . On the international level, all of Nicaragua is no more than a very small business.”

It remains to be seen whether the new situation in Nicaragua will create opportunities or obstacles for local governments and community-based organizations that wish to continue working in Nicaragua. If the federal government and multinationals fail to revive Nicaragua’s economy, smaller groups may inherit a “window of opportunity” to play a leading role.

Presently, sister-city projects are seeking answers to questions such as:

- Will UNO attempt to prevent solidarity activists from visiting Nicaragua?
- What logistical channels will exist for transporting people, material aid, money and messages?
- Should groups in UNO-governed cities maintain their relations with Sandinista former government officials? Should

they work with UNO? With non-governmental organizations? "The main thing is, how does our work advance the social causes we support?" asks Jack Meyers of Yellow Springs(OH), which is paired with Jicaro in Nicaragua. "To me, UNO is obviously an opportunistic counter-revolutionary force in the country."

■ Perhaps most importantly of all, what will happen with the contras? As of the date of this writing, the contras had signed several agreements promising to demobilize their forces, but almost none had complied, and in rural areas human rights observers continued to report contra attacks. Many observers predict that unless the contras lay down their weapons, Nicaragua's fragile effort at democratic national reconciliation may unravel into civil war.

Some groups, concerned about the contras and the level of tension that still exists between Sandinista and UNO supporters, plan to emphasize human rights monitoring in their sister-city work. "Sister cities have unbelievable local intelligence about what's happening in Nicaragua," observed David Thelen. "If we put that together, we'll be better able to describe what's happening

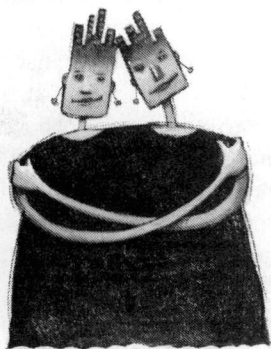
than anyone else. We also have terrific access to the American media. We're all afraid of certain things happening. If they do, we're in a position to put out word about it."

With the lifting of the trade embargo against Nicaragua, some sister-city projects and Nicaraguan support groups are exploring the possibility of promoting "socially responsible investment" in Nicaragua, as well as organizing trade delegations and importing Nicaraguan coffee, crafts and other items.

The election result may have caused the demise of one sister-city project in Ohio, whose chief organizer was an ardent Sandinista supporter. Otherwise, projects seem determined to continue the work they have begun. Steve Pike, a member of the Yellow Springs-Jicaro Sister City Project, explained why: "The day after the election, a Nicaraguan I know told me, 'Don't drop out. We need you now more than ever. Don't go on to South Africa or some other country. Hang in with us no matter what.'"

*Sheldon Rampton of the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua is also a contributing editor of MFP.*

## U.S.-NICARAGUA SISTER-CITY BRIEFS



### ONE FOR ONE

SISTER-CITY PROJECTS ARE among the groups mentioned in an ambitious proposal that calls for U.S.-Nicaraguan solidarity groups to compete on a dollar-for-dollar basis with the federal government's aid and development programs in Nicaragua.

Jim Burchell, an organizer of sister-city projects in New Jersey who works with the organization Quest for Peace, predicts that the government's aid will "undermine democracy by strengthening Nicaraguan elites and making the nation more dependent upon the U.S." Burchell is proposing that sister-city groups join

with nongovernmental organizations such as TecNica and Bikes Not Bombs to raise "\$300 million in people-to-people aid" to support "grassroots democracy and economic development."

CONTACT: Jim Burchell/Quest for Peace, 39 Green Village Road, #304, Madison, NJ 07940, (201-765-9102).

### LINDER LIVES ON

APRIL 28 MARKED THE third anniversary of the murder of U.S. engineer Ben Linder, who was killed by contras while attempting to provide El Cua with electricity. The Ben Linder Memorial Fund was established to finance completion of the hydroelectric plant he was building, and today that project is up and running. Elizabeth Linder, Ben's mother, wrote in the spring Portland-Corinto Sister City Association newsletter that she was "stunned, disappointed and saddened" by the results of Nicaragua's February elections. "For us, personally, we had to ask: 'What about the project? Will they continue in Nicaragua?

Will we continue? Will the project workers be safe?'"

She was heartened to learn, two days after the election, that the project workers in Nicaragua had already "decided to go ahead with the project and wanted to know whether we were willing to go ahead with our part. . . . We didn't have to think very hard before reaffirming our, and Ben's, commitment."

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

### MATCH POINT

CITIZENS IN BAINBRIDGE Island (WA) have written to Washington Senator Brock Adams in hopes that congressionally-approved aid to Nicaragua can be channeled through community-to-community programs such as their sister-island project with Ometepe.

The Bainbridge-Ometepe Sister Islands Association is asking the government to follow Canada's example of establishing "matching grants to foreign projects that begin at the grassroots in Canadian

communities."

CONTACT: Kim Esterberg, Bainbridge-Ometepe Sister Islands Association, P.O. Box 4484, Rollingbay, WA 98061 (206-846-8148).

### NEW HOUSE

THE SANDINISTAS HAVE ESTABLISHED a non-governmental organization to promote sister-city projects independently of the new UNO government. The "Popol Na Foundation for Municipal Promotion and Development" takes its name from an indigenous phrase meaning "House of the Community."

It is a private institution whose purpose includes research on municipal affairs, training, drafting projects for municipal development, and promotion and support for sister-city projects. The staff at Popol Na includes some of the same individuals who previously served at the Nicaraguan Institute for Municipal Progress (INIFOM), a governmental organization established by the Sandinistas in 1989.

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



# Can New York Sink the Staten Island Homeport?

Mayor David Dinkins sends a message to the Pentagon, backing his city out of any financial support for completion of the naval port.

**T**HE NEW YORK CITY NAVAL HOMEPORT is not dead yet, but the coroner may be on the verge of making an appearance.

With the Cold War winding down, New York Mayor David Dinkins is escalating his efforts to prevent the homeport for nuclear-armed war ships from ever opening. Dinkins, who has called the navy base a "port without a purpose," wrote to the Pentagon in April, urging a cancellation of the homeporting plan. In Congressional testimony the same month, Dinkins proclaimed that the homeport's "strategic rationale has collapsed."

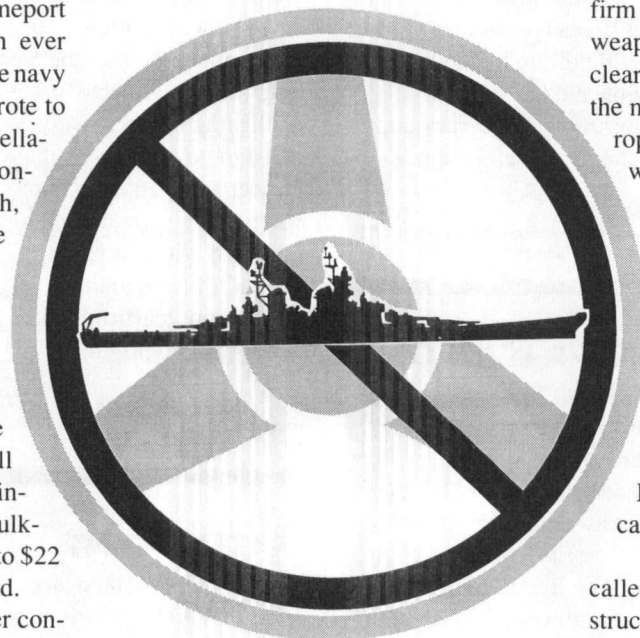
The New York mayor also went a step further. He announced that he has directed city Budget Director Philip Michael to remove from the city's capital budget all funds connected to the homeport, including \$11 million for repairing bulkheads and piers at the base and \$20 to \$22 million for upgrading an access road.

The New York homeport, under construction for five years on Staten Island with the full support of ex-Mayor Ed Koch's administration, is part of the "strategic homeporting" program that Congress adopted in the 1980s as a way to scatter and deploy a naval fleet that, at the time, had been expected to grow to about 600 ships. The 13 new ports, the Pentagon argued, were required to prevent "another Pearl Harbor."

But military budget cuts and a groundswell of opposition to the homeports have dogged the program. And while the New York homeport was originally expected to open later this year, that timetable is now,

at best, questionable.

According to Dinkins, he might be "breaking some unwritten rule of defense budgeting by speaking out against federal spending in my own city," but he said that New York would be better served if federal



dollars were "redirected away from unnecessary military expenditures."

Guy Molinari, the Republican borough president of Staten Island, is upset by Dinkins' opposition to homeporting. On PBS' "The McNeil-Lehrer Report" in June, when asked about the need for dispersing the Navy's ships in this time of *glasnost*, Molinari replied, "I would hope we never get to the point where we say there is nobody out there who is going to attack us. We almost made that mistake in World War II and maybe came close to not surviving. I think that's a lesson we should

never forget."

The New York homeport has been dealt another blow: It has lost its battleship, the U.S.S. Iowa, which was sent into mothballs rather than undergoing \$13 million in repairs in the aftermath of last year's explosion on the vessel. Instead, the Navy now hopes to port the Normandy, a guided missile cruiser much smaller than the port will be capable of accommodating.

In a related matter, New York's city leaders protested the docking of a British nuclear-capable aircraft carrier, the H.M.S. Ark Royal, at the Hudson River waterfront in May. Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, citing Britain's long-standing policy of refusing "to confirm or deny" the presence of nuclear weapons aboard its vessels, said that "nuclear-capable warships should not dock in the nation's most densely populated metropolitan area. I shudder to think what would happen if there were an accident involving a nuclear warhead in Manhattan."

At a press conference on the steps of City Hall, John Miller of the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor said, "We have not worked to keep naval nuclear weapons out of Staten Island for the past seven years, only to have them sneak into Manhattan aboard a British aircraft carrier."

The General Accounting Office has called for a hold on new homeport construction pending a reassessment of the homeporting program in light of the shrinking naval fleet. A bill (HR 4684) introduced into Congress — calling for termination of the proposed navy homeport in New York City and a freeze on additional expenditures to build five other new homeports at Everett (WA), Ingleside (TX), Pascagoula (MS), Mobile (AL), and Pensacola (FL) — is sponsored by Reps. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) and Charles Bennett (D-FL).

SOURCES: John Miller, Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor, 135 W. 4th St., New York, NY 11215 (212-673-1808); Stephanie Strom, "Dinkins Asks U.S. to Halt Development of S.I. Naval Port," *New York Times*, April 11, 1990, p. B1; Jesse Mangaliman, "Dinkins Cuts Homeport Funds From City Budget," *Newsday*, April 11, 1990.

# Pushing Ahead for Freedom

While U.S. local officials celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela, they are pressuring for the abolition of South Africa's racist system.

**T**HE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA HASN'T QUIETED THE COMMITMENT of many city councils to continue pushing for an end to the apartheid system in South Africa. Since Mandela was freed earlier this year, at least 14 city councils in the U.S. have passed resolutions expressing their ongoing support for major reforms by the de Klerk government.

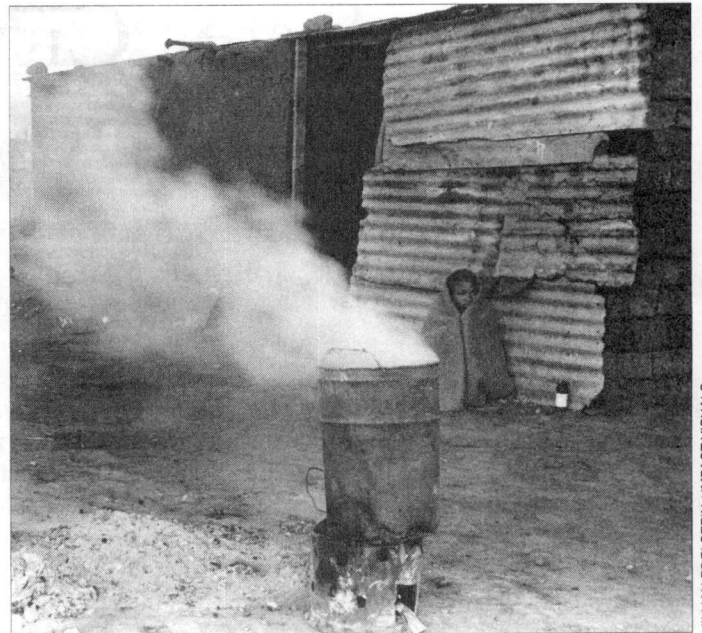
A model resolution, developed by the Africa Fund and its "Vote for the People" campaign, has been used by the city councils in drafting their own statements. It incorporates the following:

- Welcomes the release of Mandela, and calls for the release of all other South African political prisoners;
- Condemns the racist apartheid system practiced by the South African government; and,
- Calls upon the U.S. Congress to adopt comprehensive economic and political sanctions against the South African regime, keeping them in place until full democracy is established in that country.

Here are the cities that have passed resolutions since Mandela's release:

California: Los Angeles, Oakland,  
San Jose  
Colorado: Aurora, Denver  
District of Columbia  
Massachusetts: Northampton  
Michigan: Detroit, Kalamazoo,  
Portage  
New Jersey: Teaneck  
New York: New York City  
Texas: Dallas  
Washington: Seattle

The state of Tennessee also adopted the same resolution. And in Virginia, Governor L. Douglas Wilder called upon all state agencies and educational institutions to divest themselves of business investments in companies that are not "substantively free" of economic ties to South Africa. According to Virginia officials, those holdings amount to over



JILLIAN EDELSTEIN / IMPACT VISUALS

## HOPING FOR A BETTER FUTURE.

Fourteen U.S. city councils have passed Mandela-inspired resolutions that condemn apartheid and the bleak living conditions it fosters.

\$750 million.

In a speech at Norfolk State University in May, Governor Wilder said stocks could be sold "with full adherence to our fiduciary principles and fiscal responsibility." He added, "The freedom sought in South Africa is no different from the freedom sought in East Germany, Poland and Lithuania. Our support can be no less."

SOURCE: The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212-962-1210); John F. Harris, "Wilder Calls for Divestment by Va. Agencies," *Washington Post*, May 13, 1990, p. A1; B. Drummond Ayres Jr., "Virginia Governor Banning Investments in South Africa," *New York Times*, May 13, 1990, p. A18.

## SAYING "NO" TO SHELL

THE SHELL OIL COMPANY HAS LOST ANOTHER FRIEND — NAMELY, THE CITY COUNCIL of Englewood, NJ. Specifically, Englewood's councilmembers want the Royal Dutch/Shell subsidiary to stop doing business in South Africa. And they're trying to apply pressure to make that happen.

In February, the Englewood city fathers called on the New Jersey Turnpike Authority to cut off its ties with Shell. Because of the monopoly that Shell gas stations have on the turnpike, motorists must use the stations for gas and emergency services.

In its resolution, the Englewood city council said it "supports the imposition of continued economic sanctions against the Union of South Africa [and] urges the New Jersey Turnpike Authority to discontinue doing business with Shell Oil Co. unless and until Shell Oil Co. ceases to do business with South Africa and divests itself of holdings within South Africa."

The Turnpike's contract with Shell comes up for renewal in April 1991.

A number of other city councils have gone on record urging boycotts of Shell Oil, including councils in Philadelphia, New Haven, Takoma Park (MD) and Highland Park (NJ).



# When a Sister City Becomes Controversial

The citizens of Plano just wanted to bridge the gap between the superpowers. But the John Birch Society hasn't made the process easy.

**P**LANO, TEXAS, ALREADY HAS TWO SISTER cities — Enfield, Australia and Gumi, South Korea. So adopting a third may not have seemed too extraordinary.

In 1988, when Plano resident Zia Shamsy began talking about affiliating with a city in the Soviet Union, the city council was unanimously supportive of the effort. As a result, no one expected the political donnybrook that eventually ensued.

Representatives of the local chapter of the ultraconservative John Birch Society led the charge against formalizing a sisterly tie in the U.S.S.R. At a city council meeting early last year, Ray Wade of the Birch Society testified that even though the policy of *glasnost* may appear to signal a new era in the Soviet Union, the Soviets

cannot be trusted.

Larry Waters, another speaker at that meeting, concurred, claiming that "interaction with people from a communist country is impossible." Still another, Clark Bishop, said the Soviet people were "murderers," and that "it is just morally wrong to support them in any way."

Overnight, four Plano councilmembers voiced doubts about the sister city plan. Once it became clear that the council would reject the new international tie, the Plano Soviet Sister City Program, Inc. withdrew its request for a council resolution sanctioning the relationship.

But supporters of the sister city did not abandon their enthusiasm. In the ensuing nine months, they hosted five Soviet citizens on a visit to Plano, in cooperation with a nationwide "Soviets Meet Middle Amer-

ica" program. They encouraged Plano schoolchildren to participate in pen-pal clubs with Soviet youngsters, and they organized exhibits of Soviet art at local libraries. They spoke to local church and civic groups, collected signatures on petitions and began making plans for future exchanges. And they put Plano's city councilmembers in touch with people from other cities to learn about the benefits of this type of sister city tie.

The actions made a difference. Last December, the city council voted 5-to-2 to approve a sister city link with the U.S.S.R. At the meeting, there was some additional public testimony in opposition to that council decision. But Bob Weidman, president of the Sister City Program, said that it was "time to put away hate." This time, a majority of the council agreed.

Since then, Plano has been paired with Ivanova in the U.S.S.R. The mayor and other officials of each city will make their first formal exchange visits this September. The tie between Plano and Ivanova is expected to become the 59th such alliance between U.S. and Soviet cities.

*Marilynn Richter, a freelance writer, contributed to the preparation of this article.*

## SISTERS SEEING GREEN

THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS HAS CAUGHT THE ATTENTION of the entire world, so it's not surprising that U.S.-Soviet sister city programs are seeing green these days, too.

Joseph Grabill, co-chair of the Bloomington (IL)-Normal sister city committee and professor of history at Illinois State University, discussed this growing trend as part of a presentation at the International Studies Association in Washington, D.C. in April:

"Some citizen diplomats, deep ecology diplomats, and others talk from their heart about the common Earth home as they celebrate Earth Week 1990. Sister cities in Binghamton, New York, and Borovichi, U.S.S.R., are conducting an ecology project in honor of Earth Week in April 1990, with New Yorkers planting trees and Borovichi

citizens reducing industrial and agricultural waste."

Grabill added, "The ecological vision is to build parks, to plant trees, to share information about the new three R's: reduce, reuse, recycle, and to control toxins in the environment."

Here are some other environmental activities of U.S.-Soviet sister cities:

■ Cambridge (MA)-Yerevan: In March, Cambridge hosted a delegation of Yerevan environmentalists who attended the New England Environmental Conference. They met with Cambridge environmentalists and lectured about ecological problems in their homeland.

■ Eugene (OR) - Irkutsk: In February, the sister city committee hosted a panel discussion, "Environmental Issues in Irkutsk and the U.S.S.R." Environmental exchanges

# Melting the "Ice Curtain"

Alaska takes the initiative in building cultural and economic bridges between itself and the Soviet Far East. Joint ventures range from fishing to farming to gold mining.

**I**N NOME, ALASKA, THE CAB DRIVERS HAVE STARTED ACCEPTING rubles.

That is one of the clearest signs that Alaska is leading the way in improving relations between the peoples of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. And no one could be happier than Alaska Governor Steve Cowper.

"We are geographically and historically better placed than any state to create a regular commerce between the Soviet Union and the United States," says Cowper.

Perhaps because of Alaska's geographic location and history, the state has seen itself as having a special role in melting the "ice curtain." Separated from the Soviet Union by just 2.5 miles at the closest point, Alaska was once part of Russia, and the first white men to explore it were Russian fur traders. The U.S. purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867 for \$7.2 million in a deal that became known as "Seward's Folly", named after Secretary of State William Henry Seward. Some Alaskan natives still have relatives in the Soviet Far East.

No wonder trade, scientific and cultural exchanges between the two neighbors are moving ahead quickly. Government officials, trade delegations and citizen groups from Alaska and the

between the two cities are on the drawing boards, including joint projects for Oregon-Irkutsk lake studies involving local scientists and environmentalists. Irkutsk invited two Eugene environmentalists to be guests of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Scientists at an international symposium this summer titled "The Ecology and Preservation of Lake Baikal."

■ **Oakland (CA) - Nakhodka:** In May, six Lithuanian environmentalists — four of whom are leaders in the "Green" movement in Lithuania — gave a presentation in Oakland on the current state of the environment in their country, co-sponsored by the local sister city association. While in the Bay Area, they met with waste water treatment managers, agricultural engineers and trustees for public land.

Soviet Far East have visited one another in recent months. Nome and Provideniya are now connected by 90-minute charter flights offered by Nome-based Bering Air, and Alaska Airlines is hoping to win landing rights in some Soviet cities. In an agreement signed last September, Eskimos of both countries can now travel visa-free across the Bering Strait.

On the academic front, the University of Alaska has signed more than 20 agreements with Soviet institutes and scientists. Researchers will share information about Arctic issues and co-sponsor botanical expeditions.

On both sides of the Bering Strait, trade opportunities have captured a lot of attention. A joint gold-mining operation has already been created. So have joint fishing, farming and telecommunications projects. But along the way, Alaskans have learned that there will be a lot of obstacles to overcome in commerce with the Soviets, ranging from language barriers to currency problems to Soviet red tape. Yet that hasn't dimmed the optimism of some people. "Perhaps the greatest potential for trade we have is looking West," says George Krusz, president of the Alaska Chamber of Commerce.

SOURCES: Governor Steve Cowper's office, State Capitol, Juneau, AK 99811 (907-465-3500); Scott Armstrong, "Alaska Warms to Task of Thawing 'Ice Curtain' Between US, Soviets," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 6, 1990, p. 1.



Trade, scientific and cultural exchanges between Alaska and the Soviet Far East are moving ahead quickly.



# Planning for Peace in New Haven

*An interview with Tom Holahan, chair of the New Haven City Peace Commission.*

LAST NOVEMBER NEW HAVEN VOTERS MADE IT CLEAR: THEY want cuts in the military budget and they want the savings directed to the nation's cities (MFP, Winter 1989-90). The referendum they approved, by a 5-to-1 margin, also called on the federal government to "guarantee conversion from military to civilian production without loss of jobs or income."

The referendum was proposed, and support for it was organized, by the New Haven City Peace Commission, an official city agency established by ordinance in 1987. David Adams spoke with Tom Holahan, the Commission chair. Holahan is a school teacher and former member of the New Haven Board of Aldermen.

## What do you see as the importance of the referendum results?

First, it unified the community by expressing the broad consensus, already documented by polls, that the Cold War should be ended and that the enormous resources previously squandered on weaponry should be used to solve our escalating social problems. There was practically no organized opposition to the referendum and support came from all sectors of the city.

Second, the referendum called attention to the importance of economic conversion. We cannot move toward peace until guarantees are provided that the dismantling of the military-industrial complex will not result in widespread unemployment and lowered incomes.

Third, it focused on the federal budget which is the key to the crisis we face. This is an economic crisis comparable to the Great Depression. And it will require government initiatives as great as those in the '30s. We are emerging, as people did from the '20s, from an era that denied the important role of the federal government in our national life.

## Is a city peace commission essential to the success of such a referendum?

No, but it helps. Legally, any group could have petitioned the Board of Aldermen to start the process. But the Commission helped legitimize the proposal. It's an official municipal agency representing not only traditional peace and solidarity activists, but also elected officials, trade unionists, students, ministers, journalists, and social service providers. We work with the school system on an annual Youth March for Peace and teacher training on peace issues. We're also involved with sister initiatives — one with

Nicaragua and one proposed with the Soviet Union.

That history gave us a base to start from. And the referendum process goes hand-in-hand with the City Peace Commission's work as part of a broader process — the institutionalization of peace. The results of our referendum will not be forgotten but will become the basis of a municipal policy toward budget-making.

## What do you mean by "the institutionalization of peace"?

War has its own institutions, like the military-industrial complex. Now we must create institutions to manage peace. For peace activists, that means a radical change in attitudes and tactics. The Vietnam protest and the Freeze movement were defined by and limited to the activity they opposed. Success was defined by ending the war or the arms build-up.

This new kind of peace movement requires the development of institutions to plan and manage peace, rather than just saying somebody else should manage it. It's a commitment that is more long-range. And it demands a sophisticated definition of goals, roles and involvement.

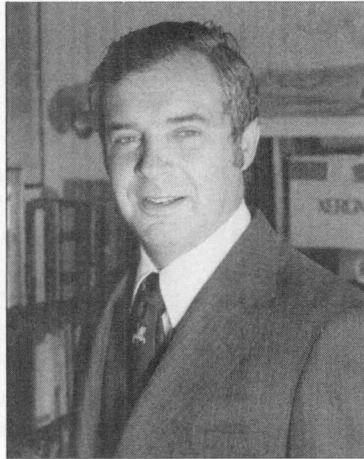
A case in point is the need for new institutions to guarantee economic conversion. At the federal level, the Weiss bill calls for alternative-use committees composed of labor and manage-

ment at every major defense facility to plan for conversion. It also calls for advisory representation from the local community. This could be one of the many planning functions served by peace commissions like ours in New Haven.

## What do you mean by "guarantees" for economic conversion?

First, it's clear that government at all levels must be deeply involved in planning for peace, just as it has always been involved in military production. In all likelihood, the peacetime products of former military companies will need subsidies or government agencies will have to remain the primary purchaser, at least until the companies can be weaned from government dependence. Job retraining and relocation and the provision of special unemployment benefits and job referral services will be needed. Someone has wryly, but accurately I think, called these "Veterans of the Cold War" benefits.

If all else fails, there must be the possibility, however extreme, that governments can manage companies. Public takeovers of utility companies at the state and local levels are a precedent. The process of economic conversion is simply too important to be left to chance. We need to develop and adopt a national peace policy. Failure to plan for peace would be as disastrous as failure to plan in the context of war.



Peace Commission Chair Tom Holahan

*David Adams is a professor of psychology and the author of American Peace Movements: History, Causes and Future (1986) and Psychology for Peace Activists (1987). Both books are available from Adams, 256 Shore Drive, Branford, CT 06405.*

# No Place Like Home

Palo Alto offers international visitors an evening away from Disneylands and roadside alligator wrestling. In the process, it tries to advance international understanding.

**T**ONY ANDERSSON ORGANIZES INTERNATIONAL trips for Swedish business and political leaders. And what they want most in a trip to the United States, Andersson says, is more than a quick boat ride around the Statue of Liberty, a Grand Canyon fly-over and a day-long race through Disneyland. They want to mingle with the natives. They want to see how Americans live.

In Palo Alto, Andersson says, international tourists can do just that.

Two years ago, Palo Alto city officials established the International Visitors Committee (IVC). And now, says the *Palo Alto Times*, "The concept of a global community is actualized in the realm of the American home."

The original home was called "Bryant House" — a 1920s mission-style home overlooking Bryant Street and belonging to Anne Saldich, a Palo Alto resident and co-chair of the program. As meetings have become more popular, the gatherings have moved to the Palo Alto home of Maya and Nick Selby. Each Wednesday, international visitors drop in at the Selby home on Melville Street to mix with Americans, to practice their English, and to eat what passes in this diverse country for "native" cuisine.

"It's a one-on-one way to increase international understanding," Saldich says. "We try to provide a homey atmosphere with firelight, candlelight, music — in a place where people can come and talk. It's really a very down-home, grass-roots kind of thing."

"It's an activity you don't normally do



JOE CARLETON

## A TASTE OF AMERICA

Taiwanese visitors are greeted by the International Visitors Committee at a gathering in Palo Alto.

that travelers would very much like to do," says Swedish tour organizer Andersson. "I think the idea is terrific."

So do Palo Altans. Joe Carleton, a member of the council-established IVC, says the program demonstrates that "there's a lot of world outside Palo Alto."

But on Wednesday evenings the "world outside Palo Alto" gathers inside the city — in particular at the Melville Street home now officially referred to as the International Visitors Committee's Hospitality Center. The place is alive with foreign tongues — Chinese agriculture students and Japanese music students from Stanford University, Middle Eastern business leaders in the Bay Area for a quick commercial visit, or Andersson's collection of Swedish business and political leaders eager to discover something called American culture.

"To be received in someone's home is rare" for international travelers, Saldich says. "Usually as a visitor you're received at a university banquet or a restaurant, but you never get to see how people live. We want people to get the feeling of an American home."

The International Visitors Committee is an arm of Palo Alto's sister cities program, Neighbors Abroad. The committee's work is sponsored by a variety of private organizations — including the Bechtel International Center at Stan-

ford, the Council of the Arts for Palo Alto and Midpeninsula, the American Association of University Women, the YWCA and the Red Cross — as well as the city government, which provides the group with free meeting space, printing, staff support, and other subsidies.

But the gatherings at the Selby home — as well as at nearby restaurants and parks — remain the International Visitors Committee's most obvious success, perhaps because the idea of bringing strangers into one's home, if only for a few hours each week, is what peace work is all about. As the Mexicans say, "Mi casa es tu casa."

And that, says Michel Nabti, a 25-year Palo Alto resident and native of Lebanon, is why Palo Alto and the city's Hospitality Center deserve to become models for other U.S. cities.

"People, cultures and communities are better known not through official government policies, but through personal contacts," says Nabti, a former fellow of Stanford's Hoover Institute. "IVC is so timely in meeting this kind of need — to learn as well as share in a mutual cycle of give and take — for the promotion of brotherhood and peace."

SOURCES: Anne Saldich, 1500 Bryant Street, Palo Alto, CA 94303 (415-327-8620); Palo Alto International Visitors Committee (415-324-9091); Linda P. Jacob, "Visitor committee efforts successful," *Palo Alto Times*, August 30, 1988; Carolyne Zinko, "In the home: 'good way to connect,'" *Palo Alto Times*, December 1, 1988.



# Waging World Peace

BRIDGING THE GLOBAL GAP: A HANDBOOK TO LINKING CITIZENS OF THE FIRST AND THIRD WORLDS.  
Medea Benjamin and Andrea Freedman (Seven Locks Press, P.O. Box 27, Cabin John, MD 20818), 1989.

**T**HE INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT IS REALLY NOTHING NEW. THE American Revolution may not have succeeded were it not for the help of Europeans. In the 1930s, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade traveled to Spain in the battle against Francisco Franco's brand of fascism.

But as Medea Benjamin and Andrea Freedman point out, today's progressive internationalists are not motivated by calls to arms. They are reaching out beyond their own borders, driven by a spirit of nonviolent commitment to social, economic and political goals.

Both Benjamin and Freedman are personal examples of modern-day internationalists. They are co-founders of Global Exchange, a two-year-old non-profit research, education and action center designed to build people-to-people bridges between the U.S. and the Third World. And as the subtitle of their book promises, they have created a useful and thoughtful handbook to help make citizen connections possible.

*Bridging the Global Gap* describes how people have made a commitment to international consciousness for a variety of reasons. Some have recognized that the only solutions to the greenhouse effect and the annihilation of the rain forests are global ones. Others have been compelled to act by the poverty and the hunger that ravages the Third World. Still others are driven by an urgency to find alternatives to nuclear destruction.

Whatever their original motivation, they have found themselves joined together by the reality that nations and people are interdependent. And in some cases, even these activists have been surprised that their own political and social perspectives have changed so dramatically along the way.

Among the most engaging sections of the book are the authors' mini-profiles of people like Loren Hedstrom, a hog farmer from Scandia, Kansas, who, almost on a whim, joined a church delegation traveling to Mexico and Nicaragua ("The church agreed to pay part of the trip, so I figured, 'why not?'"). In meetings with church leaders in Mexico, Hedstrom was startled by explanations he heard about the reasons for the poverty there, and how the U.S. was contributing to its perpetuation. "I was a very conservative Republican — I come from Reagan country,

you know — and I got quite upset about the things I was hearing."

But then Hedstrom started talking to the people in the countries he visited, listening to their own hopes and dreams for their future. Eventually, he was won over by their modest aspirations for a piece of land of their own and a better life for their families.

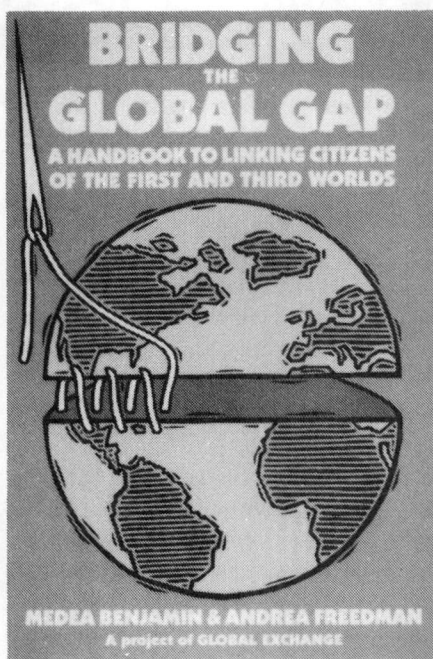
"This kind of experience is a very heavy thing — it shakes up everything you ever learned, everything you ever believed," Hedstrom told the authors. He has taken his transformed thinking back with him to Kansas, talking about his experiences in churches and Lions Club meetings. Today, he is district coordinator for the Lutheran hunger program, and he works on poverty and justice issues.

Hedstrom concedes that his travel experiences in Central America were very emotional, and were not "fun and games." Benjamin and Freedman seem to agree. Throughout their book, they confront the tough realities that are part of an international consciousness. For instance, they discuss the dilemmas that are inevitable parts of sister city relationships, tackling tough questions like, "Given the social and economic disparities between potential partners, can partnerships become more than a one-way transfer of resources? If not, what makes them any different from traditional charity?" Or, "Doesn't having

a U.S. partner unfairly benefit one community over another? Can't partnerships actually disrupt a Third World government's efforts to allocate and distribute scarce resources?"

*Bridging the Global Gap* also offers guidelines on building organizational strength, and again, confronts difficult issues such as the white and middle-class predominance within the internationalist movement here. At the 1987 U.S.-Nicaragua sister city conference, for example, there was only one black delegate out of some 350 who attended. That individual challenged others in the sister city movement to strengthen their commitment to the people struggling for survival in their own home cities, and to involve them in activities.

Benjamin and Freedman write that "the success of these organizations will ultimately depend on their ability to reflect our broader society. . . . Our understanding of poverty and racism in the Third World can only be designed by seeing the issues through the eyes of fellow citizens who struggle with them in their



everyday lives."

Ties between peoples of different cultures and economic strata have the potential for making a real difference in how the world is shaped. And in the back of *Bridging the Global Gap*, a 100-page resource guide to internationalist organizations suggests that we really are on the

brink of a new era, shifting away from the philosophy that there are "our" problems and "their" problems. According to Benjamin and Freedman, "The new internationalist movement has a unique opportunity to be a key player in building and shaping the momentum for change." [R.T.]

---

## **Priorities**, from page 36

marketplace.

The events in Eastern Europe and the redefinition of our relationship with the Soviets provide us with a historic opportunity to address priorities that have been on our national back burner for too long.

Whether it is finding a cure for AIDS, expanding mass transit or rescuing our public schools from neglect, we must begin to bring our tax dollars home now in order to defend America's cities. Because while we may be winning the Cold War in Europe, we still face a life and death

struggle against drugs, joblessness and disease within our own borders.

America's children deserve a better future from us than poverty-ridden cities and high-tech weaponry.

That's why the cry for freedom that today is heard from the Baltic to Bulgaria can become our rallying cry, too, as we speak out for new spending priorities and a productive peacetime economy.

Just as we have shown ourselves strong enough to fight any war, let us be wise enough to plan for peace.

---

*This article is reprinted with the permission of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.*

## **BULLETIN CLASSIFIEDS**

**BUILD HOMES NOT BOMBS - THE VIDEO.** Why are thousands of people forced to leave their homes each month? Why does our government spend more than half our tax dollars on the military? Why can't we shift our national priorities from weapons to people? The answers are in the Jobs with Peace video, *Build Homes Not Bombs*. William Sloane Coffin called it a "compassionate description of our housing situation with consistently thoughtful connections with the arms race." Jobs with Peace Campaign, 76 Summer Street, Boston, MA 02110 (617-338-5783).

**TRAVEL PROGRAMS IN CENTRAL AMERICA.** A directory for Central America study, delegations, work brigades, nature expeditions, service opportunities in all fields. 150 organizations listed. Map, embassy, air fare information and trip calendar. 48 pages, \$5. Central America Information Center, P.O. Box 50211-W, San Diego, CA 92105 (619-583-2925).

**TRAVEL AROUND THE WORLD FOR YOUR B.A. DEGREE** - Design a world class curriculum with international faculty on five continents. Three years outside your home country. Recognized B.A. Global awareness. Planetary citizens. What's really going on? Discover. Explore. Live it. The future is looking for you. You want an education. We'll give you the world. Friends World College, Arthur Meyer, Director of Admissions, Plover Lane, Huntington, New York 11743 (516-549-1102).

**SHOPPING FOR A BETTER WORLD** is a quick and easy guide to socially responsible supermarket shopping. This second edition pocket-size guide contains information on corporate social responsibility that will help you cast your economic vote as conscientiously as your political vote. To order one copy send \$4.95 plus \$1 postage to: The Council on Economic Priorities, 30 Irving Pl., New York, NY 10003 (1-800-U CAN HELP).

**BEQUESTS.** Add a bequest to the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, or for one of its many projects to your will. For more information contact Carol Simon, The Center for Innovative Diplomacy, 17931-F Sky Park Circle, Irvine, CA 92714.

---

For information on classifieds write or call: Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy Classified Advertising 17931-F Sky Park Circle Irvine, CA 92714 (714) 250-1296



## **HIROSHIMA NAGASAKI LIVE**

**A World-wide Link-up by  
Telephone, Radio, and Computer  
Universal Peace Week, August 3rd to 9th**

**As the Peace Bells chime in Hiroshima, Japan, on the morning of August 6th (Japan time), people from around the world will begin a telephone conference call and live radio broadcast. This conference will be the highlight of the week of International Conferencing by Computer, to commemorate Universal Peace Week, August 3rd to 9th, and will be broadcast live wherever possible.**

**Please join us for Hiroshima Nagasaki Live,  
a worldwide telephone, radio and computer link-up for peace.**

**For information contact us immediately by phone, express mail,  
or electronic mail if you wish to participate.**

Hiroshima Nagasaki Live  
World Conference Link-ups  
Dove's Palace, 7098 Hawks Avenue  
Vancouver B.C., Canada V6A, 3J3  
604-266-0889  
Sky on TWICS, KAMOME, WEB



# Ending the Cold War at Home

It's time to address priorities at home that have been neglected for too long.

by Mike White

Mayor, Cleveland, Ohio

**F**OR THOSE OF US WHO GREW UP IN THE shadow of superpower conflict, the remarkable growth and success of the democracy movements in Eastern Europe have been as astonishing as they have been inspiring. After all, who could have imagined that by 1990 Western Europe would face a siege not of Soviet tanks, but of East German tourists?

This grassroots uprising against communism reminds all of us that the hunger for liberty, whether it be in Cracow, Cape Town or Cleveland, remains one of the greatest forces on Earth. In the wake of this peaceful revolution few can doubt that we now face the most significant opportunity for real peace in Europe since World War II.

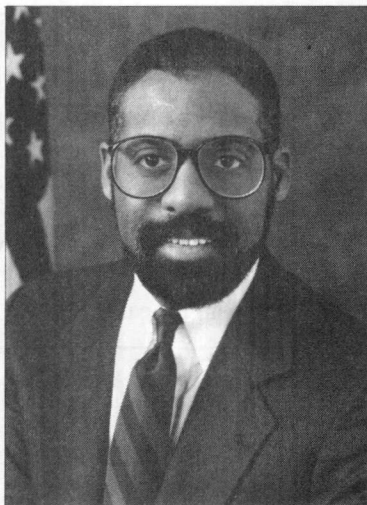
For Americans the events in Europe have meant something else, too: new prospects for reduced tensions with the Soviet Union and, with it, a return to a true peacetime economy. And for us the impact of that second "revolution," while hardly as dramatic, may be almost as far-reaching.

Defense Secretary Richard Cheney's plan to trim \$180 billion from the 1992-94 military budget — though representing only a minor poke at Pentagon fat — opens a long-awaited dialogue over how military spending should be trimmed in the wake of our changing relationship with the Soviets. But, more than that, it raises the issue of how those savings should be reallocated.

According to our city's finance department, more than \$3.5 billion will leave Cuyahoga County to help pay for military-related spending for fiscal year 1990. That comes to more than \$2,300 per person. With Pentagon spending averaging \$34 million an hour, it is not hard to understand how we came to be paying so much.

What isn't as clear is why, as we enter what President Bush has described as a new era in U.S.-Soviet relations, we cannot redirect some of those dollars to meet our needs here at home. For Cleveland families, joblessness, drugs, crime and overcrowded classrooms loom as a far greater danger than the prospect of a Soviet invasion.

The choice is not whether we can afford to bankrupt our cities and public services for the sake of unlimited military expansion. Clearly we cannot. Instead the issue is where military budget cuts are made — how deep they will go — and whether the savings will be applied to rebuilding our communities. If anyone doubts the



impact that defense budget savings could have on urban life, he should just consider what we could buy with the \$1 trillion the Star Wars system would cost us.

According to Sane/Freeze, America's most prestigious peace activist organization, for the cost of one Star Wars system we could afford to give every family in Ohio a \$75,000 house, place it on \$5,000 worth of land, furnish it with \$10,000 worth of furniture and put a \$10,000 car in each garage.

We'd still have enough money left to do the same for every family in Indiana and West Virginia while having still enough to build a \$10 million hospital and a \$10 million library in 250 other cities and towns.

Of course, most in government would argue that the idea of spending so much on civilian needs is inconceivable. And perhaps that's part of the problem, too.

Too many in government have come to accept that it is impossible to address the fact that every year at least 10,000 people in Cleveland have no place to live, yet these government officials are unwilling to question the propriety of spending \$100 billion for the Trident II submarine and F-18 jet fighter programs. Too many accept our government's refusal to adequately fund child care while it spends \$4 billion on nuclear warheads during one six-month period. In 1987, 13,000 children of parents on welfare in Cleveland needed child care in order for their parents to work.

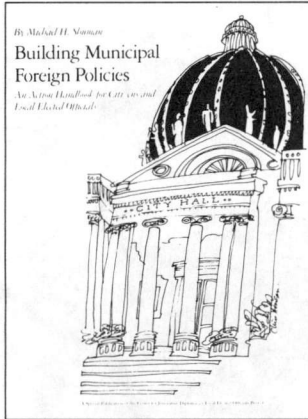
While Rich DeColibus of the Cleveland Teachers Union and other community leaders rightly point out the necessity of bringing more educators into our public school system, federal spending for education was slashed by 14 percent between 1982 and 1986. At the same time, dollars for the military increased at a rate almost three times as great. In the 1990s, we can't tolerate federal spending priorities that place more value on developing military technology than on safeguarding the very human resources our nation will depend on for the next century.

Though a modernized steel industry and an expanded U.S. capability in electronics and machine tools may not fit some conventional definitions of national security, we also know that we cannot build America's future on fast-food jobs and foreign imports. By redirecting some of the 70 percent of federal research dollars now dedicated to the military to the civilian sector, we can begin to strengthen our ability to compete once again in the world

see *Priorities*, page 35

# CID RESOURCES

17931 SKY PARK CIRCLE • SUITE F • IRVINE, CA 92714 • 714-250-1296



**Building Municipal Foreign Policies**  
An Action Handbook for Citizens and Local Elected Officials.

A large format, softcover guide to thinking globally and acting locally. 1987. 59 pp. \$6

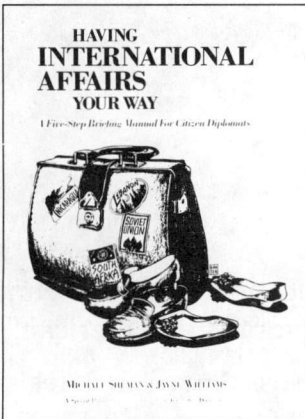


**The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy**

*"...an indispensable resource for local officials and activists across the country"*

— St. Paul Mayor  
Jim Scheibel,

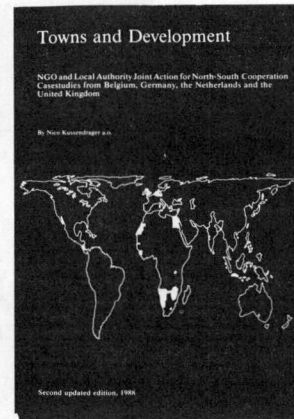
Join the Center for Innovative Diplomacy and become a subscriber to the Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy. Four Quarterly issues \$35.



**Having International Affairs Your Way**

A Five-Step Briefing Manual for Citizen Diplomats.

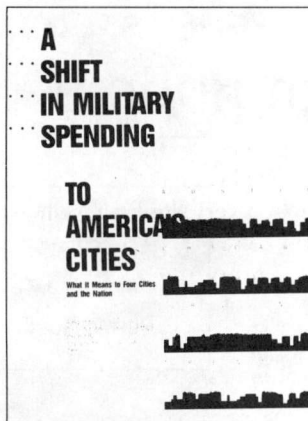
A large format, softcover handbook for starting your own people-to-people diplomacy. 29 pp. \$6



**Towns and Development**

A guide to Europe's city-based Third World development projects.

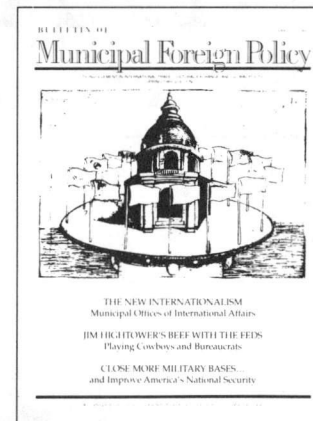
A large format, softcover handbook including the Cologne Appeal and case studies. 1988. 100 pp. \$6



**A Shift in Military Spending**

What it means to Four Cities and the Nation

A large format, softcover report prepared by Employment Research Associates for the United States Conference of Mayors. 1988. 49 pp. \$10



**Back issues of The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy**

V. 3, No. 3 - U.S. Cities and South African Apartheid  
V. 3, No. 4 - Feds Attack Municipal Foreign Policy  
V. 4, No. 1 - Cities and the Berlin Wall  
V. 4, No. 2 - Cities on Drugs \$6 each



# NATIONAL SECURITY?



Amy Zuckerman / Impact Visuals

National security means more than weapons.

It means economically vibrant communities. It means health care and education, child care, and transportation worthy of our citizens. It means decent affordable housing for every American.

Measured in these terms, our national security has been breached. But across America, cities and towns are fighting back with an array of innovative foreign policy strategies.

Along the way they're changing the world.

## READ ABOUT IT. The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy

  
**CID**

CENTER FOR  
INNOVATIVE  
DIPLOMACY

17931- F Sky Park Circle  
Irvine, CA 92714

ADDRESS CORRECTION  
REQUESTED

Non-Profit Organization  
U.S. POSTAGE PAID  
Santa Ana, CA  
Permit No. 522