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BULLETIN

MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

AUTUMN 1989, VOL. 3, No. 4 • THREE DOLLARS

MFP


- **CITIES AND OZONE DEPLETION**
- **CHINA'S GREAT LEAP BACKWARDS**
- **MAINE'S REBEL REPUBLICAN**

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

WHAT JESSE WANTS

**Jesse Helms
and the Feds
attack municipal
foreign policy**

**IMMIGRATION • NUCLEAR FREE ZONES • SOUTH AFRICA • SISTER CITIES • CHINA
INTERNATIONAL TRADE • LOCAL STATE DEPARTMENTS • GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT**



How well cities will fare in the face of powerful economic and technological forces will depend on their ability to anticipate and adapt to the challenge of a global society. No city can afford to take its future for granted; history is a graveyard of cities. If the culture of cities is to be sustained, city development will have to become willful and intentional. Cities, having been eclipsed by nationalization, and now, globalization, have an opportunity to reassert themselves.

Richard V. Knight

Cities in a Global Society





IMAGEN LATINA / IMPACT VISUALS

A NEW WAVE OF REFUGEES

fleeing economic and political violence have made their homes in the U.S. Page 14.

UP FRONT

The Trickle-Up Theory 4

BRIEFS

Posponing Apocalypse Now, Auf Wiedersehen to War Toys, County Targets Cocaine Capital 5

ENVIRONMENT

CFCs' Days are Numbered 8

IMMIGRATION

Tired Masses Huddling in U.S. Cities 14

CHINA

A Great Leap Backwards 19

FEATURE

Feds on Offense? 22

NUCLEAR FREE ZONES

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner 25

SOUTH AFRICA

Tallahassee Feels Fury of Anti-Apartheid Storm 26

South Africa Agrees to Spare Black Township 28

Chipping Away at the Divestment Con Game 30

CENTRAL AMERICA

A Salvadoran Sister City Struggles to Survive 32

Sister Cities Gear Up for Nicaraguan Elections 34

Nicaraguan Sister City Briefs 37

ARMS CONTROL

Residents Move to Ban Designer Diseases 42

Local Activists Chop Away at GWEN Towers 44

ECONOMIC CONVERSION BRIEFS 46

NATIONAL PRIORITIES

Conference Score: Win One, Lose One 48

OFFICES OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Iowa Gambles on Peace 49

At Last in St. Louis 50

San Jose Emerges from San Francisco's Shadow 51

PEOPLE

Rebel Republican 52

SOVIET SISTER CITY BRIEFS 54

THE LAST WORD

The View from Wisconsin 60

ON THE COVER

WHAT DOES JESSE HELMS WANT? What does the Bush Administration want? Perhaps an end to municipal foreign policy. Page 22.
Cover Photo by Shia / Impact Visuals

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LETTERS

KUDOS

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your excellent publication. In my view there are few issues more important than democratizing our foreign policy debate and, through local government, getting as many people involved in that discussion as possible. In Burlington, we received some criticism for doing that. But I believe the vast majority of our citizens saw the direct connection between a \$300 billion military budget, the loss of revenue sharing, high property taxes, inadequate schools and underfunded police departments.

Your publication is moving in exactly the right direction by raising these interrelated issues before a wide audience.

Bernard Sanders
Burlington, VT
Sanders was Mayor of Burlington, Vermont, 1981-1988

TURN TO CONGRESS

We face many crises simultaneously today: environmental, economic, military, nuclear, educational and health. We face the shame of having women with young children become the fastest growing victims of poverty. In order to encourage action rather than despair, we must select our goals and targets carefully—being sure that each step increases our numbers.

The hardest task is to face the realities of our limited forces and the length of time it takes to win converts to the cause of working for peace. We must first consider what issues are considered vital by previous non-voters. Then we must carefully select tactics suitable in this era—because defeats discourage further political action, especially by newcomers; they lead to cynicism (and/or gardening).

We should not, for example, waste our time trying to pass State Neutrality Acts, as Michael Shuman suggested in the Winter 1988-89 issue of the *Bulletin*.

Even if the state legislatures could be convinced, and even if county district attorneys could be convinced to prosecute — two enormous “ifs” — the defendants would rush into state or federal courts to stop the prosecutions and would undoubtedly win: There is no state power to deal with foreign policy under traditional constitutional principles of federalism.

We must admit we are now suffering under the Rehnquist Supreme Court and will be doing so for several decades.

This Court, since January 1989, has voted six times to limit civil rights actions to overcome racial and sexual discrimination — acts of discrimination outlawed in 1868, 1920 and 1964. The Court decided not to hold state and local governments liable for the intentionally discriminatory acts of their employees.

In the private sector, the Court shifted the burden of proof to the employee in discrimination cases, and shortened the deadline for filing cases challenging the seniority systems. The Court majority attacked state and local affirmative action programs adopted to increase the hiring of women and minorities. And also held that a county is not responsible for protecting children from parents the county knows to be child beaters, while upholding state anti-abortion regulations.

The Court that handed down these decisions is not going to uphold a new role in foreign policy

for municipalities and states. Instead, if local elected officials work to protect the health and safety of their cities from modern dangers — rather than working on self-described “municipal foreign policies” — local and federal courts, acting under traditional principles, will have no grounds for censuring their actions. Even so, it may require careful defensive work on procedural issues to prevent broad and inappropriate findings of unconstitutionality on nuclear free zone ordinances for treading on allegedly “exclusively federal powers” over military “defense.”

We must also admit that, ultimately, there is no shortcut to effective political action at the national level. We must convince our friends and neighbors, and our local elected officials, that the key to progress is the House of Representatives.

Ann Fagan Ginger
Berkeley, CA
Ginger is Chair of the

Berkeley, California, City Commission on Peace and Justice; Executive Director, Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute. The remainder of her letter will run in the Winter 1989-90 issue of the Bulletin.

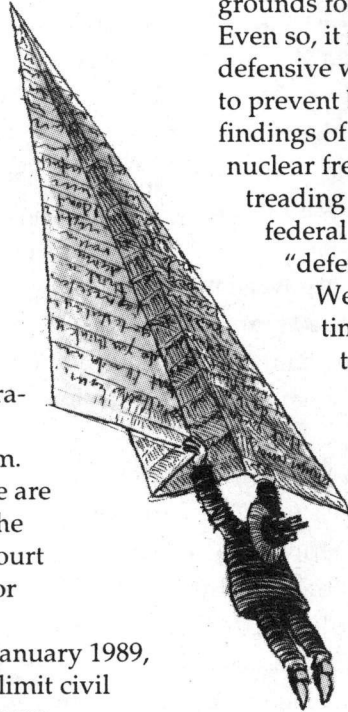
FIGHT THE POWER

You're doing a great job.

Aside from the worthiness of specific issues such as the Stratospheric Protection Accord project, the overall CID concept will dilute the centralization of power in Washington and return power to the people, encourage participatory democracy, and minimize the influence of powerful special interest groups.

Good luck.

Phil Cutler
Costa Mesa, CA



CID

C	E	N	T	E	R	F	O	R
I	N	N	O	V	A	T	I	V
D	I	P	L	O	M	A	C	Y

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.

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.

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THE TRICKLE-UP THEORY

Larry Agran, Senior Editor

In its first nine months," writes Will Swaim in this issue of the *Bulletin*, "the Bush administration attacked city-based foreign policy initiatives in court, through a federal agency, and in the Senate, leading some to speculate that the Administration has settled on a strategy for its battle with what an administration official called 'renegade local governments.'"

Talk of "renegades" doesn't bother me. Those of us in local governments taking stands on foreign affairs issues are indeed renegades. And, like renegades in Tiananmen Square, nationalists in the Baltic states, in Polish Solidarity, and in the civil rights movement, we've been called troublemakers — less because of what we *do* than because of what we *represent* to federal officials weaned on the milk of authoritarianism.

And that's what really bothers me: Federal officials who can cheer on Baltic nationalists, the students in Tiananmen Square, and the disintegration of Soviet political hegemony in Eastern Europe, grow positively cranky when decentralization pops up on the home front. Free-thinking people are fine, it seems, so long as they live in someone else's empire.

And this is especially true of recent Republican administrations. For all their talk about localism, Republican federal officials — even those who claim to represent states' rights — trust few beyond the Beltway. They won't say as much, of course. Ronald Reagan said he was "calling for an end to giantism" and a return to the "human scale" of the "local fraternal lodge, the church congregation, the book club, the farm bureau" and — you guessed it — "the town council, the board of selectmen, and the precinct captain." One year ago, candidate Bush told the nation that volunteerism, the "thousand points of light" — not the federal government — would solve the nation's pressing social, economic, and political problems.

But when folks actually begin to take charge of their lives, to build the kind of decent public policies that reflect their best instincts, Republican federal officials get edgy. The lips keep moving mechanically — producing all the ap-

propriate sounds — but the eyes glaze over.

Without a doubt, most Democratic administrations would act similarly. President Kennedy was never hobbled by even the rhetoric — let alone the convictions — of a democrat. Nor was President Johnson much interested in what folks in Ann Arbor thought of his Southeast Asia wars.

The point is that the federal government, whether Republican or Democratic, can never perfectly represent the ambitions of the American people. No government can. But local government comes closest. And, when citizens are persuaded that a federal foreign policy is misguided, even patently knuckle-headed, they ought to turn — and frequently have turned — to their local government for redress.

Nor are Americans likely to stop acting on foreign policy issues. "We are dealing with an issue of the spirit of the American Constitution," says Daniel Patrick Moynihan. "From the day this Union of States was formed, we have found that citizens, communities, States, feeling strongly about moral or ethical issues in world affairs, have made their position clear, and have undertaken actions that affect them and them alone. Often we have found that, with time, as we are seeing, those views spread. They gain ascendancy, and policy rises from the grassroots of the nation to the nation's capital."

Often we have found out that, with time, those views spread. Indeed we have. That was the intelligence of President Reagan's Executive Order 12612, signed two years ago, on October 26. In it, the president ordered federal agencies to return to local governments the power to govern. "In the search for enlightened public policy," the order reads, "individual States and communities are free to experiment with a variety of approaches to public issues."

And that is why democracy is better than other systems of government. It works. In the thousands of democratic laboratories that are the City Halls of this nation, daring public policy experiments are unfolding. Some of them will produce foreign policy strategies that make sense. A sprinkling of cities, and then more, will copy them, until, at last, the federal government itself will see the wisdom of the new thinking.

Call it the Trickle-Up Theory of public policy. ■

POSTPONING APOCALYPSE NOW

MALIBU'S CHAMBER OF Commerce wanted an honorary mayor "with no particular duties except to cut a ribbon now and then," and to promote its "Shop Malibu" campaign. What it got, when it named actor Martin Sheen to the post, was a nuclear free zone.

In an open letter — dated "this 8th day of May, the birthday of Daniel Berrigan" — the new mayor of Malibu wrote, "It is my purpose and pleasure to express the sincere good wishes to the people and the environment of Malibu."

"To that end," Sheen concluded, "I hereby declare Malibu a Nuclear Free Zone, a sanctuary for aliens and the homeless, and a protected environment for all life, wild and tame!"

The Chamber called Sheen's declaration "an irresponsible personal statement," and some called for his resignation. But hundreds of residents came to his support, with a full-page ad in a local paper and dozens of letters to the editor.

SOURCE: "Nuclear Free Malibu," *The New Abolitionist*, Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th Street, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575), June/July 1989, p. 2; Mayor Martin Sheen, c/o The Malibu Chamber of Commerce, 22235 Pacific Coast Highway, Malibu, CA 90265.

SAXY CLINTON

WHILE POLLS IN EUROPE — and in some places in the United States — suggest that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is



more popular than his U.S. counterpart, at least one Soviet woman has cast her vote for Arkansas's sax-playing Governor Bill Clinton.

"You are young and handsome and also musical," Soviet television commentator Svetlana Starodomsкая told Clinton after an interview the two taped in the Capitol. "There is not a single leader in our country who plays the saxophone."

Starodomsкая was visiting Arkansas in May as part of an all-woman Soviet delegation hosted by the Soviet-American Women's Exchange, a group of professional Arkansas women promoting woman-to-woman exchanges between the countries. She anchors the Soviet program, "Time."

Starodomsкая hoped to persuade Clinton to gig for her 200 million viewers, and the governor tried to fit it into his schedule.

But a press secretary at the Capitol told the *Bulletin* that Clinton's Soviet musical debut never came off.

"It just never worked out," Clinton's press secretary said. "He didn't have the saxophone in his office that day."

What Clinton did have that day was hope that "more exchanges like this" would continue to bring the U.S. and the Soviet Union closer together.

DON'T STOP

THE OUTGOING PRESIDENT of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, Mayor Arthur Holland of Trenton, New Jersey, says he believes local governments will be more, not less, involved in world affairs.

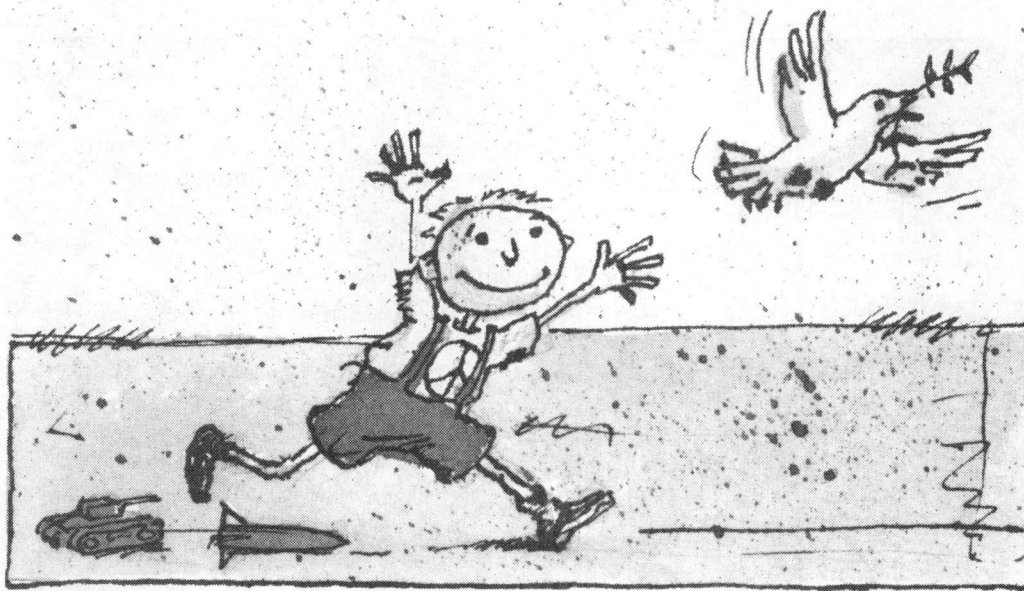
Speaking before the Conference's June gathering in Charleston, South Carolina, Holland noted that representatives from several foreign countries were in attendance —

hoping, Holland said, to discover "what we have learned about local governance, about services to citizens, about any facet of local leadership."

What U.S. local officials have learned, Holland suggested, is that foreign countries aren't all that foreign.

"Mayors traveled overseas this year to reinforce ties with old friends, and to reach out to new ones," Holland said. In the Orient, Conference delegations visited Taiwan and "established a new relationship with the Japan Association of Mayors."

Holland also pointed to more politically charged Conference initiatives. Besides his own contacts with Soviet local officials, Holland noted that the Conference had helped establish a conference of mayors in Israel, started a dialogue with mayors in Argentina, and will send a delegation of U.S. mayors to Bogota, Colombia, "to



continue our international efforts to combat the illegal use of drugs." Last spring, two representatives of the Conference attended a symposium for Chinese mayors in Beijing.

"You have noted, I'm sure, that in many of the countries we worked with this year, the people are fighting for change in government, for greater democracy, for more rights as citizens....In China, in the Soviet Union, in Argentina — in any country in which people and their government leaders are struggling over rights and freedoms — we must stand ready to help," Holland said.

"When mayors of other countries ask us to share what we have learned about local governance," Holland concluded, "we should feel an obligation to respond. I think we should all agree that such an obligation exists, and that we will honor it, because it appears likely that, in the

months and years ahead, our help will be needed by more and more of our brother and sister mayors overseas."

SOURCE: "Mayor Holland: Looking Beyond Our Borders," *The Mayor*, V. 56, no. 14 (July 3, 1989), p. 2. U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 Eye St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

AUF WIEDERSEHEN TO WAR TOYS

THE TOWN COUNCIL IN Ehingen-on-the-Danube, a city in the southwestern German state of Swabia, is helping kids to say no — to war. They've outlawed the sale of war toys in the town's public markets.

Ludwig Griener, the director of the Ehingen-on-the-Danube office overseeing the prohibition, pointed out last fall that the ban covers only city-sponsored markets. Private businesses may continue to sell, among other war-related playthings, plastic guns, toy soldiers with shoulder-launched battlefield nuclear weapons, and military vehicles. But as

they do so, Griener says, such business people will undermine "the global peace efforts" of which his city's ban is a part.

LEARNING TO LIVE WITH THE BOMB

LAST JANUARY, THE Santa Cruz, California, city council voted to pull in the welcome mat it has habitually put out for visiting nuclear-armed warships. So, on July 4, the Navy frigate *USS Francis Hammond* tied up at the municipal wharf in Capitola — just a few miles east of Santa Cruz on the broad, northern stretch of California's Monterey Bay.

"All the years the Navy came to Santa Cruz I never saw this much hype," boasted outgoing Capitola Mayor, Bob Bucher. Three cities, including Capitola had pitched in a total of \$20,000 to ensure the *Hammond's* sailors would find the port of their

dreams: a beach-front condominium for off-duty sailors, picnics, backyard barbecues, a volleyball tournament.

Capitola City Manager Stephen Burrell says "it's really hard to say" just how much money tourists and sailors brought to Capitola during the Fourth of July weekend. "We're normally busy then, anyway," he says. But, in calls to local businesses, Burrell says, merchants told him "they'd never had so much business. They were filled all the time, from opening to closing time."

Burrell is quick to point out that the *Hammond's* visit was not intended as a money-maker. "The people of the community really did it," Burrell says. "They just wanted to express their appreciation."

One sailor told a local reporter that, in 12 years, he'd "never seen such a welcome," pointing out that an earlier stop in Japan aboard the nuclear-armed *Enterprise* had been soured by protesting Japanese. "You know how the Japanese feel about nuclear weapons," he said.

Yes, we do.

SOURCE: Elizabeth Kadetsky, "Patriots on Parade," *The Sun*, July 6, 1989; Steve Burrell, Capitola City Mgr. (408-475-7300).

COUNTY TARGETS COCAINE CAPITAL

IN AUGUST, CECILIA Zarate-Laun watched events in her native Colombia take a dramatic turn. The Colombian government's on-again, off-again war with power-

ful, well-armed Colombian drug cartels suddenly heated up. Bombs exploded at city halls around the nation. The infamous Medellin drug cartel claimed responsibility for the assassination of judges and local officials, and vowed to carry out a nationwide war to protect itself.

But Zarate-Laun, now a resident of Madison, Wisconsin, is certain that U.S. military aid will not help matters. "Today cocaine has become the basis for an unholy alliance between drug lords, the Colombian military, and death squads that have killed thousands of people in my country," Zarate-Laun says.

If military aid won't work, what will? "We need the solidarity of the American people," Zarate-Laun says simply.

Laun has organized a fledgling sister-city project between Dane County, Wisconsin, and the city of Apartado in Colombia's banana-producing region. In early October, the project will host a three-day forum for Colombian support groups throughout the United States.

"Our goal is to raise consciousness among American's about what is happening in Colombia," she says. "The fear, torture and killing going on there is closely tied with what is happening on the streets and crack houses in this country."

SOURCE: Cecilia Zarate-Laun, Dane County-Apartado Sister City Project, 206 N. Pinckney, Madison, WI 53703 (608-273-4767 or 608-255-6554).

FUNDING OF CITIES DOWN

IT COMES AS NO SURPRISE that federal and state aid to the nation's cities has declined in the 1980s. What may come as a surprise is that the decline was so sharp. From a high-water point in 1977, federal aid to cities fell from 12 percent of city budgets to five percent, says National League of Cities (NLC) policy analyst Douglas Peterson.

On a series of what the NLC calls "priority programs," Peterson says, the decline was even more pronounced.

Cuts in federal assistance to local housing programs, for example, were "extremely steep," Peterson says, falling to a

building on municipal budgets — "despite a heavy round of increases in local taxes and fees."

"The ledgers of local government show the reality of what happens when others say, 'No new taxes,'" said Alan Beals, NLC executive director. "The burden is shifted, the taxes are shifted, and the cities get clobbered."

The National League of Cities has, in each of its last two national gatherings, passed national priorities resolutions calling on the federal government to redirect federal funds now spent on military programs to urban priority programs.

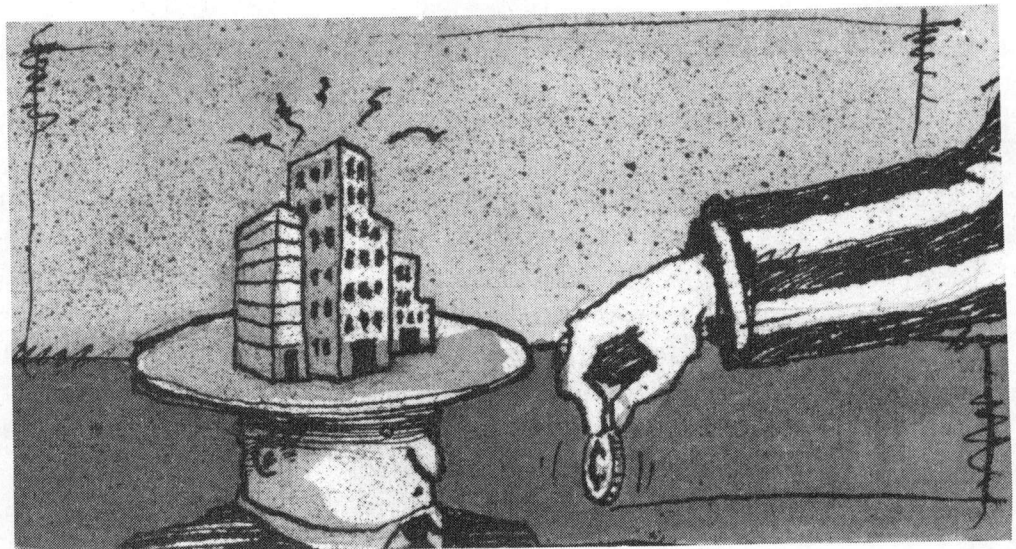
SOURCE: Douglas Peterson, National League of Cities (202-626-3000); Randy Arndt, "Pressures building on city budgets," *Nation's Cities Weekly*, July 10, 1989, p. 1.

the Second World Conference, 50 mayors from 13 nations took time out from a round of speeches, workshops and tours of Hiroshima to write letters to George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev — urging the two to sign a comprehensive test ban treaty in Hiroshima.

Irvine, California, Mayor Larry Agran drafted the letter asking Bush to meet Gorbachev in Japan.

"No disarmament initiative is more important," Agran wrote. "But political will has been lacking for a quarter of a century."

Within weeks, Agran received a response. The President cannot sign a



mere one-third of their late-'70s levels. Spending cuts in federal support to local sewage, job-training, and mass transit programs were nearly as dramatic.

In a mid-summer survey of cities, the NLC reported that pressure was

NO TIME

IN AUGUST 1985, THE mayors of 98 cities from 23 countries met in Hiroshima at the First World Conference of Mayors to call for an end to nuclear weapons testing.

Meeting this year at

treaty ending weapons testing, a deputy wrote, because of the "many official obligations on the President's calendar."

"Good news," Agran says. "Ending the arms race is a mere scheduling problem."

CFCs' DAYS ARE NUMBERED

A New Greening of America Grips Local Officials

by Jeff Sklansky

PROPHETS OF PLANETARY HAVOC wrought by human excess are finding a voice in city hall, and gaining an audience on Main Street. A new, pin-striped greening of America is taking shape in local ordinances designed to protect the Earth. Grassroots efforts in more than a hundred cities, counties and states to ban chemicals destroying the precious, protective ozone layer offer hope that a "new globalism" (in

the words of one of its instigators) is capturing the attention and imagination of the American public.

Austin City Councilmember Max Nofziger recently evoked the long-lost dreams of internationalists—even as his local elected colleagues from across North America were attending the North American Congress of Local Governments for a Stratospheric Protection Accord, hammering out a practical, brass-tacks proposal for municipal action to save the ozone (and those who live under its umbrella). Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), the

ironic international peacekeeper of the Cold War, may yield to Mutual Assured Survival as localities around the world confront the greatest threat to their common welfare after the nuclear bomb: environmental destruction on a scale that would make Biblical prophets quake.

In several ways, what Nofziger and the other local officials who gathered in a mid-July organizing conference are calling the Stratospheric Protection Accord (SPA) might seem the ultimate quixotic scheme. For 15

See *Greening*, Page 10

Conference Proposes 1992 Deadline for CFC Ban

by Richard Trubo

CITY OFFICIALS FROM ACROSS THE U.S. and Canada have taken a major leap toward protecting the earth's atmosphere. At a two-day conference in Irvine, CA, in July, representatives from more than two dozen municipalities pledged to work aggressively toward encouraging communities throughout the world to restrict ozone-depleting chemicals — substances such as chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) used in packaging, insulation, solvents and air conditioners.

Toward that end, conference participants — including mayors, city councilmembers, county commissioners and professional staff — created the North American Congress of Local Governments for a Stratospheric Protection Accord. This newly-formed body is expected to be a driving force in a worldwide city-to-city campaign to address the prob-

lems of global warming and the destruction of the ozone layer.

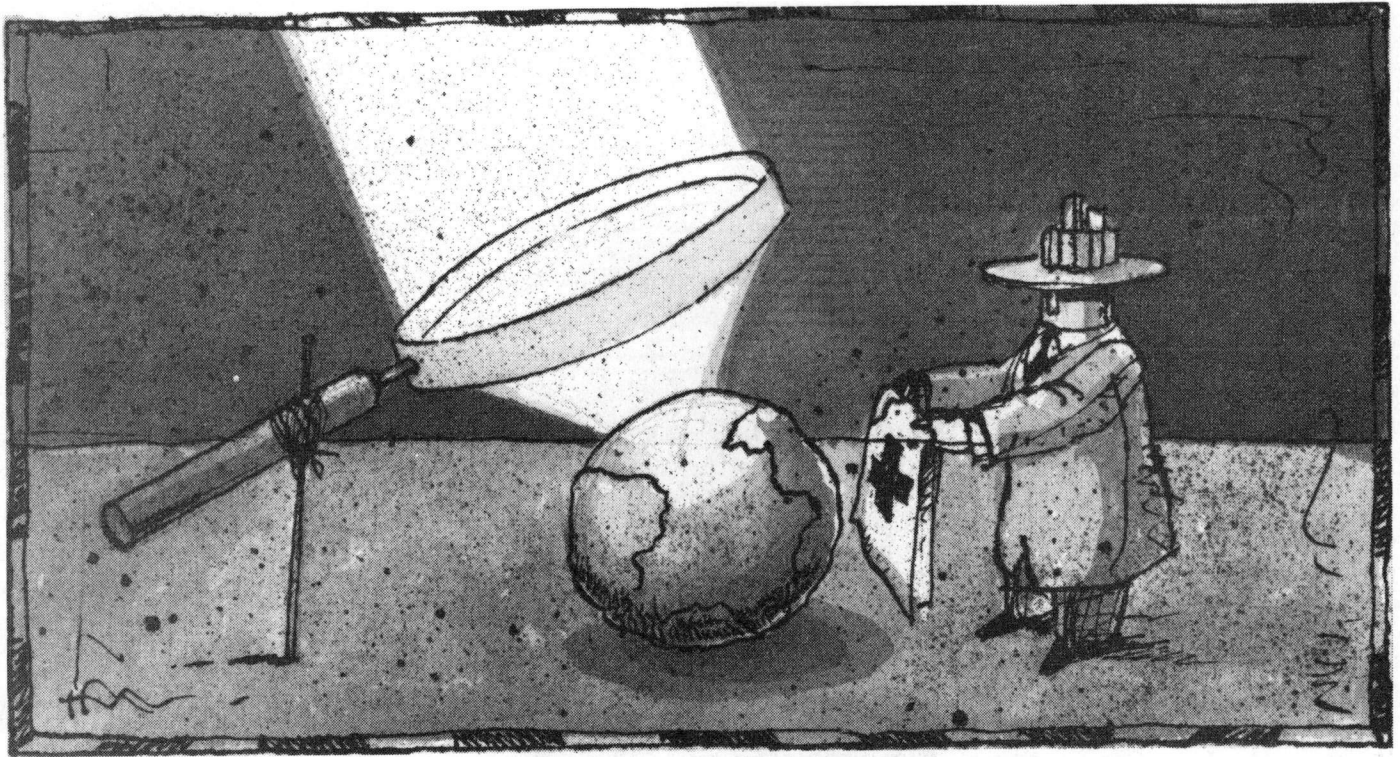
The Congress recommended that all local governments of North America establish policies that — no later than January 1, 1992 — would ban:

- "the use of any ozone-depleting compound in the manufacture, production, cleansing, degreasing or sterilizing of any substance or product"; and,

- "the manufacture, storage, distribution, or sale of any plastic packaging or insulation material that is produced using CFCs or other ozone-depleting compounds."

In both of these cases, exemptions would be permitted where no technically feasible, economically sound and environmentally safe substitute or alternative is available.

In their two-page resolution, the conference participants also called for recycling, recovery and proper disposal of ozone-depleting compounds; a reduction in the use of fossil fuels; and the implementation of large-scale tree planting programs.



The group also pledged to send representatives to a 1990 International Conference of Local Governments for a Stratospheric Protection Accord, and to consider creating an International Secretariat for Local Environmental Initiatives that will formulate worldwide standards for local environmental policies.

Larry Agran, mayor of Irvine, called the conference's accomplishments "an historic step to establish a new role for local governments: to address — and we hope solve — some of the world's most critical and complex problems."

The issue of public education was frequently raised in discussions at the conference. Susan Kirkpatrick, a councilmember in Fort Collins, CO, pointed out that though her community is not "hostile" to the idea of regulating or banning CFCs, there was a general lack of awareness of the issue, even among many councilmembers. "For a nationwide change to occur, we have to recognize that some communities are at awareness levels way below Irvine's, for instance, and we need to assist them in improving their vocabulary."

The conference was held just days after the Irvine city council passed what is believed to be the most com-

prehensive law in the nation restricting CFCs and other ozone-damaging compounds. The ordinance, which takes effect July 1, 1990, bars the manufacture of any ozone-depleting substance in the city, as well as prohibiting the sale, purchase or use of food-packaging materials made of any material harmful to the atmosphere.

The Irvine measure, which incorporates provisions for recovery and recycling, also affects building insulation, air-conditioning units and fire extinguishers that contain environmentally-harmful agents.

Two weeks after the Stratospheric Protection Accord conference was held, Agran and Brugmann traveled to Japan to present the meeting's recommendations at the World Conference of Mayors for Peace Through Inter-city Solidarity in Hiroshima.

The following month, Brugmann formally presented the same recommendations to city officials at the World Congress of the International Union of Local Authorities, meeting in Australia.

"By June 1990," said Brugmann, "we expect that more than 100 cities from around the world will agree to common municipal-level standards banning ozone-depleting compounds." ■

Greening, from page 8

years, anxious scientists have warned that otherwise harmless chemicals wrapping our ground beef, stuffing our seat cushions and cooling our refrigerators are eventually finding their way up to the invisible ozone shield, destroying it with exponential efficiency. The sky is falling apart. Floods, famine and disease will follow. (No wonder Albuquerque City Councillor Michael C. Weiner said he fears sounding like "Chicken Little" to his constituents.) In the face of this spacey armageddon, Larry Agran, the mayor of Irvine, CA, proposes to organize a global accord — among the little movers and shakers in city hall, not the politicians of Congress and the Politburo — to wipe out the offending agents before it is too late.

Don't laugh. He just might do it. Ozone depletion is as real as the ozone, and the increasingly evident dangers posed by the erosion of the atmosphere have prompted

sweeping, environmentally-conscious programs at the local level both in the United States and abroad. National governments and industry executives are being forced to follow the lead of city councils, giving unprecedented legitimacy in America to the previously renegade movement of municipal foreign policy.

Most of the enemies are familiar enough by now, more than a decade after the University of California at Irvine's chemist F. Sherwood Rowland and his assistant discovered the ozone-destroying properties of chlorofluorocarbons, or CFCs. Nontoxic, nonflammable and almost unavoidable in daily life, CFCs are enough to make any reasonable urban dweller a little paranoid. They are in our air conditioners and plastic cups, carpet padding, insulation and foam packaging, as well as cleaning solvents for electronic equipment and sterilants for medical instruments. In many countries abroad, they continue to float up to the ozone from hairsprays, deodorants and other aerosols. (In the U.S., where CFC aerosols were banned in 1978, special exceptions still allow such CFC-propelled "essentials" as Drain Power, Crazy String and Dust-Off.)

But CFCs are only the most infamous of the ozone-depleters; halons, the chief ingredients in fire extinguishers, contribute to the growing threat overhead, as do two

other widely-used solvents, carbon tetrachloride and methyl chloroform.

It is clear enough that the atmospheric concentration of chlorine, which separates from CFCs when they break down in the stratosphere, more than quadrupled during the last 25 years and is expected to triple again by 2075 even under the best scenarios. The level of ozone has dropped accordingly world-wide, and has opened a continent-sized hole over Antarctica.



SHERWOOD ROWLAND (third from left). "We're running a giant experiment in which our role is that of white mice."

NO ONE KNOWS QUITE WHAT will become of us Earthlings as the ozone gets thinner, but the Environmental Protection Agency has predicted millions of more cases of skin cancer and tens of thousands of deaths because of it, as well as at least hundreds of thousands of cataracts during the next century. Recent evidence suggests ultraviolet radiation

allowed to reach Earth because of ozone depletion could damage the human immune system. It is expected to damage crops and disrupt the food chain by hampering photosynthesis, contribute to smog, exacerbate acid rain, and hasten the global warming that portends even greater environmental chaos. "We're running a giant experiment in which our role is that of white mice," said Dr. Rowland.

Such a high-stakes industrial gamble is stirring the more radical ecological impulses of citizens naturally inclined to favor life as we know it. Despite the scientific mumbo-jumbo and the still-speculative nature of much of the research, municipal officials are finding surprising support among their neighbors and constituents for drastic action to save the ozone. Irvine, a high-tech manufacturing center in the heart of arch-conservative Orange County, adopted the nation's most comprehensive ozone ordinance in July, improving on what already had been done in places like Suffolk County, New York; Tempe, Arizona; Portland, Oregon; and the state of Vermont.

When Los Angeles City Councilmember Ruth Galanter entered the meeting room at the July conference of concerned municipal and regional officials, she quipped, "Oh, it's the usual suspects." In fact, however, there were many faces she would not have recognized: community leaders

ATMOSPHERIC PROTECTION UPDATE

by Nancy Skinner

ON JULY 18, THE IRVINE CITY COUNCIL PASSED AN OZONE PROTECTION ORDINANCE THAT made Irvine the first city in the nation to regulate emissions of ozone-damaging compounds. On that same evening, the Berkeley city council took three ozone-related actions: Directing the purchase of a CFC-recycling unit for city equipment and vehicles; initiating a "refrigerator round-up" program to recover CFCs from old refrigerators; and directing Berkeley's legal staff to develop an ordinance similar to Irvine's.

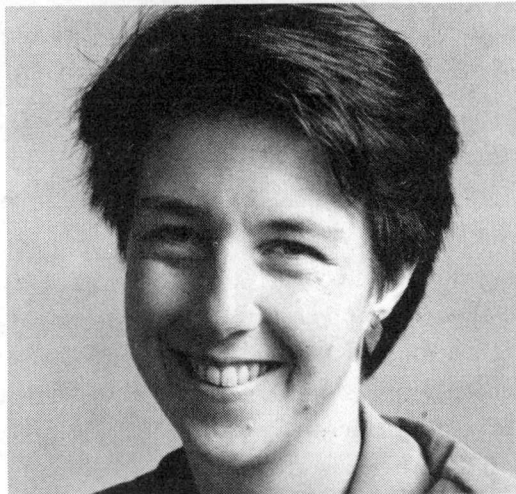
Inspired by Irvine's and Berkeley's actions, and fueled by good ideas from the Stratospheric Protection Accord (SPA) Conference, local governments across the country have begun initiating actions to protect the ozone layer by reducing the release of ozone damaging compounds. From Colorado, Denver City Councilmember **David Doering** reports that he, Boulder Councilmember **Stephen Pomerance**, and Fort Collins Councilmember **Susan Kirkpatrick** have begun meeting to design a model ordinance appropriate to all three cities. They are also sponsoring a forum in November that will bring together elected officials from six Colorado counties to participate in discussions similar to those presented at the SPA Conference.

On the recycling front, both Newark, New Jersey, and Tucson, Arizona, are purchasing "vampire" units to recycle the freon or CFC from the auto air conditioners in their city's vehicle pool. **Frank Sudol** of Newark's Department of Engineering said the unit Newark purchased cost about \$3,500 and will service the city's 800-vehicle fleet. Councilmember **Janet Marcus** of Tucson pushed her city to begin its freon-recycling program after learning about similar programs at the SPA Conference.

Attending the Second World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity in Hiroshima, Japan, this summer, Councilmember **Bob Long** of St. Paul had a very productive conversation with the mayor of St. Paul's sister city, Nagasaki. The two cities are exploring the introduction of a joint atmospheric protection measure.

A few of Irvine's southern California neighbors are also considering actions. **Jim Jenal**, aide to Irvine Mayor **Larry Agran**, reports that city staff in South Pasadena are preparing a draft ordinance to restrict CFC emissions. They hope to present that measure to the city council in the early autumn. The Newport Beach city council recently directed its Environmental Quality Affairs Citizens Advisory Committee to research environmental issues like ozone destruction. "I know it's a big problem," says Mayor **Donald A. Strauss**. "I wouldn't want to just go away and say someone else will solve it."

Nancy Skinner is a Berkeley, California, city councilmember. If your city, county, state or other local government is planning actions aimed at protecting the ozone layer or halting the Greenhouse Effect, please let her know. Send draft ordinances, resolutions, committee materials, or news clippings to: Nancy Skinner, c/o The Bulletin, 17931 Sky Park Circle, Suite F, Irvine, CA 92714 (714-250-1296).



Nancy Skinner, Berkeley Councilmember

whose frustration over such earthly concerns as a polluted river in rural Alberta, an incinerator in downtown Minneapolis and hypodermic needles on the New Jersey shore had heightened their environmental awareness and spurred them to take a role in preserving global atmospheric health.

"I'm not an environmentalist. I'm concerned about the future for my children and grandchildren," said Joe Smith, president of the Alberta Association of Municipal Districts and Counties. "Now we're in the process of letting our planet heal itself."

The SPA project, spawned by the Center for Innovative Diplomacy in February, already has interested cities and grassroots organizations in Argentina, Germany, Holland, England, Japan and the Soviet Union. These supporters see it as a dramatic step forward for municipal self-empowerment in the arena of global affairs. Like sister city

agreements, anti-apartheid divestment laws and nuclear-free zones, local limits on ozone-destroying chemicals are largely symbolic attempts to accelerate national and international reform. Unlike those precursors, however, municipal ozone laws make a real and immediate difference—particularly as cities act in concert as never before. So the two dozen companies that make CFCs, as well as the thousands of companies that rely on them, have ample cause for concern as environmentalists focus on city halls rather than exclusively on the federal gov-

ernment, beholden as it is to corporate interests. Industry apologists bemoan the inequities and inefficiencies that inevitably result from local action on a global problem, which, they say drains resources from the search for alternative chemicals and processes.

Those arguments would have been more persuasive a decade ago, when industries were busily finding expanded uses for CFCs in the wake of the ban on CFC aerosols. Users and makers of the destructive chemicals now claim finding alternatives, but they are understandably reluctant to be pushed. "Whatever you do, it still takes nine months for a baby to be born. You can't force science," said an environmental technology manager for Hughes Aircraft Co., which uses CFC solvents.

But the facts suggest that they can do better, faster. New technologies have appeared to allow circuit boards to stay clean, upholstery to stay soft, fast food to stay hot, and homes and cars to stay cool without ripping up the ozone. There is no adequate substitute yet for halons in fire extinguishers, but simple changes in the way they are used in testing and training could greatly reduce how much of the stuff is release into the atmosphere.

National and international action, meanwhile, is occurring ever more swiftly. The signatory nations of the 1987 Montreal Protocol, intended to cut CFC emissions in half by 1998 and freeze halon emissions by 1992, now appear ready to phase out CFCs totally by century's end. Both houses of Congress are considering comprehensive legislation that would step up the pace still further.

But there is little chance that Washington, or Bonn or London or Moscow, will act as rapidly and decisively as many localities are ready to act. Considering that the ozone is breaking up much more quickly than many scientists or policy-makers anticipated, and that the destructive effects of CFCs can linger in the stratosphere for a century after they are emitted, local officials are showing more prudence than impatience in acting on their own.



NO TIME TO LOSE.

Local officials are showing more prudence than impatience in acting on their own.

To Peter Spiro, a former State Department legal expert on municipal foreign policies and a vocal opponent of them, the ozone laws appear to be a benign exception to the often irresponsible nature of local ventures into global policy-

making. In banning ozone-destroying chemicals, he said recently, city hall is not necessarily stepping on bigger toes, as it did, for example, in divesting from companies doing business in South Africa.

SPA Project Director Jeb Brugmann is less concerned about the dangers of local involvement in foreign policy, and his enthusiasm for "thinking globally, acting locally" stems from a decade of success in such efforts.

A veteran of the no-nukes and nuclear-freeze

movements, Brugmann sees municipal action as the best hope for saving the atmosphere: "The surest way to get the federal government to act as it should on this issue is by having a patchwork of local regulations. The fear of anarchy that that will create will move state and federal governments to enact higher standards more quickly than any kind of lobbying or demonstrating or petitioning could do."

Brugmann and Co.'s plans for a world-wide intermunicipal accord, followed by the establishment of a permanent "Secretariat" funded by the signatories to coordinate this and other global environmental programs at the local level, remain far less tangible than the ozone hole that reappears in the Southern Hemisphere each October. But the current level of interest and commitment to local action in protecting the planet is encouraging.

British historian Michael Ignatieff wrote in 1984: "A century of total war has taught us where belonging can take us when its object is the nation. Out of that experience, it is just possible that our need is taking a new form, finding a new object: the fragile green and blue earth itself, the floating disk we are the first generation to see from space."

One can only hope he is right. National security itself may lose its meaning in a world where security — and insecurity — know no bounds or borders. ■

'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.

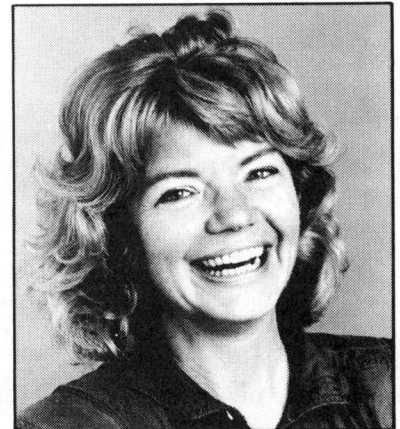
"If Reagan's IQ slips any lower, we'll have to water him twice a day."
The Progressive, January 1987.

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.

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TIRED MASSES HUDDLING IN U.S. CITIES

Refugees fleeing economic and political violence have made their homes in the U.S. "We are governing in the Third World," says a local official.

POOOR MEXICO," SAID MEXICAN dictator Porfirio Diaz around the turn of the century. "So close to the United States. And so far from God."

Poor Brownsville, Texas, too.

Between June of 1988 and January 1989, 86,000 refugees, mostly Salvadorans, Guatemalans and Nicaraguans, showed up in Brownsville, Texas, a town of about 84,000 and the last stop before the Gateway International Bridge lifts south-bound drivers over the muddy, narrowing Rio Grande and eases them into Matamoros, Mexico. In the course of six months, one reporter wrote, "it seemed that all of Central America was emptying out into the United States."

"Suddenly, large numbers of people are coming into your community," says Brownsville Mayor Ygnacio Garza. "And suddenly it seems your homeless population goes up astronomically."

"We have our hands so full even now," Brownsville Mayor Pro Tem Tony Zavaleta says. "In effect we are governing in the Third World."

The impact of the deluge was devastating. Just under half the residents of Brownsville are already officially poor; the arrival each day of hundreds of even poorer folks turned the city into a Third World encampment. Volunteer organizations were overwhelmed.

"We started to see makeshift squatter camps," Garza says. Other refugees broke into the abandoned

Old Amber Hotel until city officials, fearing a health and safety crisis, kicked out the squatters, padlocked the doors and boarded-up the windows again. Raw sewage from refugee camps settled in the town's gutters and illness spread. In December, a local immigrants' rights activist says, the refugees slept "out in the cold — under the stars, but there sure wasn't anything romantic about it."

Mayor Garza blames a recent change in immigration laws that forces immigration applicants to remain in south Texas — without work and without immigration papers — while their claims are processed by an overworked Immigration and Naturalization staff.

But others argue that the cause of immigration — largely unaddressed by either federal or local officials — is to be found in federal foreign policies that have, over ten years, created the conditions that produce refugees.

NOT JUST BROWNSVILLE

WHATEVER ITS SOURCE, IMMIGRATION has changed other cities and towns, as well, though few have been transformed so dramatically as Brownsville.

■ In Scott Mills, Oregon (pop. 400), Mexican and Central American immigrants made the town's park their own home, a city within the city. Occasionally, to the dismay of more settled residents, the folks in the park washed their clothes and hung them out to dry there. Not knowing what else to do, the city closed the park.

■ In Los Angeles and New York, Soviet immigrants — mostly Jews and

Armenians — have recently exceeded in numbers the flood of Central Americans and Mexicans who arrive in the city each day. Los Angeles County officials say indigent health care costs to the county, pumped up by the influx of immigrants, have pushed once solvent emergency rooms into the red, and school officials are still not sure where they'll find the money they need for English classes and "new-comers" schools.

■ In Lowell, Massachusetts, tens of thousands of newly arrived Cambodians have forced school officials into a desperate hunt for Khmer-speaking teachers.

■ In St. Paul, Minnesota, the tongue of choice among 9,000 of the area's 15,000 Southeast Asian immigrants is Hmong, the language of the Laotian hill people who provided the muscles behind the Central Intelligence Agency's counter-insurgency efforts during the Vietnam War. The task is more formidable still in Garden Grove, California, a middle-sized city an hour's drive south of Los Angeles, where students in the city's hard-pressed school system speak 71 different languages.

"It's ridiculous," says St. Paul Council Member Bob Long. "The federal government brought these people to the U.S., and then cut off the funds local governments need to help them."

■ City officials in Miami have put out the welcome mat for Nicaraguan and Salvadoran refugees — put it right outside the door to beleaguered Brownsville, Texas. Dade County refugee coordinator Bobby Bernal and Assistant County Manager Tony



IMAGEN LATINA / IMPACT VISUALS

UNCERTAIN FUTURE.

Federal cuts in aid to refugees have come at a time when skyrocketing immigration has already right-hooked some local governments.

Ojeda flew to south Texas last January where they toured the area's inundated refugee camps hoping to persuade recent arrivals to stay in Texas, go to California, or go home — anything but move to Florida.

"Yes, this community has been built on immigrants," Bernal — himself a 1961 Cuban refugee — said of Miami. But, he concluded, "Times have changed. Services cost a lot of money."

Not every city finds immigration so onerous, says New York City's Director of the Office of Immigrant Affairs, Elizabeth Bogen. "The regional interests are so vast," she says. "In a city like New York," Bogen says, "nobody sits around asking, 'Why are all these people here?' Immigrants have been here for more than 200 years. If they weren't here, we'd have no garment industry, we'd have no restaurant industry."

Still, whether they're wanted or not, immigrants and refugees keep coming to the U.S. And, says Jeb

Brugmann, first director of the Cambridge Peace Commission, the refugee stands as a kind of symbol of the role which local governments routinely play in international affairs.

In 1986, when Cambridge declared itself a Sanctuary City for refugees fleeing the wars consuming Central America, Brugmann says, the U.S. government "was spending millions of dollars a day in places like El Salvador, creating the conditions that produce refugees. As a result, we didn't have the federal funds to meet the needs of refugees leaving El Salvador and arriving in Cambridge. Refugees really raise the issue of national budget priorities."

Even in New York, where city immigration director Bogen says immigrants are essential to commerce, the link between federal foreign policy and the local budget can be a troubling one.

"Everyone in the business kind of knows it's there," she says of the connection between foreign affairs and

immigration. "Like this business with the Soviet and Armenian refugees. For years the federal government was leaning on the Soviet government to let these people emigrate. Now they're here and there's no federal money to help them out."

And, when it comes to immigration, the problems confronting local governments may well get worse before they better. Federal officials suggest the number of Soviet immigrants may surpass one-half million each year. Continuing economic instability and environmental deterioration throughout Latin America bode ill for proposals which, like those emanating from the Congress, depend upon building Chinese Walls around Southwestern border states.

SEEING THE U.S. ON \$367 MILLION A YEAR

CITIES HELP EASE REFUGEES AND immigrants into the mainstream through a variety of local programs — education and health care, mostly, but

also legal assistance, counseling, housing, and job training. And, as Miami's refugee coordinator Bernal says, those services cost money, money which most local governments — strapped already by a decade of cuts in federal urban aid programs — simply do not have. Federal cuts in aid to refugees, from \$416 million in 1985 to \$367 million in 1989, have come at a time when skyrocketing immigration has already right-hooked some local governments.

"At a time when local governments are already feeling the pinch, when cities are cutting back on essential services to balance their own budgets, immigration is seen as a real threat," says National League of Cities policy analyst Julio Barreto. Immigrants bring with them "a host of things that cities have to confront at the same time."

Nor do the feds seem particularly interested in helping cities meet the needs of immigrants.

"Across the board, not just in dealing with immigration, but on most issues of concern to local governments, the federal government hasn't been meeting the needs of local governments," says Barreto. "Basically, the feeling we're getting is that the federal government is tired of hearing from us."

In the absence of adequate federal funding, Barreto says, local governments have to meet rising costs for housing, education and health care, of course. But costs pop up in unexpected places, as well, Barreto says. Because of the high cost of housing in most U.S. cities, for example, "You have these new immigrants, many of them undocumented, living two-to-three families in a home." That creates stress and can lead to health and safety problems, Barreto says.

But when police or fire fighters show up, they can't count on help from immigrants. "In some countries,"

STREET SCENES

IN THE P.S. 89 SCHOOLYARD IN ELMHURST, QUEENS, CHINESE CHILDREN WEARING quilted blue jackets run and laugh beside playmates from South America — Quechua Indian children who are bundled against the cold in earth-tone sweaters of Andean wool.

The latest *Disques Creole* from Haiti blare from record shops on Flatbush Avenue in Brooklyn as weekend shoppers throng the sidewalks. Newsstand owners rack the latest issues of Caribbean-published newspapers beside copies of New York dailies. Sandwich shops serve spicy Jamaican meat patties and deep-fried codfish balls.

On a summer day in the Washington Heights area of northern Manhattan, the windows of the second-story garment lofts above the storefronts on St. Nicholas Avenue are thrown open to catch the breeze; the Dominican women who work there do not look up from their sewing machines. At street level, posters and handbills exhorting allegiance to various Dominican political parties plaster the lamp posts and subway entrances.

Immigration is changing New York in a thousand subtle or startling ways. Even the New Yorker who rarely ventures into an immigrant neighborhood sees its effects. Korean greengrocers, Indian newsstand owners, Jamaican nurses, Greek coffee shop owners, Russian cab drivers — in today's New York, close encounters with immigrants of all kinds are a daily occurrence.

A population of various nationalities is hardly a novelty in New York. In 1660 the Dutch governor of New Amsterdam noted that 18 different languages were spoken by inhabitants of his colony. In 1980 the number of languages

spoken in New York was 121. The immigrant waves of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries helped to shape the city's political system, neighborhoods, and social and economic institutions. The influence of immigration can still be detected in matters as mundane as the foods, and as elevated as the succession of archbishops in the Archdiocese of New York.

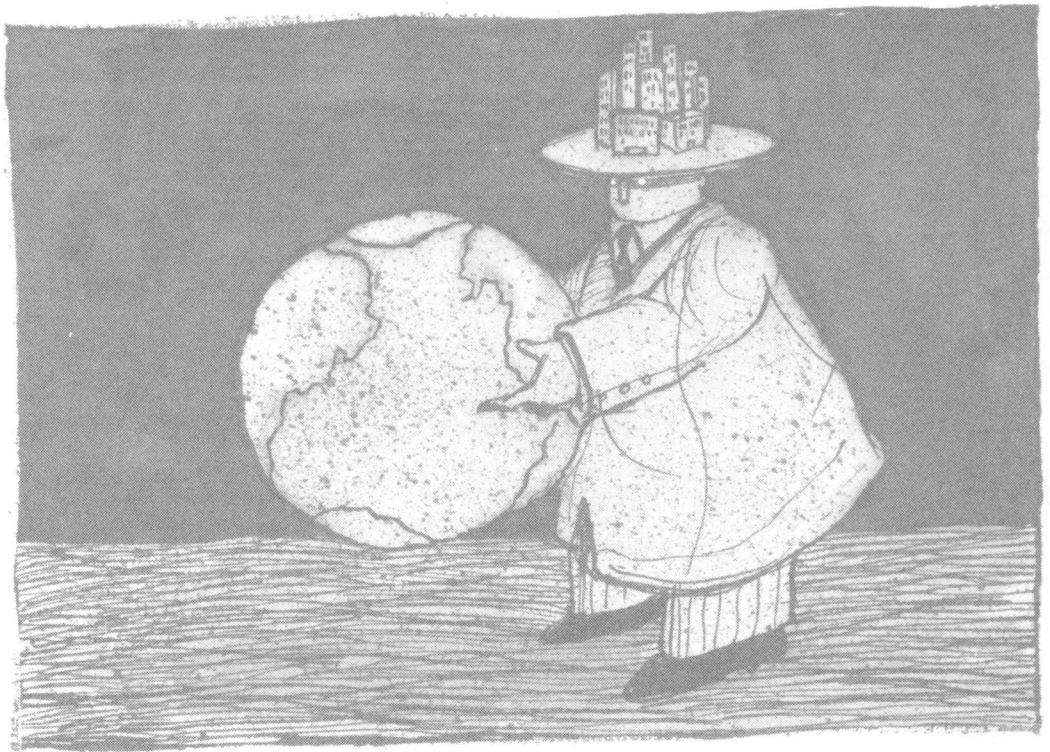
What is new about the new immigration is the countries from which immigrants are coming. Traditionally, New York City has been a city of European immigrants — first the Dutch and the English, later the Irish and the Germans, and finally the Italians and the peoples of eastern Europe. But in 1980 only two European nations — Italy and the Soviet Union — were among the top ten nations whose immigrants were arriving in New York. The Dominican Republic was first on the list, followed by Jamaica, China, and Haiti. In all, about three-quarters of the immigrants who arrived in New York between 1965...and 1980 were from the nations of the Caribbean, Latin America, and Asia.

These new immigrants have replenished many of the city's neighborhoods with young families and children. They have started new businesses, inherited old ones, and become the predominant work force in others. They confront the city's service system — schools and hospitals — with new issues in service delivery, starting with the availability of interpreters.

SOURCE: Elizabeth Bogen, *Immigration in New York* (Praeger Publishers, New York, a division of Greenwood Press, Inc., 1987), pp 5-6. Copyright (c) 1987 by the City of New York, Department of City Planning. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.



THE CENTER FOR INNOVATIVE DIPLOMACY

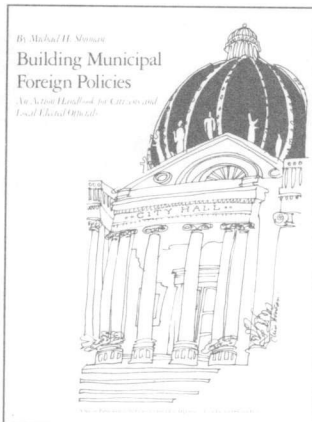


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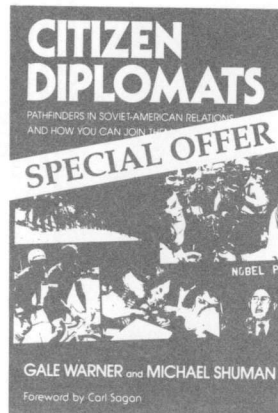
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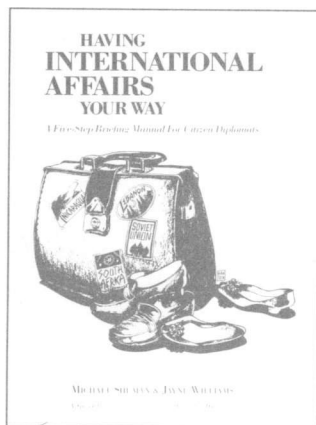


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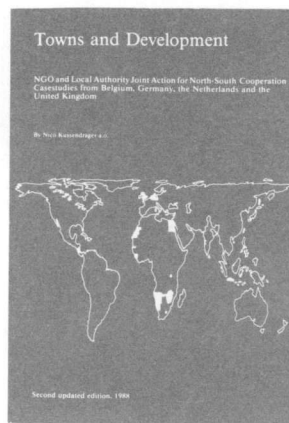
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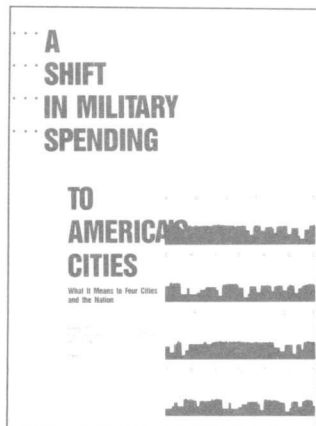
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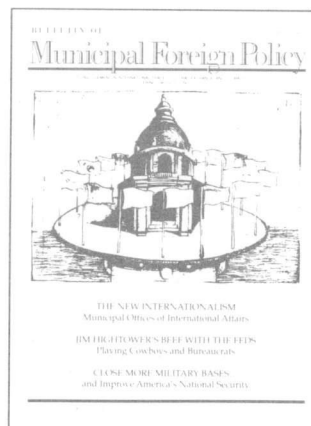
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Barreto says, "the military is the local police, and they're often seen as repressive. If local police or fire fighters show up, immigrants often won't help them out. So crime in immigrant communities is rampant."

If federal officials cannot, or will not, offer local governments financial comfort, nor can they explain the sudden, dramatic rise in immigration — or whether it will end anytime soon. Says Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) spokesperson Duke Austin, one who has seen Brownsville itself, "You don't know whether you're seeing the peak of the flow, or the tip of the iceberg."

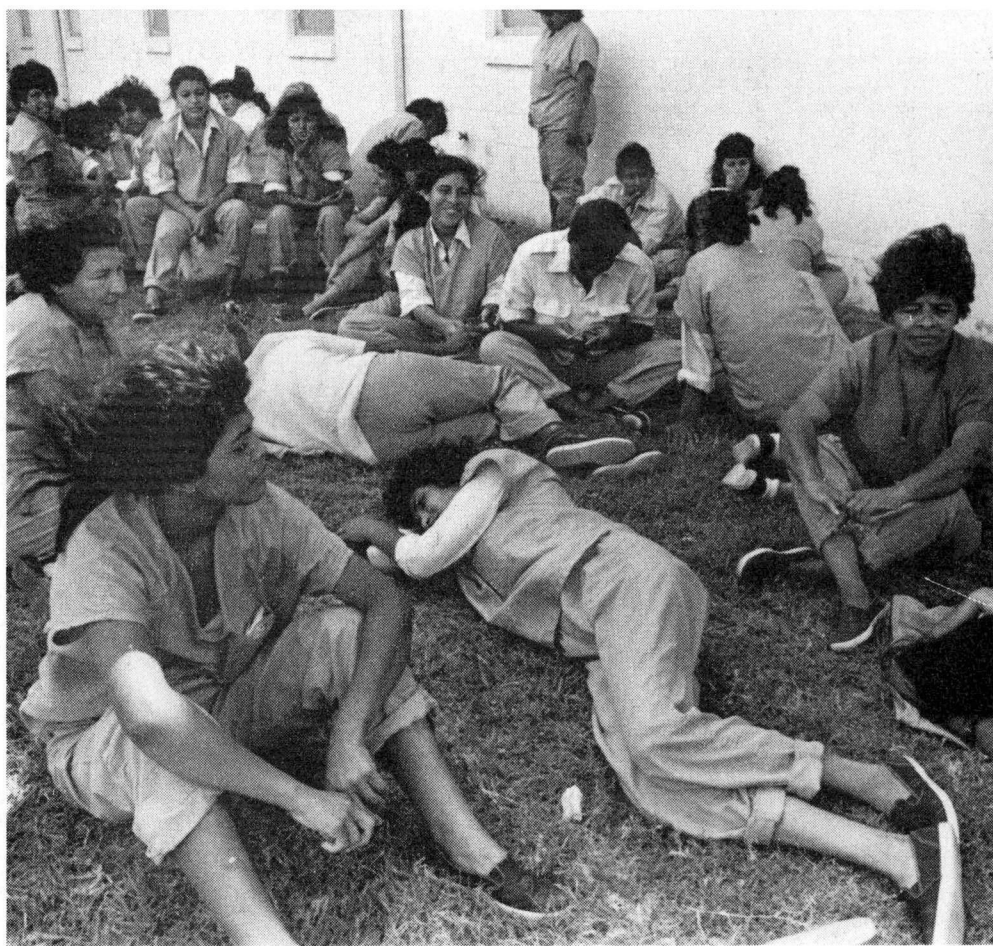
TO THE BROWNSVILLE STATION

IN THE RUSH TO FIGURE OUT WHO would pay for the Brownsville disaster and for similar crises unfolding in cities and towns throughout the southwest and Florida, many local officials and others have lost sight of the causes of dramatic rises in immigration.

NLC policy analyst Julio Barreto says that's natural.

"Our members see these [immigration] problems every day, they face them every day. For them, it's like a political time-bomb," Barreto says. "I think there's an awareness that the role the [federal] government plays in foreign countries doesn't go along with our concern to regulate the flow of immigrants. But cost is the main concern at the local level, because that's what local officials see in front of them. It's awfully difficult to get into a discussion of why [immigrants are here] when these people have medical problems, housing problems, or are victims of abuse in the workplace. The concern to deal with what's in front of them can overshadow concern about the cause."

Nor at the federal level is there much concern about the whys of immigration. In Congress, immigration debates generally focus on how to manage the symptoms of immigration rather than its causes. Texas Senator Phil Gramm wants to keep refugees



WAITING FOR THE MAN.

"Thousands have been detained and/or deported without proper due process," an activist charges.

penned up just across the border while awaiting word on their legal pleas. Even liberal Massachusetts Senator Edward M. Kennedy thinks the solution to the immigration explosion is a technical one: He wants the INS to develop "more expeditious" methods for dealing with "frivolous" asylum claims.

But federal officials seem blind to a simple truth: You don't carpet-bomb the countryside of one Central American country, and set loose a rebel army in another, without jacking up the populations of U.S. cities.

GIVE US YOUR TIRED, YOUR TERRORIZED

IF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS HAVE ANY hope of floating above the rising tides of refugees, they'll have to begin to grapple with the cause of rising immigration. That means dealing with foreign policy, says Chip Pitts, a Dallas lawyer and founder of the south Texas refugee assistance group, Rio Grande Valley Watch.

"People in the refugee

network...they're all aware of the link between foreign policy and refugees here," Pitts says. "But I don't think there's a lot of awareness of that in Congress."

David Grosser, a staffperson with the Cambridge-Las Flores Sister City Project, says sister city relationships like Cambridge's with a repopulated village in El Salvador are one way of educating people about the forces that push immigrants into the U.S.

Sister cities "focus on the issue of why the U.S. government is so hostile to these people in other countries," Grosser says. "People get involved and go down to a place like El Salvador, and they see just how hostile their own government is to these kinds of initiatives."

Grosser also believes that local officials who support sister cities "take some of the heat off the immigrants" by pointing to the real cause of immigration — the U.S. government's foreign policies.

"I think it's quite a potent argument to say, 'Look, there are thou-

sands of people from all over the world coming into our city, overloading our public services, and the federal government is to blame," Grosser says. "The immigration problem is related to the problems of war and justice and inequality. People don't just pick up and leave their own countries for some foreign land for frivolous reasons."

Immigration "is basically about land, jobs and food" in less developed countries, says Penny Deleray of the San Francisco-based Sanctuary Defense Fund.

Rick Swartz agrees. "The empha-

sis of our migration policies when it comes to Central America should be foreign policy," says Swartz, of the Washington, D.C.-based National Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Forum. "Imagine what it would be like to be in a country where 70,000 people have been killed."

But imagining life in a place like Guatemala — where the U.S.-backed military government killed an estimated 120,000 people in its decades-long campaign against suspected "revolutionaries" — is a prospect that U.S. federal officials cannot afford.

In south Texas, most Central

Americans declare themselves political refugees. And that makes sense, Dallas lawyer Pitts points out, "since the increase in immigration is tied to the rise in violence in the region."

But letting the refugees stay in the U.S. — indeed, admitting that they are "refugees" rather than mere economic immigrants — costs money. So the federal government, finding its coffers nearly empty, has worked assiduously to keep the refugees out. It has summarily labeled the folks herded into south Texas refugee camps "economic refugees," Pitts says, declining to investigate the forces behind their flight from Central America.

In that strategy, the feds have been supported by officials from strapped local communities like Brownsville City Councilmember Tony Zavaleta. In spite of his compassion, Zavaleta says, Brownsville simply cannot absorb the new refugees.

"Brownsville comes first and Brownsville people come first," Zavaleta says. "It's purely a matter of economics."

That matter of pure economics translates into a legal policy that denies immigrants their rights, says Dallas lawyer Pitts.

"Thousands of men, women and children have been detained and/or deported without proper due process," Pitts argues. "Thousands of others face the same fate."

SOURCE: Brownsville Mayor Ygnacio Garza (512-546-1655); Brownsville Mayor Pro-Tem Tony Zavaleta (512-546-1076); Chip Pitts, "Report Summary," Rio Grande Valley Watch, P.O. Box 223641, Dallas, TX 75222 (214-692-2564); Julio Barreto, National League of Cities, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20004; Penny Deleray, Sanctuary Defense Fund (415-362-8366); David Grosser, Cambridge-Las Floras Sister City Project, 1151 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138; Jeffrey Schmalz, "Miami Students: Future Hope, Today's Crisis," *New York Times*, March 21, 1989, p. 1; Gelareh Asayesh, "As Refugees Flood In, Localities Must Foot the Bill for the American Dream," *Governing*, May 1989, p.23; Maria Newman, "O.C. [Orange County] Districts Search for Bilingual Teachers," *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1989, p. 1.

29 U.S. Cities Declare Themselves Sanctuaries

NOT ALL CITIES ARE CONTENT WITH THEIR ROLE AS PASSIVE RECIPIENTS OF REFUGEES FROM war-ravaged Central America. By the summer of 1989, says Penny Deleray of the National Sanctuary Defense Fund, 29 U.S. cities had declared themselves sanctuaries for Central Americans.

Those cities are:

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

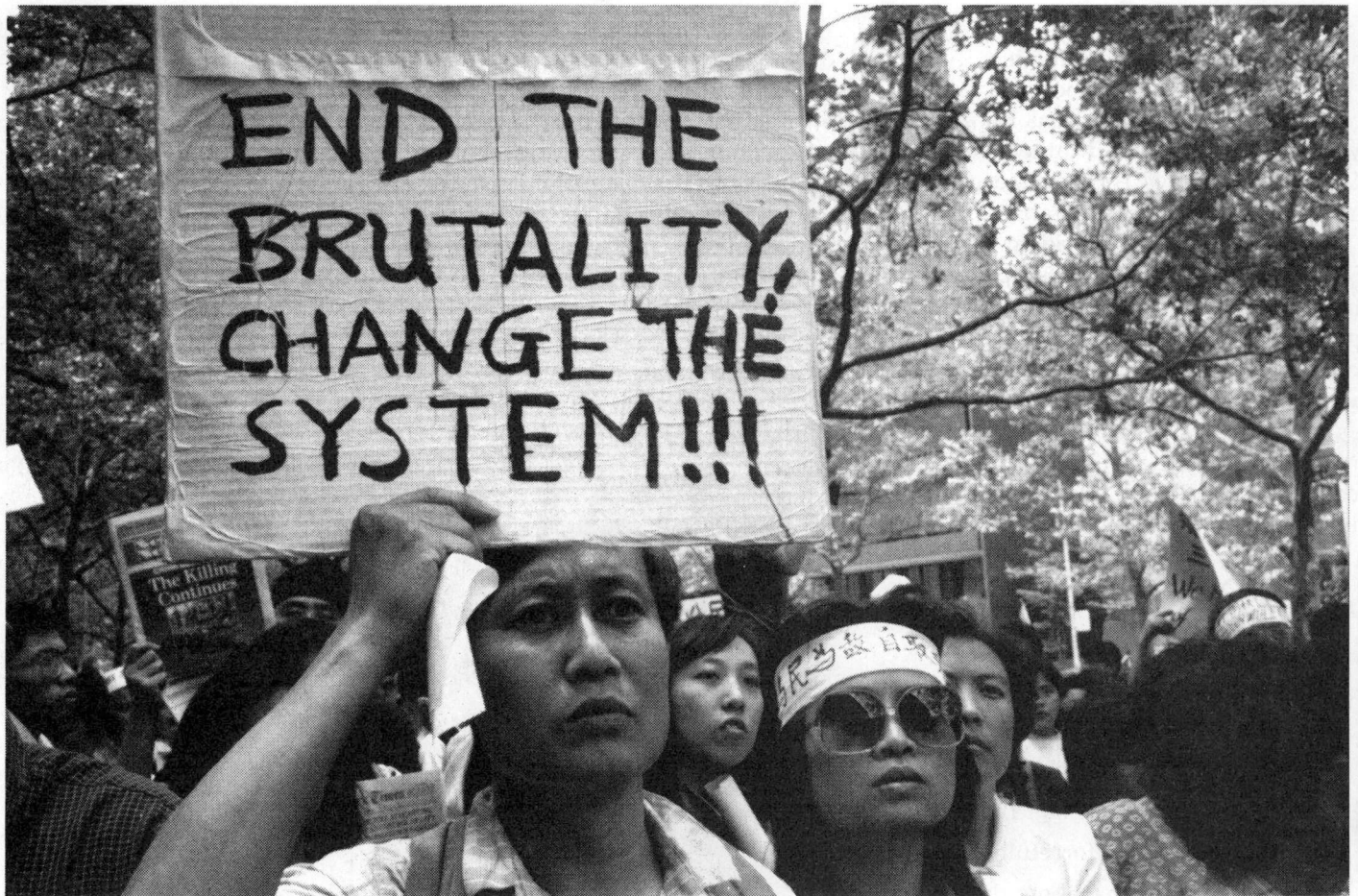
Providing a safe haven for people persecuted in their country of origin is only one role sanctuary cities can play. More importantly, she suggests, city officials can educate their citizens.

"Until U.S. people are given more information, they'll only hear the one side of the story — the terrible danger of communism — and they'll hear only the Congressmen who have helped appropriate hundreds of millions of dollars a year to governments that terrorize their own people," Deleray says.

Local officials can tell a different story, she concludes, and not just with their words. Deleray points out that many cities — including some that have never declared themselves sanctuaries — have prohibited city employees from cooperating with the federal Immigration and Naturalization Service in raids on immigrant workers.

Other local officials have traveled to places like Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua to discover for themselves the roots of migration. She predicts those who travel to the region will find that immigration to the U.S. is "basically about land, jobs, food and justice. Were it not for the war in their own countries, refugees would be home, not here."

SOURCE: Penny Deleray, administrator, National Sanctuary Defense Fund, 942 Market Street, Room 708, San Francisco, CA 94102-4008 (415-362-8366).



TOM McKITTRICK / IMPACT VISUALS

A GREAT LEAP BACKWARDS

Sister City Ties Jolted by Chinese Crackdown

What a difference a month makes. Last May, San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos was almost euphoric during a trip to China, toasting the people of Shanghai after signing a 10-year memorandum of understanding between the two sister cities.

After placing his name on the document at the Heng Shan Hotel, he proclaimed, "The people of San Francisco share a kinship with you that is more than just calling ourselves sister cities. We are indeed members of the same family."

But a month later, in the aftermath of the violent and deadly government crackdown in China, Agnos' courtship of Shanghai took a great leap backward.

San Francisco officials and their sister city committee announced the suspension of sisterly activities with Shanghai in response to the crackdown against pro-democracy demonstrators. A letter written by Walter Fong, the

committee's co-chairman, said that Mayor Agnos wanted the Shanghai government to know that future sister city contacts would be evaluated by determining if they would enhance democracy in China.

"When Mayor Agnos was in China, including Beijing, there was no indication that violence would eventually occur," says Mark Chandler, coordinator of San Francisco's sister city programs. "At that time, Tiananmen Square was empty. It was all a big surprise."

In those few chaotic and shocking days in early June, the carefully nurtured sister city programs between the U.S. and China were dealt a devastating blow. Forty-three U.S. cities have sisterly ties with the People's Republic of China, and while none permanently severed its ties with the Chinese mainland, most have canceled exchanges or other events, and some — like San Francisco — are taking a wait-and-see attitude about whether and when it might resume

all its normal sister-city activities.

"I have felt a sense of betrayal that a lot of what we and other exchange organizations have done over the last 10 years was really dashed rather quickly" by the events in China in June, says Tom Viall, executive director of New York City's sister city programs.

Joseph S. Balcer, president of the Nanjing-St. Louis Sister City Committee, has used the words "sadness and frustration" to describe the feelings of his members. Many people in St. Louis, reacted with anger toward the "incomprehensible" brutality in and around Tiananmen Square, according to Balcer.

Both large and small U.S. cities responded with dismay. New York Mayor Ed Koch wrote a letter to his counterpart in Beijing, announcing that all activity in their relationship was being suspended

ANOTHER BLACK EYE FOR CHINA

When word of Chinese mistreatment of the people of Tibet became known earlier this year, many critics felt that the U.S. government did not object forcefully enough. But they couldn't say that about the city of Boulder.

As Tibetan protestors urged the end of China's 30-year rule of their country — and the restoration of their spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, to secular power — at least a dozen people died in rioting, and Chinese police imposed martial law in Lhasa, the capital city.

Lhasa also happens to be the sister city of Boulder. And that's why the Boulder city council got involved. Its members sent a strong letter to the Chinese-backed government of Lhasa, urging that human rights be restored in Tibet.

An editorial in the *Denver Post* observed, "Boulder's letter won't convince China to give Tibet its independence. But it might make the Chinese aware that the world knows of China's reprehensible actions."

SOURCE: "The Blood of Tibet," *Denver Post*, March 15, 1989, p. 6-B; Kevin McCullen, "Boulder's Role in the World Debated," *Rocky Mountain News*, March 20, 1989, p. 15.

until further notice. Immediately, about a dozen projects were put on hold. One of those was an invitation that would have brought a Beijing teacher to New York for the current academic year.

A major report on the status of business relations between the two cities was not published as scheduled, "partly in protest of the action of June 3rd and 4th, and partly in recognition that much of what the report would have said was moot," says Viall.

The city council in Wilmington, North Carolina, which has a population of 50,000, suspended its sister city knot with Dandong (population: 500,000). "We're not having any type of interaction at this point," says Mitzi York, special assistant to the city manager.

Baltimore has a three-year-old tie with Xiamen, and "we have no intention of breaking the relationship," says Dean Esslinger, chair of the sister city committee. "But before we plan any further exchanges, we'll have to see how things go."

Esslinger describes continuing communication between Baltimore and Xiamen, mostly by fax. Several letters have also been received from Xiamen, offering the "party line" explanation of what occurred in Beijing and reassuring the Americans that Xiamen would like to continue its bond with Baltimore.

In some U.S. cities, disagreement has surfaced over how to respond to the government crackdown. St. Louis, whose link with Nanjing was the first sister city tie, canceled an October 1989 tour of China that had been planned to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the relationship, and a 1990 Nanjing trade fair in St. Louis has been put on hold. "But in no way is St. Louis going to back out of the sister city relationship itself," says Rachel Bender, communication manager at the St. Louis Center for International Relations. Nevertheless, the sister city committee has received a few "nasty" phone calls from St. Louis citizens complaining that the tie with Nanjing is continuing.

In New York City, a few members of the sister city advisory committee futilely argued against suspension of ties with Beijing, insisting that more than ever, China needed contact with the West. And in Charlotte, which has maintained its link with Baoding, the sister city committee debated whether it should take a stand against human rights violations in China, finally deciding that the sister city program was not the platform to express those concerns.

When the crackdown in Tiananmen Square began, a 40-



person sister city delegation from Charlotte was in Beijing, on its way to Baoding. "They were in one of the Beijing hotels the night all this happened," says Bob Bryan, chairman of the Baoding-Charlotte Sister City Committee. "They described lengthy periods of apparent calm, broken up by periods of violence. But no one expressed any fear for his or her safety."

Bryan says Charlotte's sister city relationship is now emphasizing "person-to-person ties designed to foster understanding." Activities include a pen-pal exchange in the elementary schools, and a possible visit to Charlotte by three Baoding physicians.

Sister city programs aside, some U.S. local officials have spoken out about the Chinese government's actions last June. In Cambridge, Massachusetts, for example, Councilor Frank Duehay called a press conference, during which he supported efforts to permit Chinese students studying in the U.S. to remain here after their student visas expire.

Cerritos, California, City Councilman Daniel Wong traveled to China where he met with Premier Li Peng on July 1, asking the hard-line leader to show compassion for the students who participated in the pro-democracy demonstrations.

"I criticized Li Peng right to his face," recalled Wong. "You have to go into the lion's den."

At Sister Cities International in Alexandria, Virginia, Carol Hardman says that most sisterly ties with China have experienced only a "temporary interruption. We certainly encourage them to keep the channels of communication open."

But some U.S. cities with sister cities in China may be nursing their wounds for some time. "Even if we do re-establish program activities with Beijing relatively soon, it's going to be a long, long time before the bad taste is gone," says New York City's Tom Viall. "After the events of last June, it's hard to imagine how we'll ever be able to regain the same feeling and spirit." ■

THE CHINESE SISTER CITY STORY

UNTIL 1979, U.S. COMMUNITIES HAD NO SISTER CITY TIES TO THE People's Republic of China. But the ping-pong diplomacy of the 1970s ultimately led to the Sino-American protocol agreement, which reestablished diplomatic relations. When that happened, both large and small municipalities in the U.S. assertively campaigned to put a Chinese city in their sister city fold.

"Even today, we still have many requests from U.S. cities telling us they want Chinese sister cities," says Carol Hardman, who oversees the U.S.-China ties at Sister Cities International in Alexandria, VA. "The cities whose relationships with China were pending during the government crackdown last June have indicated that they want to move forward."

Since the sister city ties with the People's Republic began, the mainland Chinese have insisted that the relationships between cities follow the guidelines of the bilateral protocol agreement between the governments of the two nations — namely, that only one China be recognized. Thus, in forming new associations, U.S. cities have had to choose to form a connection either with a community on Taiwan or on the mainland. Though no U.S. city had to relinquish an existing tie with Taiwan, any new relationships had to respect the one-China policy.

Robert Arellanes, past president of the Jinan-Sacramento Sister City Association, recalls hearing some "rumblings" from the Taiwanese-American community in Sacramento when the agreement with Jinan in the People's Republic was signed in 1985. But, he says, when Chinese visitors have come to Sacramento, "I have been impressed that everybody's there — all sides — and the delegations have been received very warmly."

Even before relations became strained because of the violence in Tiananmen Square, the sister city links with China faced unusual challenges. "It takes a long time to work things out," says Dean Esslinger, chair of the Xiamen-Baltimore Sister City Committee. He describes mail getting lost, problems with translations, and fax messages not connecting on the other end. "It's not like having a sister city relationship with Rotterdam."

Although some sisterly ties are now on shaky ground, the U.S. cities have learned over the years just how seriously the Chinese perceive these associations. When a delegation from Charlotte traveled to Baoding in 1987 to sign the preliminary papers that would eventually lead to a formal agreement, they were overwhelmed by their reception. "The ceremonies were televised, multiple pens were used, and the documents were prepared in two languages," recalls Bob Bryan, chairman of the Baoding-Charlotte Sister City Committee. "And it was just a letter of intent."



FEDS ON OFFENSE?

What Jesse Helms says about South Africa,
what the Attorney General says about nuclear free zones,
and what federal officials say about civil defense may mean nothing.

Then again it might mean the Feds are ready to do battle
with "renegade local governments."

by Will Swaim

IN ITS FIRST NINE MONTHS, THE BUSH administration attacked city-based foreign policy initiatives in court, through a federal agency, and in the Senate, leading some to speculate that the administration has settled on a strategy for its battle with what an administration official called "renegade local governments."

The strategy, so far producing mixed results, has focused on three policy areas: nuclear-free zones, nuclear-war civil defense, and local anti-apartheid legislation.

In September, the Justice Department mounted a legal challenge against a nuclear-free zone ordinance approved by Oakland, California, voters last year. The lawsuit, filed in U.S. District Court in September, claims that the local measure violates exclusive federal authority over nuclear weapons, and could force some federal installations — such as a Naval supply station in the city — to leave.

William McGivern, chief assistant U.S. attorney in San Francisco, says the government's suit was filed because certain domains — including national defense, immigration and federal income tax — are reserved solely for federal jurisdiction, and thus are not subject to state and local regulation. If carried to their logical end, he insists, foreign policy initiatives like

Oakland's could pose threats to national security.

"What if cities decided they were going to declare war on other countries?" he asks. "We can't have individual cities, towns and counties around the country deciding to declare war, deciding to make national defense policy."

Albert Donnay of Nuclear Free America says the Bush administration appears to be taking the NFZ movement more seriously than its predecessor. Still he says, "this suit hasn't come out of the blue" — high administration officials in both administrations have attacked NFZs in the past.

For their part, Oakland officials say they're prepared to mount a vigorous defense against the Justice Department's attack. Jayne Williams, Oakland's city attorney, says that the city has the authority to "enact laws for the benefit of the citizens and their health and safety." She calls the federal government's position "a very unreasonable and extreme interpretation."

FEMA RISES FROM THE ASHES

IN NORTH CAROLINA AND NEW YORK, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is forcing state planners to develop plans for nuclear-war civil defense — a step officials in the states have ridiculed as senseless — or to give up FEMA funds both use to plan for conventional disasters.

For some time, it looked as if

FEMA might leave state and local governments alone. In 1981, Congress amended the Civil Defense Act to allow states to use FEMA funds — originally earmarked exclusively for nuclear-war civil defense — for conventional disaster planning as well — as long as the planning "is consistent with, contributes to, and does not detract from attack-related civil defense programs."

In 1987, Congress went a step further. Led by Rep. Les AuCoin (D-OR), Congress told FEMA the agency could no longer withhold funds from any state "or other entity" that refused to participate in "simulated nuclear attack exercises."

But that hasn't stopped FEMA from threatening communities refusing to PLAN for nuclear war, says NFA's Donnay. "From a FEMA memo to its regional directors about 'population protection planning,' we know that FEMA is still requiring 'nuclear attack response planning,'" Donnay says.

FEMA's renewed interest in local nuclear-war civil defense planning is nothing new, says David Lewis, Director of Policy and Legislation for the Washington, D.C.-based Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR). Indeed, Lewis says, the Bush administration has yet to name a new director to head the agency.

The real change in FEMA policy came at the end of the Reagan administration, Lewis says, when the agency turned its attention from Congress —

which routinely ridiculed FEMA's national nuclear-war civil defense strategy — to local governments. The agency, Lewis says, threatened already financially straitened local governments with a cut-off of federal disaster funds.

"They were putting across the same civil defense plans," Lewis says. "But they were more successful [with local governments] because states are tight for money."

New York state is an example of how financial arm-twisting at the local level has produced for FEMA what lobbying Congress could not. Donald DeVito, director of the New York state Emergency Management Office, says his state doesn't want to plan for a nuclear attack. But it will.

"We believe unequivocally that the only credible way to deal with the issue of...a nuclear attack on this country is to make sure it never happens," DeVito says. But DeVito is planning. If the state refused to develop plans for a nuclear attack, FEMA would have withheld all disaster planning funds.

"To throw it away just didn't make any sense," he says.

FEMA has threatened Albany County, New York, with a cut-off of funds because the county's executive director, James Coyne, refused to include the state's nuclear-war civil defense proposals in his county's version of the plan.

HELMS HITS PANIC BUTTON

IN THE SENATE IN JUNE, NORTH CAROLINA Senator Jesse Helms proposed denying federal transportation funds to cities refusing to contract with South African firms. Helms read into the record a Bush administration letter supporting the amendment, which Helms said was aimed "at preserving the supremacy of [federal] legislation in the area of foreign policy." Helms' foreign affairs staffperson Bruce Rickerson told the Bulletin the Bush letter was prepared for Helms by the State Department.

Helms' proposal was in response to wording in a supplemental appropriations bill that would have allowed local governments to refuse to consider bids from South African firms — without fear of losing federal funds.

That wording was supplied by Washington Senator Brock Adams at the urging of local officials in Seattle, Washington. Seattle had recently strengthened its anti-apartheid ordinance in the wake of a discovery that a city agency purchased South African granite for two local projects.

But when the bill hit the Senate floor for discussion on June 9, Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) had proposed an amendment to strike the Adams provision.

"In effect," Helms told the Senate, his amendment would prevent "states and local governments from making foreign policy regarding the Republic of South Africa."

Helms suggested that his concern was at least partly fiscal. Allowing cities like Seattle to refuse bids from businesses with ties to South Africa or to refuse to use materials produced in South Africa, Helms charged, "will surely be a budget buster for states and localities...."

Not so, said Transportation Appropriations Committee chair Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ). "The competitive bidding standard for awarding federal transport funds was adopted to ensure cost-effectiveness in the expenditure of public funds," Lautenberg said. "But financial concerns must at some point yield to moral standards. This is such a point."

Three other senators — Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA), Paul Simon (D-IL), and Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) — rose to defend Adams' provi-



OAKLAND'S WILSON RILES, JR.

Under Bush, activist cities may have a tough time.

sion.

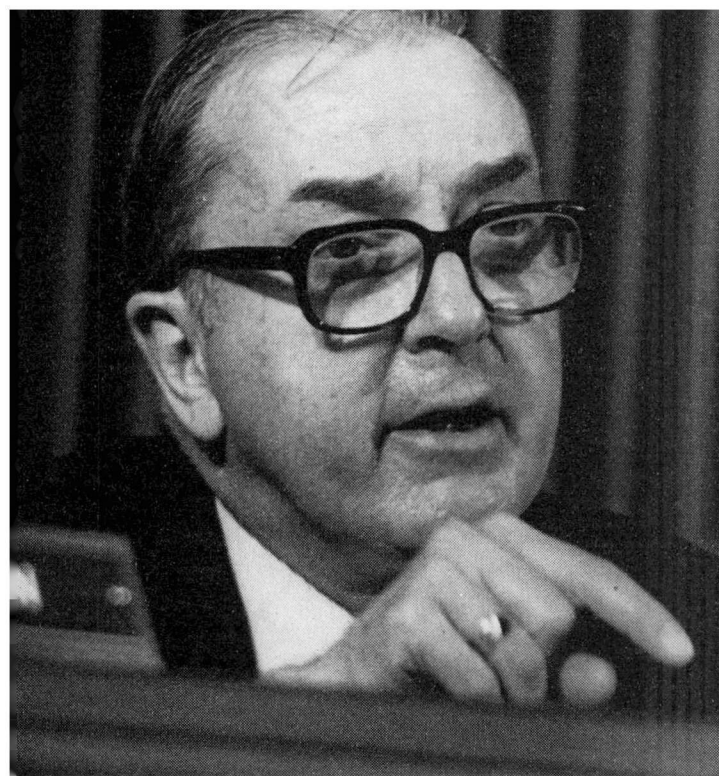
"What is offered here," Simon told the Senate, "is, first of all, a threat to 24 States and almost 100 cities, including the city of Chicago in my state. It is clearly a step backward." Far from discouraging state and local anti-apartheid measures, Simon said, "we ought to be adopting a resolution commending the 24 states and the 100 cities that have stood up for the ideals of this country."

Moynihan took issue with Helms' contention that municipal anti-apartheid issues are "foreign policy."

"We are not dealing with an issue of foreign policy," he told the Senate as debate ended. "We are dealing with an issue of the spirit of the American Constitution. From the day this Union of States was formed, we have found that citizens, communities, states, feeling strongly about moral or ethical issues in world affairs, have made their position clear, and have undertaken actions that affect them and them alone. Often we have found that, with time, as we are seeing, those views spread. They gain ascendancy, and policy rises from the grassroots of the nation to the nation's capital."

Helms remained unpersuaded. If the Senate tabled his amendment, Helms said, "What they will be

JIM JERNEGAN



SENATOR JESSE HELMS.

Municipal anti-apartheid laws are "budget-busters."

doing...is to say that the federal government is not preeminent in the conduct of foreign policy."

The Senate tabled the Helms amendment, in a 69 to 29 vote.

PARALYSIS OR RENEWED ENERGY?

The government's support of the Helms' amendment "does not itself mark a change on South Africa," says Center for Innovative Diplomacy President Michael H. Shuman. Like the Bush administration, the Reagan administration worked with conservative senators to throw obstacles in the path of city-based foreign policy initiatives.

But, Shuman says, the Justice Department lawsuit against Oakland does, indeed, "mark a break with the Reagan administration's tacit tolerance of nuclear free zones, and it may presage attacks on other municipal foreign policies."

While he sees no "grand design," former State Department lawyer Peter Spiro believes the government's actions do fit "into an overall conception of the problem of cities and states operating in foreign policy. But there's probably no agenda."

As for the timing of the attacks, Spiro says the Bush administration is

less hobbled by the "knee-jerk states' rightism" that characterized the Reagan administration.

Other observers, like *National Journal* editor Ron Brownstein, agree. While Brownstein sees the Bush administration's actions as "an extension of the basic thrust of the Reagan administration," he says the Reagan administration was marked by a "sort of schizophrenia" that paralyzed its attempts to deal with the

movement of cities into foreign affairs.

"On the one hand, you had all this talk about the New Federalism and all that — devolving authority to the states and localities," Brownstein says. "On the other, you had all these attempts to subsume or subordinate state authority to federal authority."

But the rise of the Bush administration reflects a change in the Republican party. Bush Republicans, Brownstein contends, don't share the Reagan-era faith in localism and have resorted to the power of the federal government to enact a social agenda with limited support at the local level. The rhetoric of localism remains, but the modest energy the Reagan administration mustered in its behalf has disappeared.

"I think that among Republicans there's a recognition that their party's real power base is in its control of the federal government...that local politics is still basically Democratic."

Oakland City Council Member Wilson Riles, Jr., suggests the Bush administration has shed more than "knee-jerk states' rightism."

Riles, the only member of the Oakland City Council to support the city's nuclear free zone ordinance, is also a staunch supporter of municipal anti-apartheid initiatives. He sees a

sudden — and somewhat frightening — shift in the way the federal government will approach activist local governments. "Bush is taking action that the Reagan administration never took against cities. The [Justice Department] lawsuit against the city of Oakland is an overt political act," but one that is cloaked in legalisms, Riles says. The Reagan administration, by contrast, approached municipal foreign policies as "political, not legal, issues, and fought them out on that basis. There was no use of those kinds of legal tactics during the Reagan administration."

"Bush is much more dangerous than Reagan," Riles says. "Bush is much smoother, much more able to manipulate the media. And, with all his talk about a 'kinder, gentler nation,' I think local governments that want to have a voice on foreign policy are going to have difficult time."

At least one observer thinks the Bush administration's actions were a terrific mistake. Oakland nuclear-free zone activist Steve Bloom says the government would "have been best advised to ignore" the Oakland ordinance. "What's Oakland going to do?" he asks. "Send the police to arrest employees at federal facilities?"

If there is a silver lining to the clouds gathering above the skylines of internationalist cities, Bloom says, it is that the federal government now knows municipal foreign policies make a difference. The Justice Department's action in the Oakland case, he says, suggests that "they decided these things would eventually make it more and more difficult for the federal government to do whatever it wants to do."

SOURCE: Albert Donnay, *Nuclear Free America*, 325 E. 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-448-1820); Mike Mann, *Washington State SANE/Freeze*, 5516 Roosevelt Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206-527-8050); Eddie Rye, Jr., *Black Contractors Coalition* (206-722-0726); *Congressional Record—Senate*, June 6, 1989, pp. S 6196-6199; David Lewis, PSR, 1000 16th St., N.W., #810, Washington, D.C., 20036 (202-785-3777); Russ Kazal, "State Drafts Evacuation Outline, Would be Used in Nuclear Attack," *Schenectady Gazette*, April 3, 1989; Michael H. Shuman, Center for Innovative Diplomacy (714-250-1296); Steve Bloom, *Nuclear Free California* (415-654-7259); Bob Bruce, U.S. Department of State, South Africa section (202-647-8434).

Guess who's coming to dinner

Nuke sub's unannounced visit raises questions about nuclear free zones.

WHEN THE USS ALABAMA pulled into the dock at Astoria, Oregon — a city of 10,000 people in nuclear-free Clatsop County — machine-gun-toting Oregon National Guardsmen sealed off the port. Coast Guard ships cruised Oregon coastal waters and helicopters hovered over the Columbia River to chase off boats straying too closely to the 560-foot submarine.

The Alabama — in Astoria on July 8 to resupply and change crews — was gone in less than a day. In its wake were some furious citizens and at least one angry local official.

"What I want to know is how did it happen in the first place, who gave the permission, and why we were not kept informed," says Clatsop County Commissioner Sally O'Donnell. "I'm appalled. All we know is that it is a nuclear submarine in a nuclear free zone."

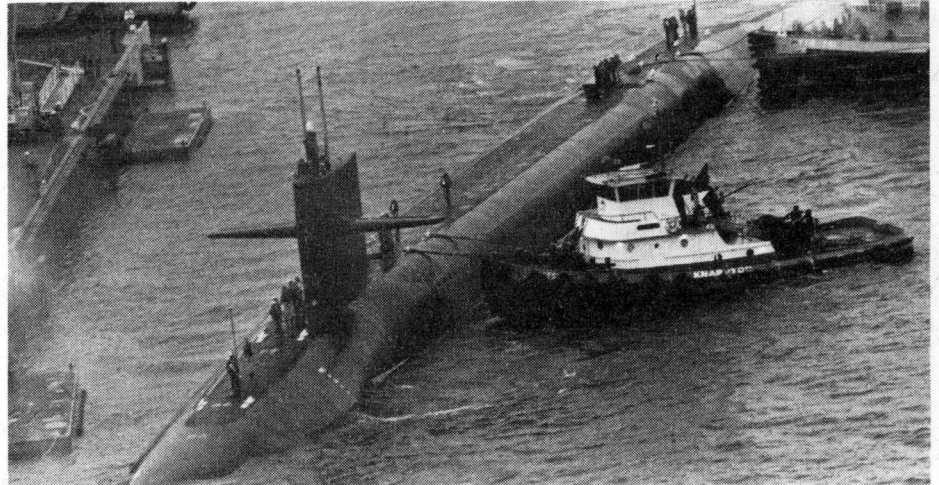
Sixty-one percent of Clatsop County's voters approved a county-wide nuclear free zone ordinance in November 1984.

Navy spokesperson Lt. Liz Taggart refused to explain precisely why the Alabama, usually berthed in Bangor, Washington, was in Astoria, except to say it was "part of a Maritime Defense Zone exercise."

Nor would Taggart admit that residents in Astoria had any right to know. Local laws like Clatsop's nuclear free zone ordinance are not binding on the federal government, Taggart claimed.

County Commissioner Blair Henningsgaard agrees. "The County Commission was out of the loop. As far as I'm concerned, that's where we should be."

But County Commissioner O'Donnell — one of the few local officials allowed to board the submarine during its brief visit — believes the



ALAN MCMANIN

WELCOME TO NUCLEAR-FREE CLATSOP COUNTY.

"There's more firepower on this submarine than was used on all sides in World War Two."

Alabama's visit raises serious local health and safety considerations.

"The captain [of the Alabama, John Stein] stood there with a great deal of pride, as if he were announcing the birth of a child, and said, 'There's more firepower [in this submarine] than there was used on all sides in World War Two,'" O'Donnell says.

The Alabama's arms include 24 Trident I C4 missiles, each of which can be fired at targets up to 4,600 miles away.

The presence of such firepower, O'Donnell says, is a direct affront to the county's nuclear free zone status. But other county commissioners aren't sure. At O'Donnell's prompting, the Board of Commissioners has asked the Oregon Attorney General's office for an opinion on three questions: Can the Clatsop County nuclear free zone ordinance prohibit the docking of nuclear-armed navy vessels in Astoria? Can the ordinance prohibit the Navy from transporting nuclear materiel on the Columbia River within Clatsop County? And, finally, can the ordinance prohibit the transportation of nuclear weapons over roads within the county?

The Attorney General had not yet handed down his decision at press time.

O'Donnell says only one commissioner, Pat Wallace, has attacked the ordinance's supporters. "What he's been trying to do locally is to make us look anti-Navy, anti-American," O'Donnell says. "I was and continue to be shocked at the amount of firepower that was on that thing, and I don't think I am any less patriotic [for being so]. I think we all thought it [the ordinance] meant something that, in fact, it probably does not mean."

But Jermone Arnold, a Clatsop County resident who served on nuclear-armed subs for eight years, told the County Commission's July 26 meeting that he knows precisely what the ordinance means.

"I think we expose our communities here to a very real hazard," Arnold said. "If something were to go wrong there [on a nuclear-armed vessel], Astoria would be no longer, and much of Clatsop County would disappear."

SOURCE: County Commissioner Sally O'Donnell, c/o Courthouse, Astoria, OR 97103; "Nuclear Vessel Visits," *The Weekly Budget Reminder* (Astoria, Oregon), July 19, 1989, p. 1; Joan Herman, "Nuclear-free zone's power questioned," *The Daily Astorian*, July 27, 1989, p. 1.

Tallahassee Feels Fury of Anti-Apartheid Storm

Controversy Rages Among Commissioners Over Firm's Suspected Ties to South Africa.

AT FIRST GLANCE, THE CITY OF TALLAHASSEE THOUGHT it had something to celebrate. The General Dynamics Corporation and Tadiran, an Israeli electronics company, announced a joint venture that would bring the Florida community its first large-scale manufacturing operation. The plant's assembly line, which would produce Army battlefield radios under a Pentagon contract, would provide jobs for about 700 people. The city proposed leasing the companies its own land for the undertaking, as well as providing a \$4 million subsidy to help close the deal.

But by the time the first shovels were being prepared for the groundbreaking, the deal had exploded into what has become a lingering controversy bitterly dividing the city. A group of angry Tallahassee citizens has charged that Tadiran has business ties with South Africa, and these anti-apartheid activists say they have collected a growing body of documentation to support their contention. Although Tadiran has steadfastly denied any present connections with South Africa, some residents of the Florida city now believe the welcome mat should be pulled out from under the Israeli company.

When General Dynamics and Tadiran were lured to Tallahassee, the city had no anti-apartheid policy. But activists still cringed at the thought of currying favor with any firm doing business in South Africa. The city attorney, in fact, conducted an investigation of Tadiran, but could find no smoking gun to disqualify it from setting up shop in Tallahassee. But the firm's critics insist that Tadiran's corporate officials blantly lied to the city about its links with South Africa.

"Tadiran has finally acknowledged that it was once in South Africa, and it has proposed a number of different dates — ranging from 1982 to 1987 — as the time when it

withdrew," asserts Dr. Edward Holifield, a member of the Anti-Apartheid Task Force, a group opposed to Tadiran's presence in the city. "But it hasn't provided any documentation to prove that it has indeed pulled out of South Africa."

Tadiran's case is further damaged, says Holifield, by the activities of its Tel Aviv-based parent company, Koor Industries Ltd. "South African banks have come to the rescue of Koor," he says. "And we know that a wholly-owned subsidiary of Koor — a company named Afitra — operates out of Johannesburg. That has been documented by the *Jerusalem Post*."

Alison Cooper, senior analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Center in Washington, DC, says that IRRC has been investigating Tadiran and Koor for several months. According to an IRRC document, Koor has been linked with at least three companies in South Africa, but because of conflicting information about the nature of these ties, IRRC "does not currently have solid enough documentation" to add the parent firm to its directory of companies with direct economic ties to South Africa.

A company called Tadiran Electronics Ltd. is listed in the 1987-88 Johannesburg telephone directory, and is alleged to be a subsidiary of Tadiran. But in April 1989, Koor official Gurion

Meltzer told IRRC that Tadiran does not have a South African office, and that when Meltzer called the number, "a lady answer[ed] the phone [and] told me that it is not the telephone of Tadiran." However, when IRRC called the same number in July 1989, the individual answering the phone acknowledged that the caller had reached Tadiran, but then refused to answer additional questions.

Also, a South African firm called Electro-Optics Industries Ltd. is alleged to be a subsidiary of Tadiran. When the *Tampa Tribune* called the company, Electro-Optics's managing director Charles Lubbe would neither confirm nor deny that it was linked to Tadiran.

In June, in the midst of the controversy, the Tallahassee City Commission — by a 3-to-2 vote — approved the final

The Community Remains Bitterly Divided Over Anti-Apartheid Stances.



SHOWING SOUTH AFRICAN FIRMS THE DOOR.

Anti-apartheid activist Holifield says Tallahassee's economic development program places profits before principles.

lease agreement with Tadiran, clearing the way for the company's entrance into the Florida community. The debate that preceded that showdown vote was so heated that one local newspaper compared it to "pouring gasoline on a fire." After the commissioners cast their votes at 1:10 a.m., *Tallahassee Democrat* reporter Ellen Moran recounted that City Commissioner Jack McLean confronted community activist Rev. Reesce Joyner, and as they stood nose to nose, Commissioner Debbie Lightsey moved between them to play peacekeeper.

"You don't have to stand between us, Debbie," Rev. Joyner exclaimed. "If Jack wanted to come down here to fight, let him go ahead."

Throughout much of the controversy, McLean has been at the center of the storm. Considered the swing vote on the issue, McLean has sided with Tadiran while anti-apartheid activists have charged him with conflict of interest because of his presence as a board member of the Chamber of Commerce, which actively participated in luring Tadiran to the city.

Although McLean wrote a column for the *Bulletin* last winter recounting the controversy and the city's position on the matter, it only fueled more debate. Holifield charges that there were several inaccuracies in McLean's column, and adds that when divestment was discussed in the city in the mid-1980s, McLean was in favor of it. "The only thing we can see different today is that Jack McLean is now on the Chamber of Commerce, and is one of its board members."

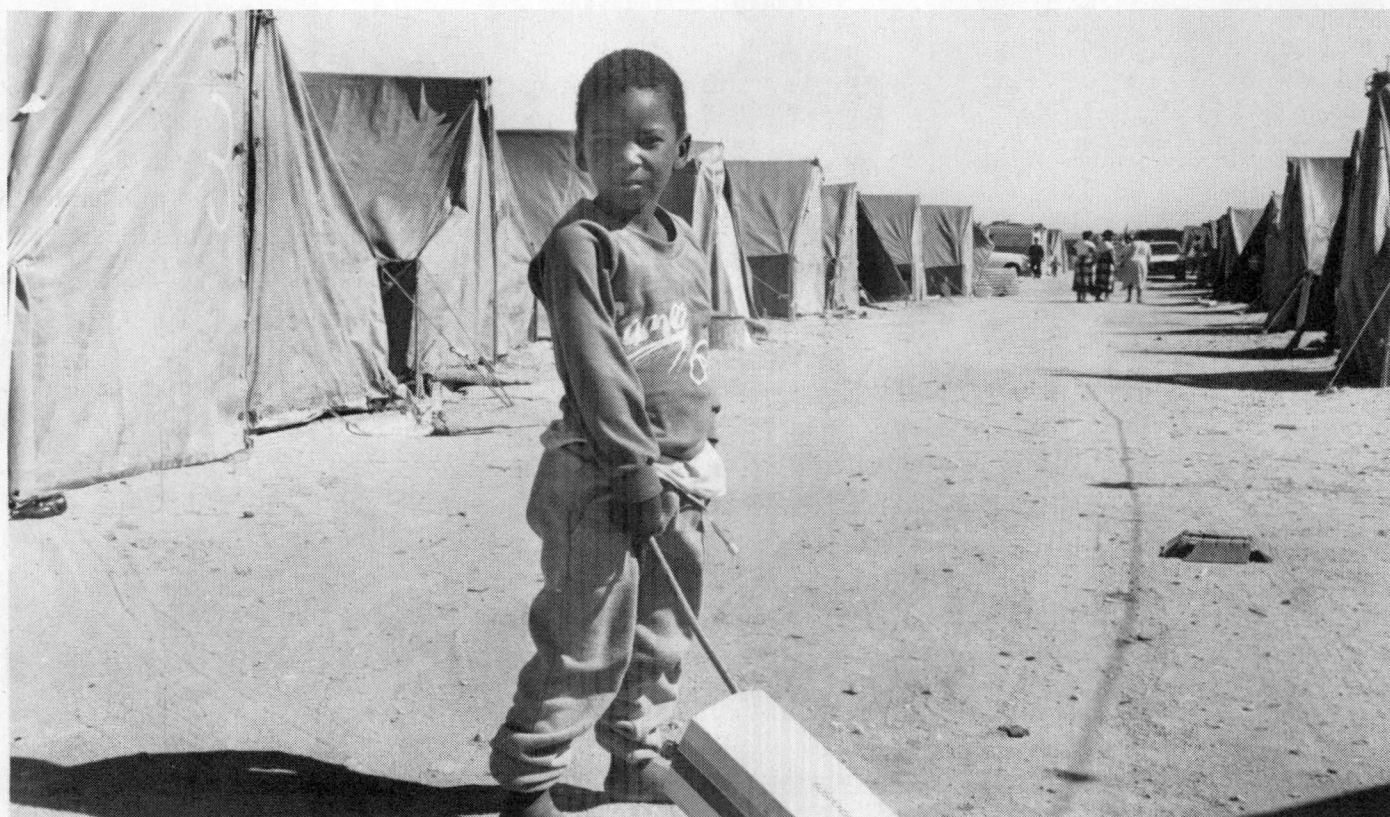
At a news conference, McLean insisted that "all of my actions have been ethical." Ruby Turner, an aide to McLean, says that the commissioner voted in favor of the

final lease arrangement because "he felt the city didn't have a strong enough legal position to back out of the agreement. But he also voted in favor of stronger language. The agreement now states that Tadiran must comply with any anti-apartheid policy that we adopt in the future. And there will be monitoring of that."

By late summer, General Dynamics and Tadiran had begun hiring and training employees for their Tallahassee operation, and the city commissioners had started considering adoption of both anti-apartheid and divestment policies for the city. In late August, the commissioners approved a divestment policy, removing the city's operating funds from firms still doing business in South Africa (except for banks with existing loans to that country, which were given five years to sever their ties). Mayor Dorothy Inman, who had voted against approving the Tadiran lease agreement last June, is among the strongest advocates of these new policies, noting that she'd like to "make sure that this sort of thing would not happen again."

Meanwhile, Holifield insists that "it's not over," referring to the continuing opposition to Tadiran's presence in Tallahassee. "As part of the city's anti-apartheid policy, we're going to try to include a provision stating that any company that lied or misrepresented itself to the city of Tallahassee will not be allowed to stay here."

SOURCES: Connie Melton, aide to Mayor Dorothy Inman (904-599-8181); Ruby Turner, aide to Commissioner Jack McLean (904-599-8750), Edward Holifield, M.D., P.O. Box 6491, Tallahassee, FL 32314; Alison Cooper, senior analyst, Investor Responsibility Research Center, 1755 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; Mark August, "S. Africa Link Mires Tallahassee Project," *Tampa Tribune*, 2 July 1989, p. 1; Kit Bauman and Ellen M. Moran, "Tadiran Vote Stokes Controversy," *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 23, 1989, p. 1; Ellen M. Moran, "Calm Debate Erupts Into Fiery Confrontation," *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 23, 1989, p. 1; Doron P. Levin, "Effort by Tallahassee to Diversify Reopens Old Racial Wounds," *New York Times*, November 13, 1988, p. 31.



ADIL BRADLOW / AFRAPIX, IMPACT VISUALS

SOUTH AFRICA AGREES TO SPARE BLACK TOWNSHIP

CAN A SISTER COMMUNITY relationship with a South African black township make a difference? Just ask the people of Lawaaikamp, the sister community of Saint Paul, MN. They're liable to answer with a deafening "yes."

For four years, the 1,800 residents of Lawaaikamp have resisted the efforts of the South African government to forcibly remove them to another township about three kilometers away — part of the white leadership's campaign to confine blacks to 10 percent of the country's land. Not only have the people of Lawaaikamp refused to follow that edict, but they've demanded

**Councilmember
Bill Wilson
takes a trip to
Lawaaikamp, and
comes away with a
South African
promise to let
residents stay in
their homes.**

that the living conditions in their existing township be improved.

Saint Paul has attempted to apply pressure on behalf of Lawaaikamp since they formed a sisterly bond in February 1988. But the issue of forced removal finally came to a head last July — with the people of Lawaaikamp as apparent victors. The white municipality of George, which has been trying to implement the forced removal, announced that it would drop its plans to relocate the community of Lawaaikamp. That decision was reached during a two-week visit to the area by Saint Paul Councilmember Bill Wilson and Rev. Oliver White, presi-

dent of the Saint Paul Black Ministerial Alliance.

"We were there on serious business," said Councilmember Wilson upon his return to Minnesota. He and Rev. White were able to arrange unprecedented meetings between the white officials of George and the elected representatives of Lawaai-kamp. "This was historic because blacks just don't go to city hall in George."

In that first meeting, Lawaai-kamp residents described improvements they wanted in their community and their determination to remain in their township. At the end of that meeting, George Mayor John Rogers and Town Clerk Carel du Plessis accepted an invitation from the Lawaai-kamp representatives to meet with them in a home in their community. Never before in the 40-year history of the township had white officials been in the township for any purpose other than to pressure the residents to leave.

In a radio broadcast from Lawaai-kamp in late July, a member of the Lawaai-kamp Civic Association explained, "For the first time, [George city officials] came into our house and had tea and talked to people. That may change them as human beings and will change their attitudes. . . . They showed their preparedness [to try] to find a common solution in solving the problems of Lawaai-kamp."

Kim Lanegran, coordinator of the Saint Paul-Lawaai-kamp Sister Communities Project, said that the apparent progress "is a proud victory that must be shared with all the people of Saint Paul, because this entire project has been a grassroots effort. We take our lead from the courageous people of Lawaai-kamp and deliver whatever help we can." She cautioned, as did

Wilson and White, that Saint Paul must remain vigilant and continue to work with Lawaai-kamp to ensure that the government of George carries out its pledge to turn away from the forced removal.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu met with Wilson and White for 45 minutes in Cape Town and endorsed the U.S.-South Africa sister community efforts as an important U.S. anti-apartheid movement. Wilson invited Tutu to Saint Paul in the spring of 1990 to serve as keynote speaker at a proposed national conference of the sister communities movement.

Saint Paul is one of six U.S. cities that has formed sisterly ties with black South African townships. Although Saint Paul's efforts have achieved the most dramatic results to date, the others — Milwaukee, Louisville, Atlanta, Wichita and Berkeley — are continuing similar campaigns on behalf of their sister communities.

In July, for instance, Milwaukee hosted Rev. Tshenuwani Simon Farisani, who keynoted activities in the Wisconsin city that commemorated the deaths of two residents of the sister community of Potsdam — residents who were murdered by vigilantes. Rev. Farisani, deputy bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Africa, met with the mayor and addressed the Milwaukee common council during his visit. He has been arrested and tortured by the South African government on several occasions because of his work to end apartheid.

Tom Donegan, president of the Milwaukee common council, said that through events such as Rev. Farisani's visit, he hopes that "we can commit ourselves not only to work harder to end apartheid in South Africa but also to recommit ourselves to continued work to end racism in our own society."

In Louisville, Alderperson Reginald Meeks has been a driving force to lend the city's support to Kleinskool. "We have a letter writing campaign to the South African ambassador to the U.S.," said Meeks. "I've talked to Mitch McConnell, our U.S. Senator in Washington, who expressed an interest in having us keep him briefed on what we're doing and finding out. And at some point, we hope to have a



TIME TO MOVE.

At Crossroads township, vigilantes work with South African military troops to speed up relocation.

contingent of Louisville citizens go to South Africa to meet with our counterparts in Kleinskool."

Other U.S. cities — including Phoenix and Birmingham — are considering forming sister community ties as well. The program is coordinated by the U.S.-South Africa Sister Community Project at 2601 Mission St., Suite 400, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415-824-2938).

SOURCES: Councilmember William Wilson, City Hall, Saint Paul, MN 55102 (612-298-4646); Alderman Thomas Donegan, Common Council, 200 E. Wells St., Milwaukee, WI 53202 (414-278-3285); Alderman Reginald Meeks, City Hall, 601 W. Jefferson, Louisville, KY 40202 (502-625-3919).

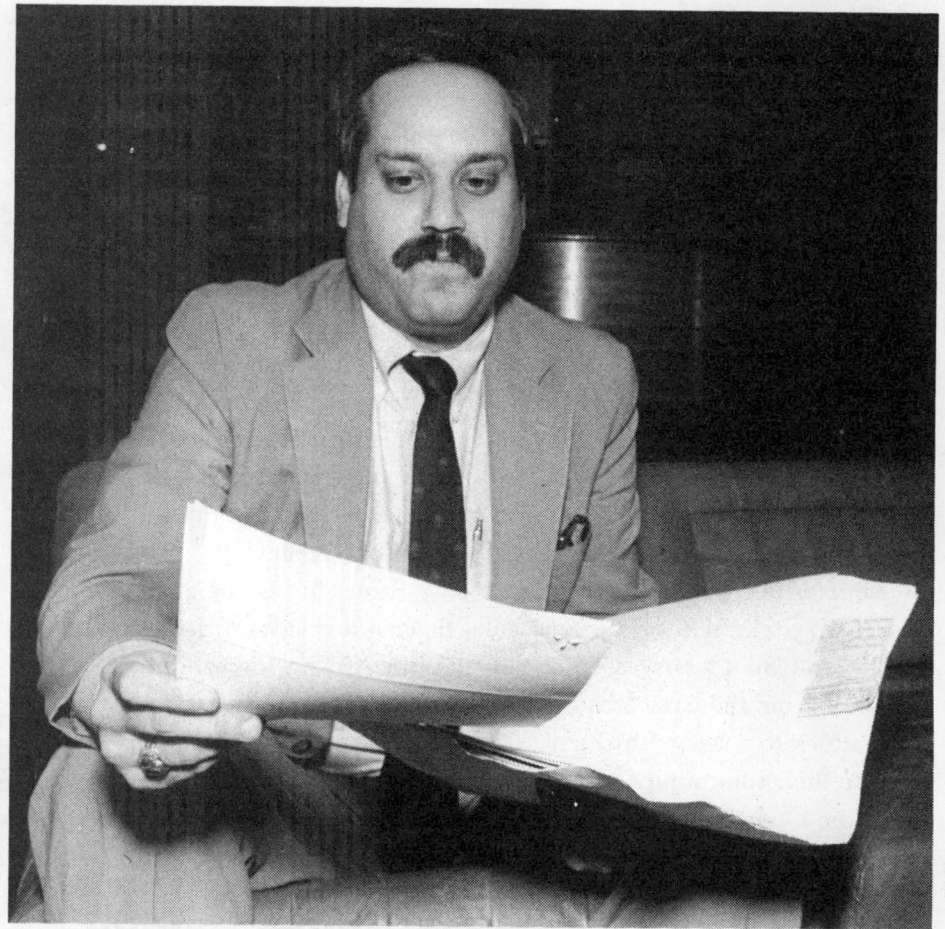
G. TILLUM / AFRAPIX, IMPACT VISUALS

Chipping Away at the Divestment Con Game

Cities Look to Close Loopholes in Anti-Apartheid Legislation, While Some Corporations Circumvent the Letter of the Law

IT HAS BEEN CALLED "THE Divestment Con Game." In a typical scenario, a U.S. corporation may claim to have left South Africa, when it is actually continuing to profit from a business relationship in that apartheid-plagued nation. Often, the situation goes unnoticed for months, years or perhaps forever, in part because of unasked questions and other loopholes in local and state divestment ordinances.

But that is starting to change. Some U.S. cities are beginning to confront the possibility that their divestment and selective-purchasing laws may be in need of repair. City councils are now evaluating how best to close



ERIC WOLLMAN, NEW YORK CITY COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE.

"What we thought was going to take place isn't quite happening," an activist says.

these loopholes in their anti-apartheid legislation, eliminating shortcomings that were missed the first time around.

"To some extent, people are still learning how to create selective purchasing legislation," says Richard Knight of the American Committee on Africa. "A lot of cities are realizing, 'What we thought was going to take place isn't quite happening. We need to readjust what we're doing.'"

To date, economic action against apartheid has been taken by 24 states, 79 cities and 19 counties. And depending on how the laws were worded, some corporations have slipped through the selective-purchasing cracks in ways that local and state

governments may have never presumed they would.

"In cities where selective contracting ordinances are now in place, the municipality often just wants to know whether the corporation itself that's bidding on a particular contract does business in South Africa," says Stephen Davis, senior analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Center in Washington, D.C. "But if a subsidiary of that corporation — or a parent company — is conducting business in South Africa, the city won't necessarily find that out because often the question is never asked."

In Los Angeles, Mayor Tom Bradley and the city council tightened

J. GREEN

loopholes in the city's purchasing ordinance in July. One of the most glaring of these problem areas dealt with sole-source contracts. "The original ordinance said that if only one company is offering a service, you have to deal with that firm," says Mark Fabiani, legal counsel to the mayor. "But in practice, this provision had been used to circumvent the ordinance. Now, the wording has been changed to make it tougher to apply." The mayor also sent a letter to all city departments, advising them to apply the sole-source exemption very narrowly.

In New York, the city council is considering closing loopholes dealing with third-party, non-equity investments in South Africa. In this situation, an American corporation maintains no physical presence in South Africa — no plant, no offices — but continues to have some type of trading or business relationship there.

Eric Wollman of the New York City Comptroller's Division of Investment Responsibility describes a typical example of this circumstance. "Let's presume that an American corporation has a plant in South Africa that builds automobiles. It sells the plant to South Africans — but continues to provide parts made in the U.S. or Europe that make their way to South Africa and are assembled by the South African corporation."

Ken Sylvester, a director of New York's Division of Investment Responsibility, says that an investigation by the comptroller's office also uncovered instances in which U.S. banks were making loans to South African banks, which in turn were lending to

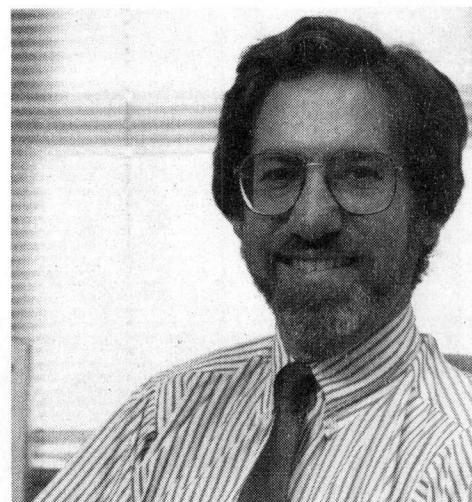
the South African government. This appeared to violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the law which prohibited city deposits in banks making loans to the South African government. "We took this information to the city council, and asked it to close the existing loopholes," says Sylvester.

The New York city council held a public hearing on the proposed changes, and a commission was formed to study how best to revise the law. The council is expected to take action before the end of the calendar year on this matter.

No matter how carefully legislation is drafted, however, new wrinkles are apt to surface from time to time. For instance, when Minorco S.A., the multinational mining conglomerate, made an unsuccessful bid for a hostile takeover of Consolidated Gold Fields P.L.C. earlier this year, it sparked an array of new questions. For instance, although Minorco is a Luxembourg-based corporation, it is controlled by the mining dynasty of South African Harry Oppenheimer. Thus, U.S. cities asked, should our local ordinances lock out corporations that are not South African-based, yet whose decisions may be made by South African interests?

But no matter how legislation reads in its current or revised forms, Richard Knight says an equally-important factor is how vigorously it is enforced. "Some ordinances are being implemented well, but others are not."

SOURCES: Richard Knight, The American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212-962-1210); Mark Fabiani, Mayor's Office, City Hall, Room 305, Los Angeles, CA 90012 (213-485-3304); Ken Sylvester/Eric Wollman, Office of the Comptroller, City of New York, 1 Center St., New York, NY 10007 (212-669-2012); Stephen Davis, Investor Responsibility Research Center, 1755 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (202-939-6500).



CHARLES STECK

"If a subsidiary is conducting business in South Africa, the city won't necessarily find out because often the question is never asked."

- STEPHEN DAVIS

Struggling to Survive

Cambridge Applies Pressure Against Human Rights Violations in El Salvador.

Viva Cambridge! Viva international delegations! Viva San Jose Las Flores!"

Those cheers from villagers in San Jose Las Flores greeted the five members of a delegation from Cambridge, Massachusetts, when they visited their El Salvadoran sister city last summer. As part of their 11-day trip to El Salvador, the Cambridge visitors took part in the third-anniversary celebration of the village's repopulation.

San Jose Las Flores' story is an unusual one. In 1982, it became the target of the Salvadoran military's counterinsurgency policy, designed to depopulate rural areas of the country.

After repeated, vicious attacks by the military, the villagers were forced to flee into the mountains. Some eventually ended up in Honduran refugee camps. Many died attempting to find safety.

Four years later, in June 1986, 26 families (about 120 people) decided to return to San Jose Las Flores to once again farm the land that their ancestors had lived on for generations. But the military has not made it easy for them, creating an atmosphere of terror intended to frighten the villagers away once again.

Jon Friedman, a staff reporter/photog-



JON FRIEDMAN

rapher for the *Cambridge Chronicle*, was part of the Cambridge group that made the trip to San Jose Las Flores last June. In a two-part series of articles he wrote for the *Chronicle*, accompanied by the photographs that appear on these pages, he recounted what life is like for the courageous people whom Cambridge has adopted under a sister city program.

"We met many warm and friendly villagers who wanted to tell us their stories, many of which involved brutality," Friedman wrote. "Many of the people we met had witnessed the murders of their parents, brothers and sisters, leaving them the last survivors of their families.

The situation has left people devastated. We asked one survivor what her plans were for the future. She had no sense of a future. She said she could only comprehend a day-to-day existence. The only dreams the people can see are those which include an end to the war through a negotiated settlement."

Some villagers told their Cambridge visitors that the sister-city link was the only avenue for their voices to be heard, the only way for the truth to come out regarding what is happening in El Salvador. The sisterly tie is also helping the people of San Jose Las Flores remain in their village, thanks to the financial and medical help that arrives from Cambridge.

"Every time a human rights violation is incurred by the villagers, the sister city is ready to respond with telexes, phone calls, and pressure applied to Congressional representatives who have the power to threaten cuts in financial aid to the country," according to Friedman. "For now, it is the only system that is keeping the villages of rural El Salvador from disappearing."

In recounting the simplicity of life in San Jose Las Flores, Friedman described the breakfast meal that the Massachu-



LINES OF COMMUNICATION.

Villagers told their Cambridge visitors that the sister-city link was the only avenue for their voices to be heard, the only way for the truth to come out regarding what is happening in El Salvador.

setts delegation was served one morning, which included hard-boiled eggs — a luxury in the town. "When we realized that not everyone in the village was fortunate enough to have an egg for breakfast, we requested that our hosts not provide us with such bounty," recalled Friedman. But the townspeople "insisted that we were worthy of their efforts. These people were giving us their best food because we had traveled from the United States to bring humanitarian aid. The experience really reinforced the value and meaning of the sister city relationship."

In the close of his final article, Friedman described the difficulty in coming to grips with the fact that the military might again occupy the village, "harassing, torturing and even killing the very same people who shared their food with us, told us their stories, and brought us to their fields to show us their way of life."

To help prevent such an eventuality, he urged Cambridge residents to continue their support of the sister-city project.

SOURCES: Jon Friedman, "Hope Fuels Life in Las Flores," *Cambridge Chronicle*, July 6, 1989, p. 4; Jon Friedman, "Survival is a Daily Struggle in Las Flores," July 13, 1989, p. 8; C.A.E.F.-El Salvador Sister City Project, 1151 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138 (617-876-4545).

JON FRIEDMAN

Sister Cities Gear Up for Nicaraguan Elections

If even the slightest shadow falls across Nicaragua's upcoming elections, the U.S. Government may claim fraud — and call for a continued Central American war. U.S. local officials and activists want to make sure that doesn't happen.

by Sheldon Rampton

THE UPCOMING FEBRUARY ELECTIONS IN NICARAGUA promise to be the single most important event shaping U.S.-Nicaraguan relations this year, and Nicaragua's sister cities in the United States are organizing to help guarantee the integrity of those elections.

Nicaragua's Sandinista government is hoping to prove its legitimacy and prevent further U.S. military intervention by winning a convincing, internationally-observed electoral victory. The U.S. government is hoping the elections can be labeled fraudulent, thus justifying its efforts to overthrow the Sandinistas.

The election process is unfolding in an environment of profound political polarization and social tensions reflecting eight years of war, Nicaragua's deep economic crisis, and ongoing U.S.-backed efforts at political destabilization. Yet it is being carried out according to rules that grant unprecedented freedoms to opposition political parties, in full view of world opinion. It may, in fact, become the most heavily scrutinized election in history.

At the request of the Nicaraguan government, the elections will be observed by 170 official delegates from the United Nations, the largest mission of this kind that the UN has ever fielded. The Organization of American States will send at least 200 observers, one for each municipality in Nicaragua. The observation missions will enjoy the prerogatives of diplomatic immunity and have freedom of movement and unrestricted access to election centers and all political parties throughout the campaign process as well as during the voting.

"We do not want to find ourselves on election day with only partisan evaluations," explained an unidentified Nicaraguan diplomat quoted by the Mexican wire service Notimex.

Although the Sandinistas' popularity has fallen significantly in recent years, they remain by far the largest, best organized political force in Nicaragua and expect to win a clear advantage over the country's internally-divided opposition parties.

In a May interview with journalists, Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge admitted that the country's economic difficulties are causing dissatisfaction. "However, it is dissatisfaction not with the revolution, but with some specific aspects such as bureaucracy and shortages. When the moment comes to make a political choice, the immense majority of Nicaraguans will choose their historic project. . . . Here, the people vote on the basis of their political consciousness, not their stomachs. That is the great miracle of a genuine revolution."

Will the elections, and their image as reported by international delegations, create a climate of political reconciliation that can finally make peace a permanent reality? The answer may be determined here in the United States. In 1984, Nicaragua also held elections that won widespread praise from international observers, but their legitimacy was effectively annulled in the U.S. when President Reagan dismissed them as "a sham." Instead of peace, the elections were followed by an intensification of the war.

In 1984, Paul Doughty was a member of a task force sent to observe the elections for the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), the largest body of Latin American scholars in the U.S. "At that time there was a large number of *ad hoc* observer teams in Nicaragua, but few made any really systematic attempt to cover the events and none of them had anything approaching nationwide coverage," Doughty says. "The LASA report, as valuable as it was, was massively and deliberately ignored by the U.S. government and media, and despite the fact that it was sent to every member of Congress and their staffs, plus all major and regional media, public recognition of its findings was virtually zero."

This time, Doughty, a resident of Gainesville, Florida, is working to organize a delegation to Gainesville's Nicaraguan sister city of Matagalpa. Over 20 other U.S.-Nicaragua sister cities are also planning delegations, in hopes of bringing accurate reports about the elections back to communities that otherwise would have to rely for information on the government and the news media.

Sister city organizers are skeptical of the U.S. government's ability to render an honest judgment of the



MARVIN COLLINS/IMPACT VISUALS

SANDINISTA SUPPORTERS DURING 1984 ELECTIONS.

U.S.-Nicaragua sister cities will help make the 1990 round among the most closely scrutinized in history.

Nicaraguan electoral process, but they admit that their own objectivity can also be questioned.

"Some people will probably look at those of us in the sister city movement as having a bias in favor of the Sandinistas or their revolution, and there's certainly some truth to that," says Larry Ross of San Rafael, California, which is sending an election delegation to its sister city of San Rafael del Norte. "Some people would probably consider us 'commies and kooks' and automatically dismiss us as election observers."

In order to increase the visibility and credibility of their delegations, several sister city projects are soliciting participation of local government officials and other notables, including people who have not previously participated in sister city activities.

"We are trying to reach the general public and not just 'our' people," says Doughty. "We need to put forth teams that are comprised of persons whose credibility at home is sound and who enjoy community respect. Another thing we can do beginning now is to have each sister city program start collecting information about pre-electoral activities in their sister cities. The more we know beforehand, the better we will be able to judge and understand what is going on at election time. Our credibility will derive in part from our local expertise."

In Ann Arbor, former city councilmember LeRoy Cappaert and attorney Kurt Berggren are helping organize an

election delegation to their sister city of Juigalpa. The delegation has attracted so much interest — from people including Ann Arbor's city clerk, a former Michigan Congressman, and a current state representative — that organizer Gregory Fox says it "may be the first group where we have to turn people away."

Ann Arbor has also been attempting to establish coordination between delegations from different U.S. cities and to obtain cooperation from the Nicaraguan government.

"We've been in touch with the Nicaraguan embassy here in the U.S., and they were very happy to help," Fox said. "One of our delegations visited Juigalpa at the end of May and got a universally enthusiastic response when the idea was proposed to people with the local government there. In fact, they wanted us there as soon as possible, not just in the week leading up to the election. We also got a positive response when we talked to a person from COSEP, the anti-Sandinista businesspersons' organization."

The New Haven-Leon Sister City Project will be observing Nicaraguan elections at both the municipal and the national level, and is also planning to bring a Nicaraguan delegation to observe New Haven's municipal elections this fall. "We are seeking higher-level participation than usual, with targeted recruitment from credible organizations such as the Yale Law School, the League of Women Voters, the mayor's office, and Congressional offices," says organizer Alan Wright.

U.S. CITIES SENDING DELEGATES TO THE FEBRUARY NICARAGUAN ELECTIONS

AKRON, OHIO - SAN LORENZO SISTER CITY PROJECT, c/o Central American Solidarity Association, 647 Nome Avenue, Akron, OH 44320. Contact: Ruth Gibson (216-867-4542).

ANN ARBOR-JUIGALPA SISTER CITY COMMITTEE, P.O. Box 8198, Ann Arbor, MI 48107. Contact: Kurt Berggren (home: 313-665-9571 or work: 313-996-0722); Gregory Fox (313-663-0655); LeRoy Cappaert (313-995-3769).

BAINBRIDGE - OMETEPE SISTER ISLANDS ASSOCIATION, P.O. Box 4484, Rollingbay, WA 98061. Contact: David Mitchell (206-842-8141).

BOSTON - BELEN WEST SISTER CITY PROJECT, 16 Gowell Lane, Weston, MA 02193. Contact: Abbie Seixas (617-891-8450).

CENTRAL NEW JERSEY - MASAYA FRIENDSHIP CITIES PROJECT, 525 East Front Street, Plainsfield, NJ 07060. Contact: Brooks Smith (201-755-2781 or 201-753-1249).

CHAPEL HILL - SAN JORGE SISTER CITY PROJECT, Rt. 9, Box 463, Chapel Hill, NC 27514. Contact: Catherine McLeod Mills, (home: 919-942-3952 or work: 919-929-9821); Diana McDuffee (919-929-3476).

FRESNO - TELPANECA SISTER CITY PROJECT, 4777 North Arthur, Fresno, CA 93705. Contact: Mike Rhodes (209-226-0477).

GAINESVILLE - MATAGALPA SISTER CITY PROJECT, P.O. Box 1323, Gainesville, FL 32602. Contact: Suzana Picado (904-375-7724); Paul Doughty (904-376-2250).

HARTFORD - OCOTAL SISTER CITY PROJECT, 30 Arbor Street, Hartford, CT 06106. Contact: Kim Friedman (203-646-3935).

METRO ACT - CIUDAD HERMANA SISTER CITY TASK FORCE, 50 N. Plymouth Avenue, Rochester, NY 14614. Contact: Henrietta Levine (716-325-2560 or 716-473-3015).

NEW HAVEN - LEON SISTER CITY PROJECT, 965 Quinnipiac Avenue, New Haven, CT 06513. Contact: Alan Wright (203-467-9182).

PITTSBURGH - SAN ISIDRO SISTER CITY PROJECT, 5125 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15224. Contact: Beth Favorite (412-231-8080).

PROJECT MINNESOTA - LEON, 7455 S. Lake Sarah Drive, Rockford, MN 55373. Contact: Nancy Trechsel (612-477-6366).

SACRAMENTO - SAN JUAN DE ORIENTE FRIENDSHIP PROJECT, P.O. Box 163078, Sacramento, CA 95816. Contact: Peter Feeley (916-457-7275).

SAN RAFAEL DEL CORAZON SISTER CITY PROJECT, P.O. Box 13434, San Rafael, CA 94913. Contact: Larry Ross (415-456-0864); Peg Lauer (home: 415-454-9354 or work: 414-332-8082); Joan Runyon (415-453-1063).

SEATTLE - MANAGUA SISTER CITY ASSOCIATION, P.O. Box 24883, Seattle, WA 98124. Contact: Debra Ross or Roy Wilson (206-329-2974).

UPPER WEST SIDE - TIPITAPA SISTER CITY PROJECT, 370 Central Park West, New York, NY 10025. Contact: David Ment (212-865-9410).

WISCONSIN COORDINATING COUNCIL ON NICARAGUA (WCCN), P.O. Box 1534, Madison, WI 53701. Contact: Liz Chilsen (608-257-7230).

WORCESTER - COMALAPA SISTER CITY PROJECT, 65 Tory Fort Lane, Worcester, MA 01602. Contact: Richard Schmitt or Lucy Candib (508-757-0814).

New Haven has also developed a checklist of election-related questions to be explored by each of its delegations that visit Leon in the months leading up to February.

The checklist examines election procedures in Leon — How is voter registration done? How do parties get access to the media? How many parties are running? — and also compares the issues concerning voters in Leon with the issues in New Haven's election, which include homelessness, drugs, crime, poor public schools and racial issues.

In Nicaragua, the elections will raise fundamental questions about the nature of democracy, and it is not an exaggeration to say that they will address issues of life and death. But sister city observers are aware that matters of life and death in Nicaragua often take forms that would go unnoticed by a casual observer.

They know from experience that diarrhea is as deadly a killer of children as the contras, and that the people of their sister city need drinking water and public sanitation as much as they need a secret ballot and freedom of speech.

They will see a side to the elections in Nicaragua that others may not — the side that rhetoric does not illuminate, where mundane but important tasks are defined and taken on by local governments in fulfillment of people's most basic needs.

"I can't think of a group that will be more ideally equipped than sister cities to watch the elections," says Larry Ross of San Rafael. "Think of the connections we have with people in our sister city. I personally have an established relationship with the woman who used to be mayor there. I've visited her home and children. We know the head of their school system, their health system, a lot of key people. And when we go down we can tap right into the pulse of the community. We'll know what people are concerned with, what they're worried about. It'll be a lot more than just watching people plug the ballot box." ■

WAR AND PEACE

MEMBERS OF **BROOKLYN'S Sister City Project with San Juan del Rio Coco** were saddened last year by a contra attack that maimed Dora Lopez and killed her five-year-old son and 10-month-old daughter.

Lopez was taking her children, sick with diarrhea, to a San Juan health clinic built with the help of \$10,000 raised by the Brooklyn project. They were riding on the back of a truck with 11 other people when the contras attacked as they came around a bend 15 kilometers north of the city. Contra bullets and grenades claimed nine lives in the attack. In addition to the death of her children, who were shot in the head, Lopez lost an eye, and one leg had to be amputated after it was shot to pieces.

Sponsored by several U.S. solidarity groups, she traveled to the U.S. this spring for medical treatment. In April, she also went to Washington, DC to tell her story, but was ignored by the mainstream media and all but a handful of members of Congress. A few days later, \$66.6 million in additional contra aid was approved by a vote of 309-110 in the House of Representatives and 89-9 in the Senate.

"The attack was particularly painful for us because we know that the diarrhea which brought

Sheldon Rampton and Beth Katz of the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua wrote these sister city briefs.

Dora Lopez and her two children to San Juan is usually a direct result of a lack of clean drinking water in the community," observed sister city project member John Gordon. Brooklyn citizens have been working for over a year to help build a new water system that will go a long way toward eliminating the problem.

The war has devastated Nicaragua's economy and left 57,000 dead, wounded or disabled, but Gordon was optimistic after talking earlier this year to San Juan Mayor Gabriel Martinez. "When I asked if there had been much contra activity, his reply was that most people in San Juan believe the contras are history," Gordon said. "I was pretty surprised because he seemed so definite. I had read that kind of comment in the papers, but somehow it had been hard to believe. . . . For the first time since 1982, peace is on the horizon, and especially for a border town like San Juan, which lived day to day with agonizing tension, the war's end means a new lease on life."

Gordon compared the present situation to the "feeling of euphoria" he witnessed in Nicaragua during the first years of the revolution, and "the energy and intensity with which the country attacked problems like illiteracy and lack of health care. . . . For the last seven years, those efforts have been put on the back burner as the Sandinistas have had to throw all their resources

into defending the revolution from an ugly and vicious aggression. . . . Now there is an opening, a chance for Nicaragua to begin to rebuild schools and health centers, to plant

guan revolution with a parade through the streets of Brooklyn. Later that month, the sister city project sent a delegation to work on the water project and took a scrapbook full



all the fields that lay fallow because of the fighting, a chance to return to the task of constructing a new and democratic society."

Last winter, the Brooklyn project cooperated with the Hartford-Ocotal Sister City Project and Heal the Children to provide heart surgery for eight-year-old Ariel Rios of Palacaguina, Nicaragua. Ariel received treatment free of charge from Brooklyn physicians to repair a heart valve that had been damaged by rheumatic fever.

In May, Brooklyn residents celebrated the third anniversary of their sister relationship with San Juan. In June they held their first bike-a-thon and reached the halfway mark in their \$40,000 fundraising goal for the water purification project. In July, they commemorated the 10th anniversary of the Nicara-

of greetings from people in Brooklyn.

Brooklyn composer and conductor Gene Glickman also contributed his talents this fall by teaching a course in music appreciation. Proceeds from the course, which concentrated on Beethoven's nine symphonies, went to the water project.

CONTACT: Susan Lyons and Donna Mehly, Brooklyn - San Juan del Rio Coco Sister City Project, P.O. Box 356-A Times Plaza Station, Brooklyn, NY 11217 (718-282-0288 or 718-768-0953).

SISTER ISLANDS

"THAT FIRST MEETING, everybody seemed kind of nervous," said Elain Christiansen, recalling the origins of her sister island project with Nicaragua. "We were wondering, 'Well, isn't someone going to come and tell us what to do?'"

The project, called "Amigos en Paz," began

LIZ CHILSEN

after Phyllis Vecchia, a resident of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, heard about the sister city project between **New Haven, Connecticut,** and **Leon.** It led to Martha's Vineyard becoming paired with the legendary island archipelago of Solentiname.

Martha's Vineyard is an artist's retreat, known for the natural beauty of its beaches, farms and woodland, and attracting wealthy and famous visitors during its tourist season each summer. Solentiname is an internationally famous center of Nicaraguan painting and poetry; physically, the islands are a natural paradise, covered by towering trees and inhabited by many more monkeys, parrots and macaws than people.

Sandinista poet and Catholic priest Ernesto Cardenal settled in Solentiname 20 years ago, finding its island isolation similar to the spiritual atmosphere he had enjoyed as a Trappist seminarian in Kentucky. His biblical dialogues with island residents, recorded in a series of volumes titled "The Gospel in Solentiname," epitomized the appeal of Latin America's liberation theology movement. In addition to sermons, Cardenal provided islanders with paint and canvas for the first time, and soon they had created a distinctive style of primitive painting and formed Nicaragua's only art colony.

In June 1988, Mark Briggs and Pamela Cook

became the first visitors from Martha's Vineyard to Solentiname. Cook noted that the people of Solentiname, like Vineyard residents, "are very proud of what they have and they don't want it spoiled." But they also saw differences. For one thing, artists in Solentiname are organized in a collective to pool resources and income, and they donate 10 percent of their paintings to raise money for community needs.

Solentiname's material needs are also much greater than in Martha's Vineyard. After learning that Solentiname artists needed basic supplies such as brushes and paints, Christiansen began asking Vineyard artists to donate some of their supplies.

More recently, Amigos en Paz sponsored a local performance of the play, "Quien Vive—Who Lives?" Produced by the Antioch Theater, the play is about the life of Benjamin Linder, the 27-year-old engineer from Portland, Oregon, who was killed by contras while building a hydroelectric generator in a remote Nicaraguan village.

CONTACT: Phyllis Vecchia and Wendy Ward, Martha's Vineyard, P.O. Box 2529, Vineyard Haven, MA 02568 (617-627-3918).

MAGIC BUS

DESPITE THE BREAKDOWN of a bus carrying donations to their sister city, people in **Newton, Massachusetts,** have been enjoying growth and success in their relationship with **San Juan del**

Sur.

The bus was sent last December to join vehicles from throughout the country in the Christmas "Pastors for Peace Convoy," but the drivers decided that "it seemed determined not to go to Nicaragua" after it broke down in Baltimore and again in Chicago.

They brought it back to Newton, where they sold it for \$900 and used the money to pay for shipping donations.

Obstacles notwithstanding, sister city member Betsy Barker describes the shipment as "very successful." After hearing from Newton residents David and Margaret Gullette, who spent two months in San Juan del Sur, the project sent medical supplies needed by San Juan's health clinic, as well as textbooks, athletic equipment, milk for school children and other supplies specifically requested by the community. "Having our own people right there on the spot meant a particularly productive cargo," Barker said.

A slide presentation by the Gullettes in May raised several thousand dollars for sister city projects. David Gullette reported that they were "excited by the projects, large and small, we were able to accomplish in our two months, and encouraged to try some even more ambitious things."

Through working with the city's school system, the Gullettes "got to know

pretty much every teenager in town" and are convinced that health and education are "the keys to a better San Juan."

Nicaragua's deteriorating economy and low pay for teachers have forced many to drop out and become small-time entrepreneurs to support their families. "It is a bitter and humiliating step to have to take," Gullette said. "We think one of the best things we can do is to help keep good teachers in the system." Toward this end, the Newton project is helping teacher by raising \$16,000 to build housing for their use.

CONTACT: Betsy and Rodney Barker, Newton-San Juan del Sur Sister City Project, Inc., 49 Woodcliff Road, Newton Highlands, MA 02161 (617-482-4900 or 617-244-6949).

TO DANCE AGAIN

NEW MEXICO'S CONSTRUCTION Brigade to Nicaragua (NMCB) reported a happy ending to an unfriendly encounter between organizers and police in the town of Bernalillo, New Mexico.

In January, Bernalillo police detective David Glendenin ordered the group to shut down a dance it was holding to raise funds for Nicaraguan hurricane relief. Despite 45 minutes of negotiations, the dance had to be cut short, and organizer Jim Mackenzie was fined \$100.

In court, Mackenzie and NMCB successfully appealed the fine, claiming that the city ordinance requiring a dance permit was vague and infringed on the first amendment

right of free assembly. They also pointed out that Mackenzie had obtained a liquor permit from Bernalillo Mayor Ron Abouseman a week prior to the dance and had not been told then of any additional legal requirements. The city finally conceded that it was guilty of selectively enforcing the law after the city attorney admitted that Bernalillo has no records of ever issuing any dance permits.

As part of the settlement overturning the fine, dance organizers agreed not to sue the city for damages suffered when the dance was interrupted. They noted that the 125 supporters who attended the dance had refused the Brigade's offer of ticket refunds, and that a number of people who came after the music had stopped donated to hurricane relief anyway. "Through everyone's generosity, the Brigade was able to break even," reports the group's summer newsletter.

NMCB says the emphasis of its work has changed after the decision to form a sister city project with Rama on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

Since 1986, the Brigade has visited a different Nicaraguan community each year to offer its assistance in local development projects. Organizers decided to establish the "Pueblos de Amistad" program with Rama in hopes that "by forming an ongoing relationship with one community, we can

establish links between organizations and community groups here and there with similar interests."

In keeping with this philosophy, the Brigade that visited Rama this summer explored the community to develop projects in a variety of fields. "For example, the two teachers in the group, Betsy Groves and Jim McCullough, looked at the school system with an eye for how organizations in New Mexico could help with material and professional support . . . Sylvia Holguin, a nurse, had the opportunity to spend time with the various medical facilities in the area. Jim Hammon, a graduate student in biology, researched conditions at the agriculture station across the river from El Recreo," where the Brigade carried out its main project, construction of a community center.

The Brigade's newsletter also noted that four New Mexican women were participants in the Women's Convoy for Peace this summer, driving a Toyota pickup and a mobile clinic/ambulance for donation to Rama and another community in Managua.

CONTACT: Sofia Martinez, Southwest Organizing Project, 1114 7th Street, N.W., Albuquerque, NM 87102 (505-247-8832).

GLOBAL FAMILY

BOB MCCARTY RECENTLY visited El Salvador and his Nicaraguan sister city of San Juan de Limay representing an "interfaith mission of peace and

friendship to the Nicaraguan people" from St. John's Church of Baltimore, Maryland. His journal of the trip includes the following impressions: 3/20/89. "I arrived in



El Salvador today. We are staying in a parish, Santa Maria, Madre de Los Pobres — St. Mary, Mother of the Poor. Very appropriate name, for the parish is filled with 'displaced people' who have been forced off their lands because of the fighting. The pastor here says being isolated from their families back home without anyone to trust really kills their spirit. They feel trapped without their land and their dignity dies."

3/29/89. "San Juan de Limay, Nicaragua. It feels so much more peaceful here. A very different atmosphere, less tension. We are hearing about liberation theology from a small farmer. . . . The people of the third world have experience beyond what is possible in ours. It is an experience we would not choose, nor do they

choose to live under poverty and oppression. Nevertheless it is their experience, and now scripture and communal reflection have given them a powerful voice

for translating their experience into faith language." 3/30/89. "This morning we prayed with Tranquilo and his wife. They received word yesterday that their third son, who had been missing, has been killed by the contras. Three sons in one family killed. Very sad — tears and hugs — how often does this scene happen throughout the country? In El Salvador? In the U.S.A.?"

4/1/89. "Ellen Hendrick, from Casa Amanecer (House of Mercy), is almost shaking with emotion as she speaks of the challenge to move beyond theological talk of solidarity, Christianity and revolution. We have to make them a way of life. She sees Nicaragua as the 'light of the world,' not because it is better than the poor of El Salva-

dor, Haiti or Baltimore, but because it has shown how to ask the question, 'Why are the poor coming to soup kitchens?' and has overturned the system that created the injustice."

McCarty said his greatest sadness upon leaving was the difficulty of staying in touch with the people he met. "The strongest impact has been

families whose sons, husbands and fathers have been killed in the war. It also helped obtain a \$150,000 water purification system for the Atlantic Coast city of Bluefields after its old system was destroyed by Hurricane Joan.

The system was donated by a Philadelphia business, and the organiza-

California's Citizen's Committee on International Affairs, visited Nicaragua in April and May, obtaining copies of Nicaragua's foreign investment law and meeting with Nicaraguan officials responsible for implementing the law.

"Currently Nicaragua receives a lot of well-intentioned international aid, ranging from modest projects like repairing a bridge to major shipments of needed commodities," Wright said. "In the long run, though, what's needed is a more mature, equitable relationship so the people at both ends of the relationship can participate in a mutually beneficial way."

Nicaragua passed its foreign investment law in 1987. "Its basic purpose is to encourage industries or activities that generate export products, create jobs, and reduce imports so as to improve Nicaragua's balance of payments," Wright said. "They're also interested in transfers of technology."

Business opportunities that Wright noticed in Nicaragua included wood-processing to salvage trees blown down by Hurricane Joan, and aquaculture and marine projects, notably in connection with shrimp production — also severely damaged by the hurricane.

To obtain the names of Nicaraguan contact people and a packet of materials on Nicaragua's foreign investment regulations and procedures, send \$5

for printing costs and postage to Bill Wright, 2909 Ellesmere Ave., Costa Mesa, California 92626 (714-545-5306).

NEW MISSION

"WE ARE A FAIRLY NEW group, in existence approximately one year," writes Claire Veilleux, secretary of the **Milford, Connecticut-Esquipulas Sister City Project**. "We now consist of approximately 50 members and we are fortunate to have the generous assistance of our nearby neighbors, the New Haven-Leon Sister City Project, who rent us space on their shipments to Nicaragua, enabling us to send quite a bit of material aid which we would otherwise not be in a position to do yet."

The project has had two successful fundraisers in 1989: a giant city-wide "tag sale," and a concert including participants from nine area churches and a 50-member children's choir. "It was standing room only, the support was heart-warming, and we managed to meet our goal of building a Normal School in Esquipulas," Veilleux writes.

The cities became paired because of a personal relationship with a Connecticut missionary temporarily assigned to Esquipulas who visited Milford in 1987 and spoke to several congregations.

CONTACT: Mary Malarky & Mrs. Michael Drummy, Milford Sister City Project, 40 Hawley Avenue, Milford, CT 06460 (203-874-4229).



the realization that one more connection has been made in the world — one more tiny thread sewn for solidarity and peace. . . . When I read the paper now, El Salvador and Nicaragua will not just be faceless countries, for I have met real people with real families and real fears and joys and hopes . . . the human family, global community. It becomes more real for me all the time."

Over the past year, Casa Baltimore's projects have included helping build new elementary school classrooms in San Juan de Limay; hurricane relief; and assisting

tion Quest for Peace spent \$10,000 to put it in working condition and \$5,000 to ship it.

CONTACT: Dick Ullrick and Rev. Gretchen Van Utt, Casa Baltimore/San Juan de Limay Sister City Project, St. Johns of Baltimore, 27th & St. Paul Streets, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-366-7733 or 301-547-2689).

JUST BUSINESS

PEOPLE LOOKING FOR ways to contribute to Nicaragua's economic reconstruction may be interested in Bill Wright's recent research into investment opportunities available there.

Wright, a member of the economic development and world trade subcommittee of Irvine,

LIZ CHILSEN

DIFFERENT WORLD

ABBY SEIXAS, A PSYCHO-therapist and mother of two, traveled to Nicaragua earlier this year as a representative of citizens from several **Boston-area** towns who recently established a new sister city relationship with **Belen**, a small town in the south of Nicaragua.

In preparation for the trip, sister city members packed a duffle bag with pencils for school children in Belen.

Seixas was astonished upon visiting the school when the principal called all the children together and gave a speech. "Then the ceremony continued with the passing out of the pencils, one to each child. One pencil in Nicaragua now costs 1,000 cordobas or roughly 25 cents. It costs about the same to buy 10 tortillas, and many families, forced by current economic hardship, must choose food over school supplies. And so, I come from Weston to Belen with my yellow duffle bag, and a whole school stops, and there are speeches and three rounds of applause... for each child to receive one pencil."

Seixas was struck by the difference between children in Belen and her own 6-year-old daughter and 3-year-old son. "In Nicaragua I had seen many girls Rachel's age carrying little brothers Eli's age everywhere they went. For all practical purposes, these girls were the mothers to their younger siblings. I saw other children selling

tortillas, candies, newspapers on the streets of Managua. Out of the many children I saw, I only saw a child crying once, and I never heard a child whine....With the amount of daily struggle in their lives and their parents' lives right now, there is really no room to cry over anything less than when they are hungry or sick or badly hurt....Returning to my children with all of this fresh in my experience, I reacted differently than usual when my daughter whined and then cried in response to my saying no, we wouldn't stop to buy a chocolate bar on the way home from the airport.

Seixas said the comparison between life in Belen and Weston has caused "a whole range of feelings, from guilt to anger to helplessness to sadness and pain.... Something deep inside came alive for me during this brief journeyI think it's a deep place in my heart that knows the world as whole....My commitment now is to try to hold both worlds...to find creative ways to help link the 'two realities' together in a life-giving way — for all of our children."

CONTACT: Belen-Boston West Sister City Project, c/o Abby Seixas, 16 Gowell Lane, Weston, MA 02193 (617-891-8450).

To be included in future Nicaraguan Sister City Briefs Columns in the Bulletin send your newsletters, stories, etc., to Beth Katz, Sister City Briefs Editor, WCCN, P.O. Box 1534, Madison, WI 53701. News can also be sent via PeaceNet to "WCCN."

SPIES LIKE US

A "HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION" WITH LINKS TO THE contras and the CIA has been collecting information about Europe's city-linkings with Nicaragua.

In May of 1989, Jose Esteban Gonzalez from the **Comite Nicaraguense de Derechos Humanos** (CNDH) sent a letter and questionnaire to all the mayors of European cities with a link in Nicaragua in order to collect information — including the names of participating individuals, specific projects being sponsored, and details of financial transactions pertaining to the projects.

The letter states that the purpose of the questionnaire is "to fully obtain the positive results expected from such a [city-linking] relationship, in favor of all persons from the . . . Nicaraguan city."

However, the CNDH has no official relationship to the sister city movement and has never participated in any sister-city projects.

CNDH is a recipient of U.S. government funding through the National Endowment for Democracy.

To date, its "human rights" activities in Europe and the United States have consisted primarily of publishing and disseminating pro-contra allegations against the Nicaraguan government.

The questionnaire asks European mayors to supply information including the following:

■ "Persons in charge of everything related to the linkage (a) at your municipality; (b) in Nicaragua."

■ Descriptions of each sponsored project, including "Total cost in cordobas," "Date on which funds were handed/sent," "Means of payment (check, transfer, cash, etc.)," and "Person or institution which received the funds."

■ Names of town council members for the European city and their political party affiliations.

A copy of the letter was obtained by the Information Centre for City-Linking/Western Europe-Nicaragua, which coordinates the European city-linking movement.

"I'm sure that we can expect with the coming [Nicaraguan] elections another disinformation campaign in Europe," says the Centre's Secretary, Erika Wortel.

CONTACT: Erika Wortel, Secretariat, Information Centre for City-Linking/Western Europe-Nicaragua, Van Speijkstraat 21, 3572 XB Utrecht, The Netherlands. Tel: (0) (30) 713812. Telex: 40774 Nica NL. Ann Arbor-Juigalpa Sister City Committee, PO Box 8198, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107. Kurt Berggren, (313) 665-9571 (home) or (313) 995-3769.

RESIDENTS MOVE TO BAN DESIGNER DISEASES

A new arms race has descended on Amherst, Massachusetts. Some residents want to sit this one out.

An attempt by residents to shut down a U.S. Army biological weapons research program in Amherst, Massachusetts, will go to the courts.

Amherst members of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) tried unsuccessfully to persuade their city's Board of Health and a May gathering of the Town Meeting that the town itself ought to outlaw the research program, which is being carried out in laboratories on the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, campus.

The groups filed a request for a civil trial in Hampshire Superior Court on July 21.

In an early May meeting with local health officials, the groups argued that University of Massachusetts professor Curtis B. Thorne's anthrax bacteria research posed a local and global threat. AFSC and PSR representatives told board members that the anthrax research could spin out of control, producing an outbreak in the city. In the meantime, the group said, the research would serve only to spur an international biological weapons arms race, and would drain taxpayer dollars out of more important scientific research.

"This research is being paid for with our tax dollars," PSR member Dr. Ira Helfand wrote just days before the health board hearing. "It is the right,

indeed the responsibility, of every citizen to help decide how the limited resources available for research will be spent."

"Furthermore," Helfand wrote, "citizens have the right to restrict or stop research or other activities which pose a threat to public health."

But most of those sitting on the health board appeared to accept the conclusion of board member Paul Davis who told reporters, "There is no risk to the community. The lab workers face minimal risk. That's a risk they choose to take."

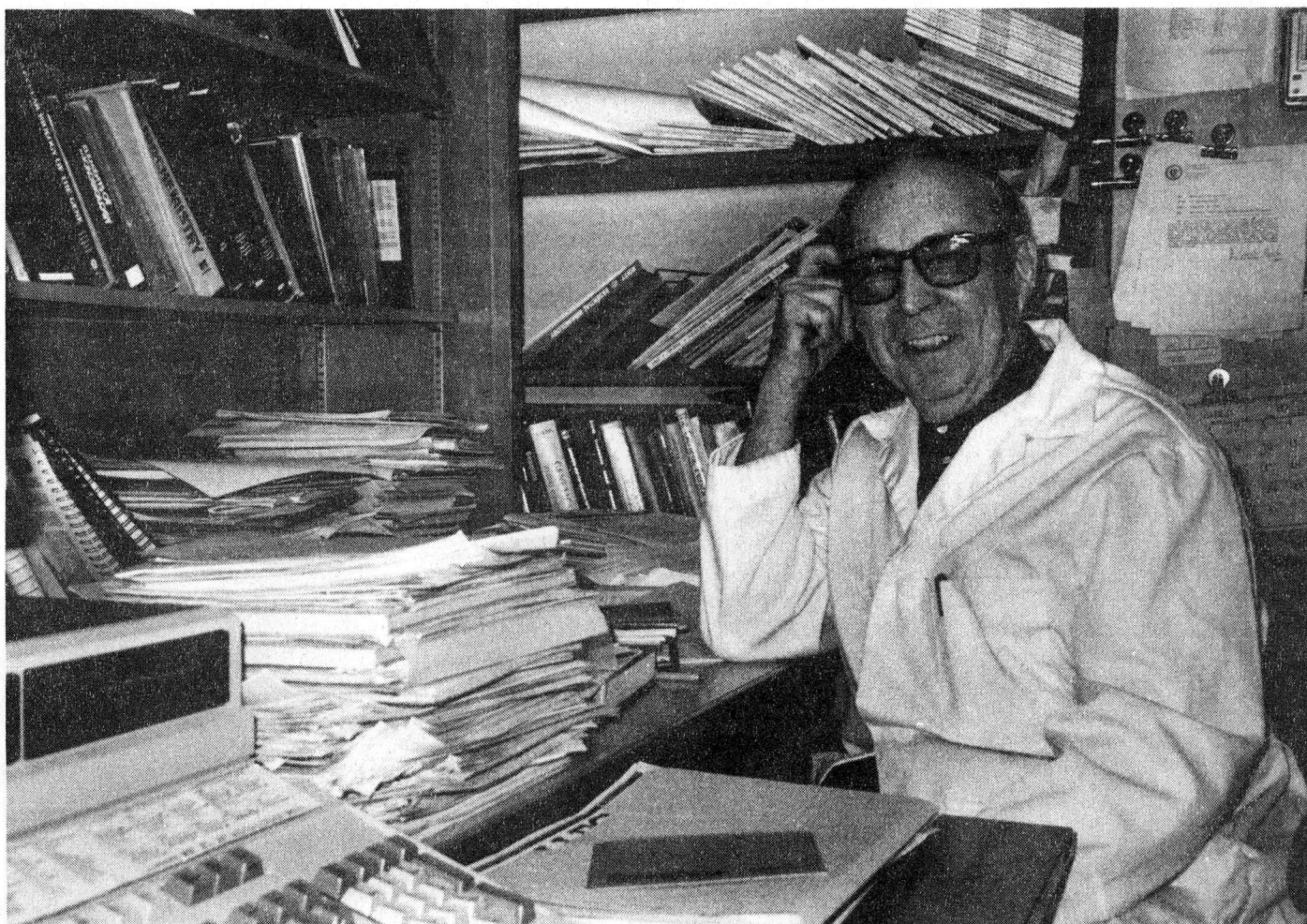
While the Board of Health ruled that the research posed no immediate public threat, members did agree to draft a statement expressing their concern about Pentagon funding of scientific research.

An appeal of the board's decision to the state Department of Environmental Protection was unsuccessful.

Angry AFSC and PSR members took their case two weeks later to the Amherst Town Meeting. By a vote of 162 to 9, the meeting agreed to urge Congressman Silvio O. Conte and Senators Edward M. Kennedy and John Kerry to develop legislation that would bring the U.S. into compliance with a 1972 international ban on biological weapons.

But the town meeting turned thumbs down on AFSC and PSR proposals to condemn the biological research.

"I'm glad this is over," said University of Massachusetts researcher Thorne. "Now I can get back to my



BOB GRABAR / DAILY HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE

BACK TO WORK.

Thorne says he's glad the controversy surrounding his research has died down. But Amherst activists say they'll see Thorne in court.

bench. I haven't been able to do that since November."

Some Amherst residents — and some activists in other cities throughout Massachusetts — felt certain that the ban on bioweapons research would succeed in Amherst. "If you want to change things in Washington," says Jonathon King, a molecular biologist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Massachusetts, "Amherst is a good place to start."

And PSR's Helfand was certain that the state that launched so many nuclear free zones would likewise be the state to roll back the tide of bioweapons research.

"Just as hundreds of towns and cities across America, including many in Western Massachusetts, did what

they could to stop the nuclear arms race by declaring themselves nuclear free zones and banning the development of nuclear weapons within their boundaries, we hope the people of Amherst...will declare Amherst a biological warfare free zone," Helfand wrote several days before the Board of Health rejected his group's petition. "Western Massachusetts has played a key role over the last 10 years in the great movement to stop the nuclear arms race. The people of Amherst have the opportunity to play a historic role in stopping the new arms race in biological weapons."

While the people of Amherst have, so far, refused to stop the "new arms race," Helfand believes the town meeting's willingness to petition Congress on the issue "is a useful first

step."

"We would have liked it better if it [the town meeting resolution] had been stronger," Helfand said. "But this is an excellent start."

And opponents of anthrax research at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, still have their day in court to look forward to.

"The campaign to ban anthrax research at UMass is not over," said an AFSC member.

SOURCES: Frances Crowe, American Friends Service Committee, 3 Langworthy Rd., Northampton, MA 01060 (413-584-8975); Ira Helfand, "Disputes some points in editorial on anthrax," (Letters) *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, April 26, 1989; Daniel Miller, Board of health rejects ban on anthrax research, *Amherst Bulletin*, May 17, 1989; Judith Kelliher, "Activist doctors focus on anthrax research issue," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, May 20, 1989; Judith Kelliher, "Town Meeting to vote on military-funded research ban," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, May 24, 1989; Judith Kelliher, "Town Meeting opts to press legislators on research," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, May 25, 1989; Nancy Newcombe, "Town Meeting waters down anthrax action," *Amherst Bulletin*, May 31, 1989; "Jury trial sought over anthrax ruling," *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, July 22, 1989.

LOCAL ACTIVISTS CHOP AWAY AT GWEN TOWERS

The Air Force Seeks Sites for 40 New Towers,
While Thousands Say "No" to the Proliferation
of the Communications System.

IN 52 CITIES ACROSS THE U.S., THE GWEN TOWERS HAVE BECOME ominous additions to the skyline. Each 299-foot-high structure — part of the Air Force's Ground Wave Emergency Network — occupies about 11 acres, supported and surrounded by guy wires and fences, and topped by a flashing strobe light. They have made their way into cities and towns from Flagstaff, Arizona to Goodland, Kansas, from Hersheytown, Maine, to Spokane, Washington.

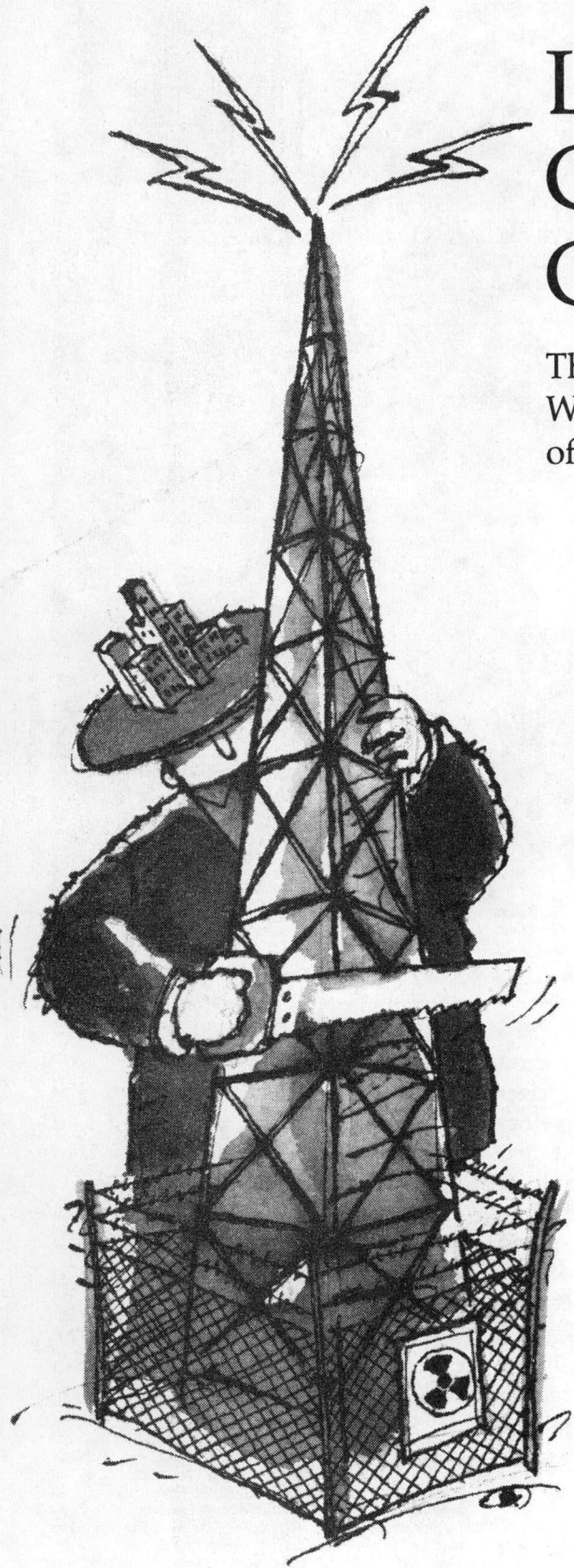
But although the first few towers were erected with little public resistance, that is no longer the case. The Air Force still has many more towers in its plans — structures it insists are necessary to ensure proper communication during a nuclear war. But almost everywhere the Pentagon goes these days with its blueprints for a new GWEN tower, it runs into community opposition. The towers, says GWEN Project director Nancy Foster, have become an opportunity for communities "to confront the nuclear arms race in their own backyards."

According to Air Force documents, "GWEN is an unmanned and automated data system which relays emergency and wartime messages among national command authorities, strategic military facilities . . . and Strategic Air Command bases. The system ensures that vital messages flow to top military leaders and operational forces."

But opponents of the system argued that GWEN was unnecessary for deterrence and that it supported a dangerous nuclear warfighting strategy. Their objections led Congress to slash funding for GWEN and to cut back the final size of the network from 127 to 96 towers.

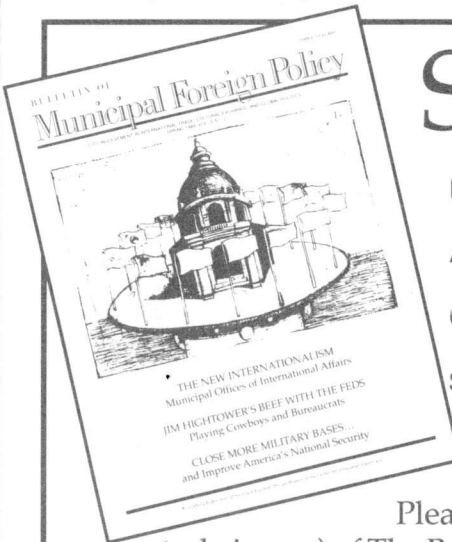
Last June, the Air Force announced the general geographic areas in the U.S. where it plans to locate the final 40 GWEN towers. And that has rallied opposition anew against the network. Thousands of people are saying "no" to the construction of a GWEN tower in their town.

Organized protest actually dates back to 1985, when the Air Force decided to erect a GWEN tower in Amherst, Massachusetts





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stand
there.
Act
Locally.



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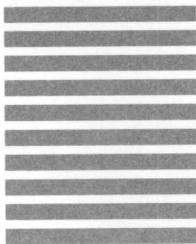
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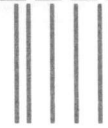
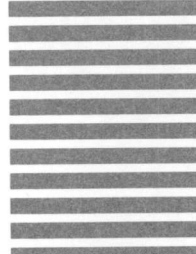
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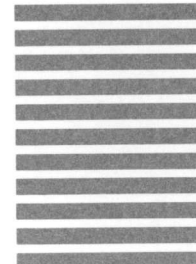
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**Don't
just
stand
there.
Act
Locally.**

Amherst's Representative Town Meeting sought out arguments for and against the tower, and then overwhelmingly voted to oppose construction of GWEN "in Amherst or anywhere." The Air Force subsequently dropped its plans for a tower in

GWEN

will tell

dead people

they are

dead."

Sign carried by protestor
in Mechanicsville, Iowa

Amherst.

Since then, according to the GWEN Project's Nancy Foster, organized opposition has emerged in 39 other communities that have been under consideration or chosen as sites for towers. In 18 of these communities, the governing body (city council, board of selectmen, town meet-

ing or township committee) has formally voted against having a tower in its area — most recently, the township committee of Egg Harbor Township, NJ, in 1989. The legislature of Rhode Island also voted opposition to GWEN in the state.

In many areas, protests were enough to give the Air Force cold feet. Cities including Castine and Sherman Mills in Maine; Plymouth and Princeton in Massachusetts; Lacey in New York; Portsmouth in Rhode Island; and Eugene in Oregon were successful in shifting the Pentagon's interest elsewhere.

The geographic areas in which the Air Force still hopes to construct towers have been roughly defined in 26 states. Lt. Col. Stephen Martin, the Air Force's GWEN program manager, says that specific locations will be announced as the site search process

continues, and that "the towers must be located within listening distance of each other and locations could shift to meet network design requirements." The Air Force has begun to hold informational meetings in communities that are targeted for GWEN towers.

The GWEN Project (Box 135, Amherst, MA 01004), an outgrowth of the successful protest in Amherst, is helping to organize opposition in those communities now being eyed by the Air Force. Meanwhile, protests are continuing even in some cities where towers have already been erected. In Mechanicsville, IA, for instance, activists hold a vigil at the tower site once a month. Similar protests are conducted regularly beside the towers in Polson, MT and Holt, MI.

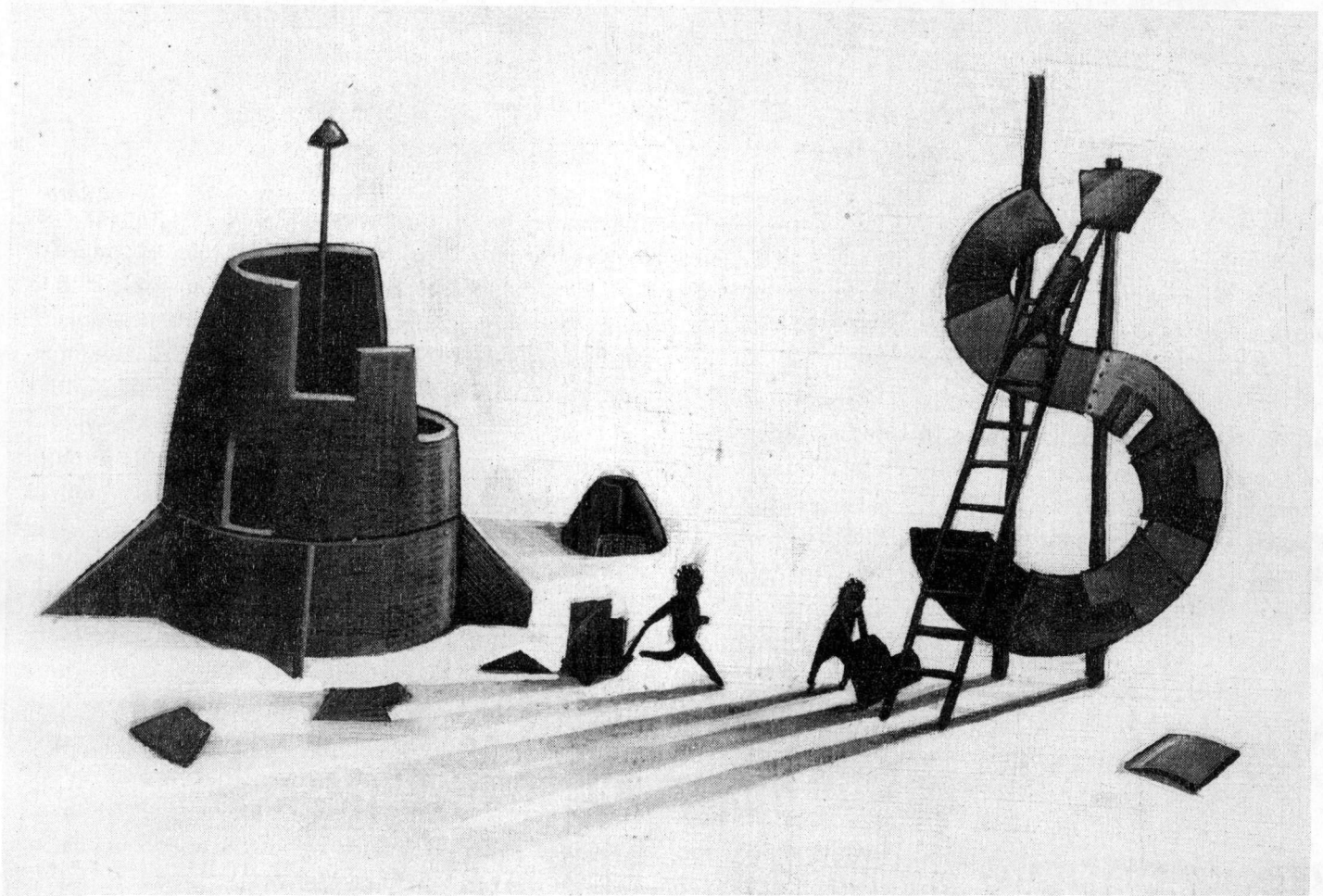
SOURCES: Nancy Foster, The GWEN Project, P.O. Box 135, Amherst, MA 01004 (413-253-2632); Office of Public Affairs, U.S. Air Force, Hanscom Air Force Base, MA 01731 (617-377-4064); Nancy Foster, "Citizens Jam Nuclear Radio Network," *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, November 1988, p. 21-26.

SAY "NO" TO GWEN

In the following cities and towns, the governing body (city council, board of selectmen, town meeting, township committee) has formally voted its opposition to the GWEN towers. The votes occurred between 1985 and 1989.

Amherst, MA
Barre, MA
Castine, ME
Egg Harbor Township, NJ
Fall River, MA
Hardwick, MA
Hubbardston, MA
Little Compton, RI
New Bedford, MA

New Braintree, MA
North Brookfield, MA
Penobscot, ME
Plymouth, MA
Portsmouth, RI
Princeton, MA
Sherman Mills, ME
Tiverton, RI
Westport, MA



ECONOMIC CONVERSION

Local Efforts

HOME BASE

UNLIKE OTHER MUNICIPAL officials who are fighting the Pentagon's decision to close military bases in their communities, **Sacramento, California**, Mayor Anne Rudin has taken a different tack. A long-time supporter of economic conversion, she has decided to accept the closing of Mather Air Force Base and "make it a decision from which our city and county will benefit."

In an interview with the Center for Economic Conversion's *Plowshare*

Press (Summer 1989), Mayor Rudin described the formation of an advisory committee which is meeting monthly to discuss how to reuse the base. The local Redevelopment and Housing Agency has requested the base be used for housing; educators have proposed the buildings be utilized for educational purposes. Environmental groups and county planners have also contributed their ideas.

According to the mayor, retraining of base employees is being planned. The commission

includes members of the Sacramento Employment and Training Agency. "We will offer the agency's services to train people in the skills they need to get available jobs."

In describing her stance on base closures, she noted, "I want my tax dollars spent only for those things that we need for national security; I see that as something more than stockpiling weapons and missiles. I see it as contributing to the strength of our cities, and I'd like to see the federal government contributing

more in that way."

CONTACT: Mayor Anne Rudin, City Hall, 915 I St., Sacramento, CA 95814 (916-449-5300); "Capitol Gains From Base Closing," *Plowshare Press*, Summer 1989, p. 3.

PLANNING AHEAD

SANTA BARBARA County, which is much more dependent on military spending than the typical California county, now has a much clearer picture of the importance of conversion planning.

The Santa Barbara Area Planning Council—an association of local governments in the

county—has released its economic conversion study, which reached some ominous conclusions about the future economy of the region.

The study warned that the county "may be subject to dislocations as the national debate over defense spending is expressed in future defense authorization bills. . . . It is incumbent upon local industries and public agencies to plan for these events." It noted that economic conversion was one of the issues "vital to the future economic health of our county."

At press time, the Santa Barbara City Council was considering the report.

Already, Santa Barbara County is feeling the pinch of cuts in Pentagon spending. For instance, there have been declines in aerospace contractor expenditures at Vandenburg Air Force Base due to the decision to place the Space Shuttle program there on caretaker status.

The report urged support of federal legislation addressing the issue, including "The Defense Economic Adjustment Act" (introduced by Rep. Ted Weiss) and "The Economic Diversification and Defense Adjustment Act of 1989" (introduced by Reps. Nicholas Mavroules and Sam Gejdenson).

CONTACT: Michael Powers, Santa Barbara Area Planning Council, 222 East Anapamu St., Santa Barbara, CA 93101 (805-568-2546).

State Efforts

TOO DEPENDENT

THE STATE LEGISLATURE of New Mexico has been keeping its eye on changes in federal budget priorities. And finally it's been moved to action.

The legislators voted in favor of a "memorial" that directs the state's economic development and tourism department to begin working with other agencies. The goal: To develop a statewide plan that can assist in the diversification of the state's economy.

In its memorial, the legislature expressed concern that New Mexico's "continuing dependence on the defense industry and unusually high federal purchase of goods and services related to that industry could produce . . . economic hardships for the New Mexico business community, our growing labor force and a large number of communities if significant cuts in federal spending occur."

What's the outcome of the legislature's action? The state's economic development officials have begun to work with a variety of state agencies — including the labor department, the state investment council, the public service commission and post-secondary educational institutions — as well as local and private entities — to create a plan of action that

will provide for a transition from an economy "too dependent on defense" to a "diversified and innovative" economy.

CONTACT: Charlotte Lowrey, New Mexico Citizens Task Force on Economic Diversification, 1330 Evans Dr., Las Cruces, NM 88001.

FACING FACTS

WHEN MAJOR CORPORATIONS aren't responsive to the need for economic conversion planning, can employees themselves effectively tackle the issue? Workers at Unisys in Minnesota — who have seen 2000 of their fellow employees lose their jobs since 1986 — are trying to do just that. In cooperation with the state Economic Conversion Task Force, as well as Jobs with Peace, the Working Group on Economic Dislocation and the state AFL-CIO union members are trying to respond to the continuing layoffs due to military contract cutbacks.

Mel Duncan, director of Minnesota Jobs with Peace, describes how the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers developed and distributed a survey to its members, asking them not only about their skills but also about their ideas for alternative production. In the *Plowshare Press* (Summer 1989), Duncan wrote that "over 40 products that could be produced with ei-

ther present skills and equipment or minor alterations were identified by the workforce. They include domestic robots, small computers for cars, home security systems, pollution monitoring equipment and electronic pain relief devices."

With this information in hand, the state Department of Trade and Economic Development and the St. Paul Planning and Economic Development Department have moved in, helping to perform marketing analysis, corporate research and an assessment of the plant's capacity.

Nevertheless, Unisys remains peculiarly resistant to these conversion efforts. Despite meetings with state and labor officials, the company insists that new product ideas would interfere with its flexibility. The union, however, is continuing with its efforts.

CONTACT: Mel Duncan, Minnesota Task Force on Economic Conversion, 1929 South 5th St., Minneapolis, MN 55454 (612-338-7955); Mel Duncan, "Reversing the Current," *Plowshare Press*, Summer 1989, p. 1.

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

Conference Score: Win One, Lose One

"Homes Not Bombs" Resolution Fails,
Test Ban Succeeds in Conference of Mayors

A RESOLUTION URGING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO slash military spending, and to redirect \$53 billion in savings into home-building programs, died in committee at the U.S. Conference of Mayors June 17 meeting in Charleston, North Carolina.

But another resolution — authored by Newton, Massachusetts, Mayor Ted Mann, and calling on the President to work toward a comprehensive test ban treaty with the Soviet Union — was approved unanimously in a full-Conference vote.

The housing resolution, sponsored by Mayors Mann,

Larry Agran (Irvine, California), and Donald Dear (Gardena, California), was also backed by Jobs with Peace, a nationwide group that focuses on national budget priorities. Michael Brown, the group's national programs director, says the Build Homes, Not Bombs resolution failed in spite of strong support

from Portland Mayor Bud Clark, among others.

"I think we were unsuccessful because a number of the mayors on the committee were from smaller towns, perhaps dependent on the military, and I think they're afraid of the impact of military spending cuts," Brown said.

Mann said he is "presuming that the objections came from people who didn't feel they had specific expertise in the area of federal budget expenditures."

Mann told the committee that a Conference-sponsored study of the military budget (see *Bulletin*, Winter 1988-89) had done most of the difficult work for them. That study noted that federal officials themselves had concluded that waste, fraud and abuse in the Pentagon may amount to as much as \$50 billion a year.

"A cut in the Pentagon's budget would not in any way jeopardize the nation's security," Mann said.

Mann was more successful when, in testimony on the Homes Not Bombs resolution, he persuaded the resolutions committee to send to the Conference floor for approval a resolution urging President George Bush to "work toward binding solutions to reduce the threat of nuclear war." The

full Conference passed that resolution unanimously.

"They're interrelated," Mann said of the housing and test ban resolutions. "Nuclear weapons are a big expenditure in the military budget, and a comprehensive test ban could produce enormous savings in that budget."

Both Mann and Brown of Jobs with Peace say they'll be back. While Jobs with Peace has not yet formally endorsed another run at the Conference, Brown says the strategy of working with local officials was met with enthusiasm in the "30 or 40" cities where his organization's local activists actually encouraged their mayors to support the Conference resolution.

Mann's participation was assured last April when the Newton Action for Nuclear Disarmament presented him with the signatures of over 1,000 Newton residents asking him to support the housing resolution.

Brown thinks the strategy of pursuing a resolution at the U.S. Conference also helped educate local officials about the connection between military spending and federal disinvestment in housing.

"While the resolution did not get to the business session of the Conference," Brown said, "it generated a great deal of discussion and debate around the issue of the need to cut military spending in order to create more affordable housing."

SOURCE: Michael Brown, Jobs with Peace, 76 Summer Street, Boston, MA 02110 (617-338-5783); Mayor Ted Mann, City Hall, 1000 Commonwealth Avenue, Newton, MA 02159.

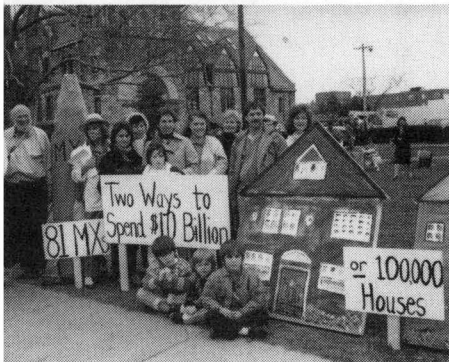
Where Were the Mayors?

THINGS MIGHT HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT FOR THE BUILD Homes, Not Bombs resolution if the full membership of the U.S. Conference of Mayors' Standing Committee on Community Development, Housing and Economic Development had voted.

As it turned out, only 35 of the committee's 120 members attended the critical session which, said Mayor Ted Mann of Newton, Massachusetts, lost an opportunity to "take the most dramatic action of the entire conference by announcing to the nation that the policies of the past years — of funding the military at the expense of domestic programs — has to end."

Things could be different next time. While voting in the Standing Committee on Community Development, Housing and Economic Development is limited to members of the committee, membership is relatively simple. Mayors interested in joining the committee need simply to write U.S. Conference of Mayors Executive Director J. Thomas Cochran (1620 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20006) stating that they would like to be assigned to that committee.

SOURCE: Michael Brown, Jobs with Peace, 76 Summer Street, Boston, MA 02110 (617-338-5783).



Newtonians rally for Homes Not Bombs.

IOWA GAMBLES ON PEACE

State officials figure it's time Iowa had its own state department. They've used big bucks from the state lottery to build it.

SOME FOLKS SAY THE OLD TRAIN depot in Grinnell, Iowa, hasn't seen a train since men wore spats, so older townspeople might have been excused for feeling one another's foreheads and checking pulse-rates when a Rock Island diesel pulling vintage dining cars rolled into the refurbished station last April.

Eighty state legislators from the state capitol in Des Moines clambered down onto the platform and were met by the six-piece Grinnell Dixieland Band, Grinnell Mayor Robert Anderson, members of the city council, and the Ambassadors Club of the Grinnell Area Chamber of Commerce.

Also waiting at the station was the man the official delegation had come to see, the Iowa Peace Institute's (IPI) Bob Anderson.

Anderson, a former Iowa lieutenant governor, is executive director of IPI — a state-sponsored peace center established in 1987 with \$250,000 in state lottery money. The state legislators were there, as Adam Smith might have put it in his *The Wealth of Nations*, to visit their investment.

They were clearly impressed.

Since Iowa Governor Terry Branstad signed the May 1987 bill that produced money for a state-sponsored peace institute, IPI has grown dramatically, raising additional funds privately and through foundations, as well as organizing workshops on conflict resolution, producing plays, raising cash for survivors of last year's earthquake in Soviet Armenia, and

cultivating an IPI "educational consortium" that includes every college and university in the state.

The key is state support and, says IPI president John McDonald, an active board of directors that includes present and former elected officials from both major parties, as well as educators and business people.

"If the board is active and involved and interested, the institution flourishes," McDonald says. "This is happening here, and we are going to be successful in our goals."

They already are. In hiring McDonald, a 40-year career diplomat with the U.S. State Department, the state-sponsored center has proven its ability to attract the attention of major players in international affairs.

McDonald brings to the Institute an abiding interest in environmental issues, sharpened in the early 1970s as a U.S. government representative to the first World Conference on the Environment in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1972.

"Environmental problems totally ignore national boundaries; they flow across them," McDonald says. "So whenever you talk about the environment, you have to talk about multilateral approaches and solutions. That immediately puts you on the international scene. We cannot control acid rain or polluted water flows. They move across international boundaries."

Besides solutions to global environmental crises — a theme around which McDonald intends to build a fall conference — the Institute is pur-

suing projects that include conflict resolution, global education, international development, and world trade.

IPI executive director Anderson says the organization's diverse support — from people in local and state government, the private sector, and education — has helped shape its approach to peace.

"Our goal," Anderson says, "is to develop programming that is very pragmatic and practical, but isn't generally thought of in terms of average peace organizations." Some peace groups, Anderson points out, "give the impression that they're outside the mainstream, and enjoying that very well." Supporters of the Iowa Peace Institute, by contrast, "think it's just as important, maybe more important, to work inside the mainstream — as we reach out to the world."

Part of working "in the mainstream" means cultivating bi-partisan support. And, of the Institute's 25 state-appointed board members, three are chosen by the governor, and two each by the minority and majority parties in the state legislature.



Iowa Peace Institute.

Anderson doesn't think you'll find anything like the Iowa Peace Institute anywhere else. But one of his goals is to change that. "As you work globally," Anderson says, "one of the things you see is that the endorsement of government is an important aspect to the work. We didn't want to shy away from that relationship."

SOURCE: Bob Anderson, Iowa Peace Institute, P.O. Box 480, Grinnell, IA 50112 (512-236-4880).

At Last in St. Louis

Mayor's Center for International Relations a Long Time in Coming.

THE POWERS HAVE COME to their senses," wrote *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* columnist Jerry Berger last May. City officials had just announced that Mayor Vincent Schoemehl's office would house a new St. Louis Center for International Relations — formerly and more modestly called the Sister Cities Program.

"The Sister Cities Program has come a long way and done many wonderful things for the St. Louis community — not without some jerks and sparks, and not without some strain," Schoemehl said.

Now, said Schoemehl, the time had come to place "a stronger emphasis on building an international presence and restoring the greatness [St. Louis] once enjoyed."

The change — from "Sister Cities Program" to "St. Louis Center for International Relations" — was more than merely nominal. It reflects an expansion of the program's duties beyond management of the city's six sister cities (in Bologna, Italy; Gallway, Ireland; Lyon, France; Nanjing, China; Stuttgart, West Germany; and Suwa, Japan) to include overseeing student exchanges, St. Louis-based international affairs organizations, and providing information for international visitors and businesses.

The change "was a long time in coming," says the center's communication manager, Rachel Bender.



GOING INTERNATIONAL.

Mayor Vincent C. Schoemehl, Jr. and Center Director Dr. Peggy Adeboi.

Bender, who edits the center's quarterly newsletter *The Exchange*, says the Sister Cities Program office opened one year ago, but couldn't meet the demands placed on it by St. Louis residents.

"Things weren't bad," Bender says. But St. Louis residents had a hard time figuring out what sister city programs actually do, and international visitors had no port in the storm of unfamiliar surroundings. Now, Bender says, sister city programs share a higher profile in the city and, occasionally, even some common projects.

Gina Moreno, a researcher at the center, has begun organizing an index of St. Louis international affairs groups, one that will describe their various agendas for the benefit of interested activists, business people,

and scholars.

Moreno says, "There was just a basic need for coordination in a lot of international areas." And the center apparently provides that coordination, as well as paving the way for the city's entry into international commerce.

"With Europe coming together in 1992, and with international companies looking for new offices, St. Louis doesn't want to be left out of that," Bender says.

But the center does want to be left out of contentious political issues. When a local committee interested in formalizing relations between St. Louis and a repopulated village in El Salvador approached the center, they were turned down. When the same group contacted the center for formal political support during an imminent military occupation of the Salvadoran village, they were told firmly the request was political — and that the center doesn't "do anything political."

Bill Ramsey, a member of the St. Louis American Friends Service Committee, says that squares with his impression of the center as an office "more about trade and business relationships than people-to-people relationships."

But Rachel Bender says the center has little to do with trade, as yet, and has much more to do with cultural exchange — an ambition she hopes will remain politically neutral. "Sometimes politics can't be ignored," she says, but the center does try to "stay away from political issues. Sister cities is not a political issue. Sister cities is working for peace on a person-to-person level as best we can."

SOURCE: Jerry Berger, "Kelly Casts Her Eye On '90 And Beyond," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 13, 1989; Rachel Bender, St. Louis Center for International Relations, Cabanne House, 5300 Lindell, St. Louis, MO 63112 (314-454-1744); Bill Ramsey, American Friends Service Committee, 438 North Skinker, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314-862-5773).

San Jose Emerges from San Francisco's Shadow

New International Trade Office Brings Higher Visibility and Opportunities for Economic Development.

SAN JOSE MAY NOT BE California's biggest municipality, but it was the state's first incorporated city. Early in its history, in the 1850s, it positioned itself as a trade depot, primarily for fruit, as well as for quicksilver that was mined nearby. By the 1880s, the San Jose Board of Trade made a concerted effort to expand the city's economic base, resulting in growth that continued well into this century.

Nevertheless, located just 52 miles southeast of San Francisco, San Jose has tended to be overshadowed by its better-known neighbor. Even as San Jose passed San Francisco in population, it still has often felt somewhat slighted.

Apparently officials in San Jose finally decided, "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em." So Bill Claggett, who heads up San Jose's Office of Economic Development, offered a proposal to James Ho, San Francisco's deputy mayor for business and economic development. Claggett's idea: A joint trip to the Far East — a so-called Bay Area Economic Mission — in which the mayors of both cities would lead delegations to present a comprehensive view of the economic opportunities in the region.

"The goals of the trip were to promote the unique advantages of this area as a place to work, live and do business with the United States," says Steve Weiner, director of San Jose's new Center for International Trade and Development. "We promoted this

region as one economic entity."

Ho agreed to the idea, as did San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos. As a result, Agnos and San Jose Mayor Tom McEnery led the mission that included about 60 government officials, business leaders, academicians and media representatives from the two cities. During the 13-day trip last April and May, the group ventured to Taipei, Hong Kong, Nanjing, Beijing, Osaka and Okayama.

"I lived in Asia for five years, but even I was surprised by the degree of success we achieved during the mission," says Weiner. "We found a willingness of high-level government and industry officials to meet with the mayors and their delegations. We laid the foundation for subsequent trade missions."

One of San Jose's goals was to improve its own name recognition in the Pacific Rim, and to make its hosts aware of the creation of its new international trade and development agency, which became operational just weeks before the trip.

"When I came to the city in 1986, my feeling was that San Jose should be involved in international economic development," recalls Claggett. "The mayor agreed and made mention of it in his 'State of the City' speech in 1987. Last year, we proposed that the Center for International Trade and Development be created, and the city council appropriated funds for it in the fall of 1988."

Weiner came on board as the

center's director last March, and is armed with a budget of about \$300,000 for the current fiscal year. One of its missions, says Claggett, is to assist local businesses new to the export market to get into the field — to identify these San Jose firms and help them get their feet wet.

"We're aiming toward forging and maintaining strategic alliances with overseas partners," says Weiner. "And we're also going to direct overseas investment to the downtown areas of San Jose."

City officials selected the Far East as their first point of entry into the international arena because of the Pacific Rim's proximity to California. But they plan to eventually look for trade opportunities in Europe, as well as parts of South and Central America.

Along the way, the San Jose team is learning to remain flexible. Just a month after the trip to the Pacific Rim, an air of uncertainty arose around the connections made in China, in the aftermath of the unexpected and violent government crackdown there. During the trade mission, San Jose had signed a memorandum of understanding with the city of Nanjing, setting ambitious goals for a strong economic and commercial relationship between the two municipalities. Nanjing officials provided the San Jose delegation with a list of products it was interested in procuring.

But after the massacre in Tiananmen Square, "we took the posture that our relationship was on hold until the entire picture could be seen more clearly," said Weiner. And as of late summer, he hadn't deviated from that position.

The business community in San Jose, adds Weiner, has tended to take a long-term view of the crisis in China. "Rather than cancel their plans or pull out of China, most businesses are presently evaluating the situation there." He has fielded many more inquiries from the media about developments in China than from concerned local entrepreneurs.

SOURCE: Bill Claggett / Steve Weiner, City of San Jose, 801 N. First St., San Jose, CA 95110 (408-277-5857).

Rebel Republican

John Nelson — Vietnam veteran and Republican town councilor — wants a strong national defense. Health and education, he says, are good places to start.

WHEN PENTAGON OFFICIALS ANNOUNCED PLANS TO test cruise missiles over Maine, they didn't ask the people of Maine. So, one year ago, hundreds of Mainers decided to put the tests to a vote. They collected more than 72,000 signatures on a petition that placed a question on the November 1989 ballot: "Do you favor stopping the cruise missile tests in Maine?"

If Mainers vote yes — and there's good reason to bet they will — Maine Governor John McKernan, Jr., has said, "I would be legally obligated to oppose these tests," perhaps taking his case directly to Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell and President George Bush — "two of the most powerful people in Washington," a campaign newsletter points out, "and both with strong Maine ties."

The president of the Coalition for the Cruise Missile Referendum is John Nelson, a retired Navy Reserve commander, president of the Portland (Maine) Chapter of Veterans for Peace — and chairman of the Freeport Town Council.

Nelson's interest in the cruise missile tests has roots deep in City Hall. "Every year we vote on issues that concern us, from electing officials to improving construction of schools and roads," Nelson says. "So when the announcement came that cruise missiles were to be tested over Maine, the question arose: Why not have a vote on the issue? Nothing affects our lives more than whether we spend billions of dollars on another nuclear weapon."

As a town councilor, Nelson has taken on a variety of global issues that he believes have local consequences for Freeport — a town of 7,000 and home to the immense L.L. Bean clothing company. In 1987, Nelson and fellow councilor Daughndella Curtis urged their fellow councilors to pass a resolution calling for "a peaceful negotiated settlement" to conflicts in Central America and an end to U.S. support for the contras. When their colleagues dismissed

the effort as an international matter outside the pale of local government, Nelson and Curtis hit the streets, leading a group determined to place the resolution on the municipal ballot.

"There is support around the world for what we're doing," Nelson told a local reporter during that campaign. More importantly, there was support in Freeport. The resolution went to the people, and passed 1,417 to 955 in November 1987.

Last summer, Nelson sponsored an ordinance making Freeport the first town in Maine to ban polystyrene packaging — the virtually indestructible plastic containers now banned in several communities around the nation. And, from his first term in office six years ago, Nelson has worked to preserve Freeport's vanishing open space.

"I think the first thing that got me involved in politics was environmental issues," Nelson says. "I'd been involved in the Republican party for a long time but, in the early 1980s, a Republican administration was taking us backwards on environment."

At the 1982 state Republican convention, Nelson proposed what he thought was a modest amendment to the party platform — a plank that would reflect what Nelson supposed was his party's strong commitment to the conservation of natural resources.

But in the wake of a sea-change in GOP attitudes — about environment, social programs, and foreign affairs — Nelson nearly drowned.

"The problem was Republicans were afraid to stand up and speak out on the environment because it was seen as a liberal cause," Nelson says. "Reagan and [then-Interior Secretary] James Watt created an atmosphere in which people supporting the environment were accused of subversion."

Now, Nelson points out — perhaps with just a measure of pride — the pendulum has swung, and support for the environment is back in favor.

I'm angry when I see a weapon that increases the chance of nuclear war, and wastes taxpayer dollars, being tested and built without debate."

But Nelson's political career clearly goes back further than the 1982 state Republican convention, back to his service as a transport pilot flying C-130s into Vietnam in 1967.

"What I saw as a young man in Vietnam didn't hit home until years later with the Reagan policies in Central America," Nelson says. "Then it all came into focus, it all came together and made a lot of sense."

What finally made sense for Nelson made sense for a number of other vets, Nelson believes. Watching the Reagan administration work against "what people in communities all over the world were trying to do in Central America — trying unsuccessfully because of the war" — persuaded Nelson to join a group he now heads, a local chapter of Veterans for Peace.

Nelson says his service — in Vietnam and, for sixteen more years, in the Naval Reserve — has lent him insights into the workings of the military that often escapes others. "I'm really committed to a strong national defense," he says. "But a strong national defense doesn't imply multi-billion dollar weapons systems or beating up on the Third World." National defense, he says, means "supporting the civilian economy," building transportation, health and education systems that work, "and addressing the tremendous infrastructural needs we have. Those issues are just underfunded."

Nelson became adept at raising such issues during his work, beginning in 1974, on the Freeport Board of Education.

"My daughter was going to school," he says. "But federal priorities were so crazy at the state and at the federal level. We were standing still or going backwards. We needed to invest some money in education — not just in the physical plant, but in attracting good teachers....There was talk about 'lack of resources,' but, somehow, the federal government found enough money to raise military spending to incredible levels."

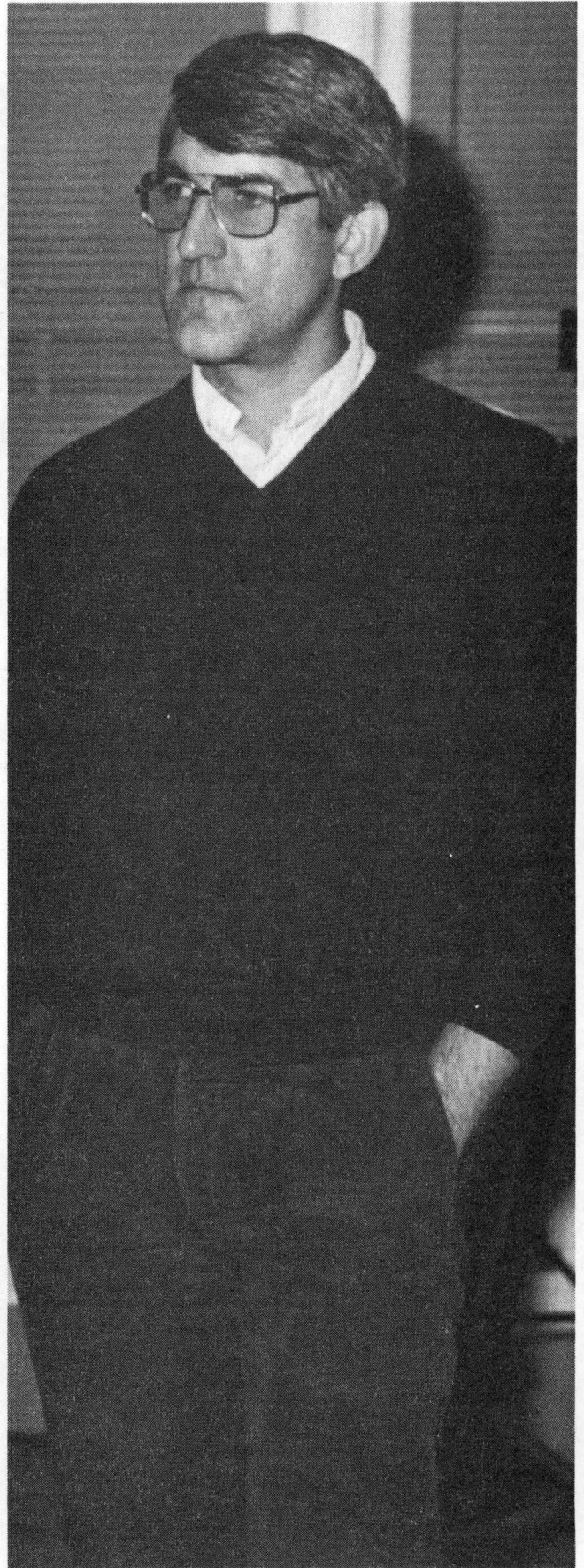
Nelson left the board of education when he was elected to the town council in 1983. As he sees it, it's his duty to continue to raise the question of national priorities.

"A lot of people don't understand how local the effect is of decisions made in Washington," Nelson says. "I don't think most people really understand how much money is sent from Freeport to Washington to pay for weapons systems while we're trying to raise the money for a fire engine, to pave a street, or to pay school teachers."

That concern — about the impact on his town of decisions made in Washington — explains Nelson's role in the campaign to ban cruise missile tests over Maine.

"I am angry when I see a weapon that increases the chance of nuclear war, undermines arms control agreements, and wastes taxpayer dollars, being tested and built without debate," Nelson says. He contends the best place for the debate to begin is at City Hall. "It's local officials who have to paint that picture [of national priorities] for the people they serve. It's not the only way, but it's the best way, because we're closest to the people. When people talk to you, they're looking you in the eye.

"They're talking to you, not some Congressional aide. They know you." ■





YEREVAN, CENTER CITY.

Environmental experts from the Boston area met with Soviet colleagues here in September.

ENVIRONMENTAL SUMMIT

THE CAMBRIDGE-YEREVAN Sister City Association has had an active year of exchanges in 1989, beginning with an extensive meeting with President-elect Bush to discuss Armenian earthquake relief efforts. More than 90 exchange participants are traveling between the two cities this year.

This summer Cambridge hosted its first group of Yerevan teenagers at the Fifth Annual Work-for-Peace Camp. The Longy School of Music hosted a dozen music professors and performers from the Yerevan Conservatory. In August, Cambridge joined with Columbus, Ohio, to ship a sophisticated mobile medical unit to earthquake-stricken Leninakan.

In September, thirteen Boston-area environmental

specialists will travel to Yerevan for a Cambridge-Yerevan "Environmental Summit."

The conference will mark the start of an extensive environmental problem-solving effort between the two cities and their grassroots environmental movements. In October, Cambridge is hosting ten Armenian film artists for the first Contemporary Armenian Film Festival, held at Harvard University's Carpenter Center for the Arts. In November, Cambridge will host 20 musicians, scholars, artists, and activists along with a five-member official delegation. Among other activities, the Yerevan guests will work for Cambridge city council candidates during election day November 7.

CONTACT: Darcy Fuguet, Cambridge-Yerevan Exchange Program, 134 Coolidge Hill Road, Cambridge, MA 02138.

TELEVISION EXCHANGE

A FOREIGN AFFAIRS expert with the Council of Ministers of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic spent the past summer in Atlanta producing news feature stories about life in America for NBC affiliate WXIA-TV. Nugzar Ruhadze, who is also a Tbilisi television news commentator, broadcast about 50 television reports in Atlanta and was the subject of a feature story in the *Atlanta Constitution*.

"Everybody in Atlanta knows Nugzar," said George Brown, director of the Atlanta (GA)-Tbilisi Sister City Program.

Ruhadze also visited Las Vegas and covered a space shuttle launch at Kennedy Space Center. A one-hour documentary about his experiences in the United States aired in Atlanta on August 31 on

WXIA.

Ruhadze's trip to Atlanta completed a television exchange project which began when Atlanta newsman Simeon Smith and a cameraman from WXIA covered news events in Tbilisi for 6 weeks last spring. Brown said the cities plan to make the television exchange an annual project.

Mayor Andrew Young led an Atlanta Chamber of Commerce delegation of 20 business, political and civic leaders to Tbilisi in June to explore trade relations between the two cities. One of the delegates has already signed a joint venture agreement with a Tbilisi enterprise. The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce will open an office with a permanent representative in Tbilisi to promote trade and business between the cities.

In the second year of the Atlanta-Tbilisi youth exchange program, 10 students and a teacher from North Fulton High School spent the month of July living with families in Tbilisi. A reciprocal group of 10 Tbilisi students and a teacher will attend North Fulton High this November. The exchange was sponsored by a local McDonald's restaurant.

A group of 15 Atlanta citizen diplomats visited Tbilisi in July on a home-stay tour. In return, 15 Tbilisi residents stayed in the homes of Atlanta families in September.

In university exchanges, the University of Georgia Department of Child and Family Devel-

opment and a Tbilisi university are conducting a joint survey of Atlanta and Tbilisi families with similar demographics. A Georgia Tech professor of architecture will attend a symposium in Tbilisi, and the dean of architecture of Tbilisi Polytechnic Institute will visit Atlanta. Oglethorpe University is negotiating for an art exhibit from Tbilisi. Emory is sending a professor to set up a music exchange. And the mayor of Tbilisi has requested a medical student exchange.

CONTACT: George Brown, Atlanta-Tbilisi Sister City Program, Office of the Mayor, City of Atlanta, Atlanta, GA 30335 (404-371-6228)

SONGS OF FRIENDSHIP

BINGHAMTON, New York, Mayor Juanita Crabb led a delegation of 40 to **Borovichi** in July, including a 16-member high school choir and jazz combo, a television crew, and a police officer who did a puppet show about drug and alcohol abuse.

As their bus approached the city of Borovichi from Novgorod, they noticed small tables set up alongside the road. On one table, an old samovar was boiling.

Borovicians, linking hands, blocked the path of the bus. A folklore ensemble was waiting to perform for the guests, and to present the traditional bread and salt to Mayor Crabb.

That evening, the student choir and jazz combo from Binghamton pre-

sented a concert at the palace of culture.

The first number was the Russian national song, "I See a Wonderful Expanse," performed in Russian.

At the conclusion of the concert, the Borovichi choir "Red Sails" joined the Binghamton choir for a stirring rendition of "America the Beautiful" in English, followed by the Soviet national anthem in Russian.

The Red Sails sang their song, "Binghamton-Borovichi," dedicated to the friendship between the cities.

A Borovichi journalist wrote in a local newspaper, "Nowhere is so near an understanding of the idea of rapprochement between peoples as in the open hearts of children. It's as if they remind us older ones that we too are children of one human family inhabiting planet earth."

A one-hour documentary about the trip aired September 6 on WNBS, a local CBS affiliate.

While in Borovichi, Mayor Crabb arranged for 10 new projects for the coming year, including exchanges of students, athletes, art, choirs, tourists, and a joint ecology project.

The two cities formalized their relationship in March 1989, when Mayor Vladimir Nikolaiovich Ogonkov led a delegation to Binghamton to sign a sister city agreement.

The first Binghamton delegation went to Borovichi in 1987.

In Borovichi, they met a teacher of English, whom they invited to visit Binghamton.

She looked at them as if they had asked her to go to the moon, and said, "This can only be a dream." On July 10, 1989, the teacher arrived to Binghamton with four students for a one-month visit.

The students were chosen in a contest that tested their knowledge of English, American geography and history.

CONTACT: Hermann Schmid, RR 5, Box 306 Aitchison Rd., Binghamton, NY 13905 (607-797-3734).

CANTERBURY TALES

AT THE INSISTENCE OF THE mayor of **Vladimir**, the twin cities of **Bloomington (IL)** and **Normal (IL)** have signed a three-way agreement with **Canterbury, England**, and Vladimir. The tri-city link began when a delegation from Bloomington/Normal went to the Soviet Union in 1988 in search of a sister city.

Upon their arrival in Vladimir, the group learned that a recent delegation from Canterbury had inquired about a three-way relationship with an American city. The mayor of Vladimir invited a sister city relationship with Bloomington/Normal, with the mandatory condition that it also include Canterbury. The initial reaction of the

delegation was negative, but the mayors of Bloomington and Normal liked the idea, and approved the three-way relationship in February.

Two months later, the first delegation from Vladimir, including the deputy mayor, the secretary of the communist party and the director of transportation services, visited the twin cities of Bloomington and Normal and signed a sister city agreement. The delegation spent a week in Bloomington and Normal, also visiting Chicago and Springfield. They addressed a session of the state legislature, where they received a standing ovation for their words of friendship.

Bloomington/Normal committee co-chairman Joe



Grabill went to Canterbury in March 1989, to discuss the three-way relationship. Grabill said it was interesting to learn about Vladimir

and the sister city program from people in Canterbury. "Their dream in Canterbury was to have a three-way relationship with an American city," Grabill said. A delegation from Canterbury will visit Bloomington and Normal next spring.

The first official Bloomington/Normal delegation, a group of 14 led by Normal Mayor Paul Harmon, visited Vladimir from May 23-30.

In August, a coach, trainer and six athletes participated in an annual

sister cities sports festival in Vladimir.

Other Illinois cities with Soviet partners include Springfield-Poltava, Champagne/Urbana - Tartu, Chicago-Kiev and Evanston - Dneprovsky.

CONTACT: Joe Grabill, 21 Knoll Crest Court, Normal, IL 61761 (309-454-2883).

HONEYMOON AT THE FALLS

KALININ MAYOR Aleksandr Belousov and Buffalo Mayor James Griffin signed a linking agreement in **Buffalo, New**

York, on July 25. Also present from Kalinin were the secretary of the city party committee, a member of the city council and a university student.

The signing ceremony was the culmination of a five-year effort to link the two cities.

During their week-long visit to Buffalo, the group attended meetings at city hall, saw Shakespeare in the Park, participated in an open public forum at State University College, took a boat ride on the *Miss Buffalo* on

the Niagara River, went to a baseball game, and flew in a helicopter over Niagara Falls.

CONTACT: Cynthia Lehman-Budd, 99 Ashland Avenue, Buffalo, NY 14222 (716-885-0189).

WITH THEIR GLASSES RAISED

CORNING (NY) MAYOR John Kostalonsky, Superintendent of Schools Dr. George Hamaty, Corning-Lvov Sister City Program Director Don Walker, and a Corning bluegrass band traveled to Lvov for eight days in October to discuss exchange proposals for the next two years.

The delegates hope to arrange exchanges of students, musical groups, art, photos and gifts, and to establish 300 pen pal relationships. The group will also deliver a plaque awarded to the Corning-Lvov Sister City Program by *Reader's Digest* for the "Best First Year Program of 1988."

The Corning-Lvov relationship actually began 10 years ago when the Corning Glass Company (now Corning, Inc.) installed equipment for making light bulb glass in a Lvov factory. U.S. Congressman Amory Houghton, then the chairman of the board of Corning Glass, wanted to establish a people-to-people relationship between the cities.

In 1985, he succeeded in bringing together a diverse group of community organizations to form the Corning Sister Cities Association.

CLEVELAND SAYS "NYET" TO SOVIET TIE...

A SISTER CITY IN THE SOVIET UNION? IT WAS MORE THAN SOME PEOPLE IN CLEVELAND, OHIO could handle.

Last May, a Cleveland city council committee heard public testimony on a proposal to form an official partnership with the Soviet city of Volgograd. But after hearing impassioned testimony from representatives of ethnic groups — most of whom detailed human rights abuses in the U.S.S.R. — members of the committee voted 8-2 to table the resolution that would have authorized Mayor George Voinovich to sign a joint declaration with Volgograd's mayor. Instead, Council President George Forbes suggested the formation of a task force to look further into the matter.

Sensing the drift of the political winds, mayoral aide August B. Pust sided with the anti-Soviet sentiments, insisting that the mayor had no intention of signing the declaration. "We have no problem with people-to-people relationships, but we think that at this time (Cleveland's) official designation and the signatures of the mayor and council president are not needed for this type of program."

SOURCES: Mark Russell, "Ethnic Groups Fight Soviet City Partnership," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 23, 1989, p. 1-A; Mark Russell, "Partnership With Volgograd Dies," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 25, 1989, p. 1-B.

...BUT COLOGNE SAYS YES!

MAYBE CLEVELAND'S CITY LEADERS WON'T BE SIPPING VODKA WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS from Volgograd, but officials from Cologne can't wait to get started. Cologne (in the Federal Republic of Germany) seems to be on a sister-city mission, seeking to establish ties with every nation in the European Economic Council by 1991. If that weren't enough, it has also sought and won sister-city agreements in both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. — with Indianapolis, Indiana and, yes, Volgograd.

Formal sister-city documents were signed at a ceremony at the Cologne city hall, attended by the mayors of both Volgograd and Indianapolis (William H. Hudnut III). And reportedly, no one from Volgograd ever asked how to get to Cleveland.

SOURCE: Mayor William H. Hudnut III, City of Indianapolis, 2501 City-County Building, Indianapolis, IN 46204 (317-236-3610).

In 1987, Lvov Mayor Vladimir Pekohta and his deputy mayor came to Corning to sign a sister city agreement with then Mayor Dan Killigrew. Later that year, acting Mayor Avery Acly led a delegation of four people to Lvov, including the assistant superintendent of schools and a representative of Corning, Inc. Another agreement was signed establishing various educational and cultural exchanges.

A video documentary of the visit, entitled "With Glasses Raised," was broadcast in Corning by a local PBS television affiliate.

In October 1988, three Lvov city officials and a nine-member Ukrainian music ensemble spent a week in Corning.

The musicians presented four major concerts, one of which was the first-ever sellout of the 1,000 seat Glass Center. The delegation included the deputy mayor and the president of the Lvov sister city program, who signed an exchange protocol for the following year.

In June 1989, 26 people from Lvov spent four days living with Corning families as part of a Sputnik youth tour of the United States. In July, Mary Lu Walker, a composer and performer of children's songs, went to Lvov to attend the dedication of a children's theatre which featured her songs. In August 1989, one teacher and five students from Lvov spent three weeks

with Corning families.

CONTACT: Don Walker, Corning-Lvov Sister City Program (607-936-4801).

FIRST IMPRESSIONS

THE FIRST GAINESVILLE (FL) -Novorossiisk student exchange visit was successfully completed when fifteen engineering students and a teacher from the Novorossiisk Merchant Marine Academy spent two months living with Gainesville families this summer.

The cadets studied business English for six weeks at the University of Florida's English Language Institute, and attended weekly seminars conducted by community leaders and university professors. The visitors were particularly interested in taking ideas on local politics and city management back to Novorossiisk.

More than 100 Gainesville area businesses and civic organizations participated in the exchange. Activities included trips to Disney World, the Kennedy Space Center, the Port of Jacksonville, Marineland, Alligator World, and the Florida Folk Festival; meetings with local civic organizations and student groups; a Sunday service at a black church with full gospel choir; and a farewell banquet for 100 people.

A local theatre invited the group and their host families to a play called "Walk in the Woods," about an American and a Soviet arms negotiator

who become friends. The performance was followed by a public discussion with the director and actors.

Group leader Yuri Peskov, a professor of navigation at the Novorossiisk Merchant Marine Academy, said the opportunity to learn firsthand about the American people and system was invaluable to his group's understanding of the United States. He was surprised to see no high-speed chases, machine gun battles between mobsters or cars exploding into flames during the bus trip from Miami to Gainesville, as they had seen in Ameri-

can movies shown in the Soviet Union. Peskov said his assumption that people in the capitalistic world have free use of private property was also proven wrong when he learned about city planning, growth management and land use restrictions.

Despite the differences, Peskov said during a televised speech at a Gainesville City Commission meeting, "We are all children of the same planet. Our first cosmonaut, Yuri Gagarin, once said, 'Our earth is a large spaceship which is flying in the expanses of the universe. The ship belongs to all of us, to each nation, so its crew must live in peace

and friendship.' Let's try to do this." Peskov received one of the few standing ovations ever given at a city commission meeting.

A reciprocal visit is



Novorossiisk girl in sister city T-shirt.

planned for next summer, when 15 Gainesville students and a teacher will live in Novorossiisk for two months. A nine-month course in Russian language and culture will be offered to help the Gainesville students prepare for the trip. The two cities plan to make the student exchange annually.

CONTACT: Steven Kalishman, 321 SE Third St., G-10, Gainesville, FL 32601 (904-376-9251). Peacenet: skalishman.

TWIN SISTERS

MINNEAPOLIS (MN) MAYOR DON FRASER and St. Paul (MN) Mayor George Latimer spent a week in Novosibirsk in June discussing the 40 exchange



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SOVIET SISTER CITIES BRIEFS

proposals currently being implemented by the cities.

In July, 20 Novosibirsk youths came to Minneapolis to compete in the U.S. Cup Soccer Tournament. In August, 24 more came from Novosibirsk for three weeks on a biking trek.

Minnesota Lieutenant Governor Marlene Johnson visited Novosibirsk in September. Groups of Minneapolis/St. Paul doctors and other medical personnel spent the months of September and October in Novosibirsk.

The Minneapolis/St. Paul - Novosibirsk relationship was officially approved in February, 1989, when Novosibirsk Mayor Ivan Ivanovich Indinok traveled to the twin cities to sign a sister city agreement.

CONTACT: Susan Hartman, 4835 Penn Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55409.

CITIZEN DIPLOMATS

NINE YOUNG ADULTS from **Pereslavl-Zalesski**, including representatives of the international friendship club called "Contakt" and two musicians, spent the month of September in **Norwich, New York**.

Three sets of host families accommodated the group for 10 days each. Excursions were planned to the Adirondacks, Niagara Falls, New York City and Washington, D.C. The group traveled from New York City in a van with a "Soviet-American Citizen Diplomats" sign on the side.

Pereslavl-Zalesski is also paired with **Cu-**

pertino, California. The mayor visited both American sisters in September.

CONTACT: Roy Chamberlain, RD3, Box 222, New Berlin, NY, 13411 (607-847-6257).

PRAVDA IN FLORIDA

FIVE YEARS AFTER A SISTER city resolution from the **Tallahassee, Florida**, City Commission was hand-delivered to the mayor of **Krasnodar**, the first official delegation from Krasnodar arrived in Tallahassee in June. Led by Mayor Valeri Samielenko, the delegation included the head of one of the district soviets, the manager of the Krasnodar branch of Intourist, a local *Pravda* correspondent, and a surgeon.

The group arrived at the Tallahassee Airport at 8 pm City and county commissioners, the editor of the newspaper and about 400 citizens were waiting to greet the delegates on the flight line as they came off the plane. After a welcoming ceremony, the guests left in three limousines escorted by several police cars, with lights and sirens blaring.

The group spent a busy week in Tallahassee, meeting with the mayor and city commissioners, local business leaders, the presidents of Florida State and Florida A&M universities, students, teachers, peace groups and the media. Visits to health and medical facilities, a bank, land co-ops, and the Gulf Coast were also arranged.

Several full pages of

photos, articles, and schedules of events, as well as a favorable editorial, were published by the *Tallahassee Democrat*. The *Tallahassee Advertiser* also publicized the group's activities in a regular column called the "Krasnodar Connection." As a result, about 400 citizens participated in an "open forum" at Florida State University.

During the visit, Mayor Samielenko and Mayor Inman signed an agreement providing for exchanges between hospitals, business and engineering schools, and the media. The agreement officially acknowledged the role of Tallahassee and Krasnodar citizen committees in the sister city relationship.

Pursuant to the agreement, 22 Tallahassee residents planned to travel to Krasnodar in September to further business, education and medical exchanges. Bob Broedel, president of the Tallahassee-Krasnodar Sister City Program, hoped to establish a direct telex link between the two citizen committees through an electronic mailbox at the Institute for Automated Systems in Moscow.

Broedel said Mayor Samielenko was arranging for meetings in Krasnodar with mayors of nearby cities who want Florida sister cities, pursuant to a proposal to establish an official relationship between the state of Florida and the Krasnodar Region.

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

Wisconsin, from page 60

Ann Arbor, Michigan has purchased and delivered an expensive garbage truck to Juigalpa. The list goes on.

The U.S. federal government is fully aware of the extent of popular support and activity on behalf of peace in Nicaragua. Several conservative U.S. senators have expressed concern over this visible people-to-people initiative. In June of this year, Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) introduced an amendment on the Senate floor that would have made it illegal for cities to make foreign policy. Former State Department legal advisor Peter Spiro has published an article highly critical of municipal foreign policy — one in which he actually recommends that the federal government begin prosecuting activist cities.

The U.S. is at a crossroads of great significance and at a time when our foreign policy is in need of fundamental redirection, based on a growing recognition of a few simple truths.

Firstly, the world has changed. Politically, concern about East-West conflict has shifted to concern about North-South inequalities. Economically, the U.S. has become a shrinking minority in a fiercely competitive world. We confront the reality that our sources of energy and raw materials are finite and must be distributed fairly and democratically among all nations and all peoples.

Secondly, we must face the hard fact that U.S. efforts to dominate the destinies of other peoples are not only undemocratic and morally wrong, but they are expensive and futile. Our nation must call a halt to a corrupt foreign policy based on military and economic dominance.

Finally, the U.S. must accept that ours is an interdependent world community in which all share the same destiny. To advance the cause of democracy, we must advance the cause of economic and social justice and defend the principles of self-determination in every nation.

Sister cities may on the surface appear to benefit nations like Nicaragua without providing any benefit to us. But they help us learn these lessons. The exchange is a two-way street. U.S. citizens have the satisfaction of being part of the rekindling of idealism and regaining national self-respect. Our material wealth, if shared, could be of enormous benefit to the people of Nicaragua. But the people of Nicaragua — the people of the less developed world — have a wealth of wisdom and creativity to share with us. For these lessons I am grateful to the people of Nicaragua and I extend my hand in friendship.

David Clarenbach is speaker pro tem of the Wisconsin State Assembly, and is a board member of the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua.

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CENTRAL AMERICA AND LOCAL POLICY

THE VIEW FROM WISCONSIN

By David Clarenbach

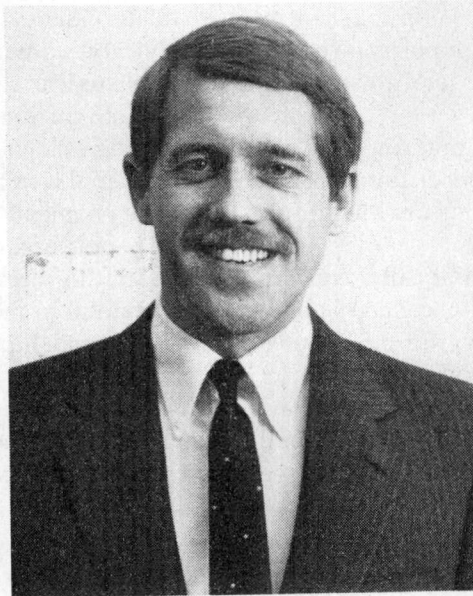
There are now nearly 100 official U.S.-Nicaragua sister cities and new ones are established regularly. Tens of thousands of U.S. citizens have visited Nicaragua. Estimates are that there are from 700 to 1000 ongoing U.S. projects of all sizes. Some now provide hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of humanitarian assistance each year.

My own state of Wisconsin has had a sister-state relationship with Nicaragua for 25 years. In 1964, when the Partners for the Americas program was sponsored by the Alliance for Progress, Wisconsin's Governor John Reynolds launched the sister-state relationship with Nicaragua. Our early sister-state motivation had far different purposes from those that have since evolved. In 1964, the stated purpose actually supported Anastasio Somoza as a "mutual enemy of communism in the hemisphere." By 1969, after the Alliance for Progress had become recognized as a foreign policy tool of the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department, the Alliance was discontinued altogether and interest in the sister-state relationship declined.

The earthquake that struck Nicaragua in 1972 revived the sister-state relationship. Wisconsin rendered immediate and generous public and private assistance, and a sense of genuine sisterhood and brotherhood has remained and grown ever since.

In 1984, the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua was formed. Its advisory board reads like a "who's who" in Wisconsin, representing every major constituency in the state. State Senate Majority Leader Joe Strohl and Assembly Speaker Tom Loftus are members. Wisconsin's workers are represented by Richard Presser (Machinists), Leland Muller, president of the Wisconsin Farmers Union, and David Newby, secretary-treasurer of the state AFL-CIO.

That inclusiveness and diversity also mark most of the U.S. sister-city and local project memberships, and is a source of their strength. Our Coordinating Council engages



in organizing and coordinating local groups, arranging technical and cultural exchanges with Nicaragua, conducting public education in Wisconsin, and providing Nicaragua with material goods such as computers and medical supplies.


When Walter John Chilsen, the generally conservative, Republican Wisconsin state senator, returned from a trip to Nicaragua, he and I authored a resolution asking the Congress of the U.S. to end aid to the contra forces in Nicaragua. Both houses of the legislature passed this joint resolution last October 1987, and Wisconsin thereby became the first state to oppose contra aid.

Ironically, the assertion of state and local authority is in part the product of the Reagan administration's policy of "New Federalism." Under this policy our national government has by intent shifted the financial burden for support of many domestic programs either to states and cities or to the private sector.

There are obviously additional reasons for local ferment. Discontent with U.S. military policies, memories of Vietnam, revelations of the Iran-contra hearings, added to the economic consequences of the Reagan years, all heighten citizen activism. When Congress passed its \$100 million contra aid package, sister cities vowed to — and did — distribute an equivalent amount in humanitarian supplies to Nicaragua. In 1986 Wisconsin alone sent \$1 million in privately collected money; in 1987 our Coordinating Council set a \$2 million goal and even exceeded that.


The roster of projects implemented by communities across the U.S. is almost unbelievable in its creativity and breadth, although all are supported with private funds. The Puente de Paz project from Arkansas provides equipment and technical expertise to help Nicaraguans build purification and piping systems for a clean water supply; there is the shipment of ambulances, tons of medical supplies, baseball bats and balls, and some 15,000 bicycles in a Bikes Not Bombs effort that has spread to half a dozen U.S. cities; and

see **WISCONSIN**, page 59



The whole world must summon the moral courage and technical means to say "no" to nuclear conflict; "no" to weapons of mass destruction; "no" to an arms race which robs the poor and the vulnerable; and "no" to the moral danger of the nuclear age which places before humankind indefensible choices of constant terror or surrender. Peacemaking is not an optional commitment.

The Pastoral Statement of the
U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops.



NATIONAL SECURITY?



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