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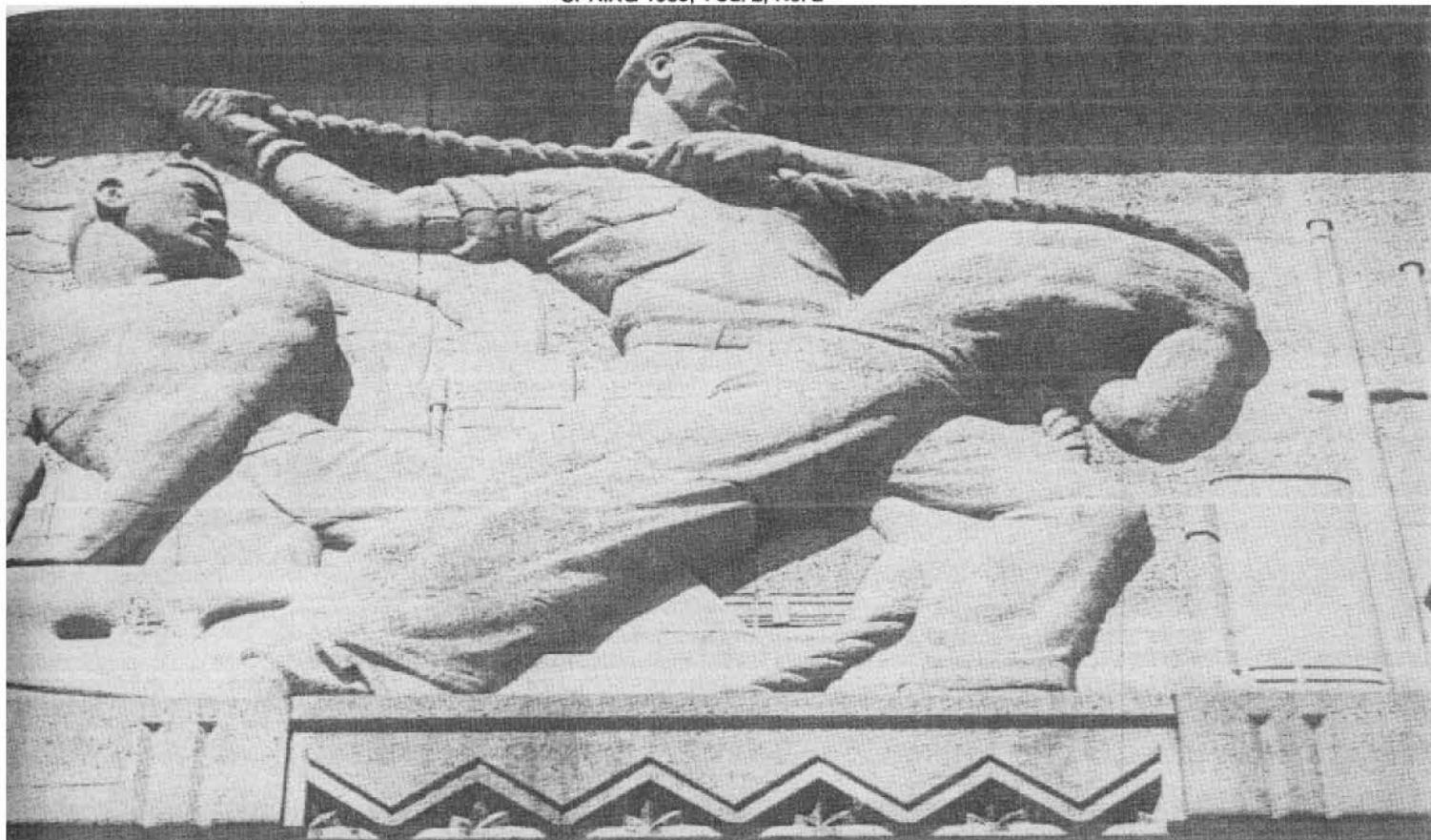
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BULLETIN OF

Municipal Foreign Policy

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND GLOBAL POLITICS
SPRING 1988, VOL. 2, No. 2



M.P.A. - ERA RELIEF • CITY HALL • BUFFALO, N.Y.

*Who Should Conduct
Foreign Policy?*


*National League of
Cities Calls for
Pentagon Cuts*

*Alaska Officials
Battle Plutonium
Flights*

*The Viability of
Nuclear-Free Zones:
Two Views*


*Mayors' Initiative
for Peace in
Central America*

*Duluth Spurs
U.S.S. Newport News*



"Nothing will ruin the country if the people themselves undertake its safety. Nothing can save it if they leave it in any hands but their own."

- *Daniel Webster*



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SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL STATE DEPARTMENT

The defeat of President Reagan's latest package of military aid to the Nicaraguan contras in February was a major victory for municipal foreign policy. In the weeks prior to the vote, thirty-nine mayors signed a strongly worded resolution urging the House and Senate to stop funding the contras' terrorism once and for all. Dozens of town meetings put further pressure on members of Congress, in some cases decisively.

In recent years, as U.S. involvement in the Central American quagmire has deepened, so has municipal anti-war activism. According to the Nicaraguan Embassy, 57 American cities now have formal links with Nicaraguan cities and 30 more are in the formative stages. Together these sister cities have provided more than \$25 million in humanitarian assistance to the Nicaraguan people, more than all of the private aid that has gone to the contras. In Western Europe, 189 cities have provided tens of millions more.

Private groups, of course, also contributed to undermining Reagan's war against Nicaragua. Witness for Peace has patrolled the countryside and reported the contras' human rights abuses. Technica has brought skilled technicians to Nicaragua. And other civic organizations have set up hundreds of sister churches, schools, hospitals, and labor unions. In all, more than 50,000 Americans have traveled to Nicaragua during the Reagan years, bringing news back to their friends and neighbors dramatically at odds with the disinformation presented by the Administration and parroted by the mainstream press.

While it is impossible to weigh the exact role of cities in this movement, their help was critical in several ways. First, cities like Burlington, Vermont, provided resources for local groups, including office space, telephones, photocopying machines, and confer-

ence centers. Cities also gave Central American activism greater respectability. Every time the mayor or council members spoke out on the issue, the local press was sure to report it. Finally, city involvement encouraged a broad cross-section of the community; trips by local officials to Central America made it respectable for the leaders of local churches and businesses to travel there, too.

But before we celebrate any victories, we should also remember our failings. For the tens of thousands of Nicaraguans already killed or maimed during Reagan's war, cities' opposition was too little, too late. Even now,

If cities are to have real clout in U.S. foreign policy then they will have to approach municipal foreign policy with professional staff and adequate funding.

cities have been unable to persuade Congressional Democrats to halt "humanitarian" aid to the contras, which may also be a direct violation of the Arias Peace Plan.

Were the Marines to land on the shores of Nicaragua tomorrow, would America's cities be ready to stop them? Would our citizens be well enough informed to protest effectively? Would we have lobbyists in Washington ready to defend the invasion? Would we have representatives in Canada and Europe ready to recruit other cities to mount further pressure against U.S. intervention?

For most cities, municipal foreign policies are reactive, accomplishing too little, too late. If cities are to have real clout in U.S. foreign policy, if they are to succeed in reordering national budget priorities, halting future U.S. military interventions, and reversing the nuclear arms race, then they will have to approach municipal foreign policy with the same institutional tools they use in other policy areas — professional staff and adequate funding.

A State Department in Every Backyard

The time has come for cities to put their municipal foreign policies under one coherent roof. Last year, Seattle did just that and set up an Office of International Affairs with a budget of \$250,000. Its five-person staff oversees its trade policies and thirteen sister cities, one of which is Managua.

Over the next year, the Center for Innovative Diplomacy will be sponsoring hearings in several cities across America, aimed at helping them create their own Offices of International Affairs. The Seattle model, we believe, is a good start, but we think cities could do much better. In particular, these Offices should have four characteristics:

■ **BROAD AGENDA** — Every Office of International Affairs should be capable of formulating policies on a wide variety of international affairs policies, including trade, Third World development, human rights, and arms control.

■ **MULTIPLE TOOLS** — These Offices should be given broad powers to educate, research, and lobby on foreign policy issues. They should have the flexibility to develop stronger cultural, economic, and political ties with



A hundred municipal lobbyists on Capitol Hill could provide an effective counter to the lobbyists of the military-industrial complex.

cities abroad.

■ **DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES** — Citizens should be able to help influence their Office's policies through regular public hearings. To reflect the changing needs and interests of the city, whether those of conservative businessmen or progressive peace activists, every Office should be required to produce an annual "State of the City in the World" statement.

■ **REAL FUNDING** — These Offices should not be funded through cookie sales, in-kind donations, or special taxes. Municipal foreign policies will generate real financial benefits through increased international trade and reduced U.S. military expenditures, and like all other policies generating real municipal benefits, they should be financed through the general budget. A good start would be

\$1 per person. (The cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki actually spend more on peace — about one percent of their budgets.)

Let A Hundred Foreign Policies Bloom

Imagine America's hundred largest cities each spending \$1 million per year on international affairs. That's \$100 million nationwide or roughly the size of the *entire* U.S. peace movement. That kind of money could leverage enormous political change.

A hundred public education programs could begin to mobilize public opinion against the arms race and Third World intervention. They could help build a broad awareness of the true costs of military spending.

A hundred municipal lobbyists on Capitol Hill could provide an effective counter to the lobbyists of the military-industrial complex. They could make a decisive difference in legislating a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing or cutting off the contras once and for all (not to mention our equally misguided covert assistance to Jonas Savimbi in Angola).

A hundred well-funded sister city programs could demonstrate how constructive change can be effected without military force. For example, more multi-million-dollar, city-to-city assistance programs in Nicaragua would not only convince more Americans of the futility of killing Nicaraguan civilians, but would ensure our long-term influence on Nicaragua's economy and political system. Why can't we learn the lesson of the Marshall Plan — that positive influence comes through equitable eco-

conomic assistance and not through the barrel of a gun?

A Green Analogy

In the 1950s and early 1960s, environmentalism was dismissed as largely a fringe movement populated by crazy tree-huggers. But one by one, states and cities began to create their own environmental agencies dealing with land management, toxic waste disposal, water protection, and air quality. As strange as they might have seemed twenty-five years ago, Palo Alto's Department of Recycling and California's Energy Commission are

"Peace is not just a condition but a continuing effort to discern and meet needs, to relieve strains, and to foresee, avert or diminish crises."

-W.H. "Ping" Ferry

today regarded as a perfectly normal instruments for local policy-making.

Institutionalization made environmentalism a mainstream movement. Indeed, it's a multi-billion dollar per year industry, employing hundreds of thousands of lawyers, scientists, economists, and policy analysts. These jobs, in turn, have opened up dozens of university programs dealing with environmental law, science, economics, and policy.

All of this is just as possible with peace. If we start taking responsibility for promoting peace at the local level, if

we create major institutions launching ambitious peace-oriented missions at home and abroad, we can finally make peace a multi-billion-dollar-per-year industry, too. Young people interested in international affairs careers will no longer have to choose between working for the Foreign Service or the multinational banks. Instead, they will find thousands of new, exciting jobs in their hometowns across America.

With active Offices of International Affairs, cities would no longer simply respond reflexively to the next national military misadventure:

■ Through energy conservation programs at home and abroad, cities could help eliminate the West's dependence on imported oil and obviate the need for continuing to deploy a costly, dangerous Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) in the Persian Gulf.

■ Through small-scale development programs and progressive trade policies with Third World towns, cities could help eliminate the wretched poverty lying at the root of most radical revolution and political unrest.

■ Through citizen exchange programs, cities could monitor human rights abuses and promote decentralized economic development and political democratization, all of which would put greater checks and balances on the war-making powers of foreign leaders.

■ Through greater participation in international organizations, cities can help enunciate, develop, and codify international norms that can be the basis for effective international law.

None of these changes will come quickly, easily, or cheaply. But if cities begin to create Offices of International Affairs capable of creative action, they can become a major force for preventing war. As long-time peace activist W.H. "Ping" Ferry has written, "Peace is not just a condition but a continuing effort to discern and meet needs, to relieve strains, and to foresee, avert or diminish crises." If we set our sights on institutionalizing our work, the dream of real peace will be possible.

— Michael H. Shuman

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ON THE COVER

W.P.A.-era relief • City Hall • Buffalo, N.Y. — The Buffalo City Council has taken an active stand on a number of international issues, including voicing its strong opposition to apartheid in South Africa. The Council passed its own anti-apartheid resolution, and has gone on record supporting U.S. Congressional action against apartheid. Councilmember David Collins, Bulletin City Correspondent and member of the Local Elected Officials Project, also reports council passage of a resolution aimed at establishing a sister-city relationship with the Soviet city of Kalinin. Buffalo already has an active sister-city link with Dortmund in West Germany.

Who Should Conduct Foreign

The Winter 1988 issue of the **WASHINGTON QUARTERLY** published the following article under the title, "Taking Foreign Policy Away from the Feds." Highly critical of municipal foreign policy, author Peter J. Spiro recommends that the federal government begin prosecuting activist cities. Spiro is a recent graduate of the University of Virginia School of Law, where he wrote on the illegality of anti-apartheid divestment ordinances. He is now special assistant to the legal adviser at the U.S. Department of State. Even though Spiro states that his views do not represent those of the U.S. government, we regard his essay as the first shot in what may well become an all-out war by the State Department against municipal foreign policy.

A detailed response to Spiro's article by **BULLETIN** editor Michael Shuman begins on the next page.

Deep through the American character runs an antipathy to political over-centralization and the extended authority of the national apparatus. One symptom of this aversion has been a historical reluctance to cede state and local control to the federal government; another is a basic conviction that many policies and programs are formulated and implemented more effectively at the nonfederal levels of administration. Although Washington's power now knows few bounds, the principles of federalism are more vital today than they have been at any time since World War II, and it is at least an arguable proposition that in many areas the federal government has become an increasingly cumbersome forum in which to manage the needs of the nation.

The renewed importance of nonfederal authorities to the general governance is by and large to be welcomed in the traditional realms of state and local concern — those relating, for instance, to the varying health, welfare, and educational needs of the subnational units. In recent years, however, states and localities have turned their attention to a sphere they previously dared not to invade — foreign policy and national defense. On issues as diverse as apartheid and arms policy, the country is witnessing an unprecedented wave of state and local actions intended to affect

various U.S. positions in world affairs. In at least one case (U.S. relations with South Africa), this purpose has been realized.

Such state and local interference in foreign policy is not and has never been appropriate to the U.S. system of federalism. In its posture toward other nations, both in peace and in war, the United States must stand as exactly that — a federation, where one policy binds all. This is not to say that the sovereignty of the people, to use Tocqueville's phrase, should be impaired in any way by virtue of the unique nature of these decisions; the electorate always may, and always does, make its wishes known and effected through congressional and presidential elections, the former of which allows the representation of differing state and local viewpoints on foreign-policy issues. But there can be no bypassing of the federal structure once Washington has cast its dye in such matters. Unlike the administration of schools, sewers, and the like, there is little advantage to, and much potential for disaster in, the local management of foreign policy.

For a start, most states and cities are ill-suited to the task. Not commanding the sorts of resources commanded by policymakers at the federal level, they are more liable than their federal counterparts to arrive at misguided or

(Please see SPIRO, page 14)

Policy?



SPIRO'S IMPOSSIBLE QUEST AGAINST DEMOCRACY: A RESPONSE BY MICHAEL SHUMAN

Peter J. Spiro has written a compelling critique of municipal foreign policy — a critique so reasonable in logic and so temperate in tone that it's easy to overlook that at its core lies a friendly contempt for participatory democracy. "Foreign policy," he intones, "must be made in Washington and not in the citizens' backyard." To prevent populist intrusions, Spiro would have the White House "command the unity of design." He would have the State Department "monitoring the nonfederal activities." And he would have the Justice Department "launch the legal campaign against local foreign policies." Using words like *command*, *monitor*, and *launch*, Spiro calls upon the government to declare war on grassroots politics, because when it comes to foreign policy, America is a government of, by, and for the State Department — case closed.

Those of us promoting municipal foreign policy have long known how deep opposition to a more participatory democracy runs in some quarters. Until now, however, this opposition has never been stated with such thoroughness and clarity. We should be thankful, therefore, for Spiro's critique, for it's a sobering reminder of the obstacles municipal foreign policy will face in the years ahead.

Fortunately, if we resolve to stand up for democratic foreign policy-making now, Spiro's quest will inevitably fail. As long as we remain a free people, cities will continue to wield enormous influence over U.S. foreign policy — no matter how many clever roadblocks the federal government erects.

The Irrelevance of Federal Restrictions

Suppose for a moment that Spiro gets his way, and we

eliminate all municipal foreign policies except those that are *de minimis* (that is, "too insignificant to influence the course of national affairs") and those "initiatives in trade and transborder cooperation that are not intended in any way to undermine federal policies." Would the federal government then be able to stamp out the influence of America's cities on foreign policy?

What Spiro calls *de minimis* measures are, in fact, those in which a city exercises its rights of free speech, whether peace studies programs, anti-apartheid research institutes, or city-funded arms-control lobbyists in Washington, D.C. By themselves, these consciousness-raising measures, which are completely protected by the First Amendment, could seriously undermine any unpopular foreign policies.

Spiro notes that 800 U.S. localities passed nuclear freeze resolutions, but says "these purely hortatory measures posed no threat to the continued production and deployment of nuclear armaments as the federal government saw fit." Then why, one wonders, did the Reagan administration orchestrate a massive national campaign against various local freeze battles? Why did Eugene Rostow, Reagan's first director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, urge the administration to counter the pro-freeze Ground Zero Week in 1982 with "editorial page essays to be placed in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, appearances by [George] Bush on *Meet the Press* and [Paul] Nitze on *Face the Nation* as well as Colin Gray on ABC's *Nightline*, Richard Perle on *The MacNeil / Lehrer Report* and, to round it all out, a post-mortem editorial page piece by Perle for the *Washington Post* on the Monday following Ground Zero Week"?

The answer is that as more cities, counties, and states passed nuclear freeze resolutions, pressure mounted on

Congress to restrain President Reagan's rearmament program. Reagan wisely decided to head off this opposition by announcing the START negotiations in Geneva and the INF negotiations in Vienna. In other words, "purely hortatory measures" effectively convinced the most anti-arms control President in modern U.S. history to begin taking arms control seriously.

In the future, consciousness-raising measures may have even more significant impacts. Suppose, for example, the federal government succeeds in stopping cities from divesting from firms doing business in South Africa. This would do little to inoculate American foreign policy from grassroots disgust with apartheid.

Cities could prepare and distribute pamphlets, books, films, and study guides dedicated to discredit U.S. support for apartheid and convince individuals and churches to boycott firms doing business in South Africa. Cities could post billboards identifying "the dirty dozen" firms supporting apartheid and encouraging residents to boycott their products. (In November, San Franciscans passed a sense-of-the-city initiative asking the Board of Supervisors to do just that.)

Cities could set up and fund anti-South Africa research institutes, churning out high quality publications and op-eds describing new strategies for further dismantling Reagan's policies of "constructive engagement." These institutes might also become human rights information centers, printing and distributing weekly reports on recent abuses in black townships.

Cities could send lobbyists to Washington, D.C., to convince Congress to pass more restrictive anti-South Africa legislation. On the top of their agenda, no doubt, would be the elimination of any funding for State Department programs aimed at harrasing or stopping local divestment ordinances.

Another unstoppable type of municipal activism would be travel, which is protected by the Fifth Amendment. Using their freedom go abroad, mayors or other city officials could lobby the world's leaders to add their own pressure against South Africa.

Cities could also use their trade policies — which Spiro would allow them to continue — to further isolate South Africa. They could establish stronger commercial ties with the Frontline African nations (Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe). They could vigorously pursue trade ties with European and Japanese cities participating in anti-South Africa campaigns. To conclude, as Spiro does, that trade policies "are nonideological and are not intended to undermine federal measures" is to overlook the realities of international business — that business only takes place among those who *want* to do business with one another.

Even if the federal government succeeds in eliminating all of the initiatives Spiro wants stopped, cities will continue to exert more than a *de minimis* influence on U.S. foreign



So long as we live in a democracy with freedoms of speech and travel, the State Department will have to reckon with increasingly powerful municipal foreign policies.

policy. So long as we live in a democracy with freedoms of speech and travel, the State Department will have to reckon with increasingly powerful municipal foreign policies.

Speaking in One Voice?

Spiro wants American foreign policy to speak "in one voice" but he concedes that "effective policy formulation at the federal level, requiring consensus among congressional, administrative, and bureaucratic players, is difficult. . . ." The reality is that America has *never* spoken in one voice in foreign policy — and never will.

Members of Congress have always expressed views at odds with the President, and even within the executive branch, very different voices have spoken. While former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger used to give speeches on one side of Washington, D.C., proclaiming that the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) was designed to replace nuclear deterrence with an impenetrable umbrella, the program's managers were on the other side of town arguing that it was going to strengthen nuclear deterrence.

In Nicaragua last year, negotiator Philip Habib was trying to pressure the Sandinistas into reforms while Undersecretary of State Elliot Abrams was seeking to forcibly oust the Sandinistas from power. Meanwhile, entourage after entourage of Congressmembers and Senators traveled to Central America expressing their own views about U.S. policy. The Speaker of the House, Jim Wright, actively shuttled proposals between the Sandinistas, the contras, church leaders, and other Central American governments, prompting the *New Republic* to call for his prosecution under the moribund Logan Act, which technically (and probably unconstitutionally) forbids Americans from entering negotiations with leaders abroad on controversial issues.

Outside the U.S. government, numerous interest groups have long played an intimate role in shaping U.S. foreign policy. Foremost have been multinational corporations, which have used the same techniques cities have — and then some. Companies like Mobil regularly speak on foreign policy through booklets, full-page newspaper ads, and television shows. They have set up their own research institutes — the American Petroleum Institute, for example — to shape public and official opinion. They have hired the best lawyers money can buy to lobby and litigate for their viewpoints. They have organized boycotts against countries threatening their interests, as in 1951, when Iranian President Mohammed Mossadegh nationalized the oil companies operating in his country, prompting these companies to persuade every other major oil company in the world to stop buying Iranian oil. They have established offices throughout the world promoting trade and political relations, often with the covert cooperation of the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency.

Multinational corporations have also used some tactics

in foreign policy that cities have never resorted to. In his book, *Endless Enemies*, veteran *Wall Street Journal* reporter Jonathan Kwitny exhaustively documents the intimate role various corporations played in manipulating U.S. foreign policy to help overthrow democratically elected leaders. After Exxon, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and other major oil companies had their properties expropriated by Mossadegh, they helped the U.S. government orchestrate a coup against him in 1953, bringing the repressive Shah to power. A year later, United Fruit cooperated with the executive branch to help overthrow Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz. In the early 1970s, Anaconda and IT&T worked closely with U.S. agencies to topple Salvador Allende in Chile and usher in 15 years of dictatorship and misery under Augusto Pinochet.

If Spiro's crusade were simply for America to speak in one voice, he would be more concerned with controlling covert corporate manipulations of U.S. foreign policy than overt municipal involvement. He also would somehow need to silence our opinionated Congressmembers, Senators, and Cabinet officers. But the political straitjacket necessary for all of this is too radical for anyone to seriously contemplate. Spiro really only wants to silence one section of the U.S. foreign policy choir — the section whose politics seem to be the most progressive and threatening.

What Cities Bring to Foreign Policy

Spiro believes it would be a "disaster" if states and cities were to play a more active role in foreign policy-making. His first argument is that "most states and cities are ill-suited to the task." He concedes that in trade and transboundary relations "nonfederal entities simply do a better job." In other areas, however, local governments lack the "sorts of resources commanded by policymakers at the federal level" and therefore "they are more liable than their federal counterparts to arrive at misguided or uninformed results."

Spiro's argument is marvelously circular: Cities should not be permitted to spend money in foreign relations because they are not spending enough money to acquire real expertise. Spiro is right that cities will have to spend more money if their foreign policies are to become more enlightened and effective. But he is wrong to suggest that this money could not be wisely spent.

Consider, for example, Third World development. By promoting development on a city-to-city basis, as 500 cities in Europe have, American cities could provide technology, aid, and other forms of assistance on a scale truly responsive to the local needs of Third World communities. Unlike the megaprojects of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other U.S. development agencies, these decentralized city-to-city programs are much less likely to result in corruption, environmental havoc, and

economic dependency. Better anti-poverty assistance programs, of course, mean better markets for U.S. products and better governments more resistant to radical revolution.

Human rights policies can similarly benefit from city-to-city relationships. By sending local citizens to monitor, detail, and protest these abuses, cities can help increase the pressure on offending nations. If we followed Spiro's centralist philosophy, we would have never tolerated groups like Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch because the State Department's "thousands of representatives overseas" know better about human rights abuses.

Even in areas like conventional and nuclear arms control, cities can play an important role in gathering and publicizing information. The Natural Resources Defense Council's Verification Project at both superpowers' nuclear test sites opened up an unprecedented exchange of data between Americans and Soviets, paving the way for a comprehensive test ban. In the future, it is conceivable that American cities will team up with cities and nations abroad to launch an independent satellite verification system to publicize accurate data about all nations' troop and weapons deployments.

As international relations grow increasingly complicated, State Department efforts to monopolize foreign policy will result in extreme inefficiency. As I argued in the journal *Foreign Policy*, the executive and legislative branches would do better not trying to halt municipal foreign policy, but rather setting broad guidelines for U.S. foreign policies and leaving the details to states, cities, corporations, and individuals.

Spiro's second reason for keeping cities out of foreign affairs is that "local authorities [are not] apt to take account of the consequences of their acts in other jurisdictions." His related concern is that "voters in states and localities that have shown a tendency to take foreign policy initiatives should not have more influence on . . . national issues than their brethren in communities that have not so acted."

And why not? Should we be concerned that Mobil Oil has exerted more influence over U.S. trade policy than Arco? Or that right-wing supporters of the Nicaraguan contras have exerted more influence over Central American policy than Peoria housewives? It would certainly be an odd development in American democracy if we forbade some groups from participating because other groups were apathetic. It would be equally odd if the only groups disallowed from participating in the foreign policy process were local governments, the most democratic and accountable of the whole lot. And yet that is exactly where Spiro's argument leads, unless, of course, he means to muzzle all American participants in international affairs.

One of the features of a democracy is that individuals, either alone or through associations, are entitled to influence any matters, domestic or foreign, unless there is a specific law prohibiting them. And this principle holds whether or not these participants "take account of the

consequences of their acts in other jurisdictions." Unlike totalitarianism, democracy presumes that people have the freedom to act. Our national government always has had — and always will have — the power to pass laws that specifically restrict individuals, organizations, corporations, or cities from acting in certain ways in foreign affairs (that is, acting beyond their freedoms of speech and travel). But to put a blanket ban on *all* actions affecting foreign policy, even where federal policy is ambiguous or nonexistent, to force potential offenders to guess when they have crossed that line of unwarranted interference, is to embrace the principles of totalitarianism.

Spiro's third general concern with municipal foreign policy is that "at best, local measures serve to dilute federally formulated policies. At worst, they can render federal action ineffectual." But this is true in domestic affairs, too. When a city forces local industry to adopt tight air pollution standards, it often dilutes the looser policies of the Environmental Protection Agency. Freedom includes the freedom to dilute central policy, unless a specific law says otherwise.

If the federal government believes that a municipal foreign policy is endangering national security, it has many powers to stop it. Congress can stop it through specific legislation. If the dangers are more immediate, the President can then stop it through an Executive Order.

But on numerous occasions, both Congress and the President have been asked to halt municipal foreign policies and they have declined. For example, in 1984, Congress turned down a resolution by Representative Philip Crane of Illinois to prohibit Washington, D.C., from divesting its public funds from firms making loans to or doing business in South Africa, a measure which might have implied congressional dissatisfaction with other divestment initiatives.

The question arose again in September 1986, when Senator Richard Lugar asserted that the sanctions bill Congress was about to pass would preempt all state and local initiatives on the subject. The House reacted by passing a resolution expressly denying any intent to preempt municipal efforts and implicitly bolstering other municipal foreign policies. (Spiro's recitation of this history, by the way — "House members generally indicating an intent to let local anti-South Africa laws stand, [and] the Senate demonstrating an intent to have them stricken" — is misleading; the House explicitly voted not to preempt, while a few Senators like Lugar voiced their personal preference for preemption.)

Spiro regards these votes as examples of Congress's "failure." But they really reflect that the legislative and executive branches recognize the value of municipal participation in foreign policy. Perhaps they realize, as I have argued in previous issues of *The Bulletin*, that municipal activism is making U.S. foreign policy more democratic, efficient, accountable and creative. Or perhaps they appreciate that, when the President pushes foreign policies des-

vised by at least two-thirds of the American public — policies such as support for contra terrorism, South African apartheid, and continued nuclear testing — a little dilution from the grassroots is to be expected and commended.

The Legality of Municipal Foreign Policy

Spiro believes that the President and the courts can stop municipal foreign policies. Since no legal tools can stop powerful consciousness-raising measures, the discussion is mostly academic. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the three legal tools Spiro would use to prosecute some municipal foreign policies — the Supremacy Clause, the Commerce Clause, and the *Zschernig* doctrine — are less powerful than he thinks.

No advocate of municipal foreign policy, myself included, doubts the vitality of the first two tools in theory. Whenever a state or local government passes a law contrary to federal law, federal law prevails. Likewise, whenever a state or local government burdens interstate commerce, its regulation will often be held unconstitutional, especially when there is no legitimate local interest in health, safety, or welfare being protected. But how these tools would halt existing municipal foreign policies is unclear.

With regard to the Supremacy Clause, the usual test is as follows: If it is impossible for an individual, organization or corporation to comply with both federal and local laws, federal laws prevail. But most national foreign policies do not involve laws at all. They involve vague gestures of approval or disapproval of other nations. They involve efforts to promote trade or send arms, money, food, technology, or personnel abroad. They involve negotiations over future treaties (which may someday create laws). Only rarely is foreign policy comprised of laws specifically restricting what Americans — and their cities — can and cannot actually do.

For example, the United States still maintains formal diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, even though we have

covertly tried to overthrow the Sandinistas for more than seven years. The only laws restricting Americans' involvement in Nicaragua are those forbidding trade, but even these have exceptions for humanitarian assistance. Thus, the 87 American cities that have established close ties with Nicaraguans and shipped tens of millions of dollars of humanitarian assistance are acting entirely within U.S. law, even as they effectively undermine our covert foreign policy.

With regard to the Commerce Clause, Spiro finds many municipal foreign policies untenable because he sees no legitimate local interest they are protecting. Most cities passing these measures would strongly disagree. For example, Spiro criticizes cities' financial arguments for South African divestment since, "for virtually all U.S. companies with a presence there, South Africa revenues account for a tiny percentage of total profits; these investments would not be compromised even if South Africa were to fall cleanly into the Indian Ocean." But dollars-and-cents is not the only reason cities have divested. Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, for example, has argued, "America's disenfranchised minorities cannot trust their leaders' promises of racial and economic justice if these same leaders are allied with the racial supremacists in South Africa. This distrust will be concentrated in our

cities, and it might translate into the despair that breeds crime, or into the anger that heightens racial violence. By taking an unyielding stand against apartheid, America's cities have made an important gesture toward peace and justice at home."

Take another example — nuclear-free zones. Spiro thinks that cities' only justification for forming these is not to be "the target of Soviet missiles." Most nuclear-free zones, however, have emphasized the adverse local economic consequences of military contracting (including federal cutbacks in urban programs resulting from high levels of military spending), civil liberties consequences of classified research, and the adverse psychological consequences of local work on genocidal weapons.

Spiro may find none of these municipal interests "legiti-

Municipal foreign policy is forcing the federal government to recognize that, in the final analysis, foreign policy belongs to the American people.

mate." But when courts weigh the legitimacy of local interests, they will usually defer to the judgments of communities, not the State Department's lawyers.

The *Zschernig* Doctrine

The most significant impediment the courts have erected against municipal foreign policy was announced in the 1968 case of *Zschernig v. Miller*. As Spiro describes, this case deputized courts to strike municipal foreign policies having more than "some incidental or indirect effect" on U.S. foreign relations, even when the State Department was willing to tolerate these policies.

Spiro's contention that this case "was not a judicial shot out of the blue" and "built atop a long line of Supreme Court observations" is hard to square with case history. In the 1947 case of *Clark v. Allen*, the facts of which were virtually indistinguishable from *Zschernig*, the argument that courts could stop local initiatives that the national government tolerated was dismissed as "farfetched."

The cases Spiro quotes to support the supposed "long line" of pro-*Zschernig* pronouncements all stood for other legal doctrines. In *Holmes v. Jennison*, for example, the Supreme Court decided that the Vermont governor had violated the Constitution's specific prohibition against "compacts" between states and foreign nations without Congressional permission.

Columbia law professor Louis Henkin, one of the nation's most respected international legal scholars, has written, "The Court did not build sturdy underpinnings for its constitutional doctrine [in *Zschernig*] or face substantial arguments against it. . . . What the Constitution says about foreign affairs also provides little basis for the Court's doctrine. Article I indeed forbids the States to make treaties and do other specified acts in foreign relations, but these, singly or together, do not support the general exclusion announced in *Zschernig*; and the prohibition to the States of some things might even imply that others are permitted. . . . Nor is there support for *Zschernig* in the history of the Constitution in practice."

Zschernig is really judicial activism at its worst. It has substantially expanded the power of courts in an area which should be left to the political branches of government. Why should a court be allowed to stop a local initiative which the national government approves of or tolerates?

Spiro laments that a Maryland state trial court upheld Baltimore's divestment ordinance because it found no significant interference with U.S. relations with South Africa. He blames badly pleaded evidence for the surprising result, but does not realize that the *Zschernig* principles will render every judicial result surprising. It will now fall to judges and juries to determine the level of interference posed by

each and every municipal foreign policy.

Spiro thinks that "one or two test cases" is all that it will take to reassert "the basic principle of federal control." But just to take the example of anti-apartheid divestment, there are numerous other ways cities might rewrite their ordinances to meet adverse court rulings. They might mandate that their pension funds be invested only in American firms or, alternatively, only in companies with outstanding non-discrimination records, both of which would effectively result in divestment from South Africa. Every rewrite will require another round in court. *Zschernig* is a guaranteed way to logjam the judiciary with deliberations that squarely belong in the executive and legislative branches.

Sooner or later, the courts will discover that the *Zschernig* doctrine is constitutionally unsound, judicially unwieldy, and — most importantly — irrelevant.

The Appropriate Federal Response

Like it or not, municipal foreign policies are here to stay. Consciousness-raising measures ensure that cities will continue to have a profound influence over U.S. foreign policy. This does not mean that the federal government is becoming powerless to influence international affairs. It does mean, however, that if the federal government wants to have a successful foreign policy, it will need to develop a working partnership with local governments — just as it has developed working partnerships with corporations, organizations, and individuals active in international affairs.

As I argued in *Foreign Policy*, the federal government should adhere to three principles. First, it should openly acknowledge that all consciousness-raising measures are constitutionally protected. That means repealing laws like the Logan Act that deter our freedom to speak.

Second, the federal government should tolerate municipal foreign policies unless they pose more than a hypothetical danger to American foreign policy. Since cities believe they are passing these measures to assert legitimate local interests, federal attempts to quash them with legal maneuvers will simply anger cities and prompt them to develop new, equally irksome initiatives accomplishing the same goals.

Third, when truly dangerous municipal foreign policy measures arise, the federal government should try negotiating with the offending municipality rather than resorting to legal fiat. The more the federal government involves local governments in foreign policy-making rather than fights them, the better off will be our democracy and our foreign policies. As we have noted, local governments have lots of wisdom to offer U.S. foreign policymakers in trade, Third World development, human rights, and arms control.

Municipal foreign policy is forcing the federal government to recognize that, in the final analysis, foreign policy

belongs to the American people. And this is the heart of Spiro's concern. He fears, for example, that "if every state had the constitutional capacity to declare itself a nuclear free zone, the federal government might find itself in a position in which it was powerless to deploy such weapons." Leaving aside the impossibility of the hypothetical (weapons could still be deployed on federal lands), if every state were to reject nuclear weapons, what business does a democracy have deploying them? Whose foreign policy is it, anyway? The State Department's or the people's?

Critics of municipal foreign policy put their faith in a small, largely unaccountable elite in Washington, D.C., the same "best and the brightest" who brought us Vietnam, a covert action every 16 months since 1900, and an unending nuclear arms race. A growing number of Americans are putting their faith, instead, in thousands of local officials and administrators, whose activities can be overseen by citizens and who believe in relating to other nations, not through first-strike nuclear weapons, but through peaceful communication, citizen exchanges, cooperative ventures,

and equitable trade.

In the years ahead, those struggling to maintain centralized control over foreign policy will continue trying to convince us of the virtues of remaining powerless and apathetic. They will "dispatch representatives to explain in nonpolitical terms the deeper repercussions" of municipal foreign policy. They will take our mayors aside and urge them "privately to exercise restraint and act responsibly." They will launch lawsuits against disobedient cities. And if these fail, they may seek to repeal our constitutional rights to speak, travel, and organize, transforming us into the very despotism they sought to defend us against.

The challenge for those promoting municipal foreign policies is to reject these pleas for voluntary disempowerment and to fight off these legal threats to our freedom. There can be no better way to celebrate the 200th anniversary of our Constitution than to insist upon returning foreign policy to the people. As Thomas Jefferson wrote, "The good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army." □



uninformed results. Nor are local authorities apt to take account of the consequences of their acts in other jurisdictions. Local foreign policies tend to give citizens of urban areas and academic communities (those that have shown the greatest tendency to act in the area) a power beyond what they would command with their equal vote within the federal system. Finally and most important, the potency of widespread local action on world issues gives rise to the possibility of a corresponding powerlessness at the federal level where the two conflict. At best, such local measures serve to dilute federally formulated policies. At worst, they can render federal action ineffectual.

State and local foreign-policy measures are not only unsound for policy reasons, they are unconstitutional as well. Indeed, it was in part if not primarily because of disunity on foreign-policy matters that the Founding Fathers abandoned loose confederation and moved toward a stronger central government. Since then the Supreme Court decisively has struck down local laws where they are directly inconsistent with foreign policies. But it also has invalidated local action where, even in the absence of a national posture, it has or is intended to affect foreign commercial or diplomatic relations. If the courts are to stay true to these well-established constitutional standards, much of the recent nonfederal activity must be cast aside. The matter is one of process. That local foreign policies largely have been characterized to date by leftist positions is immaterial, for once the cities and states grow accustomed to their new-found role they will surely take other positions as well. As the leading advocate of increased state and municipal activism himself admitted, "even tiny minorities will increasingly have the power to weaken or circumvent federal initiatives."¹ Surely this is not a desirable result, for it will inevitably enfeeble foreign-policy decision making across the board. Effective policy formulation at the federal level, requiring consensus among congressional, administrative, and bureaucratic players, is difficult enough. The infusion of other, less well-equipped actors into this process only can make matters worse.

Cities and States Join the Fray

More than 1,000 city, county, and state governments have involved themselves in foreign policy issues. Not all of these activities are intolerable; indeed, some are not only benign but also beneficial. The key to distinguishing acceptable from unacceptable local measures lies in highlighting not so much their isolated characteristics as their relationship and interplay with the federal foreign-policy process. Three basic categories of local foreign-policy action emerge from this perspective. First, there are those forms of participation that are too insignificant to influence the course of national issues, in either practice or potential. Second, for many years state and local entities have pur-

sued initiatives in trade and transborder cooperation that are not intended in any way to undermine federal policies and that at bottom implicate matters of largely local concern. Third, a growing number of states and localities have enacted foreign-policy and defense-related measures that interfere, both in terms of their intent and their impact, with unfettered federal decision making in the area. It is these activities around which the controversy revolves and in which one finds local activism both constitutionally and politically offensive.

This last category must be set apart from forms of local participation that pose no such problem, lest one give credence to activist imputations of a Politburo mentality to those who oppose their efforts.² There have emerged, most notably, certain activities that may be characterized as *de minimis* in nature — that is, failing to rise to a level of practical concern even where they may not coincide with the objectives of federal foreign policy.

Examples include nonbinding resolutions passed by state or local legislative bodies or by referendum; other statements by nonfederal officials on world affairs, however controversial; the renaming of streets for foreign-policy reasons; and local public education programs relating to the arms race along with similar public awareness initiatives. The Soviet Union may have taken offense when Washington, D.C., changed the address of its embassy to "One Andrei Sakharov Plaza," likewise with South Africa when New Haven renamed one of its avenues after Bishop Desmond Tutu. But neither nation was likely to react with concrete retaliation. In the early 1980s more than 800 U.S. localities passed nuclear freeze resolutions, calling upon the superpowers to end the production of atomic weapons. Yet these purely hortatory measures posed no threat to the continued production and deployment of nuclear armaments as the federal government saw fit. Similarly, "peace" curricula in such localities as San Francisco and Cambridge are not liable to constrain national security policy formulation. If nothing else, they should invite the presentation of opposing viewpoints, whether from federal or other sources.

Errant Mayors and Sororial Provocation

Local officials, no doubt, sometimes too freely can pass judgment on foreign policy matters. In one three-month period during the winter of 1986-1987, for example, Mayor Edward Koch of New York managed to provoke the ire of the Soviets by calling their government "the pits," of the Greeks by accusing Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu of anti-Semitism, and of American Poles by praising Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski during a visit to that country. Such statements hardly are to be encouraged, especially when made in a public capacity. But Mayor Koch and other local figures prone to this sort of editorializing do share First

Amendment freedoms with the private citizenry, and may speak as they please. Once again, because these excursions are a matter of words and not of action, they cannot be expected to be met more than in kind.

Perhaps more disturbing is a recent wave of politically oriented "sister-city" arrangements between U.S. and foreign localities. According to the private foundation Sister Cities International, U.S. cities have created such ties with 1,153 of their foreign counterparts. Usually intended to facilitate trade, tourism, or cultural exchanges, these affili-

The key to distinguishing acceptable from unacceptable local measures lies in highlighting not so much their isolated characteristics as their relationship and interplay with the federal foreign-policy process.

ations are often innocuous enough, as is clearly the case between Los Angeles and Mexico City, New York City and Tokyo, and Vail and St. Moritz. Of late, however, the motivating force behind many sister-city relationships has been more to send a foreign policy message to Washington than merely to cement subnational ties. Thus, one pro-Sandinista organization has sponsored more than 70 sister-city agreements between Nicaraguan and U.S. towns that have channeled more than \$20 million in humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan participants — all this despite decidedly unfamiliar relations between the two countries at the national level.³

This brand of local foreign policy marks the edge of the *de minimis* exception. In theory, the sister-city phenomenon could cross that line, as might be the case were links estab-

lished with countries with which the United States does not maintain diplomatic relations. (Seattle should not seek ties with Tripoli or Pyongyang.) But such steps remain largely symbolic, with little potential for significant interference in the conduct of U.S. foreign relations.

Some Foreign Policy Should Be Local

In contrast to measures taken in protest of federal postures stand those of a more practical bent. This second category of state and local foreign policy-related actions encompasses two types of state and local initiatives: programs designed to encourage foreign investment and commerce with the acting jurisdiction, and transborder agreements negotiated with localities in Canada and Mexico.

Foreigners have come to command increasing billions of dollars in U.S. investments, and it is now almost *de rigueur* that governors and big city mayors work to attract these commitments to their constituents' benefit. Nonfederal officials routinely conduct international trade missions, and almost all of the U.S. states have established permanent commercial representation in one or more foreign nations. These efforts have intensified as foreign corporations seek manufacturing outposts in the United States in the form of large, location-specific projects — automobile plants, most notably — that promise significant employment and other economic gains.

Also on the rise are agreements between border communities and their Canadian and Mexican counterparts. These arrangements relate to the management of such mutual concerns as highways and bridges, energy and water supplies, border crossings, and fire prevention. Although many date to the advent of modern transportation and technology in the early decades of this century, population growth along the borders, particularly to the South, has heightened the utility of such nonfederal programs. San Diego, for one, has consolidated all aspects of its relationship with neighboring Tijuana in a single (and unprecedented) department of "binational affairs." One commentator has gone so far as to suggest a Mexican-Gulf South Association, to include Mexico and six adjoining U.S. states to look after matters of regional concern.⁴

Activities in trade and transborder administration pose no danger to the effective maintenance of federal foreign policy. Unlike other local forays into world affairs, they are nonideological and are not intended to undermine federal measures; their purpose, rather, is only to achieve concrete benefit for the acting jurisdiction. (As with sister-city relationships, an exception would seem appropriate where trade with an unrecognized nation is at issue. Arizona's contemplated opening of a trade office in Taiwan is one such example.) Commercial initiatives have been facilitated by the departments of state and commerce; and

Congress ordinarily has blessed border compacts where consent has been requested, as the Constitution at least technically requires it. Even in the face of plausible legal theories to forbid these programs, it is improbable that anyone would find reason to challenge them. And for good reason: in these spheres nonfederal entities simply do a better job. Nonfederal action, in this respect, is not only tolerable but also desirable, sometimes necessary.

Crossing the Line

The same cannot be said of local measures that pose a potentially serious threat to federal oversight of truly national foreign-policy and defense matters. To some great extent, many of the activities discussed above have only become more prevalent as a matter of degree. Local executive officials and legislative bodies, for instance, often have seen fit to criticize federal foreign policy platforms, as was evident during the Vietnam War. Similarly, they have been known to seek out official contacts with their foreign counterparts. But the 1980s also have witnessed the advent of new mechanisms for local foreign-policy involvement, qualitative innovations of far greater potency. Chief among these, in terms of prevalence and impact, are measures that limit a locality's holdings and purchases of investments and of goods and services according to foreign affairs criteria, so-called divestment and procurement activities. This last category of local participation in foreign policy — better characterized as local interference in foreign policy — also includes laws enacted in outright defiance of and directly mandating noncompliance with federal programs relating to foreign affairs and national security. The list of issues subjected to such local action is now a long one. Several jurisdictions have gone as far as to create their own official departments of foreign affairs — mini state departments, in effect — to coordinate these initiatives; and a lobbying and information network, the Local Elected Officials Project, has been established to promote local foreign policies nationwide.

Cities and States Against Apartheid

Of all local foreign-policy activities, the divestment movement has been the most successful in affecting the course of a single controversy — what stance the United States should take toward the apartheid regime in South Africa. In response to the 1976 riot in Soweto, a handful of small communities in the United States, along with the state of Wisconsin, passed measures to divest pension and educational portfolios of securities in corporations with operations in South Africa. The campaign gained full steam in the wake of subsequent and more enduring disturbances sparked in 1984. Since then, more than 100 states and

localities have taken some form of concrete anti-South Africa action. Increasingly, these measures call not only for the sale of South Africa-related investments but also for prohibitions on all governmental contracting with the same roll of black-listed companies. Michigan recently became the first state to adopt a selective-purchasing policy, joining such municipalities as New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Divestment statutes and ordinances have required the sale of almost \$20 billion in stocks and bonds.

The success of the anti-apartheid movement has emboldened some local jurisdictions to take similar action in other contexts. State governments have divested the secu-

Local participation in foreign policy is better characterized as local interference in foreign policy.

rities of companies doing business in the Soviet Union and Iran. Massachusetts has moved to withdraw its pension funds from financial institutions that lend to those who sell armaments to Great Britain for use in Northern Ireland, and similar moves have been made in several other states. Divestment measures have been contemplated against Libya, Poland, and Sri Lanka, and countries that do not pay "fair" wages to industrial labor. Localities also are taking this route in the area of national security affairs. At least nine cities and counties have implemented divestment or procurement policies directed against U.S. concerns involved in the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

Where they create calculated incentives to discourage targeted areas of commercial activity, divestment and selective purchasing measures do not prohibit any private conduct outright, nor do they expressly challenge federal policy. Other local action, however, has moved into the realm of direct regulation and confrontation. In various combinations, more than 50 localities, including the city of Chicago, have banned nuclear weapons research, manufacture, transshipment, or deployment within their jurisdictions. At least two states and several localities have refused to cooperate with the Federal Emergency Management Administration, the agency charged with coordinating

nuclear evacuation planning and procedures. Although rebuffed in court, a dozen governors recently challenged federal authority to conduct National Guard training exercises in Central America over their objection. Finally, to protest the Reagan administration's immigration policies, at least 30 cities have enacted "sanctuary" ordinances that prohibit municipal assistance in deportation procedures and enforcement.

The Model of Interference

The distinguishing characteristics of these activities are that they are intended to affect foreign policy and defense issues of truly national concern (as opposed to trade initiatives and transborder agreements) and that they have the actual potential to do so (as opposed to those distinguished by *de minimis* qualities). Such issues as relations with South Africa and other countries, nuclear weapons capabilities, and the readiness of military reserve forces are, first of all, of primarily national concern insofar as they do not, or should not, turn on questions of peculiarly local interest, in either formulation or consequences. That the localities have acted with the purpose of influencing the course of these controversies is evident by the very nature of the measures they have taken. Some, apparently under the direction of counsel aware of possible legal infirmities, have attempted to cloak their intentions in the guise of traditionally respected local concerns. Divestment measures, for example, often are defended on the grounds of sound portfolio management; corporations with South Africa operations, so the argument goes, make for risky securities because of political volatility in that country. Were this the case, divestment action might be justifiable. But for virtually all U.S. companies with a presence there, South Africa revenues account for a tiny percentage of total profits; these investments would not be compromised even if South Africa were to fall cleanly into the Indian Ocean. In fact, divestment legislation promises no tangible benefit to the acting community. Behind the pretext lies the real motivation of these measures: to help bring about the fall of apartheid by forcing a U.S. corporate withdrawal.

But so might Mayor Koch like to bring about the fall of the Soviet Communist party by insulting its hegemony. The last critical factor is one of impact, actual or potential. If every state had the constitutional capacity to declare itself a nuclear free zone, the federal government might find itself in a position in which it was powerless to deploy such weapons. Less obviously, if a significant number of jurisdictions decided to break all commercial ties with firms involved in the nuclear weapons industry, the Pentagon could find difficulty in placing its contracts most efficiently. State and local governments collectively command hundreds of billions of dollars in their investment portfolios (some \$300-500 billion) and budgetary expenditures (esti-

mated as high as 15-20 percent of total U.S. gross national product).

The best demonstration of how this financial weight can be thrown around once again relates to nonfederal anti-South Africa action. Since 1984 direct U.S. corporate investment in South Africa has been reduced by more than half. This withdrawal has occurred despite the general continued profitability of operations in South Africa and despite continued federal encouragement of most forms of this investment. The bottom line is that companies understandably are not willing to sacrifice a lucrative slice of the U.S. domestic market for the 1 or 2 percent of total business that South Africa provides. When, for example, Phibro-Salomon Corporation faced a choice between holding on to its small South Africa subsidiary and a \$200 million contract with the city of Los Angeles, it was understandably for the latter.

These local interferences in foreign affairs may be rooted in a basic frustration with the difficulties of prompting federal action. More likely, they have resulted from a feeling among certain vocal and significant minorities that their particular foreign-policy views have no chance of winning majorities on the Hill or of receiving any welcome at the White House; with no prospects at the federal level,



these activists have lowered their sights to more receptive audiences in state capitals and city halls. The strategy has proved successful. The force of concentrated and coordinated action at the nonfederal level has won the practical implementation of their policies even in the absence of federal approval.

But the dangers of allowing these activities to flourish are many. Voters in states and localities that have shown a tendency to take foreign-policy initiatives should not have more influence on these national issues than their brethren in communities that have not so acted. Yet that has been the result in the South African example, and the same could transpire in the other areas that promise to be the target of future local activism. More important is the way in which local action may lead to the wrong policies. Cities and states do not share with the federal government the advantage that comes with having thousands of representatives overseas. Nor are nonfederal entities in a position to consider the consequences of their activities in other localities and for the nation as a whole. To take one ludicrous yet instructive hypothetical, were Michigan to declare war on Canada, it would not consider necessarily the repercussions of its aggression for residents of Wisconsin. At a more plausible level, if Michigan launched a divestment and selective purchasing campaign against trade with Japan, and Japan retaliated by restricting imports from the entire United States, the interests of the regions that profit from such commerce would be swallowed without the sorts of opportunity for reasoned and negotiated policymaking that one finds in Washington. And in a case that is already a reality, local proponents of anti-South Africa legislation have shown no inclination to contemplate the significance of South Africa's strategic importance to the nation as a whole despite the moral abhorrence justly associated with the apartheid regime.

Where Congress Has Failed, the States Should Move In

It is well within congressional powers to put a halt to nonfederal intrusions into the realm of foreign-policy and national security matters. But there are inherent problems to this method of clipping foreign policies before they get seriously out of hand. Congress probably would find it necessary to enact disabling legislation on each specific issue that has been subject to local action; simply invalidating all nonfederal foreign-policy measures would suffer from problems of vagueness and overbreadth. Congress apparently also has assumed a crippling tendency to approach the general question of local action as one not of process but rather of politics. Thus, during the South Africa controversy legislators have been reluctant to condemn divestment measures for fear of appearing to support the

apartheid government, even though most of these local laws are plainly inconsistent with the federal stance toward South Africa. The long-term consequences of permitting cities and states to establish themselves in the foreign-policy arena have not been sufficient to overcome this fear.

The judiciary provides a better forum in which to reestablish federal primacy in the area. For the most part, judges are not subject to the pressures that plague their legislative colleagues. They would be obligated to consider the broad issues of federalism presented by local foreign policies without regard to the political merits of each case—e.g., whether continued economic ties with South Africa are desirable, or whether nuclear weapons are necessary to the national defense. Once the basic principle of exclusive federal control was reasserted through one or two test cases in the federal courts, moreover, it would apply across the board to all local measures found to interfere with U.S. foreign relations or national security.

It is only a matter of reasserting, as opposed to creating, this principle as the law. As a general proposition, the federal government has enjoyed nearly exclusive powers over foreign policy and defense since the dawn of the Republic. Such was the intent of the framers of the Constitution. Subsequent case law has been sparse, if only because federal superiority has faced so rarely significant challenge. But those instances in which the courts have ruled on the question, including several relevant Supreme Court decisions, demonstrate that local interference in foreign policy is not only ill-advised but also unconstitutional.

The Legal Case Against Local Interference in Foreign Affairs

The abandonment of the Articles of Confederation and the call to a constitutional convention were motivated, at least in part, by the weaknesses of the new Union on the international scene. The Articles provided only for the loose cooperation of 13 otherwise independent republics; standing alone, they were highly vulnerable to encroachments both from Europe and among themselves. The Constitution sought to rectify the drawbacks of confederation by granting increased powers to the central government and by proscribing certain activities by the states in the areas of foreign relations and defense. Although the document itself did not speak broadly in terms of a foreign affairs power, its supporters defended it in such general terms. "If we are to be one nation in any respect," wrote James Madison in *Federalist 42*, "it clearly ought to be in respect to other nations." Constitutional law since has developed to present three possible objections to the sort of activities that have characterized recent state and local intrusions into foreign policy.⁵

Under the Supremacy Clause and what is known as the

doctrine of preemption, nonfederal entities may not take action inconsistent with federal policy. Such conflict is apparent when compliance with both local and federal measures is impossible, as where a state court struck down a Staten Island referendum initiative that would have banned the docking of nuclear-equipped vessels despite the U.S. navy's stated intention to do so.⁶ It need only be shown that the nonfederal measure is inconsistent with any federal action, from treaties and statutes on down to a federally sponsored contract. One state restriction on the enrollment of Iranian students in public universities, for instance, was invalidated in the wake of a contrary administrative regulation.⁷ Combined with other conceded powers over

Local interference in foreign policy is not only ill-advised but also unconstitutional.

foreign affairs, it is on this ground that Congress might disable most local intrusions in foreign affairs, on an issue-by-issue basis, by formally stating that they are inconsistent with federal policy.

But Congress has not been willing to make such statements for the same reason that it has not passed legislation proscribing local interference in foreign affairs. This problem has already reared its head in the South African example. In the fall of 1986, Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, that while affirming the advantages of a benevolent corporate presence in South Africa, did place some constraints on bilateral commercial ties. The measure was not clearly preemptive insofar as corporations could comply both with it and with more restrictive local laws simply by cutting their South Africa ties. (The federal act did not go so far as to require [dis]continued operations there.) Nor did the wording of the legislation expressly address the question of how the local and federal measures might interact. What remained were contradictory statements on the preemption issue, with House members generally indicating an intent to let local anti-South Africa laws stand, the Senate demonstrating an intent to have them be stricken. Judicial determination of preemptive effect would be correspondingly problematic.

The second legal attack hinges on the constitutional

prohibition on nonfederal obstruction of foreign and interstate commerce. Here it need only be shown that the local action in some way burdens trade or other commercial relations — even in the absence of conflicting federal policy — and that the imposition of this burden is not justified by any legitimate local interest, ordinarily characterized by health, safety, or other welfare-related concerns. Where no such interest exists, any action that tends to impede the free flow of goods and services across state and national borders must fall.

Cities and states that have pursued intrusive foreign policies cannot tender the necessary justification under this analysis. Many purport to have a moral interest in these activities, yet no court, state or federal, has ever recognized this sort of intangible as a defense to commerce clause attack. Other rationalizations are likewise infirm. In barring the deployment of nuclear weapons, for instance, several localities have made it evident that the reason they would not care to host these arms is that they are not interested in being the target of Soviet missiles. But the obvious analogy here, of course, is that we do not allow individuals to avoid the draft for fear of death.

Some have argued that divestment and selective purchasing laws come under the so-called market-participant exception to the commerce clause. Under this exception, nonfederal governments are not subjected to commerce clause restraints when they behave as would private parties in a market context — in other words, when they act as buyers and sellers and not as regulators. This defense would seem to save local divestment and procurement measures, since these laws involve activities common to all marketplace participants and not peculiar to government institutions. The exception, however, has emerged only where the acting jurisdiction stood to benefit from the challenged measure by way of economic gain. Actions motivated by foreign-policy or moral considerations result in no such benefit. The market-participant rule, moreover, has never been applied in a situation involving foreign commerce, and the Supreme Court has reserved expressly opinion on the question.

The *Zschernig* Doctrine

The final possibility for invalidating local foreign-policy interferences would be under the rule of *Zschernig v. Miller*, which confirmed a sweeping and exclusive foreign affairs power in the federal government. In that 1968 case, the Supreme Court struck down an Oregon probate law that in practice discriminated against citizens of East Bloc nations in inheritance matters. Condemning state judicial decisions in which "foreign policy attitudes . . . are the real desiderata," Justice William O. Douglas held that state and local actions that have more than "some incidental or indirect effect" on foreign relations could not be tolerated. The

decision essentially set an intent-plus-impact standard by which to measure the constitutionality of local foreign policies.

Zschernig was not a judicial shot out of the blue. On the contrary, it was built atop a long line of Supreme Court observations on federalism and its role in the making of foreign relations, or lack thereof. Among other such decisions stands *Holmes v. Jennison*, which in invalidating an early nineteenth-century extradition arrangement between Vermont and Canada, noted, "It was one of the main objects of the Constitution to make us, so far as regarded our foreign relations, one people, and one nation."...

What distinguishes the *Zschernig* ruling is that, as with the commerce clause analysis, local measures may be found infirm even in the absence of conflict with federal policy. In its breadth, however, *Zschernig* expands the proscription of local interference in foreign policy to cover those activities that do not admit to economic consequence. The doctrine presents, moreover, a more constitutionally honest argument than does the commerce clause in this context. In most instances, after all, the cities and states are using economic measures only as a means to foreign-policy ends, and it is the ends themselves, not the mechanisms by which they are achieved, that are constitutionally offensive. Finally, *Zschernig* logically might be extended to combat local activities in the realm of defense matters, in which national unity of action would seem even more imperative than in foreign-policy matters.

It is true, as proponents of local foreign affairs activity are quick to point out, that *Zschernig* has lain largely dormant, at least at the level of the Supreme Court since it was handed down in 1968. The simple explanation is that there has been little opportunity to put the rule to use in the absence, until recently, of significant local interference in foreign affairs. Moreover, several state court cases have reaffirmed its principles....

Although upholding the theory of federal exclusivity in foreign relations, two more recent cases have upheld actions typical of emerging local foreign policies on the grounds that they did not cross the impact threshold of "indirect or incidental." The Supreme Court of Massachusetts refused to strike down a Cambridge ordinance banning the storage, testing, and disposal of chemical warfare agents within its limits on the basis that by itself the measure was unlikely to have a significant effect on federal defense programs.⁸ A Maryland state trial court, meanwhile, blessed Baltimore's divestment ordinance after concluding that the divestment movement as a whole has not contributed directly to the growing corporate withdrawal from South Africa.⁹ The latter decision may have resulted from the failure of the party challenging the law (the board of the pension fund required to divest) to present adequate evidence of divestment's effect on U.S. ties with South Africa. The analysis pursued by the Massachusetts court is less

defensible: Taken in isolation, the foreign-policy activities of any one jurisdiction almost always will appear insubstantial. It is, rather, the collective weight for such activities that poses the threat to properly unfettered foreign relations decision making. In any event, these two cases hardly close the book on the question. Only in the last few months has the debate begun in earnest.

The Need for Action

The national interest demands that local interference in foreign and defense policy be curtailed before the federal government finds itself hamstrung by hundreds of would-be secretaries of state touting their own parochial agendas. Liberals who might tend to support much of the recent wave of local measures on substantive grounds should remember that the tables could turn should they gain power at the federal level. Conservatives who might defend these activities as valid assertions of states' rights should remember that foreign and domestic affairs are fundamentally different under the lens of federalism. The goal of a coherent and unified foreign policy is one that should be shared by all.

The federal government necessarily must take the lead in efforts to contain local action because its institutional prerogatives are those challenged. In practical terms, only the White House and the executive departments can command the unity of design that such efforts would demand. An educational, nonconfrontational approach should characterize the first steps in what would amount to a lobbying campaign by the federal government on its state and local counterparts. The State Department could be charged with monitoring the nonfederal activities. Where significant local measures face possible enactment, it might dispatch representatives to explain in nonpolitical terms the deeper repercussions of such activities. Mayors, governors, and other nonfederal officials should be urged privately to exercise restraint and to act responsibly where they confront foreign-policy matters in their public capacities. The federal government can impress with greater intensity upon both the electorate and local lawmakers that certain decisions may be made only on a national basis and that only through federal channels should active dissent be expressed. In the meantime, of course, local authorities should be encouraged in those activities that do not constitute interferences — the trade initiatives and transborder agreements that are entirely consistent with the federal direction of foreign policy.

Granted this sort of venture probably would fail in stopping continued local action in the area. Local leaders now find foreign-policy issues useful in distracting attention from problems in their own backyards. Such issues also have begun to figure prominently in local election



it need not be overly concerned with political appearances. It should single out less controversial measures, such as Boston's divestment of companies selling arms to Great Britain, as test cases. The government need pursue only one or two such attacks in each of the major areas of local interference, preferably until a victory in the Supreme Court. Once one law fell, the rest would follow, and those cities and states that have acted will come to understand that they have acted illegitimately, or at least that they will not succeed in further efforts. However much the cities and states might protest, foreign relations is one of those spheres in which the majority view must govern. Were dissenting elements able to act on their platforms in every instance, serious fragmentation would fast undermine the national coherence critical to U.S. dealings with other nations. Foreign policy must be made in Washington and not in the citizens' backyards. □

contests, in which special interest groups successfully air sometimes extreme positions unopposed by competing constituencies. Foreign policy is fast becoming as ordinary an element in local politics as sewers and schools.

And so the case would have to be put before the courts. The judiciary, of course, cannot decide controversies with which it is not presented. Private parties have proved unwilling to challenge local foreign-policy action even where it results in commercial injury; as has been the case with Congress, corporations fear identification with unpopular positions on the underlying substantive issues. While privately deploring divestment legislation, for instance, they have concluded that an attack on these laws would leave them looking pro-apartheid, which in turn would create larger dollar losses than the restrictions themselves.

Given such private sector reluctance, federal policymakers must proceed on their own. The Reagan administration is well positioned to launch the legal campaign against local foreign policies. At this late point in its tenure,

FOOTNOTES

¹Michael H. Shuman, "Dateline Main Street: Local Foreign Policies," *Foreign Policy*, No. 65 (Winter 1986-87), p. 156.

²"A Message From the Editor," *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, 1:2 (Spring 1987), p. 1.

³See Jeffrey Pasley, "Twisted Sisters," *The New Republic*, June 22, 1987, pp. 14-18.

⁴Rodgers, "The Capacity of the States of the Union to Conclude International Agreements," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 61 (1967), p. 1021.

⁵For more detailed analysis of local foreign policy activities, with a focus on divestment legislation, see Note, "State and Local Anti-South Africa Action as an Intrusion Upon the Federal Power in Foreign Affairs," *Virginia Law Review*, 72:4(May 1986), pp. 813-850, and K. Lewis, "Dealing with South Africa: The Constitutionality of State and Local Divestment Legislation," *Tulane Law Review*, Vol. 61 (February 1987), pp.469-517.

⁶*Fosella v. Dinkins*, 66 N.Y. 2d 603 (N.Y. Appellate Division, 1985).

⁷*Tayyari v. New Mexico State Univ.*, 495 F. Supp. 1365(New Mexico U.S. District Court, 1980).

⁸*Arthur D. Little v. Commissioner of Health and Hospitals of Cambridge*, 395 Mass. 535 (Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, 1985).

⁹*Board of Trustees of the Employees Retirement System of Baltimore v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore*, No. 86365065, Circuit Court of Baltimore City (Unpublished Opinion, 1987).

FOREIGN POLICY-MAKING: A LOCAL ELECTED OFFICIAL'S CONSTITUTIONAL DUTY

I enjoyed reading the "debate" between George Weigel and Michael Shuman (*Bulletin*, Winter 1987-88) on the appropriateness of local government involvement in foreign policy-making. To Shuman's arguments, I would add the following:

Thousands of our local communities — cities and counties — face crushing social and economic problems. Solving these problems is a legal and constitutional responsibility of local elected officials. These problems cannot be met without the federal

government making huge increases in spending in such areas as public housing, education, health care, social security and public works. Money for these programs must come from either drastic cuts in military spending or from a tax increase. Nobody wants the latter and the former moves into the area of foreign policy. Thus, local elected officials can only fulfill their local duties by working for fundamental changes in priorities and proportions of federal spending and policy as a whole, including foreign policy.

As Shuman points out, the U.S. Constitution is no barrier to local official involvement in foreign policy formation. In fact, it might be argued that since local officials' responsibilities are derived from the 10th Amendment, they have a constitutional duty to try to influence foreign policy-making. In any event, in our contemporary society it is imperative that we do so.

— Council Member Mel Ravitz
Detroit

POLITBURO MEMBER ADMIRES U.S. LOCAL POLITICS

The power of local political action in the United States has just gained a new enthusiast. In a recent interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Politburo member Alexander N. Yakovlev discussed the growing decentralization of the Soviet economy. In making decisions about the future course of reform in the Soviet Union, Yakovlev said he sees something of a model in local, nonpartisan American politics.

Yakovlev, who studied at Columbia University and spent ten years in Canada as the Soviet ambassador, told the *Times*, "We have undertaken a number of measures delegating authority to local Soviets and local industries — authority on social issues, distribution of living quarters, land management, influencing the decisions about what is to be built within the city and the area. I know that American municipalities have powers of this sort, and this is what creates the basis for independent decisions."

SOURCE: Robert Scheer, "Freer Soviet Economy Has Political Fallout," *Los Angeles Times*, 25 December 1987, p. 1.

ON THE LIGHTER SIDE

MAKING A CHOICE BETWEEN GRADES AND PEACE . . .

Andy Leman, a student at Del Oro High in Loomis, California, must have thought he'd be the pride of his school and community. After all, he was among a select group of students who met with Mikhail Gorbachev during the Soviet leader's trip to Washington, D.C., last December. But because of his citizen diplomacy foray to Washington — preceded by a trip to Moscow as well — Andy missed eleven days of school, prompting his history teacher to lower his grade from "A" to "B." After five days of unexcused absences, his teacher explained, additional missed classes automatically lower a grade. Working toward greater international understanding and conferring with world leaders might be laudable undertakings, but according to Andy's teacher, they can't compare with a history lesson.

ARMS CONTROL

DES MOINES REGISTER REACTS TO LOCAL ARMS INITIATIVES

How is the press responding to municipal involvement in foreign policy matters? Here's how a November 22 editorial in the Des Moines Register dealt with the issue of "What the Arms Race Costs Iowa."

Fourteen Iowa communities have joined a nationwide campaign to ban nuclear testing in both the United States and the Soviet Union.

The resolution, passed by city councils and county boards of supervisors across the state, sends a signal to all local politicians and presidential contenders:

Iowans are fed up with throwing tax dollars into the nuclear-arms race.

To see just how costly the arms race has become to Iowans, consider that the proposed military budget for fiscal year 1988 is \$296 billion. Divided evenly, that breaks down to approximately \$1,052 per Iowan.

Nuclear weapons and related military programs cost approximately \$65 billion last year, or about \$233 per Iowan.

Cities and towns are especially hard hit by the nuclear-arms race, according to the Washington Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, which are sponsoring the test-ban campaign.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES CALLS FOR PENTAGON CUTS

In an unprecedented move, the National League of Cities (NLC) called for a "re-ordering of federal budget priorities" at its December 1987 Congress in Las Vegas, Nevada. Pointing to "urgent, increased human needs" in local communities, it resolved that "members of the National League of Cities recognize that we must highlight the connection between the reduction of funds for people services and the increases in the military budget and that we must set as a priority the stabilization and future reduction in the military budget."

A number of members of Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility, the Center for Innovative Diplomacy's organization within the NLC, helped shepherd the resolution through the Human Development Policy Committee and the NLC's resolution approval procedures. Special thanks are owed to Councilor Alice Wolf of Cambridge, Alderperson Eve Galanter of Madison, and Councilmembers Ruth Messinger of New York and James Scheibel of St. Paul.

Last year, residents of Cedar Rapids contributed more than \$29 million in tax dollars for nuclear weapons. Des Moines spent \$49 million. Dubuque spent \$16 million and Sioux City spent \$18 million.

Small towns also pay a price: Greenfield coughed up more than \$430,000 in taxes for nuclear-weapons programs; Washington spent more than \$1 million and Baxter put up \$212,440.

These figures are even more alarming when compared to what the state and city governments spend on non-military programs.

Des Moines spent 132 times more on nuclear weapons last year than it did on improvements to the library system; 41 times more on nuclear weapons than on parks; 25 times more on nuclear weapons than on local sewers.

Similar comparisons can be made for state spending.

Iowans spent 16 times more on nuclear weapons last year than on either the Department of Natural Resources or on social services. Iowans spent 2,000 times more for nuclear weapons than they did for the state college aid fund; 236 times more on weapons than on libraries; 108 times more on nuclear arms than on the Iowa job-service program budget.

And if safety is the key concern, money now spent by Iowa for nuclear weapons could finance the Department of Public Safety 21 times over.

Of course, decisions about the military budget are made in Washington, not at the state or local level.

But the groundswell in favor of local resolutions to ban nuclear testing shows that Iowa communities realize that an uncontrolled nuclear-arms race endangers both their security and their pocketbooks.

THE MX

On the Road Again

Few weapons systems in modern times raised the ire of as many local politicians as the MX missile. When President Carter announced his plan to bore the fragile desert of the southwest United States with catacombs of railway tunnels to hide the missiles in an elaborate "shell game," municipal and state officials were outraged. Now, nearly a decade later, the MX is back. In the following article, Ann Krumboltz, National Field Director for the Union of Concerned Scientists in Washington, D.C., describes its latest incarnation and urges local officials to rise up against it, once again.

If you thought the MX missile issue had been settled, guess again. In 1985, Congress limited to 50 the number of MX missiles to be deployed in silos. But last year the Pentagon received \$350 million to pursue a new basing mode, the "MX rail-garrison," and this year the Administration has requested \$800 million more.

The Administration's rail-garrison plan calls for a system consisting of 25 trains, each carrying two MX missiles and twenty warheads, stationed at seven Strategic Air Command bases. In a crisis, the Administration says, the trains would roll around the country, from base to base, on the national rail system.

In the late 1970s, the Carter Administration proposed deploying the MX in Utah and Nevada, but local opponents — including such disparate groups as the Mormon Church, cattle ranchers, and environmentalists — forced the Pentagon to back down.

The current scheme is even more ambitious. While the MX trains would be stationed at just seven sites, the Administration says they would be capable of traveling throughout the country. Among the states through which the rail-garrison would ride are Wyoming, Missouri, North Dakota, Arkansas, Washington, Louisiana, Michigan, Texas, Montana and possibly California. Interestingly, Utah and Nevada didn't make the list.

Here are some of the main problems with the commuter missiles:

■ The rail-garrison proposal flies in the face of the U.S. negotiating position at the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) talks, where the U.S. has pushed for a ban on all mobile land-based missiles, as well as a 50% cut in long-range nuclear arsenals.

■ Some suspect that the rail-garrison is a Trojan horse the Administration will use to pressure Congress to repeal the 50-missile cap.

■ The rail-garrison basing mode is extremely destabilizing. To the Soviets, our deployment of missile-carrying

trains suggests that we are preparing to launch a nuclear first-strike.

■ The system would be ineffective. Even proponents acknowledge it would require up to six hours to disperse the trains from their garrisons. An intercontinental Soviet nuclear missile takes only thirty minutes to reach American soil. The trains could be hit before they left the station.

■ Deployment of additional MX missiles is a waste of taxpayers' money since the U.S. already possesses a sufficient nuclear deterrence.

■ There is no way to protect the 180,000 miles of track along which MX-bearing trains will run. The trains also would be vulnerable to sabotage or terrorist threats.

■ The rail-garrison would be susceptible to accidents.

Local elected officials and other citizens can fight the rail-garrison in two ways. First, the Air Force will hold local "scoping hearings" in the proposed basing states. Air Force officials must then prepare an Environmental Impact Statement for each area. Since federal regulations, for better or worse, limit final consideration of the proposal to issues raised during these hearings, it is critical to raise as many issues as possible right now. Any citizen can testify; no one needs to be an expert. Go to the hearings. Testify. And urge your local elected official to speak out on the issue, as well.

Second, urge your members of Congress to cut MX rail-garrison funding — the vote should come up in April or May. You can do this by meeting with your Representatives or Senators over congressional recesses, writing letters-to-the-editor or op-eds, or getting your city council to pass anti-MX resolutions.

Our continued efforts will pay off. As Margaret Mead once said, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."

CONTACT: Ann Krumboltz, Union of Concerned Scientists, 1616 P St., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036 (202-332-0900).

SANTA BARBARA MAYOR INFORMS REAGAN OF STAR WARS OPPOSITION

Last November, voters in Santa Barbara, California, approved a measure calling upon Mayor Sheila Lodge to write a letter to the President and all members of the House and Senate, urging Reagan to abandon his space-based Strategic Defense Initiative program, while negotiating deep reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the superpowers. Here's what Mayor Lodge wrote:

Dear Mr. President:

The enclosed Resolution for Security through Nuclear Arms Reductions was passed by a 56.6% majority of those voting in the City of Santa Barbara's elections on November 3, 1987. The Resolution calls for me, as Mayor, to send this written communication to you and to each member of Congress.

The passage of this Resolution by the voters of the City of Santa Barbara, recognized by many as your neighbor community, indicates there is grassroots support for pursuing reductions in the size of our nuclear arsenals. The INF agreement, which may be signed at the December 7 summit, is an important first step on the road to eliminating nuclear weapons. However, this agreement is only a small first step. Our nation should vigorously pursue with the Soviet Union an agreement that will bring about deep reductions in strategic and other nuclear weapons on both sides.

The Resolution passed by our City's voters also states that, as a necessary step toward reductions, both countries should continue to abide by the ABM Treaty's prohibition of the testing and deployment in space of missile defense systems. There seems to be no prospect for a defense against nuclear weapons for many decades at least - and probably never. Star Wars will not provide the security we seek; arms reductions, and the agreements and understandings that will accompany them, will.

The tremendous expense of the Star Wars (SDI) program, while Federal programs benefiting cities are cut, makes this very much a local issue for a City like Santa Barbara. The year Congress eliminated Revenue Sharing, cutting \$3.5 billion, Star Wars was funded at \$3.6 billion. Many see this as a transfer of funds that we can ill afford. The loss to the City of Santa Barbara amounts to \$1,200,000 per year, money that had been going to fund senior nutrition programs, teen drug abuse reduction programs, correction of long-standing flood problems, housing rehabilitation for low income families, essential fire fighting equipment and a very long list of many other vital needs and services.

Rather than increasing our security, Star Wars is making us less secure in our daily lives. The citizens of Santa Barbara call upon you to act upon the recommendations made in our Resolution and to begin ensuring our security through nuclear arms reductions.

Sincerely,
Sheila Lodge
Mayor

39 MAYORS SIGN

ANTI-CONTRA INITIATIVE

At the January meeting of the U.S. Conference of Mayors in Washington, D.C., thirty-nine U.S. mayors said "no" to the contras. In a declaration called the Mayors' Initiative for Peace in Central America, the local leaders endorsed the peace process begun by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias and four other Central American Presidents in Esquipulos last August.

The two paragraph statement (reprinted on page 29) called upon the United States to withhold both overt and covert support to the contras. It was made public two weeks before the February 3 vote in the House of Representatives that rejected President Reagan's request for new military funding for the contras.

Loni Hancock, Mayor of Berkeley, California, said, "As mayors, we will go on record, insisting that the support of our communities for the Arias Peace Plan be recognized. The conflicts in Central America have had a direct effect on our cities. Money is drained from urgent human needs at home as millions of dollars are poured into the pursuit of a military solution."

Mayor Lionel Wilson of Oakland, California, said, "According to all polls, our citizens strongly support the peace plan and are overwhelmingly opposed to further funding of the contras."

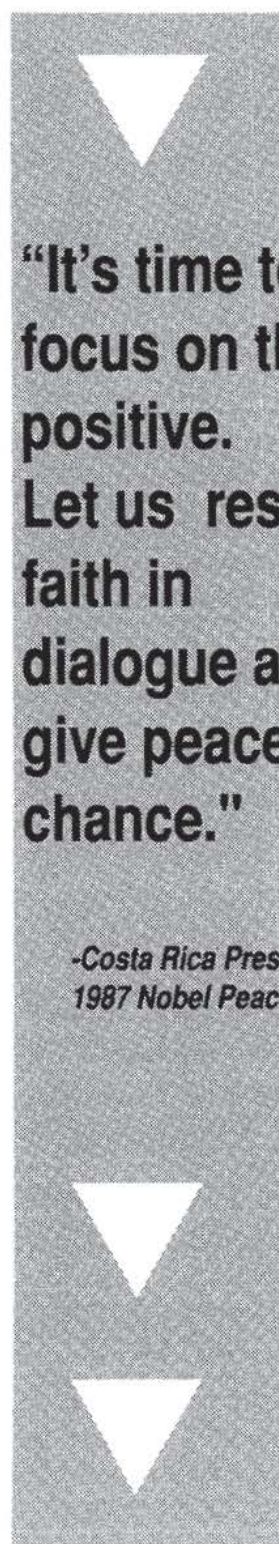
At a press conference at the U.S. Conference of Mayors meeting, Mayor Don Fraser of Minneapolis, Minnesota, added that, as a former member of Congress, he now realizes that there is no one closer to the American people than the mayors who represent them.

Not insulated by the Beltway mentality surrounding the U.S. Capitol, these mayors are motivated by the sentiments of the people they serve, according to Fraser. He also emphasized that, as mayors, he and his fellow city leaders are committed to the rule of law, and as such, it was difficult not to stand up and oppose America's activities in Central America which have violated so many international and national laws.

The initiative prompted Mayor Raul Martinez of Hialeah, Florida, to call his own hallway press conference at the U.S. Conference of Mayors meeting, during which he expressed opposition to the document signed by the thirty-nine mayors, and asserted that city leaders should not involve themselves in international matters.

The initiative was a joint effort of Berkeley Mayor Hancock, the Berkeley-Leon Sister City Project, the Nicaragua Information Center, and Neighbor to Neighbor.

SOURCE: Mayor Loni Hancock, 2180 Milvia Street, Berkeley, CA 94704 (415-644-6484); Nicaragua Information Center, 2103 Woolsey St., Berkeley, CA 94705 (415-549-1397); Pearl Stewart, "3 East Bay Mayors Call for End to Contra Aid," San Francisco Chronicle, 3 December 1987, p. A22; "40 U.S. Mayors Urge Congress to End American Aid to Contras," Los Angeles Times, 22 January 1988, p. 1:27.



"It's time to focus on the positive. Let us restore faith in dialogue and give peace a chance."

**-Costa Rica President Arias
1987 Nobel Peace Prize Winner**

The Mayors' Initiative for Peace in Central America

We, America's mayors, as local elected officials, express our full support of the Central American Peace Plan which was signed by the Presidents of the five Central American Republics on August 7, 1987 in Esquipulos, Guatemala. We call for an end to U.S. support, both overt and covert, to the contras. We urge our federal representatives to lend their full support to the peace process, and encourage all countries in Central America to implement its provisions fully and unconditionally in order to achieve a real and lasting peace.

We support this peace plan because it is a unique and unprecedented opportunity to put an end to the armed conflicts which have cost over 200,000 lives in the past decade. The United States has spent one billion dollars in direct and indirect contra support since 1981 at a time when federal support for American cities has declined precipitously, causing untold human suffering in our own cities. As elected local officials, we urge our federal government to actively support the Central America Peace Plan in the interests of the people of the Central American region and the people of our fair cities.

Albany, CA	Robert Cheasty	Modesto, CA	Peggy Mensinger
Atlanta, GA	Andrew Young	New Haven, CT	Biagio Dilieto
Berkeley, CA	Loni Hancock	New Orleans, LA	Sidney Barthelemy
Birmingham, AL	Richard Arrington	Newark, NJ	Sharpe James
Boston, MA	Raymond Flynn	Norwich, CT	Bonnie Hong
Boulder, CO	Linda Jourgensen	Oakland, CA	Lionel Wilson
Burlington, VT	Bernard Sanders	Portland, OR	Bud Clark
Chicago, IL	Eugene Sawyer	Richmond, CA	George Livingston
De Kalb, IL	Greg Sparrow	Sacramento, CA	Anne Rudin
Detroit, MI	Coleman Young	San Antonio, TX	Henry Cisneros
Elkhart, IN	James Perron	San Francisco, CA	Art Agnos
Fargo, ND	Jon Lindgren	Santa Clara, CA	Everett Souza
Fremont, CA	Gus Morrison	Santa Fe, NM	Sam Pich
Gary, IN	Thomas Barnes	Santa Monica, CA	James Conn
Irvine, CA	Larry Agran	Saint Paul, MN	George Latimer
Los Angeles, CA	Tom Bradley	Stockton, CA	Barbara Fass
Louisville, KY	Jerry Abramson	Tucson, AZ	Tom Volgy
Madison, WI	Joseph Sensenbrenner	Washington, D.C.	Marion Barry
Minneapolis, MN	Donald Fraser	Yellow Springs, OH	Jean Hudson
		Youngstown, OH	Patrick Ungaro

NATIONAL GUARDSMEN IN CENTRAL AMERICA UPSET STATES

In the most rural sections of north-central Honduras, American National Guardsmen are now building roads through rugged hillsides. Since last November, they have arrived in droves to work on these projects full-force until June.

The troops presently in Honduras are coming primarily from the East Coast — New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, Maryland, West Virginia and Washington, D.C. But according to Pentagon plans, guardsmen from other states will eventually be rotated in to help with this and other Central American projects.

For state leaders who question whether Americans should be in Honduras at all, the shipment of troops southward has been particularly disturbing. As we most recently reported in the Summer/Autumn 1987 issue of the *Bulletin*, Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich filed a lawsuit contending that governors had the power to prohibit their National Guard units from going to Central America. He was joined in that suit by ten other states, but a federal district judge ruled against them, contending that "Congress may exercise plenary authority over the training of the National Guard while the Guard is on active Federal Duty."

Governor Perpich is appealing the decision, and the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals was scheduled to hear oral arguments in February and hand down its ruling this spring. Six states were expected to support Minnesota's position in the appeal, and at press time, three had already done so — Massachusetts, Ohio and Iowa. (Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, in fact, has made his opposition to U.S. Central American policy one of the centerpieces of his presidential campaign).

Although Governor Perpich has not yet decided whether to take the case to the U.S. Supreme Court if the

appeals court rules against him, "he feels very strongly about the case and about this issue," says Jack Tuneheim, chief deputy attorney general in Minnesota.

Meanwhile, the troop shipments to Honduras and the roadwork continue. Ostensibly, the roads are being built so farmers in the isolated Yoro Valley can bring their crops to market. But critics throughout Central America, especially Sandinista officials in Nicaragua, claim that the roads are being constructed to assist a future American invasion.

Since 1984, over 35,000 part-time U.S. soldiers from 35 states have constructed 15 Honduran bridges and nearly 100 miles of new roads. The Pentagon insists that the road currently being built is more than 100 miles away from the nearest contra camp in Honduras.

But Peggy Moore of the St. Louis Pledge of Resistance points out that the American troops being sent are not only engineering units but also MPs, "civic action" units and public rela-

tions teams, part of whose job is to convince local residents that the Americans are there for the good of the Honduran people.

The road now under construction, adds Moore, may indeed help some farmers, but it's also being built to military specifications — that is, it will be wide enough and strong enough to accommodate tanks and trucks carrying heavy equipment.

One skeptic who has not backed down from his opposition is Ohio Governor Richard Celeste. The Ohio National Guard is scheduled to be sent to Central America in late 1988 or early 1989, and while Governor Celeste says he won't violate the law, he's keeping a close eye on the appeal process of the Minnesota case. The Pentagon has threatened to withhold federal funds from the Ohio guard if Governor Celeste refuses to cooperate.

SOURCES: Peggy Moore, Personal Communication, St. Louis Pledge of Resistance (314-727-4466); Jack Tuneheim, Personal Communication, Minnesota Attorney General's Office (612-296-6196); Bernard E. Trainor, "U.S. Guardsmen Build Road in Northern Honduras," New York Times, 20 December 1987, p. 6.

DAVIS HONORS NICARAGUAN VOLUNTEER WITH PEACE AWARD

The Peace and Justice Commission of the city of Davis, California, presented one of its first annual peace awards in January to a local nurse working in Nicaragua.

Anne Souter, a registered nurse with the University of California School of Medicine in Davis, has been serving the health needs of more than 400 Nicaraguan farmers in the region of Matagalpa. She has also been teaching medical self-help to residents there, including first aid and nutrition.

In a proclamation signed by Mayor David Rosenberg, Souter was ac-

knowledged for "constantly risking her life in Nicaragua while she offers medical help to people wounded by terrorists." The mayor said she had demonstrated "her love and respect for her own country by helping those who lack peace and justice at home and abroad."

The other recipient of the award was the staff of the Cal Aggie Christian Association House, which has been promoting peace and justice issues in the community for many years.

SOURCE: John Meyer, Assistant to the City Manager, City Hall, 23 Russell Blvd., Davis, CA 95616 (916-756-3745).

FREEPORT VOTERS CALL FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS

When John Nelson's fellow city councillors in Freeport, Maine refused to support his resolution urging a negotiated settlement to the conflict in Central America, he decided to take the issue directly to the people. Last November, the voters approved Nelson's referendum, 1,417 to 955.

"We the People of Freeport," read the measure, "resolve that we support a peaceful negotiated settlement of conflict in Central America. We also are against the support of the contra fighters with United States money, material or armed forces."

When Nelson and another councillor, Daughndella Curtis, initially approached the other Freeport councillors last year to pass the resolution, most dismissed it as an international matter inappropriate for local action. That's when Nelson drafted the referendum and, with the help of Curtis and three local citizens, led the drive to collect signatures to put the question on the ballot.

During the petition-signing process, public forums were held throughout Freeport to educate citizens on the Central American conflict. After enough signatures were gathered to qualify the referendum for the ballot, a televised public hearing was held, which reached TV viewers not only in Freeport, but also in surrounding communities.

Copies of the referendum and the election results have been sent to Maine's congressional delegation.

SOURCE: John Nelson, Freeport City Councilor, Municipal Building, Freeport ME 04032 (207-865-4743).

WESTERN EUROPE'S LINKS WITH NICARAGUA TRIPLE TO 187

In the Summer/Autumn issue of the *Bulletin* we reported that 66 cities in Western Europe had established links with towns in Nicaragua. Since then, this number has tripled to 187. Below we reprint the complete list, which was compiled by the Nicaragua Committee-Amsterdam in preparation for a conference on European-Nicaraguan links, scheduled for May 26-28 this year in the Netherlands. (For further information, contact: Nieuwe Herengracht 29, 1011 RL Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Telephone 020-681962.)

The 187 links are broken down as follows: 8 in Austria (Aus); 7 in Belgium (Bel); 2 in Denmark (Den); 1 in Finland (Fin); 16 in France (Fr); 16 in Italy (It); 1 in Liechtenstein; 1 in Luxembourg; 16 in the Netherlands (Neth); 1 in Norway (Nor); 28 in Spain (Sp); 19 in Sweden (Sw); 7 in Switzerland (Switz); 18 in the United Kingdom (UK); and 46 in West Germany (WG)

Achuapa	- Bern (Switz) - Cremona Varese (It)	Jinotega	- Cornella (Sp) - San Michel sur rbe (Fr) - Solingen (WG) - Zoetermeer (Neth)	Puerto Morazan	- Bristol (UK) - Motala (Sw) - Oberhausen (WG)
Acoyapa	- Munster (WG)	Juigalpa	- Comunidad Autonoma de Santa Lucie (Sp) - Den Haag (Neth) - Gandia (Sp) - Koping (Sw) - Nottingham (UK)	Rama	- Aachen (WG) - Maastricht (Neth) - Nieuwpoort (Bel)
Biel	- San Marcos (Switz)	La Concha	- Leeds (UK)	Regio III (Rio San Juan) — Regione Emilia Romagna (It)	
Bluefields	- Fidenza (It) - Lambeth-London (UK) - Orebru (Sp)	La Libertad	- Kiruna (Sw)	Regio IV	- Hessen (WG)
Boaco	- Bochum (WG) - Perugia (It)	La Paz Centro	- Gottingen (WG) - Grottaglie (It)	Rio Blanco	- Montauban (Fr)
Canwapa	- Ciudad Rodriguez (Sp)	Laguna de Perlas	- Gentilly (Fr) - Maidstone (UK)	Rivas	- Haarlem (Neth) - Lille (Fr) - Offenbach (WG)
Chichigalpa	- Hanover (WG) - Wels (Aus)	Leon	- Aarhus (Den) - Barcelona (Sp) - Cruliasco (It) - Lund (Sw) - Luxemburg - Neuville les Dieppe (Fr) - Oxford (UK) - Salzburg (Aus) - Utrecht (Neth)	St. Pierre de Corps	- Chamberry (Fr)
Chinandega	- Coventry (UK) - Eindhoven (Neth) - Leverkusen (WG) - Motala (Sw) - North East Derbyshire (UK)	Managua	- Amsterdam (Neth) - Hospitalet (Sp) - Madrid (Sp) - Stockholm (Sw) - Zurich (Switz)	San Carlos	- Badalona (Sp) - Bologna (It) - Groningen (Neth) - Linz (Aus) - Nurnberg (WG) - Region Emilia Romagna (It) - Witten (WG)
Chontales	- Cordoba (Sp) - Cortona (It)	Masaya	- Aiken (Bel) - Brugge (Bel) - Dietzenbach (WG) - Leicester (UK) - Nijmegen (Neth) - Scandicci (It) - Wiesbaden (WG)	San Dionisio	- Amstetten (Aus)
Ciudad Dario	- Lutterbach (Fr)	Matagalpa	- Borlange (Sw) - Chichy (Fr) - Kalmar (Neth) - Karlsruhe (WG) - Lewisham (UK) - Oulu (Fin) - Sabadell (Sp) - Tilburg (Neth) - Wuppertal (WG)	San Isidoro	- Dortmund (WG)
Ciudad Sandino	- Darmstadt (WG) - Dusseldorf (WG)	Matiguas	- Saarlouis (WG)	San Jose de Bocay	- Abanto y Zerbana (Sp)
Colon	- Talant (Fr)	Nandaime	- Barsinghausen (WG) - Diemen (Neth)	San Jose de Cusmapa	- Cacabeliz (Sp)
Condega	- Augsburg (WG) - Condega (Aus) - Hildesheim (WG) - Oostburg (Neth) - Vennisseux (Fr)	Nandasmio	- Willebroek (Bel)	San Juan del Rio Coco	- Abadino (Sp)
Corinto	- Aalborg (Den) - Arlberg (Aus) - Bremen (WG) - Gottenburg (Sw) - Koln (WG) - Le Havre (Fr) - Liverpool (UK) - Puerto Genova (It) - Rotterdam (Neth)	Nueva Guinea	- Hermani (Sp) - Pitea (Sw)	San Juan del Sur	- Berlin-Kreuzberg (WG) - Braunschweig (WG) - Giessen (WG) - Goslar (WG)
Corn Island	- Brighton (UK)	Nueva Segovia	- Ciudad Segovia (Sp)	San Marcos	- Biel (Switz)
Diriamba	- Gavle (Sw) - Langen Selbood (WG) - Mainz (WG) - Saarbrucken (WG) - Villeneuve le Roi (Fr)	Ocotul	- Alingsas (Sw) - Mubi (Sp) - Santa Fe (Sp) - Wiesbaden (WG) - Harne (WG)	San Miguelito	- Walltrop (WG) - Yverdon (Switz)
Diriomo	- Solothurn (Switz)	Omteppe	- Harme (WG)	Santa Lucia	- Bochum (WG)
El Limon Mine	- Ansoain (Sp) - Vaynor (UK)	Palacaguina	- Arbuscles (Sp)	Santa Maria	- Ljunby (Sw)
El Sauce	- Offida (It)	Playas de Payacalf	- Mostoles (Sp)	Santa Rose del Penon	- Nacka (Sw)
El Viejo	- Norwich (UK)	Pontasma	- Velbert (WG)	Santa Thomas	- Mol (Bel)
Esteli	- Aughari (It) - Bielefeld (WG) - Collegno (It) - Delft (Neth) - Essen (WG) - Evry (Fr) - Graz (Aus) - Malmo (Sw) - San Feliu de Llobregat (Sp) - Sheffield (UK) - Stavanger (Nor) - Valencia (Sp) - Vasteras (Sw)	Puerto Cabezas	- Basel (Switz) - Frechen (WG) - Lulea (Sw) - Manchester (UK) - San P'etrez de Rivas (Sp) - Urmea y Lulea (Sw)	Sebaco	- Harlow (UK) - Vaux en Velin (Fr)
Granada	- Badajoz (Sp) - Breda (Neth) - Dos Hermanos (Sp) - Torroella de Mongri (Sp)	Regio III (Rio San Juan)		Solentiname	- Mollis (It)
Jalapa	- Champigny (Fr) - Dison (Bel) - Sa. Coloma de Gramenet (Sp)	Regio IV		Somotillo	- Frechen (WG) - Kaulinge (Sw)

U.S. - Nicaraguan Sister City Briefs

ARCATA (CA) - CAMOAPA

In an active school-to-school project, Arcata children are now sending friendship letters to the children of Camoapa. These children, joined by other Arcata citizens, also participated in a "Stuff-the-Bus" campaign, in which school supplies, sewing machines, medical supplies, vitamins, auto parts, and tools were put into a bus and driven south to Camoapa.

The medical committee of the sister city project raised funds to build a birthing center as part of an existing medical clinic in Camoapa, and a group of Arcata residents traveled to Camoapa earlier this year to begin constructing the facility.

At least three Arcata dentists were expected to travel to Camoapa in March for a ten-day working trip, in which they planned not only to perform extractions and other dental work, but also to leave behind a functional dental unit.

CONTACT: Arcata/Camoapa Sister City Project, P.O. Box 1042, Arcata, CA 95521 (707-822-7130).

BOULDER (CO) - JALAPA

Two Jalapans were expected to spend three weeks in Boulder in March. One was the director of a preschool in Jalapa, which was constructed thanks to financial contributions by Boulder residents. The other was a tailor from the sewing cooperative in Jalapa supported by the Coloradans.

Boulder volunteers are presently raising money and collecting supplies for a new infant-nutrition program for Jalapa. Beginning this summer, the project will provide powdered milk, vitamins and other related material assistance to Nicaraguan children. The project includes an effort to help Jalapans learn more about child nutrition.

CONTACT: Sara Lee, Friendship City Projects, P.O. Box 7452, Boulder, CO 80306 (301-442-0460).

BROOKLYN (NY) - SAN JUAN DEL RIO COCO

The first official delegation from San Juan del Rio Coco was scheduled to visit Brooklyn this past winter. The delegation included San Juan's Mayor Gabriel Marti-

Below we present recent highlights of some of the U.S.-Nicaraguan sister city (and state) relationships. Further information about the programs is available from the listed contacts.

nez, Reynaldo Laguna (head of the area's agricultural workers union), and Modesta Herrera (an organizer with the agrarian reform ministry). Various cultural and educational events were scheduled during their visit.

The Brooklyn Sister City Project has also launched a campaign to encourage local organizations to declare themselves "at peace with Nicaragua." Each group that makes such a declaration — including churches, synagogues, schools, community agencies and political organizations — receives a poster reading, "Brooklyn — A Community at Peace with Nicaragua." The program is aimed at increasing grassroots opposition in Brooklyn to U.S. aid to the contras. Those organizations that have joined include the Park Slope Methodist Church, the Brooklyn chapter of New Jewish Agenda, and the staff of the Puerto Rican Women Studies Program at Brooklyn College.

In an effort to share their daily lives, women in Brooklyn and San Juan are now exchanging scrapbooks.

CONTACT: Brooklyn Sister City Project, P.O. Box 356A, Times Plaza Station, Brooklyn, NY 11217 (718-768-0953).

MADISON (WI) - MANAGUA

Religious leaders in Madison will be traveling to Managua in June to create sister parishes as part of their sister-city relationship. They are currently identifying parishes in Madison that might be interested in the program.

Mayor Joseph Sensenbrenner is working with the sister-city committee to bring the Nicaragua National Art Exhibit to Madison in 1989. Local residents also hope to display an accompanying exhibit of primitive painting from Nicaragua. A Nicaraguan photographic exhibit — portraying a "Day in the Life of Managua" — may also be shown at the same time.

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

MINNESOTA - LEON

Minnesota residents have established the Alfredo Centeno Portocarrero Youth Exchange Scholarship Memorial Fund — a program in memory of an 18-year-old

government soldier who was killed in a contra ambush on January 8, 1988. He had lived in the same Leon housing cooperative where volunteers from Minnesota have stayed. Money in the Fund will help finance trips to Nicaragua by Minnesota youngsters who otherwise could not afford the journey.

In March of this year, 17 Minnesota students (ninth through twelfth graders) were expected to travel to Leon for two weeks. While in Nicaragua, they were planning to live with families and perform volunteer work in schools and day-care centers.

A library project has been initiated, in which Minnesota residents are supplying books — primarily children's volumes — to a Leon library in need of revitalization. Also, to help deal with hunger problems in rural areas of Leon, Minnesotans have launched a "school gardens" program providing seeds to Nicaraguan children.

Finally, Minnesotans are raising funds to build a pharmacy at the El Jicaral Rural Health Center, with construction expected to begin this spring.

CONTACT: Nancy Trechsel, Project Minnesota/Leon, 7455 S. Lake Sarah Dr., Rockford, MN 55373 (612-477-6366).

NEW HAVEN (CT) - LEON

In March, about a dozen New Haven college students were expected to spend two weeks in Leon painting a health clinic. In April, a group of Connecticut educators were planning to conduct workshops in Leon at a high school which they previously helped supply with lab benches and glassware.

Also this spring, a social worker from the Women's Legal Office in Leon will travel to New Haven to learn about family abuse and battering issues.

New Haven volunteers are now planning to design, build and equip a new day care center for Leon. There are three existing day-care centers in the area, but an additional facility is badly needed.

CONTACT: Alan Wright/Paula Kline, New Haven-Leon Sister City, 965 Quinpiac Ave., New Haven, CT 06513 (203-467-9182).

PROVIDENCE (RI) - NIQUINOHOMO

This summer, about 50 volunteers from Providence will travel to Nicaragua to help build a two-room schoolhouse in a rural district of Niquinohomo. Currently, schoolchildren in this area are attending classes on the porch of the only community building in the town. As part of the project, the Rhode Island volunteers will also lay a waterline, providing running water to the area for the first time.

A clinic in Niquinohomo built with the help of Providence residents is now fully functioning, with a heavy emphasis on pre- and post-natal care. Dr. Peter Smith, a

Brown University physician, is working to establish a program where interns at Brown will spend time at the Niquinohomo clinic treating patients. Doctors are in very short supply in the region.

A volunteer from Providence is expected to be living in Niquinohomo beginning later this year to coordinate the projects of the sister city program.

(See the related article by Senator Claiborne Pell on page 34, describing his recent visit to Niquinohomo.)

CONTACT: Martha Bebinger, Providence-Niquinohomo Sister City Project, 69 Lenox Ave., Providence, RI 02907 (401-861-5427).

SEATTLE (WA) - MANAGUA

A delegation of 16 to 20 Washingtonians were expected to spend a week in Managua in March. The group was composed of community leaders, professionals, and church and labor representatives. They were the 19th delegation from the state to have traveled to Nicaragua since 1983.

Seattle volunteers are presently raising funds for several humanitarian-aid projects in Managua, including the provision of medical equipment for a Children's Hospital.

CONTACT: Seattle-Managua Sister City Association, P.O. Box 24883, Seattle, WA 98124 (206-329-2974).

WISCONSIN - NICARAGUA

The Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua (WCCN) has formally adopted the "Ambulances for Nicaragua" project. The project, initiated by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, provides ambulances and spare parts. WCCN has also raised funds to assist Quest for Peace's drive to match the U.S. government's support of the contras with an equal amount of humanitarian assistance for the Nicaraguan people.

WCCN's Nicaragua Health Interest Group is sponsoring a trip to Nicaragua in November by a team of Wisconsin physicians, nurses and nutritionists to provide needed health services. The program also hopes to supply textbooks and journals for the Medical School at National University in Nicaragua.

Liz Chilsen and Sheldon Rampton of WCCN have written a book — *Friends in Deed...The Story of the U.S. - Nicaraguan Sister Cities*, which will be available in early summer. It includes guidelines on establishing a sister city program, as well as a history on the successes and problems of sister relationships between the United States and Nicaragua.

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

SENATOR PELL PRAISES NICARAGUAN SISTER CITY PROGRAM

Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, wrote the following article after visiting the Nicaraguan town of Niquinohomo, a sister city to Providence, Rhode Island. It originally appeared in the January 28, 1988 issue of the Providence Journal Bulletin.

Thanksgiving Day, 1987, will be one that I will always remember for both its uniqueness and its special meaning. With the temperature in the high 80s, the countryside dotted with grazing cattle and ox drawn carts, and roadside signs in Spanish, I knew that this Thanksgiving Day was certain to be different. This was the setting as my vehicle traveled on the main road southeast from Managua, past the volcano and the outskirts of Masaya, and then on to the smaller roads leading to the town of Niquinohomo.

I was in Nicaragua as part of a trip to Central America during the Thanksgiving recess which would also include Costa Rica and Belize. My trip focused on the Central American peace process and meetings were held with government officials including President Arias of Costa Rica and President Ortega of Nicaragua as well as with prominent members of the Nicaraguan opposition, including Cardinal Obando y Bravo.

Although my schedule was tight and busy because of the relatively brief stay, I wanted to be sure to visit Niquinohomo, where Rhode Islanders have been working on various projects under the aegis of the Providence-Niquinohomo sister city program. I was familiar with the program through communication with various participants, so I was anxious to meet with the people of Niquinohomo and to see the results of the work of the Rhode Islanders. Bill Shuey of the

International Institute of Rhode Island helped to coordinate the visit to Niquinohomo and accompanied me. What awaited me there was a true Thanksgiving experience.

My party arrived in Niquinohomo at mid-morning directly from a visit to the Silvia Ferrufino community health center, located in a poor barrio of Managua; the Brown University Medical School is among those providing assistance to the center. The mayor of the town of about 12,000 inhabitants, Carlos Romero, and other town leaders were waiting on the steps of the birthplace of Augusto Sandino, after whom the Sandinista movement is named. Mayor Romero extended a warm welcome in the name of the sister city of Providence and noted that it was especially appropriate that the visit was being made on our Thanksgiving Day. He was anxious to show us the fruits of the work of the people from Rhode Island for which the people of Niquinohomo give thanks.

Then I toured the library to get my first glance at the work of the sister city participants. After going through several rooms, library officials began to point out the contributions of the Rhode Islanders. They spoke about their invaluable help in preparing an anthology of poets from Niquinohomo — a project of which they are especially proud. There was also visual evidence of the relationship with Rhode Island in the library. On the wall of one of the rooms was a large

map of Rhode Island; on another wall were several articles from the U.S. press about the Providence-Niquinohomo sister city program. In the children's room were stuffed animals provided by the Rhode Islanders.

Town officials were especially appreciative of the help given to the health center. They are very proud of the center because they are now able to meet the health care needs of the people. According to officials of the health center, in July of 1986, over 40 volunteers from Providence and other communities in Rhode Island helped to expand the facility. More material was sent and this past July, more volunteers worked on the expansion. The center has a permanent doctor, a registered nurse and five assistants and a dentist's office. Thanks to the work of the sister city volunteers, there is now a separate examining room, an immunization room, and a child care facility in the building.

As I toured the center, the doctor and head nurse told how the center has been able to treat acute respiratory illness, dermatological diseases, and digestive illnesses. They are conducting an anti-smoking campaign and expressed concern about marijuana, although they do not seem to have much of a problem with substance abuse.

Farewells were exchanged during a brief meeting at the town hall where citizens spoke about the effect of the contra war on some of the families,

although they are not in an area of conflict and there is no visual evidence of the war. I expressed my hope that peace would soon come to Nicaragua.

Mayor Romero said that he looks forward to the continuation of the sister city program. He specifically mentioned the health center and the development of sports activities to keep the youth of the city physically and emotionally healthy. The people of Niquinohomo are looking forward to the next group to come down from Rhode Island to help in the construction of an elementary school just outside of town.

As I walked down the street toward our vehicle, I thought of how proud I was of the Providence sister city volunteers for making such a significant contribution. □

NICARAGUAN SISTER CITY MEETING SET FOR JUNE

The U.S.-Nicaragua sister city movement will get a major boost this June when Managua plays host to the third annual conference promoting community links between the two nations. At present, there are more than 80 Nicaraguan-American sister programs, and most are expected to send representatives to the international meeting at Managua's Hotel Las Mercedes.

According to Sara Lee, one of the organizers of the event, the conference will emphasize "hands on" workshops and experience sharing. The week-long event (June 19-26) will set

aside time for participants to visit their own sister cities throughout the country. Daniel Ortega will address the conference at the Convention Center in Managua.

Americans interested in starting a new sister city program with a Nicaraguan community are encouraged to attend the meeting. The previous two conferences have been held in Boulder and Seattle.

CONTACT: Sara Lee, Friendship City Projects, P.O. Box 7452, Boulder, CO 80306 (303-442-0460).

EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON CITY-LINKING WITH NICARAGUA

AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS
MAY 26 - 28, 1988

Beginning in the early 1980s more and more city councils and local private organizations in Western Europe have started to cooperate with organizations and projects in the Third World. Development cooperation is no longer an area of activity in which only national governments operate. It is a field in which city councils can become active, too.

Join us for this three day international conference on North-South cooperation and dialogue.

Our program includes:

City-linking as a model in North-South dialogue
Local democracy in Nicaragua
Development education in Western cities
Problems of urban development in Nicaragua
City-linking between the U.S.A. and Nicaragua
The contribution of city-linking to peace and detente in Central America

For more information contact:
Gemeente Amsterdam
t.a.v. Commissie Ontwikkelingssamenwerking
Oudezijds Voorburgwal 197-199
1012 EX Amsterdam
Holland

FEMA'S BATTLE PLANS ENCOUNTER NEW OBSTACLES

Officials at the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) must feel a bit shell-shocked these days. In pursuit of its most prized nuclear-war-related civil defense schemes, the agency has lost one battle after another, with setbacks coming on both the local and national level.

When the *Bulletin* last reported on FEMA's troubles (Summer/Autumn 1987), Oregon Governor Neil Goldschmidt and Washington Governor Booth Gardner were boycotting its proposed emergency management drills for the Pacific Northwest. The state leaders concluded that FEMA's so-called "regional communications exercises," designed to test civil

FEMA may not withhold funds from any state refusing to participate in a simulated nuclear attack exercise.

defense responses to a nuclear attack, were "unrealistic." FEMA responded by threatening to cut off all federal emergency planning funds to the two states, including monies designated for earthquakes, fires, and floods.

Congress was appalled. Thanks largely to Congressmen Les AuCoin (D-OR) and Ron Dellums (D-CA) and Senators William Proxmire (D-WI) and Brock Adams (D-WA), the Defense Authorization Bill for FY 1988 slapped FEMA's hand. The budget not only cut \$20 million from FEMA's original budget request, but it also mandated that the agency's funds "may not be withheld or withdrawn . . . from any state or any other entity on the basis of the failure or refusal of such state or other entity to participate in a simulated nuclear attack exercise."

Gregg Kantor, an aide to Governor Goldschmidt, said that FEMA earlier had agreed to permit Oregon to conduct a revised version of the preparedness exercise,

which would not involve any nuclear weapons, but rather would be a paper exercise based on a scenario of increasing international tensions (in the Persian Gulf, for example). Sometime in 1988, a similar FEMA drill is expected to be repeated in Oregon — this time centering around a natural disaster, not a war or another international crisis.

A similar turn of events occurred in the state of Washington, where the nuclear detonation portion of last year's exercise was also deleted. State Representative Dick Nelson points out that, as originally conceived, the FEMA exercise violated a state law prohibiting Washington from planning for nuclear war evacuation. "The governor was determined to negotiate with FEMA to reach a suitable solution that didn't require the state to break its own law," he said.

SOURCES: Rep. Dick Nelson, House Building, Room 307, Olympia, WA (206-786-7826); Office of Governor Neil Goldschmidt (503-378-3100); Peter Dyke, The Front Line, P.O. Box 1793, Santa Fe, NM 87504.

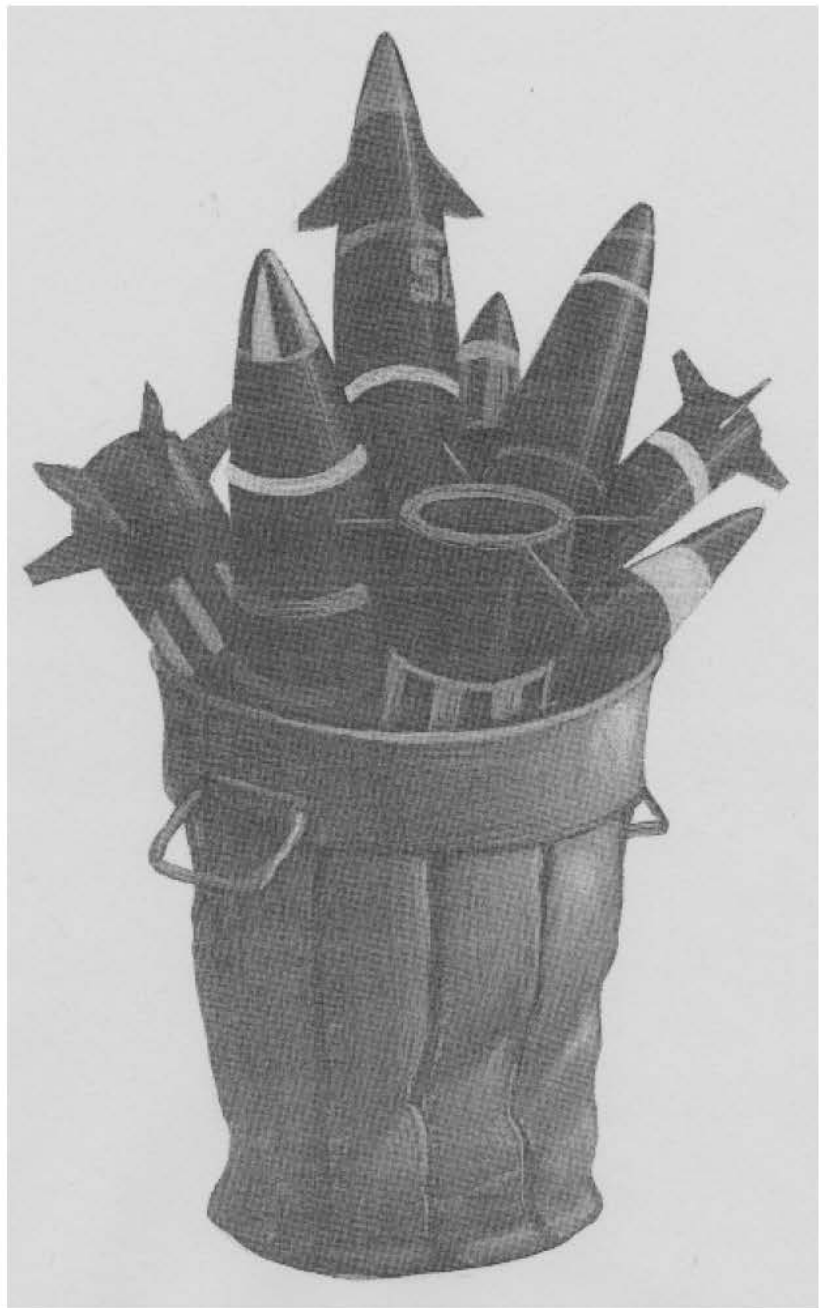
MAYORS SPONSOR STUDY ON IMPACT OF MILITARY CUTS

How would America's cities fare if the military budget were significantly cut? We'll know soon, thanks to a study ordered by the U.S. Conference of Mayors at its January meeting in Washington, D.C.

The study will examine how four cities — Chicago, Illinois; Trenton, New Jersey; Austin, Texas; and Irvine, California — would be affected by a \$30 billion federal cut in military spending and a reinvestment of these monies into local programs like community development block grants, low-income housing, and highway construction. The selected cities are not only in different parts of the country, but they vary considerably in their economic dependence on military contracts.

The study is being conducted for the U.S. Conference by Employment Research Associates in Lansing, Michigan. Its report is expected to be released this June.

SOURCE: U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 I St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (202-293-7330).



CONVERSION BRIEFS

STATE EFFORTS

MASSACHUSETTS — As part of their FY 1988 state budget resolution, Massachusetts' legislators established a Joint Commission on Economic Conversion and appropriated \$100,000 for its first year's operations. The amendment creating the new commission was introduced by state Senator Nicholas Costello (D-Amesbury). At press time, a chair for the commission was being selected.

State Representative David Cohen (D-Newton) has also introduced a bill that would establish a Massachusetts Economic Diversification Corporation. The agency would review applications and provide grants to military-dependent firms for developing and marketing non-military products. Legislators hope that the agency will become self-financing through royalties from these products.

CONTACT: Sen. Nicholas Costello, State Senate, Boston, MA 02133 (617-388-4085); Rep. David Cohen, House of Representatives, State House, Boston, MA 02133 (617-861-1865).

WASHINGTON — A Washington state economic diversification bill has been introduced into the legislature by Rep. Gary Locke (D-Seattle). The bill would allocate \$40,000 to the Northwest Policy Center to study the role of the military in the state's economy, and to investigate how the state would be affected by cuts in military spending.

The same bill also mandates that a plan be developed to diversify the state's industrial base and look at potential new products and markets for military workers and facilities. Hopes are that the bill will be approved sometime this year.

The state Department of Trade and Economic Development has also completed a report investigating the possibility of economic diversification for the Tri-City/Hanford area. The study recommends developing tourism and possible civilian spin-offs from Department of Energy projects.

CONTACT: Sara McCoy, SANE/Freeze lobbyist (206-364-9112); Washington Department of Trade and Economic Development, 101 General Administration Building, Olympia, WA 98504 (206-586-1667).

MUNICIPAL EFFORTS

SEATTLE — Community organizers have written a conversion ordinance for the city and are now identifying supporters on the Seattle City Council who might formally in-

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

roduce the measure. The ordinance calls for the following:

- * An in-depth study of the city's military dependency and possible alternatives for its military facilities and workers.
- * Annual reports on how the region might decrease its dependency on military spending.
- * Voluntary retraining programs for workers and companies directly or indirectly involved in military contract work.
- * Emergency peace and alternative-use plans for companies with 25% or more of military-generated revenues.

CONTACT: Puget Sound SANE, 5516 Roosevelt Way, N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206-527-8050).

**JOBS
WITH
PEACE**

BUILD HOMES NOT BOMBS DAY

SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1988

■ The National Jobs with Peace Campaign is organizing a day of demonstrations on Saturday, June 4, 1988 to dramatize the need to fund affordable housing by reducing the military budget. Local events will be coordinated in communities across the nation.

■ Also on June 4, 1988, at the Pentagon, Jobs with Peace will build a house to raise the connection between military spending, which has doubled in the past 7 years, and the lack of Federal funding for housing, which has been cut by 78% over the same period.

For more information and organizing kits, contact Jobs with Peace, 76 Summer Street, Boston, MA 02110 (617-338-5783).

CRITICS BENDING GWEN TOWERS

Even though GWEN towers have not yet been toppled, they definitely seem to be tilting that way. Grassroots efforts against the nationwide network of towers continue to gain momentum and are forcing the Air Force to dig in for a long struggle if it is ever going to complete the project.

As we reported in previous issues of the *Bulletin* (most recently, Summer/Autumn 1987), these towers are part of the federal government's Ground Wave Emergency Network, a system the military insists is necessary for communication between bomber bases, missile silos and other strategic sites during a nuclear war.

Fifty GWEN towers have already been erected or are currently under construction. Local opposition, however, is making it difficult for the Air Force to complete the 56 towers it needs to attain its "Thin Line," or minimal operational capacity.

The GWEN Project, which is coordinating the campaign against the towers, points to a series of recent setbacks for the Air Force:

■ The number of city councils expressing opposition to GWEN is rising. Nearly a dozen towns named as possible tower sites are making their sentiments known and have told the Air Force to go elsewhere — most recently, Fall River and Westport in Massachusetts. (See accompanying box for a complete list.) The towns have raised objections on environmental grounds, as well as pointing to the futility and immorality of preparing to fight a nuclear war.

■ Last summer, when Little Compton, a small Rhode Island beach town, was chosen as a GWEN site, not only did the Town Council pass a resolution against it, but an active campaign by residents convinced the state legislature to enact its own resolution

against GWEN. When the Air Force brought bulldozers into Little Compton, state Attorney General Michael Rubin convinced a U.S. District Court to grant a preliminary injunction stopping GWEN work throughout Rhode Island on the grounds that the project needed a better Environmental Impact Statement.

■ A lawsuit filed by the Conservation Law Foundation of New England — calling for strict environmental criteria to be applied to the GWEN towers — is awaiting a decision in the U.S. District Court, and could halt construction of new towers in the northeast United States. Because of these legal actions, site selection for future GWEN towers in Rhode Island and southeastern Massachusetts is uncertain.

■ In New Jersey, the Air Force has

bowed to citizen pressure and decided not to locate two towers in the treasured Pinelands region of the state. However, 17 other sites in the state are now being studied as possible GWEN tower locations.

■ Strong lobbying efforts in Congress reduced funding for the GWEN towers for fiscal year 1988 to \$36 million from the \$56 million requested by the military. This was a major setback to the program, especially after the Air Force's funds for the project were cut the previous year. Indeed, sentiment among lawmakers has raised doubts about *any* funding in future years, which would force the Air Force to scale back its original goal of about 250 towers to less than 100.

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

11 CITIES ON RECORD AGAINST GWEN

Since 1985, eleven cities and towns have gone on record opposing construction of the GWEN towers. In addition, the Rhode Island state legislature passed a resolution against the program last June. Below we summarize these municipal actions:

MAINE: Castine (August 1985 by Board of Selectmen; March 1986 by voter referendum), Penobscot (March 1987 by voter referendum), Sherman Mills (March 1986).

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst (January 1985), Barre (October 1985), Fall River (August 1987), New Bedford (November 1986), Plymouth (January 1987), Westport (October 1987).

RHODE ISLAND: Little Compton (July 1987), Tiverton (June 1987).

MISSOURI SCRAPES BOTTOM IN SAN FRANCISCO

Despite years of intense lobbying by Mayor Dianne Feinstein, despite an endorsement by the city's Board of Supervisors, despite the controversial approval by the city's Planning Commission of the Navy's environmental impact report, despite local studies concocted by the Chamber of Commerce showing millions of dollars of economic benefits, the homeporting of the battleship Missouri in San Francisco now appears doomed.

This December, nearly 70 percent of the city's voters elected as their new mayor Art Agnos, an outspoken opponent of the project. The change in political climate started rumors flying that the Navy had decided to move the homeport project to Hawaii. Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) said that "very reliable sources" had informed him that the battleship would be based at Pearl Harbor.

The Navy has denied Inouye's report but nevertheless has announced that it was open to receiving better offers from other West Coast cities such as Long Beach and San Diego. While noting that San Francisco remains the official homeporting site "at this time," Navy Lieutenant Kippy Burns said "prudence dictates our looking at other alternatives."

Even if the Navy continues to pursue a homeport in San Francisco, its fate remains very uncertain. As we reported in the last issue of the *Bulletin*, Congress deleted funding for the project, and will not reconsider funding for the project until next spring.

In a last-ditch effort to save the homeport before Agnos took office, outgoing Mayor Feinstein proposed a temporary berthing for the ship near the Oakland-Bay Bridge. Her hope was to sustain the Missouri until Congress appropriated the funds to complete the permanent berth at Hunter's Point.

Opponents of the homeport were furious. Nancy Walker, President of the Board of Supervisors, said, "I'm offended by this last minute end-run." Then candidate Agnos called the temporary berthing plan "incomprehensible."

On advice from city attorneys, the San Francisco Port Commission backpedaled on Feinstein's proposal, agree-

ing only to study her plan since actual berthing would have required a completed environmental impact report.

Feinstein's proposal was apparently designed to help Supervisor John Molinari's deteriorating campaign for mayor. Molinari had made the Missouri a centerpiece of his campaign, plastering the city with signs reading: "I support the Missouri and its jobs — my opponent does not." (Protest groups altered many of the signs by covering "jobs" with the word "bombs.")

This December, nearly 70 percent of the city's voters elected as their new mayor Art Agnos, an outspoken opponent of the project.

But whatever help Feinstein intended for Molinari backfired. Agnos was elected by the biggest landslide in modern San Francisco history.

Now that he is in office, Agnos continues to underscore his own opposition, though he has not yet announced what specific steps he might take to stop the project.

"As I look at the prospective deficit for this city," said Agnos, "I'm even more convinced that it makes absolutely no financial sense for San Francisco to be putting desperately needed budgetary funds into a homeporting plan that may not last beyond the end of this year when a new administration takes over."

Agnos has said that he will not commit to the earlier memorandum of understanding with the Navy in which San Francisco informally agreed to spend \$5.5 million for dredging the bay and improving transportation services to the homeport.

But the battle is not over yet. Barbara George of the Arms Control Research Center (ARC), a non-profit organization fighting the homeport, worries that even if the Missouri stays out of San Francisco, the ten other ships that were to accompany it might still come anyway. Among these ships would be cruisers and destroyers carrying nuclear cruise-missiles, which would pose many of the same environmental and safety hazards the Missouri itself would have. ARC and other homeport opponents are trying to convince Mayor Agnos that the entire project deserves to be scuttled.

SOURCES: Barbara George, Personal Communication, ARC, 942 Market, Room 709, San Francisco, CA 94102; Carl T. Hall, "S.F. Seems Out as Missouri's Port," San Francisco Chronicle, 20 February 1988, p. A8; Steve Massey, "Navy Exploring Other Ports for the Missouri," San Francisco Chronicle, 12 February 1988, p. A7; Larry Liebert, "Rumor Has USS Missouri Hawaii-Bound," San Francisco Chronicle, 5 February 1988, p. 1; Thomas Keane, "A Plan to Bind S.F. to Battleship," San Francisco Chronicle, 18 November 1987, p. 1; Thomas Keane, "Feinstein Wants Temporary Pier For the Missouri," San Francisco Chronicle, 17 November 1987, p. 1.

DULUTH SPURNS U.S.S. NEWPORT NEWS

It now looks as if the three million men, women and children who are homeless in America these days may have added company . . . in the form of a homeless warship. The U.S.S. Newport News, a World War II-vintage cruiser, is looking to set up shop as a tourist attraction at a friendly waterfront somewhere in the United States. But thus far, the welcome mat for the aging vessel has been pulled out from underneath it at several turns, leaving the warship's boosters with a bit of a sinking feeling.

For a while, it appeared that the U.S.S. Newport News might find a home in Duluth, Minnesota, where a local chapter of the Navy League had hoped that the retired cruiser would be brought to serve as the centerpiece for Patriot Park, a proposed tourist site. The League is a nationwide group dedicated to promoting the interests of the U.S. Navy, and much of its funding comes from weapons manufacturers.

Why Duluth? The Navy League floated the idea of bringing the warship there to boost the spirits and image of the region's defense industry. James Dailey, a spokesperson for Control Data, Inc., says, "There are about 450 defense contractors in this six-state region [surrounding Duluth], employing some 60,000 people. They like to support this sort of thing to enhance their image."

Maybe so. But according to one report, major gifts from corporations such as Control Data, Honeywell and Unisys approached only \$100,000, falling far short of the million dollars or more needed to bring the warship to Duluth and refurbish it for viewing.

Meanwhile, many people in Duluth thought the whole idea of docking the Newport News was all wet. Not only did opposition mount in the City Council, but a citizens' coalition was formed to make sure the warship never sailed to town — a group composed of members of Duluth SANE/Freeze, Women Against Military Madness, Clergy and Laity Concerned, and the Social Concerns Committee of the Unitarian Church. Some opponents were not only put off by the concept of turning a military cruiser into a tourist attraction and romanticizing the misery of war, but they also were not thrilled that the Navy wanted to set up

a recruiting station aboard the ship.

City officials finally took action last December. "We just felt the ship wasn't appropriate for the city of Duluth," says Joyce Benson, a City Councilmember. "We already have a very beautiful iron ore ship, the Irwin, in our harbor" — a ship which attracts tourists and reflects the city's historical reliance on iron ore vessels. While shipbuilding is also part of Duluth's history, much smaller boats were built there.

Some opponents were put off by the concept of turning a military cruiser into a tourist attraction and romanticizing the misery of war...

Some city officials also raised concerns about the large amounts of municipal funds needed to get the ship to Duluth. And then there was anxiety that the U.S.S. Newport News — a massive vessel stretching 716 feet long and 138 feet high — would dwarf everything else on the city's carefully-planned waterfront.

After all of the arguments were heard, the City Council voted not to invite the Newport News to Duluth.

The story is not yet over, though. The Navy League now hopes that the nearby towns of Two Harbors, Minnesota, and Superior, Wisconsin, might be more cordial hosts for the unwanted ship.

The mayors of both cities initially expressed some enthusiasm. "The ship is a good symbol of America's peace-keeping effort," said Mayor Herb Bergson of Superior. "If we can divide a piece of the [tourist money] pie for ourselves at the same time, so much the better."

At press time, however, even the city officials in those communities were getting cold feet. Like Duluth, they've started weighing the huge financial investment they would need to make to get the ship there and renovate it. So instead, there's now talk about the city of Newport News, Virginia, adopting its namesake warship.

Stay tuned for updates on this newest homeless story . . .

SOURCES: Frank Nelson, "Navy Invades Lake Superior," *The Progressive*, January 1988, p. 14; and Joyce Benson, Personal Communication, Duluth City Councilmember (218-723-3711).

CHICAGO MAYOR HONORS SPANISH CIVIL WAR VETERANS

Just days before his death last November, Chicago Mayor Harold Washington signed a proclamation honoring some of the city's oldest defenders of democracy — the members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, who joined with Spanish citizens in the 1930s to fight the fascist regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco. About a dozen Brigade members and their widows gathered to hear the following proclamation read:

Whereas, this year marks the 50th anniversary of the entrance of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as volunteers in the defense of democracy in the Spanish Civil War; and

Whereas, over 200 Chicagoans joined this international movement to stop the spread of fascism; and

Whereas, Oliver Law, a leader of movements for relief of the poor and for political rights for blacks and working people in Chicago in the early '30s, was a commander in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, thus becoming the first black American to lead an integrated military force in the history of the United States; and

Whereas, the long-neglected historical significance of Oliver Law is being recognized in a program on Nov. 21, 1987, sponsored by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the 50th Anniversary Committee, which will honor the continuing legacy of international solidarity represented by Oliver Law and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade;

Now, therefore, I, Harold Washington, mayor of the city of Chicago, do hereby proclaim Nov. 21, 1987, to be Oliver Law and Abraham Lincoln Day in Chicago and urge all citizens to be cognizant of the special events arranged for this time and the importance of this history.

Dated this 18th day of November, 1987.

**Harold Washington
Mayor**

SOURCE: Alexander Cockburn, "Washington's Death," In These Times, 9-15 December 1987, p. 17.

U.N.-BOUND STUDENTS GET LIFT FROM OAKLAND MAYOR

As 20 Oakland, California, elementary schoolchildren now know, music is really an international language. Not long after their songs about homelessness and hunger caught the attention of local officials, they found themselves flying off to New York to perform and accept United Nations honors for their musical crusade.

The students are members of the Cole School Performing Arts Company, and most live in public housing projects in Oakland. They use singing, dancing and drama to communicate social messages to their audiences. Their favorite song, "Shelter for the Homeless," prompted one fifth-grader to proclaim, "I've seen people sleeping under cars, people who don't have money or homes. Maybe by singing this song, we can help them."

Those kinds of sentiments so moved Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson that he pledged \$500 so the students could make the trip to the United Nations. Other elected officials — including state Assemblyman Elihu Harris and Congressman Ronald Dellums — also took a hand in making

the youngsters' journey to the U.N. possible.

And how did this all come about? After the Cole students had performed at a United Nations-sponsored event in the Bay Area, they were invited to participate in the United Nations' Human Rights Day ceremonies last December in New York. As well as performing there, they received a special commendation for "work that supports the principles of the U.N."

In addition to assistance from the elected officials, the students paid for their trip with donations from local citizens and corporations.

SOURCE: Pearl Stewart, "20 Oakland Pupils Going to U.N.," San Francisco Chronicle, 8 December 1987, p. A19.

MIDEAST

SAN FRANCISCO URGES POPE TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL

Before Pope John Paul II visited the U.S. last year, he received an appeal from San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein to establish diplomatic relations with Israel, and encourage Roman Catholics throughout the world to study the lessons of the Holocaust.

Feinstein's letter to John Paul II came not long after his controversial Vatican meeting

with Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, who has been impli-



cated in Nazi war crimes.

The Vatican has consistently declined to recognize Is-

rael, a long-standing sore point between Catholics and Jews. San Francisco was one of nine American cities that the Pope visited during his tour of the U.S. last year, and Feinstein sent copies of her letter to the mayors of the other municipalities that the Pontiff would be visiting.

SOURCE: Bill Gordon, "Feinstein Signs Letter Asking Pope to Recognize Israel," San Francisco Chronicle, 11 August 1987, p. 6.

ALASKA OFFICIALS BATTLE PLUTONIUM FLIGHTS



By the early 1990s Japanese planes would be permitted to carry 300 pounds of plutonium oxide powder through Alaskan air space.

The possibilities are almost too frightening to contemplate. But imagine a plutonium-carrying aircraft flying over Alaska, refueling in mid-air. Suddenly, it is struck by another plane. Debris from the colliding aircraft falls to the ground, including casks containing one of the most toxic materials known on the planet.

Many Alaskans fear this frightening scenario could happen to them if the Reagan Administration goes ahead with its proposed nuclear cooperation agreement with Japan. At the moment, that pact would permit Japanese planes to carry 300 pounds of plutonium oxide powder through Alaskan air space three times per month, with stopovers and mid-air refueling regularly occurring over the 49th state.

Thus far, the Reagan Administration has remained determined to permit the Japanese shipments to begin in the early 1990s. Both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, however, had raised objections, and urged the President to renegotiate the agreement.

In response to that congressional pressure, the Administration has said it would exchange diplomatic letters with Japan, barring these planes from flying over the U.S. air space. That announcement diffused much of the domestic opposition to the agreement, and in late March, the Senate voted 53-30 to support the U.S. - Japanese pact. However, at press time, no changes had been made to ban the flights over Alaska. In addition, the proposed amendment is far from perfect; not only would it permit plutonium-carrying planes to fly over the heavily-fished Bering Sea, but it would allow these planes to land in Alaska in emergency situations.

Local and state officials have readily expressed their outrage over the possibility of the plutonium flights.

Here are some of the highlights:

■ Last December 7, the Fairbanks City Council passed a resolution introduced by Councilmember Mary Hajdukovich "strongly" opposing the proposed 30-year nuclear cooperation agreement. The resolution also called upon the U.S. government to conduct a comprehensive environmental impact study and to perform an actual (rather than a simulated) crash of an airplane and its casks under realistic flight conditions.

■ The Fairbanks North Star Borough Assembly approved a similar resolution on December 17.

■ The Alaska Municipal League, consisting of mayors, city managers and other public officials, passed its own resolution on November 13, opposing the pact.

■ Both houses of the Alaska state legislature unanimously passed a joint resolution opposing the pact, pointing to their concern over the "refueling stopovers" of the planes.

In addition to these actions, Alaska Governor Steve Cowper filed a lawsuit in U.S. District Court last autumn, requesting a court order to stop the flights, arguing that the federal government had not adequately assessed the risk. The suit described studies that "have calculated that the release of 2.8 pounds of plutonium from an aircraft accident could cause as many as 500,000 people to develop lung cancer."

The governor's suit was supported by many local officials. "I strongly commend Governor Cowper for standing up for the people of Anchorage and Alaska," said Anchorage Mayor Tony Knowles. "I totally support his efforts to stop the federal government's decision-making with-

out going through an environmental impact statement."

A federal judge rejected the governor's suit last October, claiming that the Department of Energy had beaten Governor Cowper to the punch, having already approved the proposal and delivered it to the President's desk before the suit was filed. Laury Roberts Scandling, a spokesperson for the governor, angrily noted, "We suspect [the Department of Energy] got wind of the case and went ahead and signed it. Certainly there was a last-minute attempt by the Department of Energy to deprive Alaskans of an opportunity to comment on something that is very, very important."

Although the governor's office is not appealing the court decision, it is presently looking into other legal strategies to deal with the controversy.

Meanwhile, organizations like SANE/Alaska have formed a coalition of opponents to the pact, including the Alaska Health Project, the Bering Sea Fisherman's Association, Sierra Club/Alaska, Physicians for Social Responsibility/Alaska, and Alaska AFL/CIO.

"In a state which suffers from the highest percentage of airplane accidents in the country, the danger of catastrophic contamination and many deaths is very real," says SANE/Alaska executive director Christopher Toal. In a recent article in the organization's newsletter, *Peace Illustrated*, Toal points out that "at present, no plutonium cask large enough for economical bulk air shipments has passed the crash test standards mandated by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission."

SOURCES: Christopher Toal, Personal Communication, SANE/Alaska, 3605 Arctic Blvd., #1717, Anchorage, AK 99503 (907-272-0621); Christopher Toal, "Plutonium Issue Heats Up in Alaska," *Peace Illustrated*, Winter 1988, p. 1; "City Joins State in Plutonium Lawsuit," *Anchorage Daily News*, 2 October 1987, p. B3; Hal Spencer, "Alaska Seeks Halt to Plutonium Plan," *New York Times*, 4 October 1987.

At present, no plutonium cask large enough for economical bulk air shipments has passed the crash test standards mandated by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

The Viability of **NUCLEAR-FREE**

Municipal foreign policies are inevitably controversial, even among their proponents. In keeping with our efforts to surface diverse viewpoints, we present a debate on nuclear-free zones — local ordinances that seek to protect the public health and safety by barring the manufacture or storage of nuclear weapons or nuclear weapons components. Expressing a congenial but skeptical view is Michael Closson, Executive Director of the Center for Economic Conversion in Mountain View, California. Responding to Closson are Albert Donnay and Hans-Henning Averbeck, of Nuclear Free America in Baltimore, Maryland.

AN ALTERNATIVE TO NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES

by Michael Closson
Center for Economic Conversion

In many situations, the enactment of a Nuclear Free Zone (NFZ) is an appropriate way for concerned citizens to help build a peaceful world. In some settings, however, NFZs and campaigns for them appear to be counterproductive and alternative strategies should be explored.

The general argument in favor of NFZs goes like this: We are on the brink of nuclear holocaust. The Reagan Administration has fueled the global arms race and has not (until recently) seriously pursued arms control. Therefore, concerned citizens must actively pressure our national leaders to reject the policy of mutually assured destruction and enter into major arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union.

Supporters of NFZs believe that they can contribute to a demilitarized world because the approach enables citizens to "think globally and act locally." Individual communities can decide to "say no" to the nuclear arms race. Such an action can have a number of positive impacts:

(1) The adoption of a NFZ empowers people to recognize that they can start to reverse the arms race through concerted local action.

(2) Passage in one city encourages people elsewhere to

adopt their own NFZs.

(3) Each NFZ helps stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and "brings us one step closer to a nuclear free world."

(4) The combined impact of these local efforts will send a clear message to Washington that the public demands a significant change in our nation's course.

(5) The accumulation of NFZs will also make it more difficult to produce and transport nuclear weapons and for nuclear weapons industries to do business.

To date, over 140 NFZs have been established in the U.S. and several thousand more are in effect around the globe. Some attempts to establish NFZs have been rejected for political and economic reasons. Not surprisingly, several of the efforts which have foundered due to economic opposition occurred in localities receiving significant military spending. For people interested in local strategies to reverse the arms race, it may be instructive to assess what

(Please see CLOSSON, page 49)

ZONES

2

VIEWS

CHALLENGING THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS INDUSTRY

by Albert Donnay and Hans-Henning Aeverbeck
Nuclear Free America

As an international clearinghouse and resource center for the Nuclear Free Zone (NFZ) movement, Nuclear Free America takes issue with Michael Closson's characterization of Nuclear Free Zones as a "counterproductive strategy" for pursuing economic conversion.

Different goals require different strategies. The question of whether economic conversion initiatives are best directed at the defense industry as a whole (as proposed by Closson), or directed specifically at nuclear weapons contractors as part of NFZ initiatives, depends greatly on what one is trying to accomplish. As noted by Closson, NFZ campaigns do generally "miss" the majority of weapons production in a given community, but this only reflects their different priorities. The goal of NFZs, after all, is to keep communities free of nuclear weapons and the nuclear industry. This does not mean that NFZ campaigns in communities already dependent on nuclear weapons contractors are ignoring the issue of conversion. Their approach differs from that of Closson, however, in that NFZ organizing starts with the premise that these corporations will not change unless forced to do so.

Closson also confuses the arguments of the Freeze with that of NFZs when he suggests that the goal of these efforts

is to "pressure our national leaders to reject the policy of mutually assured destruction and enter into major arms agreements with the Soviet Union." NFZs are far more interested in establishing binding local policy — independent of Congress and the President — than in "sending a message to Washington."

Of the 150 NFZs adopted to date, half are legally binding and all but one have succeeded in their goal of keeping out nuclear industries. NFZs are more than mere stop signs, however. Tailored to local needs and priorities, they have empowered communities to address a great variety of related issues ranging from nuclear power, nuclear waste and the transport of radioactive materials to civil defense, food irradiation, peace education and twinning with sister cities. Ten of the strongest nuclear-free cities and counties even go so far as to prohibit public investments or contracts with nuclear weapons industries.

The most controversial and difficult NFZs to win, of course, are those that pose a direct challenge to the nuclear industry. Since the NFZ movement began in the U.S. in 1980, only seven campaigns have tried to take on nuclear weapons contractors within their midst (in Santa Cruz County, California, in 1980; Cambridge in 1983; Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Santa Monica in 1984; Chicago and Sonoma

County in 1986; and Palo Alto in 1987), and of these, only the Chicago campaign was successful. All seven, however, clearly recognized the need for economic conversion planning and addressed the issue seriously.

As Closson knows from his own experience assisting in Sonoma County and Palo Alto, these campaigns promoted conversion not as an end in itself but as an essential part of their NFZ vision and legislation. Most guaranteed affected companies a multi-year phaseout period in which to end their nuclear weapons work and established a variety of tax and other incentive programs to encourage and assist these

The "Nuclear Weapon Free Chicago Ordinance" sets an important precedent as the first legislation of any kind to require conversion planning at the local level.

companies in pursuing conversion during the phaseout period.

The six defeated campaigns had much in common. All were put on the ballot by initiative petition, strongly opposed by local government as well as business interests, unable to attract broad-based community support, and, most importantly (as Closson noted), all were heavily outspent — some by as much as 25 to 1 — by nuclear weapons contractors.

Against such odds, NFZ supporters stood little chance of countering the exaggerated claims and sophisticated misinformation campaigns launched against them by the opposition's well-paid media consultants. To varying degrees, these campaigns were also hurt by a lack of support even from within the peace movement, which hampered their efforts at outreach and coalition building. ("Pitfalls" of this magnitude would sink any local organizing effort, and, as Closson admits, conversion planning initiatives are just as likely to "encounter stiff opposition from defense firms.")

In sharp contrast, the successful campaign in Chicago

faceted none of these problems. It was also waged quite differently. The city's Nuclear Weapon Free Zone ordinance, with a comprehensive clause on "Redirection of Resources Towards Human Needs," was *unanimously* adopted by the (then infamously divided) Chicago City Council on 12 March 1986. Even more remarkable, the law passed with the full support of the city's Department of Economic Development and without *any* objections — then or since — from the business community.

The "Nuclear Weapon Free Chicago Ordinance" sets an important precedent not just as the first to require the phase-out of existing nuclear weapons contracts, but as the first legislation of any kind (NFZ or otherwise) to require conversion planning at the local level. As called for in the ordinance, the Mayor has appointed a seven-member Peace Conversion Commission charged with "soliciting testimony from the public and preparing a detailed plan for the conversion of resources and physical plants to peaceful and productive uses and to develop alternative sources of employment for persons currently employed in the nuclear weapons industry." With funding from the city, the commission has begun reaching out to the city's 300+ military contractors to determine which are affected by the ordinance and to what degree.

As also required by the ordinance, the city no longer participates in civil defense planning for nuclear war, it annually observes August 6th as "Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Commemoration Day," and it has posted NFZ signs at all major airports (including O'Hare) and in City Hall.

The success of the Chicago campaign — which began quietly and only went public after lining up broad community and political support — is due primarily to the excellent organizing efforts of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC). Led by then-director Ron Freund (now Vice-Chair of the Peace Conversion Commission), CALC worked with the city to research the nuclear weapons industry and formed a diverse coalition of neighborhood and religious groups to gain the support of the city council. The NFZ was opposed only by Illinois Governor Thompson, who called it "stupid and un-American."

Clearly, what made the difference in Chicago was not so much the content of the campaign but its style and focus. All of the positive elements of local organizing that Mr. Closson recognizes as essential for economic conversion were evident in the Chicago campaign (and dozens of other successful NFZs): "a major commitment on the part of supporters, . . . a long-term view of social change, . . . the building of a broad constituency," and ". . . thinking in terms of solutions rather than problems."

As for the initiatives that have been defeated, most NFZ activists would not share Closson's views that such campaigns are counterproductive and not worth pursuing. The degree of corporate opposition they face proves that NFZs are being taken seriously. And, as with the aborted campaign for a model conversion ordinance in San Jose and the



Mayor Eugene Sawyer (center) unveils Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Sign at Chicago's Meigs Field.

defeated Jobs With Peace initiative in Los Angeles, the controversy and publicity surrounding these efforts are of tremendous educational value in heightening public and political awareness. By focusing on local connections to the nuclear arms race, NFZ campaigns have left a lasting mark on the communities involved, provided local activists with a great deal of valuable experience, and often paved the way for further initiatives. (After the defeat in Cambridge, for example, the city's Commission on Nuclear Disarmament and Peace Education went on to publish several studies on the local impact of military spending and the potential for economic conversion planning.)

In conclusion, while NFZ activists may not be pursuing conversion as Closson would like — with “prohibition-free” initiatives directed at the defense industry as a whole — they are addressing the issue within the context of their focus on nuclear weapons and the nuclear industry. Nuclear Free America believes that both approaches are constructive in that — win or lose — they force communities to “confront the economic underpinnings of the arms race.” The conversion and NFZ movements are natural allies, and there is much that we can do to support each other's work. Rather than set one movement against the other, local activists and elected officials should be encouraged to adopt whatever strategies are best suited to their own particular goals and circumstances. □

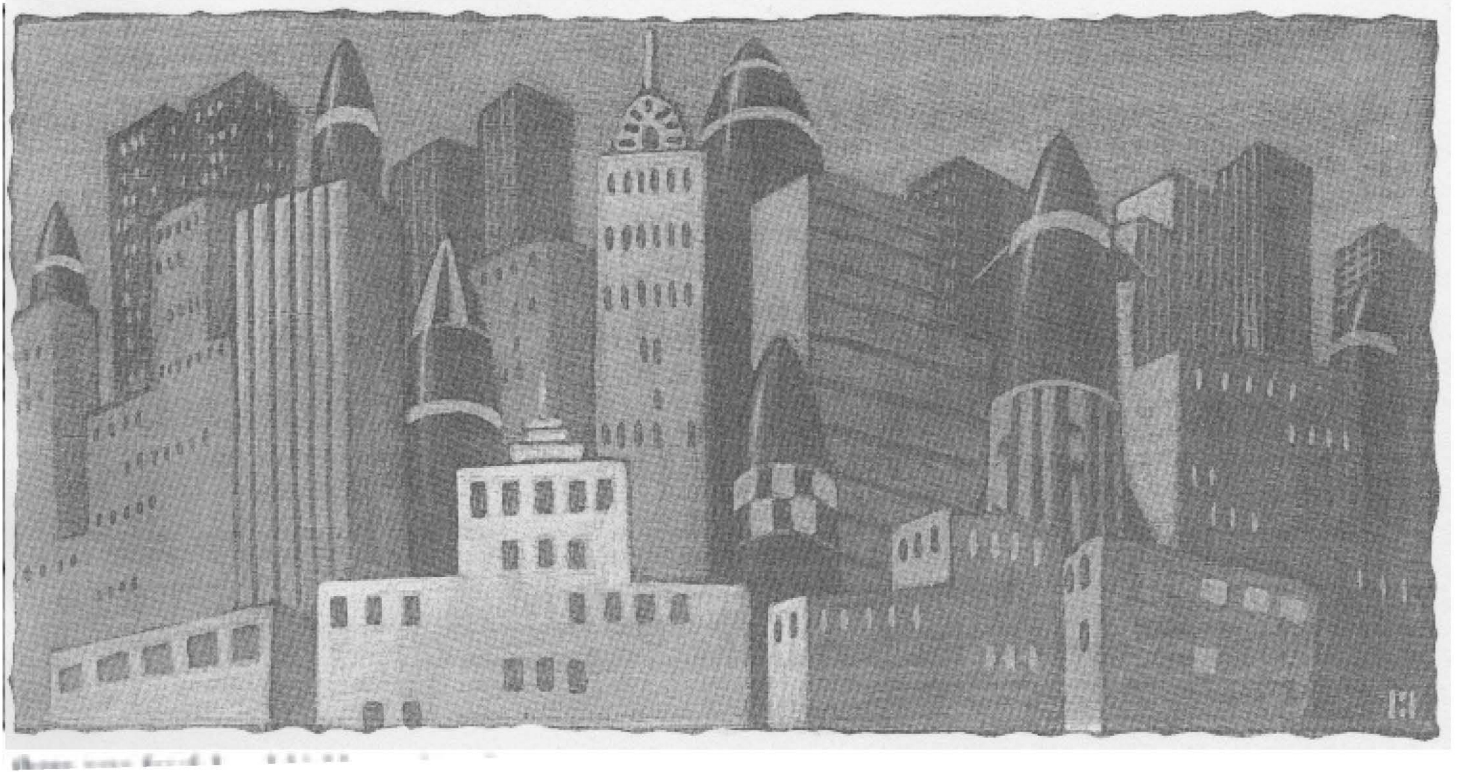
CLOSSON from page 46

we can learn from these cases.

NFZs were rejected in recent years in Cambridge (Massachusetts), Santa Monica (California), Sonoma County (California), and Palo Alto (California). Each of these localities hosts a number of firms involved in military production. In each case, significant opposition to the proposed NFZs arose not only from the military-serving firms and their workers but also from ordinary citizens concerned about the NFZs causing serious local economic dislocation. In Cambridge and Santa Monica, the main fear was about the loss of nuclear weapons-related jobs. In Sonoma, anxiety was expressed about the possible adverse impact on the high-tech business climate. And in Palo Alto, the principal concern was the potential loss of revenues due to the city's inability to do business with companies doing nuclear-related work.

A national consortium of weapons contractors fueled these fears with slick high-budget advertising campaigns. They spent over \$17 per vote in Cambridge and over \$400,000 in bucolic Sonoma County; they also funded the most expensive electoral campaign in Palo Alto's history. The highest vote in favor in these NFZ campaigns was 40% in Sonoma County.

Because of these chastening setbacks in localities where



There was fearful and highly motivated opposition, one must ask the question: Does it make sense for concerned citizens to pursue NFZ campaigns in the several hundred American communities where there is significant military spending? The following factors lead me to believe that it does not.

(1) NFZs might indeed cause significant economic dislocation in such localities.

(2) As a result, such efforts polarize the community, antagonize many mainstream people, and convey the image that peace activists are not interested in working people and general economic well-being.

(3) In such cities, NFZs generally miss the majority of weapons production (less than 20% of military production is nuclear-related), some of which is nearly as lethal as nuclear weapons. In Palo Alto, proponents of the ordinance found ourselves arguing that the NFZ was benign because it only impacted a tiny proportion of local military production.

(4) Cities receiving significant Pentagon spending lend themselves to alternative local strategies.

If NFZ campaigns are not worth pursuing in such settings, what would be a more viable local strategy for people in communities with significant military spending?

Given the likelihood of slowly declining Pentagon spending over the next few years, a number of military-dependent regions and localities across America find themselves in economically vulnerable positions. Peace activists, local officials and other concerned citizens in these areas can seize this moment to promote other creative local strategies.

One alternative strategy worthy of serious consideration is local economic conversion planning. This involves developing viable local options to continuing dependency upon the Pentagon for jobs and profits. It does not prohibit military contracts but concentrates upon replacing them by building up the civilian sector of the economy. For example, the Center for Economic Conversion has a model local conversion ordinance that, when implemented in a locality, would mandate the development of an "economic stability plan" including: incentives for attracting and expanding companies doing socially useful work, mechanisms for assisting defense workers impacted by military contract terminations, and programs to help defense firms develop non-military production. Activists in Seattle currently are attempting to gain passage of such an ordinance.

While this kind of constructive approach may avoid many of the pitfalls encountered by NFZ efforts in areas of significant military spending, it admittedly still has some problems. As an abortive attempt in San Jose demonstrated, conversion planning will also encounter stiff opposition from defense firms addicted to the Pentagon dole. Moreover, it requires a major commitment on the part of its supporters. It demands that people take a long-term view of social change — beyond the quick fix of an election campaign. It requires the building of a broad constituency of support among diverse segments of a community. And, it necessitates the often unfamiliar task of thinking in terms of solutions rather than problems.

But local conversion planning has the potential for broad appeal since it stresses economic well-being and concentrates upon the crucial work needed to be accomplished to revitalize America, locally and nationally. It goes beyond "sending a message to Washington" and confronts the economic underpinnings of the arms race. It is not only a "stop sign" but also an attempt to start drafting a "road map" for the world beyond the arms race. □

FRESNO SEEKS LINK WITH SOVIET UNION

When the Fresno City Council passed a nuclear-free zone (NFZ) ordinance last December, it added a twist that set its measure apart from other NFZs in the country. Just days after the historic Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Washington, D.C., city leaders declared that their own municipality would become a nuclear-free area once a Soviet city of comparable size did likewise.

By a 4-3 vote, the Fresno City Council asked that a city in the Soviet Union establish itself as a NFZ and then petition the Soviet government to remove Fresno from its nuclear target list. The Soviet city would have to ban the "design, production, assembly, storage and installation of nuclear weapons or components" within its city limits before Fresno would make the same gesture.

Not long after the ordinance went into effect on January 22, Fresno city leaders planned to write a letter to the State Department, asking it to approach the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., requesting that Fresno be paired with a sister city in the Soviet Union that would declare itself a NFZ. Once this occurs, Fresno would go back to the U.S. government to ask that the Soviet city be declared off-limits as a U.S. nuclear target.

The law also mandates that nuclear-free zone signs be posted at Fresno's city limits. A supplement to the ordinance, approved by the Council in January, calls for a family-exchange program between citizens in Fresno and those in the Soviet sister

city for educational and cultural purposes.

Opposition to the ordinance came from a minority of the city councilmembers, the Chamber of Commerce, and the *Fresno Bee* newspaper. Wil-

**"Think of the
potential
relationship the
local farmers and
the Soviets can
build..."**

liam Lyles, past Chamber President, conceded that the measure was a "noble cause," but raised concerns that it would cost "hundreds of thousands of dollars" to implement, and would give Fresno "a negative image

when trying to attract new businesses."

But attorney Howard Watkins, a co-drafter of the ordinance, insisted that the ordinance "would only cost postage stamps" to make the initial appeal through the State Department. "Think of the potential relationship the local farmers and the Soviets can build," he said.

Councilmember Chris Petersen, who introduced the ordinance, spoke at a City Council meeting of his hope that the ordinance would help "people and children who want to grow . . . and take a step closer to a world community of peace."

"If this works with us," said Petersen, "the other 148 NFZ cities in the U.S. might consider doing similar bilateral exchanges."

In 1985, Fresno voters rejected a ballot measure that would have unilaterally declared the city a nuclear-free zone by a narrow vote of 16,519 to 13,034.

SOURCE: Councilmember Chris Petersen, Fresno City Hall, 2326 Fresno St., Fresno, CA 93721 (209-488-1560); Jerry Bier, "Plan Could Take Fresno Off the USSR's Hit List," Fresno Bee, 16 December 1987, p. A1; and Pablo Lopez, "4-3 Vote for Nuclear-Free Fresno—If," Fresno Bee, 23 December 1987, p. A1.

MARIN COUNTY CLOSES LOOPHOLE IN NFZ

Since Marin County voted in 1986 to adopt a NFZ ordinance by a wide margin, 60 percent to 40 percent, members of the Peace Commission overseeing enforcement of the act have struggled to eliminate a major loophole. Although the measure clearly banned county officials from buying products directly from nuclear-weapons contractors, county officials attempted to skirt the intent of the law by purchasing products of IBM, General Electric and other firms through independent distributors or middlemen.

The Peace Commission immediately resolved to close the loophole, but it was not until a year later — this past December 14 — that the Marin Board of Supervisors, under heavy pressure from citizen groups, finally passed a supplemental ordinance barring any purchases from third-party vendors. The supplemental measure went into effect in mid-January.

At the same time, the Peace Commission approved a list of eleven nuclear-weapons manufacturers from whom Marin County has historically bought products but who are now taboo. Among those firms on the list besides IBM and General Electric are General Motors, the Ford Motor Company, Motorola and Westinghouse.

At least one other problem, however, may be hovering on the horizon. Both IBM and Motorola have let county officials know that they are contemplating lawsuits challenging the ordinance. An attorney representing IBM, who has sat in on all Peace Commission meetings for several months, wrote a letter to the county questioning whether IBM is actually a nuclear-weapons manufacturer within the meaning of the ordinance.

Representatives of Motorola, on the other hand, have not denied that their company is involved in nuclear-

weapons production. Instead, they have suggested that the ordinance is discriminatory, violating the public bidding process.

Brady Bevis, a Peace Commissioner, remains cautiously optimistic that the law can withstand any such challenge. "My feeling is that these companies would hesitate to attack a popular initiative, which this one still seems to be. But if they begin to sense that it is losing its public support, then I think they'll dive right in."

If the corporations don't go after the ordinance, however, some members of the public say they might. A conservative organization called Marin United Taxpayers has joined with the local Chamber of Commerce in complaining that the law is "anti-

business," and they are threatening to mount a petition drive to get the issue back on the ballot, with the intent of rescinding it.

On a related matter, Marin County's auditor-controller further divested the county of the treasury bonds (T-bills) in its portfolio in December — from 40 percent of the portfolio down to four percent. Although the ordinance did not specifically single out T-bills as a banned investment, some proponents of the measure have argued that the federal government is itself a nuclear weapons contractor.

SOURCE: Brady Bevis, Marin County Peace Conversion Commissioner, 8 Commercial Blvd., Novato, CA (415-883-0441).

CHICAGO PEACE COMMISSION FINALLY LAUNCHES NFZ RESEARCH

If good things come to those who wait, then the Chicago Peace Commission may have some bright days ahead of it, despite its slow start.

The City Council passed its nuclear-free zone ordinance in March 1986, but the seven-person panel overseeing its implementation was not appointed until early 1987 — a full year later. Since then, the initial research phase of the commission's agenda has gotten under way, but its report may not be completed until late 1988 or early 1989. When it's issued, the report will detail the extent to which nuclear weapons contractors are doing business in Chicago and make specific recommendations on how to deal with them.

One matter, however, has already been taken care of. By January 1988, nuclear-free zone signs were erected at all three Chicago airports — O'Hare, Midway and Meigs.

SOURCE: Ron Freund, Peace Conversion Commission, 20 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60602 (312-869-2424)

“Keys to the City” Continue to Make Anti-Apartheid Statement

If South African officials are getting the feeling that apartheid's supporters are dwindling, much of the credit for their discomfort belongs to a unique, ongoing campaign called “Unlock Apartheid's Jails.” It's an effort that has gathered support from city leaders and their constituents in many parts of the United States — and it's still growing.

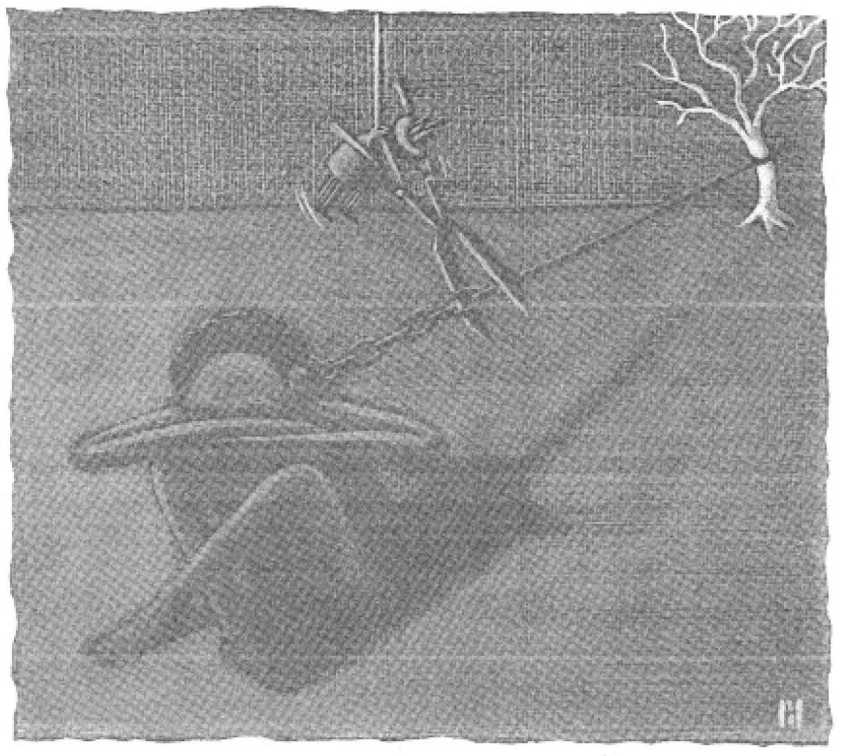
As we reported in the last issue of the *Bulletin* (Winter 1987-88), the Africa Fund launched the campaign this past fall, calling upon Americans to donate keys in a symbolic gesture to unlock the jail cells of South Africa. (With jails full of political prisoners, South Africa has the highest per capita prisoner population of any nation in the world.)

A number of prominent mayors attached their names to the campaign and donated the “keys to their cities” to the drive. These city leaders included Marion Barry of Washington, D.C.; Richard Berkley of Kansas City, Missouri; Raymond Flynn of Boston, Massachusetts; Daniel Frawley of Wilmington, Delaware; Arthur Holland of Trenton, New Jersey; Ed Koch of New York City, New York; Thirman Milner of Hartford, Connecticut; and Joseph Paolino of Providence, Rhode Island.

Last October 13 — barely two weeks after the campaign began — 30,000 keys were delivered to the South African consulate in New York City. Helping to make the delivery were New York Councilmember Andrew Stein and Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins.

Two months later, an additional 35,000 keys were placed on the steps of the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C. On that rainy December 15th, more than a dozen anti-apartheid demonstrators were arrested outside the embassy gates. Congressmen William Gray and Ronald Dellums and Senator Barbara Mikulski spoke at a press conference afterwards.

To coincide with the event in Washington, D.C., similar activities took place in many other American cities. Activists in Des Moines, Phoenix, Honolulu, Denver, Pittsburgh, Houston, Seattle and Mobile delivered keys to consulates



and other South African representatives in their communities.

City councils were also encouraged to pass anti-apartheid resolutions as part of the campaign, and according to the Africa Fund, New York City, Chicago, Houston and Seattle are among those that have already done so.

Keys are still being collected at schools, churches and other drop-off sites. As that takes place, word of the campaign has apparently reached South Africa itself. An “Unlock Apartheid's Jails” drive is already underway in Johannesburg, where Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other leaders have announced their intention of depositing keys in front of President Pieter Botha's home.

People interested in undertaking the “keys to the city” campaign in their own community should contact the Africa Fund (198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038, 212-962-1210).

SCHOOL BOARDS SUPPORTING NUCLEAR-ISSUES COURSES

Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev are not the only folks with war and peace issues on their minds. In growing numbers, boards of education are winning over the hearts and minds of students through local peace education programs.

Local school boards in cities and counties such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Milwaukee, Baltimore, Cambridge, Brookline, New York City and Dade County have incorporated "peace studies" into their curricula, often using teaching materials developed by Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR).

In New York City, the Board of Education has appointed an administrator, part of whose responsibility is to coordinate peace-education programs. The New York project began in three elementary schools, expanded to six the second year, and this school year will reach nine, including some junior highs. Participating teachers attend weekly seminars, and consultants regularly visit classrooms weekly to monitor the program.

In Milwaukee, peace studies programs are mandated in grades K-to-12, although the nuclear-issues curriculum cannot be taught until the high school years. When the district recently found that teachers were not using the curriculum, two-day-long training workshops for teachers were held at several schools.

Some teachers are getting involved on another level as well. This summer, between 15 and 30 American teachers will meet at Hampshire College in Amherst for two weeks with their peers from the Soviet Union to explore new ways of teaching in the nuclear age.

The "educational summit" is part

of an unprecedented agreement signed by ESR and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Education and Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. In addition to

"The two-way character of the project — with information flowing in both directions — was made possible by the spirit of 'glasnost.'"

the get-together of teachers in Amherst, the collaborative programs include Soviet-American educational camps for students, and the publication of articles in both countries' educational journals.

"This agreement is a major breakthrough in the efforts to teach greater understanding of each others' countries," says Susan Alexander, Executive Director of ESR. She adds, "The two-way character of the project — with information flowing in both directions — was made possible by the spirit of 'glasnost.'"

The "memorandum of cooperation" was drafted during a visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation of ESR leaders last fall. Among other projects, it calls for "joint work" beginning this year "on resource materials for peace education that will help to educate American and Soviet children."

SOURCES: Susan Alexander, Executive Director, Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138 (617-492-1764); The Thursday Night Group, 1431 Ocean Ave., Suite B, Santa Monica, CA 90401 (213-395-4123).

MAYORS SHOW SUPPORT FOR SOVIET JEWS

It was a mass demonstration reminiscent of the civil rights marches on Washington of the 1960s. Last December, just prior to Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the nation's capital, about 200,000 people gathered at the U.S. Capitol Mall to support Soviet Jewry, particularly their right to emigrate.

Before that demonstration got underway, a group of mayors shared their concerns directly with officials in the Reagan Administration. Among them were Mayors Arthur Holland of Trenton (NJ), Ted Mann of Newton (MA) and Xavier Suarez of Miami (FL).

Flanked by U.S. Congressman Barney Frank of Massachusetts, the group met with Richard Schifter, As-

sistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, just one day before the Reagan-Gorbachev summit began. They presented Schifter with a letter from U.S. Conference of Mayors President Richard Berkley of Kansas City, stating: "The welcome conclusion of the nuclear arms agreement in no way diminishes our demand upon the Soviet government to respect the fundamental human rights provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords."

In the rally at the Capitol, both Mayor Berkley and New York Mayor Ed Koch told the huge gathering of their unwavering support for Jews in the Soviet Union.

SOURCE: "Mayors on 'Freedom Sunday' Show Concern for Soviet Jews," The Mayor, U.S. Conference of Mayors, January 1988, p. 3.

ALASKA MUSICIANS COMPLETE CHINA VISIT, SET SIGHTS ON U.S.S.R.

Franz Joseph Haydn. Norman Dello Joio. Scott Joplin.

No matter whose compositions they're playing, musicians in Alaska's Arctic Chamber Orchestra have had no trouble communicating with the international audiences for whom they've performed.

Last summer, the volunteer 38-member group played to packed houses in China. In 1989, they hope to perform in the Soviet Union.

The Arctic Chamber Orchestra is the touring arm of the Fairbanks Symphony, and it travels like no other group of musicians in the world. The entourage has spent nights on gym floors in sleeping bags, shared meals with town locals, and traveled in everything from dog sleds to fishing boats. One of the group's goals is to perform in areas that rarely (if ever) hear live orchestra concerts.

The Alaska musicians are quickly becoming the pride of the entire state. When Governor Steve Cowper heard of their proposed trip to the Soviet Union, he pledged his support for the effort, and funding may come from the state legislature as well. In previous international tours (to Switzerland, Norway, Sweden and Finland), the group has received the backing of the city and borough of Fairbanks, the state of Alaska, and the University of Alaska Foundation. The musicians have been recipients of the "Governor's Award for the Arts," and commendation from the Alaska legislature for their contribution to the state's cultural life.

During their tour of the People's Republic of China, seven concerts were performed in Shanghai, Xi'an, Beijing and Harbin, with some additional concerts by their brass quintet.

They played for students at Beijing University and for the governor of Heilongjiang Province.

"The Chinese were intrigued that our musicians don't do music 100% of their time," says Jane Aspnes, Executive Director of the orchestra. "We're professors, doctors and lawyers, and music is more of an avocation, although we've managed to acquire quite a professional level of performance."

Since Alaska is part of the circum-polar region, the Arctic Chamber Orchestra is particularly interested in performing in the Soviet Union's most northern cities. Destinations under consideration include Magadan, Leningrad, Okhotsk, Morilsk, Yakutsk,

Vorkuta, Murmansk, Mukhtuza, Arkhangel'sk and Khabarovsk.

"Alaska and the Soviet Union are trying to develop a closer relationship," says Aspnes, pointing to a trip to the U.S.S.R. by Governor Cowper, and medical exchanges by doctors from the two nations. "We hope to be the cultural part of that growing relationship."

Incidentally, the Alaskan home folks aren't overlooked. The chamber orchestra tours the state every autumn and, on alternate years, adds a tour in the spring.

SOURCE: Jane Aspnes, Executive Director, Arctic Chamber Orchestra, P.O. Box 82104, Fairbanks, AK 99708 (907-479-3407).

SOVIET PEACE ACTIVISTS VISIT ST. PAUL

In February, residents of St. Paul got a chance to practice international diplomacy when they played host to the Soviet Peace Committee during its two-week tour of the United States.

Jim Scheibel, President of the St. Paul City Council, joined members of the local chapter of the Minnesota Peace Council in formally welcoming the Soviet group to the Midwest. The five-member Soviet delegation included: Dmitry Mamleev, first deputy minister of the U.S.S.R. and vice-president of the Soviet Peace Committee; Lev Semeyko, specialist in the military aspects of disarmament; Nadezhda Burova, director of the Center for Creative Initiatives of Adults and Children for Peace; Sabykzhan Kamalov, a Muslim leader; and Michael Schedrov, staff member for the Soviet Peace Committee. The committee is a non-governmental organization supported by contributions from citizens of the Soviet Union.

SOURCE: Jim Scheibel, City Hall, Seventh Floor, Saint Paul, MN 55102 (612-298-5679).

SAN DIEGO EXCHANGE SETS FBI ON ALERT

It seems like the most innocent of international exchanges. In her State of the City address in January, San Diego Mayor Maureen O'Connor announced that her office had begun negotiations to bring top Soviet musicians, performers and artists to her city for a month-long Soviet arts festival in 1989 or 1990. The plans were that the Soviets, while in San Diego, would stay in the homes of local residents.

In the weeks after that announcement, Mayor O'Connor moved ahead with her plans. She met with Soviet officials in San Francisco, and placed a trip to the U.S.S.R. on her calendar to finalize the event. Everyone, it seems, was excited about what lay ahead. Everyone, that is, except the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

The FBI notified the *Los Angeles Times* that the arts festival might serve as a cover for KGB spies. It warned that Soviet spies staying in San Diego homes could befriend and cultivate residents for espionage projects. "Our experience is that they use these [cultural] groups on a regular basis," said FBI special agent Bob Harman.

Mayor O'Connor was mortified: "They're just putting a big wet damper on [the festival].... I'm amazed that they're saying that." O'Connor was especially incredulous since her office has been working closely with the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Information Agency to arrange the event.

Apparently, the FBI was particularly worried because of the presence of many Navy ships in the San Diego harbor and many defense contractors in the area. The FBI ominously points to a 100% increase in Soviet visitors to San Diego in the last three years.

"The mayor's [festival] is one of many programs," said Harman. "It's

an example of increased [Soviet] travel — to the universities, the businesses. Ballet. Soccer. Basketball What we've seen is that groups of this type will have people who behave and act like spies."

In the *Times* interview, FBI agents

The FBI warned that Soviet spies staying in San Diego homes could befriend and cultivate residents for espionage projects.

cited several clues to watch out for if the Soviet artists come to town — clues that might reveal what their *true* mission is. "If I had a guest in my house and he was asking to make long-distance phone calls or made extensive use of the phone. . . . If he was unaccompanied until late hours in unfamil-

iar areas of the city," said Marc Sutherland, who heads up FBI counterintelligence investigations in San Diego.

Also, the agents explained, a spy posing as a house guest might ask the host what his or her middle initial stands for, since full names may be needed on the reports that they'll be filing. And in order to determine the dates of birth of their San Diego hosts, the Soviets might ask, "I'm interested in astrology, and I want to do your chart. What is your birth date?"

As Harman said, "It's that 'something-isn't-right-here' feeling that we want people to call us about."

But Mayor O'Connor probably won't be one of those calling. "Please! The community of San Diego is much more responsible than that!" she said.

Meanwhile, residents of the California city have been forewarned to be suspicious of home visitors interested in their horoscopes.

SOURCE: Ralph Frammolino, "Soviet Festival Spy Warnings Anger San Diego Mayor," *Los Angeles Times*, 15 February 1988, p. 3.

CITIZEN DIPLOMAT MAGAZINE UPGRADED

Are you interested in updates on citizen efforts in the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to promote peace and goodwill between the two countries? If so, then *Citizen Diplomat* can do just that for you.

Having celebrated its third anniversary, *Citizen Diplomat* now has a new and expanded format. Edited by Matthew Kalishman, this periodical includes regular features on citizen diplomacy organizations, sister-city programs, and grassroots diplomacy efforts in Moscow written by Americans living there.

The most recent issue we've seen (Vol. 3, No. 1) includes articles on the second American-Soviet Sister Cities Conference in Seattle, an interview with Soviet journalist Vladimir Pozner, and first-person accounts of the Leningrad-Moscow Peace Walk and changes in Soviet society. Future issues are expected to include articles about Betty Bumpers, president and founder of Peace Links, and reports on an entertainment summit in Moscow.

Subscriptions, priced at \$10 per year (for six issues), can be ordered from *Citizen Diplomat*, P.O. Box 9077, La Jolla, CA 92038.

U.S. - SOVIET SISTER CITY BRIEFS

Below are brief summaries of recent and upcoming activities of some of the more active Soviet-American sister cities. Additional information can be obtained from the contacts listed with each entry.

BOULDER (CO) - DUSHANBE

A businessperson's tour to Dushanbe is planned for the fall involving 15 to 20 Boulder business leaders. Although the Boulder representatives plan to offer some trade proposals, the specifics haven't yet been spelled out. The sister city committee also hopes to make new business contacts in Dushanbe.

Monthly meetings are being held in Boulder to choose a site for the construction of a Peace Park and tea house there. The Soviets plan to send over a master builder to help design and build the project.

The sister cities also hope to round out the year with a two-way exchange of teachers, one or more cultural exchanges, and an exchange of children's art.

CONTACT: Mary Axe, 760 Grape, Boulder, CO 80302 (303-443-4021).

DULUTH (MN) - PETROZAVODSK

This June, three Soviet runners, accompanied by their coach, will compete in Grandma's Marathon in Duluth.

Bruce Berglund, a recent graduate of the University of Minnesota in Duluth (UMD), is conducting chemistry research at Moscow State University for nine months. Not long ago, Vladimir Suvorov from the Kalinin Polytechnic Institute spent four months at the UMD Natural Resources Research Institute researching peat.

A pen pal program between both adults and students in Duluth and Petrozavodsk is thriving. One Soviet correspondent wrote, "Yes, I feel quite the same way as you — life has acquired a new meaning. Despite the misunderstandings and the stockpiling of those lethal weapons, it really seems as if we grassroots [people] can get something moving and change everything for the better. Well, we're going to try our damndest, aren't we?"

Another wrote, "The visit of your delegation group to Petrozavodsk [last November] was an act of a new kind of thinking, and it makes stronger our hope for the future. I am sure that the U.S.S.R. and the United States will do everything that is possible and everything that seems to be impossible in order to close the [chances of] war. But first we must learn not to be afraid of each other."

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

GAINESVILLE (FL) - NOVOROSSIIISK

Valery Prokhorenko, Mayor of Novorossiisk, was accompanied by two of his city councilmembers and another Soviet citizen on a trip to Gainesville in January. They spent six days in Gainesville and an additional four days in other parts of the United States, including New York City and Washington, D.C.

During his visit, Mayor Prokhorenko signed the official sister city agreement with Gainesville Mayor David Flagg. At the ceremonies, the mayors mixed a batch of American and Soviet vodka and each toasted with the mixture, arms intertwined.

The Soviet delegation also held news conferences, participated in Martin Luther King, Jr., Day ceremonies, attended a reception hosted by City Councilperson Jean Chalmers, dined at a Southern barbeque dinner, visited several schools (including the University of Florida), and heard a chorus of 50 elementary schoolchildren sing out "The Bridge Between Us."

While in Florida, Mayor Prokhorenko invited Gainesville residents to come to Novorossiisk next September to join in the celebration of the Soviet city's 150th anniversary. He suggested that members of the Gainesville Chamber of

Commerce participate in that trip to discuss trade possibilities between the two cities. Among the products he would like to export from Novorossiisk are high-quality cement, wines, champagnes, and canned fish.

In a telegram to the mayor and people of Gainesville just before last December's Reagan-Gorbachev summit, Mayor Prokhorenko called the sister cities program a "bridge of friendship," and added, "The cruel paradox is that when Novorossiisk residents were cordially welcoming the Gainesville guests, who became so dear to them, their own city was in the aim of U.S. intermediate-range missiles placed in Sicily. This did not prevent us from appreciating the friendly feelings. It made them even more precious to us."

CONTACT: Steve Kalishman, 9421 S.W. 61th St., Gainesville, FL 32608 (904-376-0341).

JACKSONVILLE (FL) - MURMANSK

Vladimir Goryachkin, mayor of Murmansk, sent a New Year's greeting to the mayor and citizens of Jacksonville, in which he expressed hopes that "there will be more joy and less tension and more cooperation in the era of new outlooks and new attitudes." His letter, which was published in the *Jacksonville Times Union*, is reprinted on page 60 of the *Bulletin*.

Last December, youths in Murmansk sent a banner and bugle to the 4-H Clubs in the Jacksonville area as tokens of friendship. The gifts arrived in response to pen pal letters and seeds that 4-H members sent to Murmansk last June.

An exhibit of 50 photographs of Jacksonville's citizens and sites is being assembled for display in Murmansk. The exhibit is designed to convey a sense of the people, culture, and scenery of the Florida city.

CONTACT: Karen Jean Munoz, Florida Community College, 3939 Roosevelt Blvd., Jacksonville, FL (904-268-7149).

MODESTO (CA) - KHMELNITSKY

An exchange involving physicians and engineers from Khmelnitsky and Modesto is being planned, to begin in April or May of this year. Later in 1988, 25 residents of Modesto are planning a trip to the Soviet Union, and they'll spend time in Khmelnitsky.

A Soviet teacher spent ten weeks in Modesto late last year teaching in a local high school. Kids in these classes have since begun writing letters to pen pals in Khmelnitsky.

CONTACT: Angie Wiinikka, Mayor's Office, City of Modesto, P.O. Box 642, Modesto, CA 95353 (209-577-5323).

OAKLAND (CA) - NAKHODKA

To commemorate its relationship with Oakland, Nakhodka has painted a public mural. In response, Oakland Councilmember Aleta Cannon and Sister City Association President Bonnie Hamlin have talked with Mayor Lionel Wilson about designing a comparable public monument for Oakland.

Yelena Khanga, a 25-year-old black journalist with the *Moscow News*, spoke in the Bay Area at a meeting widely attended by members of the Sister City Association. She was in the United States on a three-month exchange of journalists between the *News* and the *Christian Science Monitor*. Among her assignments was covering the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Washington, D.C.

Not long before that, Oakland hosted Ms. Khanga's mother, Soviet anthropologist Lily Golden, who had met with Oakland residents during their trip to Nakhodka last summer. She was greeted by several dignitaries, including Oakland Councilmember Cannon and Berkeley Councilmember Maudelle Shirek.

CONTACT: Bonnie Hamlin, Oakland/Nakhodka Sister City Association, c/o A Central Place, 477 15th St., Suite 200, Oakland, CA 94612 (415-834-7897).

SALEM (OR) - SIMFEROPOL

Willamette University in Salem and Simferopol State University have signed a five-year agreement calling for an ongoing series of student exchanges. These exchanges are expected to begin next spring (1989), when 10 to 15 Willamette students will go to Simferopol for a month, and three Simferopol State students will come to Salem for a semester.

This July and August, 17 high-school soccer players from Salem will spend two weeks in the Soviet Union, including six days in Simferopol, where they not only will compete against Soviet soccer players, but also will play on the same teams with Soviet athletes. To qualify for the trip, the Salem students had to demonstrate their soccer talents and write essays on why they wanted to go to the Soviet Union and serve as citizen diplomats.

A delegation of Salem residents, primarily educators, will travel to Simferopol this summer. A group of Simferopol citizens is tentatively expected to travel to Oregon in the early fall.

In the aftermath of a trip to Simferopol by 17 Salem citizens last October and November, photographer Ron Cooper of the *Salem-Statesman Journal* presented a slide show in Salem last December featuring the pictures he took as part of that delegation. A huge crowd of 850 people attended the showing, and the *Statesman-Journal* ran four

pages of color pictures of the trip.

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

SANTA CRUZ (CA) - ALUSHTA

With sponsorship by the Santa Cruz Sister City Committee, about 150 members of the Cabrillo College Slavonic Chorus spent two weeks in Alushta and other Soviet cities in January, performing Russian folk songs and American spirituals.

During their trip, chorus members brought with them letters and photographs from children in Santa Cruz. They brought back letters from adults and children in Alushta.

Several exchanges are tentatively being planned for later in 1988, including a visit to Santa Cruz by an adult and youth delegation from Alushta. That Soviet group may include a wine maker and an authority on solar energy.

CONTACT: Peter Klotz-Chamberlain, Santa Cruz Sister City Committee, City Hall, 809 Center St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060 (408-429-3543/425-4833).

SEATTLE (WA) - TASHKENT

Early this year, four Seattle organizations were shifting into high gear to plan construction of a Peace Park in Tashkent. A three-person delegation from the Soviet city was scheduled to visit the state of Washington in February to work out details for the project. The participating organizations are the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee, Ploughshares, the American Society of Landscape Architects (Washington Chapter), and Architects, Designers and Planners for Social Responsibility.

Three Tashkent physicians were expected to spend the month of March in Seattle dividing their time between seven King County hospitals to learn more about American medicine. The group included a cardiologist, an emergency-room specialist, and a pediatrician.

Twenty-five students and five adults from Tashkent were scheduled to come to Seattle in April for 10 days. They planned to stay in the homes of Seattle students who had made a similar trip to the Soviet Union in 1987. As well as attending classes while they were in the U.S., the Tashkent students spent time in computer labs and were guests at various cultural events.

In the aftermath of the visit by Seattle students to the U.S.S.R., one Seattle parent wrote, "Until my son went to Tashkent, I always felt there was nothing significant I could do about world peace. The trip changed my perspective dramatically. Now I'm ready to get involved. We've translated excitement into action."

There is also a growing number of sister schools in the two cities — a total of 14 pairs, ranging from elementary to high schools. This is all part of an educational exchange program created by Seattle social studies teacher Jay Sasnett.

CONTACT: Virginia Westberg, Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee, 630 Randolph Pl., Seattle, WA 98122 (206-324-6258).

TALLAHASSEE (FL) - KRASNODAR

Although the sister city relationship between Tallahassee and Krasnodar is not yet formal, the two cities continue to function as though the agreement were already signed and sealed. Last August, 16 Tallahassee residents traveled to Krasnodar, led by County Commissioner Bob Henderson. Next September, another delegation from the Florida city will make its way to the Soviet Union, possibly including Tallahassee Mayor Frank Visconti.

During the Reagan-Gorbachev summit last December, Krasnodar Mayor Valeri Samolenko sent a letter to the citizens of Tallahassee, encouraging them to continue pursuing the sister city bond and to have patience while awaiting official approval of the relationship.

A pen-pal program involving students in Krasnodar and Tallahassee got under way last autumn. About 200 letters from Florida residents were put in the mail to the Soviet Union in January, written by children from both private and public schools.

CONTACT: Bob Broedel, P.O. Box 20049, Tallahassee, FL 32316 (904-576-4906).

WORCESTER (MA) - PUSHKIN

Last October, this sister city relationship became official when an agreement was signed during a trip to the Soviet Union by a five-person Worcester delegation that included Mayor Tim Cooney. The Massachusetts residents visited local palaces and museums, and attended the ballet, the opera and a circus. In addition to meeting with Yuri Nikiforov, president of Pushkin's regional government, they were greeted by the deputy mayor of Leningrad.

During the trip to Pushkin, the Worcester delegation brought gifts that included books written by Worcester poets, and works of art by local craftsmen.

As many as 12 Pushkin citizens are expected to visit Worcester this spring. Regional president Nikiforov may be part of that delegation.

CONTACT: Cindy Wood, Soviet Sister City Project, 21 Crown St., Worcester, MA 01609.

MURMANSK MAYOR SENDS GREETINGS TO FLORIDA SISTER CITY

Vladimir Goryachkin, the mayor of Murmansk in the Soviet Union, sent a New Year's letter to the citizens of Jacksonville, Florida, who have a sister city relationship with his city. That communique was published in the January 5, 1988 issue of the Jacksonville Times Union, and is reprinted here:

Seasonal greetings and best wishes to Mayor Tommy Hazouri and the citizens of Jacksonville from the people of Murmansk, U.S.S.R.

I wish that in the incoming year that there will be more joy and less tension and more cooperation in the era of new outlooks and new attitudes. I hope I am speaking for a majority of people.

Our common hope is backed by new realities. For much too long, people in our Murmansk, which lies within the polar circle, and people in your Southern city felt the breath of cold political winds. That is why the citizens of Murmansk, and hopefully the citizens of Jacksonville, too, have welcomed with satisfaction the results of the Gorbachev-Reagan summit meeting in Washington. That truly historic meeting has set in motion not only the disarmament process, but also the process of establishing normal relations based on dialogue, mutual understanding and cooperation.

I am sure the citizens of our two sister cities have made their contribution to improving Soviet-American relations. Our relations have reflected all the ups and downs in relations between our two countries. Established in 1975, our sister-city relations were terminated for eight years. Luckily, the striving of our citizens, and of our two peoples in general, to establish friendly ties has gained the upper hand.

A visit to your city last spring was one of the most remarkable events for me in the outgoing year. Our delegation had a very interesting and fruitful time.

When we returned home, people asked us very diverse questions about Jacksonville and about the attitude of Americans to the Soviet Union. In my article in the local newspaper, *Polyarnaya Zvezda*, I was happy to write that a growing number of Americans want to see the Soviet Union as a friend, rather than an enemy. I remember a meeting with an elderly gentleman in Jacksonville. When he found out that we were from Murmansk, he shook our hands, saying that he visited our city with a convoy of ships during the war, when our two countries were jointly fighting against the Nazis. He is for American-Soviet friendship, he said.

Last July, we played host to a delegation from Jacksonville. We hope that relations between our two cities will continue to develop, covering ever new areas.

The results of the meeting between our two leaders hold out vast prospects. Along with the solution of disarmament problems, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan confirmed the importance of contacts and exchanges for expanding mutual understanding between our two peoples.

With the best wishes of peace and happiness, may the growing contacts between Murmansk and Jacksonville become a new contribution to mutual understanding.

Vladimir Goryachkin
Mayor, Murmansk, U.S.S.R.

FOREIGN TOURISTS FLOOD U.S. CITIES

This could be a summer to remember for many American cities. If the trends of recent months continue, 1988 may bring record numbers of foreign tourists to visit the U.S.

Credit for this windfall belongs largely to the three-year decline in the value of the U.S. dollar. Because the weak dollar is making tourism cheaper for foreigners, they will be coming here in droves. In 1987, 28.4 million foreigners visited the U.S.,

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according to the Department of Commerce — a 12% increase over 1986. Meanwhile, the increasing cost of overseas travel for Americans will lead them, too, to vacation here.

In New York and its surrounding area, tourism has had a huge impact on the economy. According to Rosemary

Scanlon, chief economist for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, tourists and business travelers support 263,000 jobs in hotels, restaurants and travel-related businesses in the region.

But it's not just the travel industries that are reaping rewards from overseas tourists. Many merchants say foreign travelers are on the lookout for clothing, gifts, housewares and other goods that are more appealing because of the declining dollar. An

analysis by Bloomingdale's in April 1987 revealed that 20% of its sales were to foreign visitors.

"Just wait until this spring and summer," Mrs. Scanlon says, referring to her optimistic expectations for tourism levels later this year. Tour operators say they have never seen such demand from foreign travelers for vacation packages in New York and elsewhere.

SOURCE: Thomas J. Lueck, "Drop in the Dollar Brings an Increase in Tourism in U.S.," New York Times, 24 January 1988, p. 1.

OAKLAND ENTERS TOURIST RACE

Mounting a direct assault on neighboring San Francisco's lucrative tourist business, the city of Oakland has just set up a Tour and Travel Department.

Its mission? To encourage major travel agencies and tour organizers to book San Francisco-bound tour groups in Oakland hotels.

According to city redevelopment chief George Williams, Oakland is "much more competitive price-wise and still in the center of the Bay Area." Its hotels, for example, are half the cost of San Francisco's.

The new department has been given a budget of \$170,000. But Williams expects increases in the city's hotel tax revenues to more than pay for the expenditure. Indeed, within a few years, officials expect that direct and indirect annual revenues could reach millions of dollars.

"We think it's a resource that we haven't tapped as well as we could have," said Williams.

SOURCE: Pearl Stewart, "Oakland Plans Major Push for Tourists' Dollars," San Francisco Chronicle, 29 December 1987, p. A-6.

HONOLULU AGGRESSIVELY PURSUES TOURISM

Don't tell the city fathers of Honolulu that there are bad times ahead. While some forecasters are predicting an economic downturn in the U.S. as a whole, the tourism industry in the city — as well as in the entire state of Hawaii — is bracing for a boom period ahead, with foreign visitors being counted on for an increasing chunk of the tourist dollar (or yen, to be more exact).

In 1987, the number of westbound visitors (mostly from the U.S. and Canada) was down 4.4% — but the eastbound traffic leaped upward by 14.8%. Under present conditions, the strong yen makes Hawaii a cheap vacation for the Japanese, and they are now flooding into the islands at a rate of more than a million per year. They presently account for nearly 20 percent of all tourists in Hawaii. On buses and beaches, signs are printed in both English and Japanese, and most restaurant menus are bilingual as well.

To make matters easier, the Japanese government has been encouraging its people to travel overseas. "Traveling abroad has almost become part of the Japanese citizen's patriotic duty to help redress the international trade imbalance," says Paul H. Brewbaker, associate economist at the Bank of Hawaii.

At the same time, Honolulu and other popular destinations on the islands are pushing for a more upscale tourist — no matter where he or she comes from. A hotel room on Waikiki Beach averages \$120 to \$180 a night; in new hotels like the Westin Kauai, room rates start at \$300 per night.

That could mean squeezing out the middle-

class tourist, but with travelers already putting enormous demands on the state's infrastructure, including growing highway congestion, some economists think that's the way to go. Brewbaker sees this upscale strategy as a means to "get people to spend more than they already do while they're here, or to attract people that spend more, and squeeze out the people that don't spend as much. As harsh as that sounds, those are the choices the industry faces."

SOURCE: Thomas Watterson, "Hawaii's Upscale Strategy Aims at Big Spenders," Christian Science Monitor, December 14, 1987, p. 16-18.

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MAYORS VENTURE TO JAPANESE CONVENTION

When George Livingston, mayor of Richmond, California, returned from a one-week trip to Tokyo last November, his pockets were brimming with business cards. Each one represented a Japanese business interested in investing in Pacific Rim trade.

That experience was shared by 225 other mayors and business leaders from Georgia, New York, and the port cities of the western United States who attended the Mayors and Chamber of Commerce Convention. The event enabled the American representatives to meet business leaders from throughout Japan. Like other officials, Mayor Livingston handed out brochures to dozens of Japanese business

executives, reminding them that his city has acres of land available for development.

According to Livingston, "Many of the business leaders do not even know we exist. They have actually traveled through our city during visits to the United States as they moved from Sacramento to San Francisco, yet they really never noticed us."

The convention attendees urged the governments of Japan and the U.S. to waive the need for non-immigrant visas for travelers between the two nations. They also urged the establishment of more sister-city relationships between the countries.

SOURCE: Kerry Hamill, "Mayor Talks Up Richmond Economics to Japan," West County Times, 27 November 1987, p. 1.

MAYORS REVIVE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Last January in Washington, D.C., the U.S. Conference of Mayors revived the Conference's International Affairs Committee, and its first meeting — chaired by Oxnard Mayor Nao Takasugi — was lengthy and lively. A top priority for the Committee will be to enhance the international competitive trade stature of the U.S. and its cities. At the Washington meeting, a main topic of discussion was HR3 — a trade bill before Congress aimed at reducing trade barriers and the disparities in the trade balance.

Although no definite agenda has been set for the committee, it could decide to help cities create their own international trade associations. The committee also has the option of moving into international areas other than trade.

SOURCE: U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 I St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 (202-293-7330).

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Pacific States Seek Asian Market

In a *San Francisco Chronicle* article entitled, "Expensive Forays that Seek Asian Markets," Edward Iwata evaluates some of California's and Oregon's recent experience with promoting business overseas. The article was published on January 18, 1988, p. 1.

When Oregon Governor Neil Goldschmidt and state business leaders flew to Asia on a prestigious trade mission in October, it was a golden opportunity for delegate Barbara Evensizer.



Evensizer, the owner of a small carriage-making firm in Klamath Falls, met Asian dignitaries during the trip and rode Japan's famous Bullet Train. The business was not too shabby, either, as she sold \$150,000 worth of handmade stagecoaches and horse carriages.

"God, I love Japan," said the 41-year-old Evensizer. "The orders keep coming in. The trip cost \$6,000 out of my own pocket, but it was worth every cent."

Evensizer is part of a wave of government and business leaders spending tens of millions of dollars in public and private funds on trade trips to Asia.

Not everyone is so enthusiastic about the high-stakes forays. Some critics say the trips abroad are little more than old-fashioned junkets.

They note, for example, that the Bay Area lags far behind Southern California in attracting Asian investment, despite years of drum-beating and travel by politicians and business leaders.

Critics say the trade junkets waste money and are mostly for show. Some economists note that there are larger, complex forces at work — such as politics, the worldwide flow of goods and shifting monetary exchange rates — and that major investment and trade decisions rarely are influenced by the trips.

"Politicians should stay in their own realm," said Frank Wykoff, a nationally known economics professor at the Claremont Graduate School in Pomona. "They should make sure the streets are clean and the schools are working,

and leave business decisions to businessmen."

Establishing Trust

Despite such skepticism, more and more politicians and business leaders embrace the view that diplomacy, modern-day marketing and old-fashioned glad-handing can overcome the vast differences in business and cultural style between the United States and Asia.

"Establishing trust is the first step, and that takes time," said Clark Goecker, executive director of the Japan American Conference of Mayors and Chamber of Commerce Presidents.

Last year, scores of cities and 28 promotion-minded states sent large trade delegations to Asia for business sessions, factory tours and dinner receptions. Thirty-four state governments run trade offices in Tokyo.

A half-dozen states have opened new offices this year in South Korea and Taiwan, the "tigers" of the Pacific Rim that are starting to challenge Japan's economic primacy.

West Coast port cities and leaders of such industries as agriculture, lumber and high technology have long known the importance of Asian trade. But recently, hundreds of other local and state governments have leaped onto the bandwagon.

Hayward Mayor Alex Giuliani flew last month to Tokyo for a conference of mayors and business people. He

bumped into a Japanese investor who will visit Hayward soon, possibly to revive a stalled \$40 million hotel project.

"Oh Lord, if this comes through, can you imagine what it'll do for our economy?" said Giuliani, a Navy veteran who was based in Japan after World War II.

Envoys from Oakland have flown to Hong Kong several times in recent years, according to George Williams, the city's economic development director. And although the Asian investment in the Bay Area has not lived up to everyone's expectations, Oakland officials point to some notable successes.

Hong Kong businessmen are backing the \$50 million Trans Pacific office building, for example, as well as the \$200 million Chinatown redevelopment project and a \$24 million refinancing plan for the troubled Hyatt Hotel in downtown Oakland.

However, "If you don't do your homework," said Williams, "you can go to the Far East, spin your wheels and get nowhere."

At state levels, Virginia Governor Gerald Bailies toured Hong Kong and Taiwan recently to help increase exports of chicken. In September, a trip to Japan and China by Connecticut Governor William O'Neill led to talks for six new joint ventures and export deals.

California's Bid

California, with the help of Governor Deukmejian and his ballyhooed trade mission, opened its new trade office in Tokyo last January.

"Trade missions bring to light some serious trade policies and help chip away at any barriers," said Robert DeMartini, trade development manager of the California World Trade Commission. "And the governor does attract a lot of attention."

Certainly, the economic prizes are large.

Asian countries pump far more dollars into California than any other state. More than 25 percent of all Asian investments in the United States flow here, according to the Department of Commerce.

Last year, Asian nations — mostly Japan and Hong Kong — created 66,000 jobs in California and invested \$6.3 billion in real estate, mergers and acquisitions, factories and branch offices. California exported \$17.5 billion in goods to Asia while importing \$54 billion, according to economist Robert Churney of the California World Trade Commission.

If all goes well, the United States will export \$29 billion this year — an 11 percent rise — to Japan, and \$44.5 billion — a 15 percent increase — to other Asian nations, predicted Milan Brahmbhatt, a senior economist at Data Resources, a top consulting firm in Lexington, Mass.

Oregon is by far the shrewdest veteran of Asian trade missions.

Oregon officials have bartered with import-hungry

Japan since the late 1940s, when frozen potato sellers hit the Tokyo streets and showed curious Japanese housewives how to use tempura pots to cook french fries.

Since then, the Oregon government and businesses have spent millions of dollars flying 200 joint delegations to Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. And each year, the state puts on splashy trade shows that showcase Oregon products, from timber to raw onions.

The courtship is certainly paying off.



**"Trade missions
bring to light
some serious
trade policies
and help chip
away at any
barriers..."**

Last year, Oregon shipped \$3.3 billion in fruits and vegetables, wheat, lumber, cattle and manufactured goods to Asia

Oregon's exports equal nearly half of California's export total to Japan. Oregon's balances ratio of exports to imports is a strong sign of healthy trade, compared with, say, California's huge \$24 billion trade deficit with Japan.

"To be honest, everyone thinks the trade missions are very productive," Hobbs said. "We're not talking about a whole lot of public tax dollars, compared to the economic benefits." □

JERSEY JOURNAL BLASTS PROTESTING COUNCILMEMBER

In a December 19 editorial entitled, "The Ideal vs. the Practical," The Jersey Journal criticized the participation of Jersey City (NJ) Councilmember Jaime Vazquez in a December 13 mass protest at the Nevada Nuclear Test Site, where 300 people demanded an end to nuclear testing. As we reported in the last issue of the Bulletin (Winter 1987-88), Vazquez was one of eleven local officials to join 166 other protesters in civil disobedience. He was arrested for trespassing.

Below we reprint The Jersey Journal's editorial and Vazquez' January 8 response.

THE IDEAL VS. THE PRACTICAL

Jersey City Councilman Jaime Vazquez succeeded at a goal he set for himself last weekend — getting arrested.

He went to a nuclear testing site in Nevada to engage in a civil disobedience rally, to protest nuclear weapons and the huge amount of money the federal government spends on them.

The sincerity of Vazquez' stand is not in question. But the wisdom of civil disobedience against a government that has made a significant move toward cutting a category of nuclear weaponry is certainly subject to question.

There's a technique known as positive reinforcement in which those who make progress toward something good are rewarded, even if the final goal has not been reached. Those who launched a major civil disobedience effort so soon after the U.S. government had agreed to cut back on a category of nuclear missiles were failing to use that technique. . . .

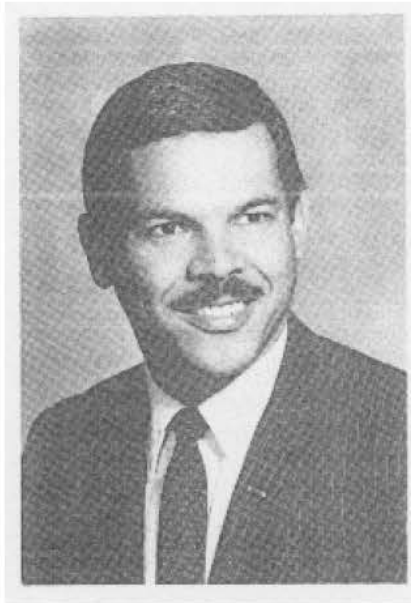
Beyond the merits of this particular protest, Vazquez' constituents in downtown Jersey City probably would like to see Vazquez devote a bigger share of his energy and leadership ability during the remainder

of his term to those practical measures over which he, as an elected municipal official, would have more direct control.

There's a lot of truth to the charge of overspending by the military-industrial complex. But there's also a lot of truth to the charge of poor spending by Jersey City and its agencies. Vazquez — whose trip to Nevada for a National League of Cities conference with two other Jersey City council members was paid for by the city taxpayers — should give plenty of attention to that kind of spending.

VAZQUEZ RESPONDS ...

The Jersey Journal editorial of December 19 misses the point on the civil resistance action taken by myself and other local elected officials at the Nuclear Weapons Test Site in Nevada.



Jaime Vazquez

True, the national government, for the first time in history, took a step at eliminating a class of nuclear weapons. Local elected officials in the nuclear disarmament movement applauded this action. The INF Treaty is a step in the right direction. But that step has not come by the actions of those in Washington and Moscow alone. There has been growing pressure on the government to reduce dependency on nuclear weapons and that pressure must continue.

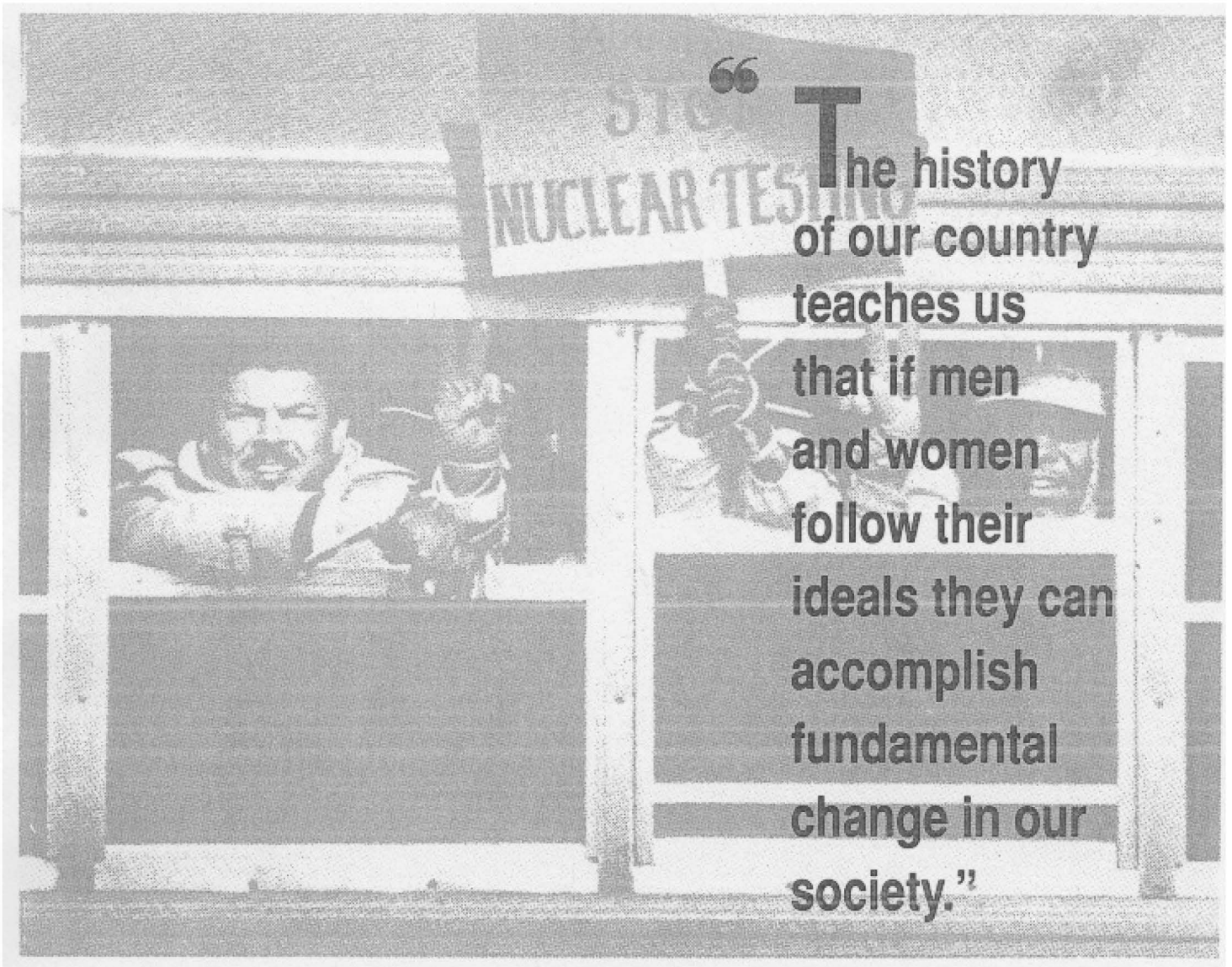
If the INF Treaty eliminates 1,500 medium range nuclear weapons — that still leaves 48,500. And while both leading nuclear powers keep on producing more of these monsters of death, eventually we will lose the gains of this treaty.

Positive reinforcement is a valid technique. But, difficult to apply to the efforts of the Reagan administration when it comes to its military postures vs. the reinforcement

of American cities.

The Reagan administration has repeatedly taken economic and human resources away from the cities to satisfy its military cravings. One example is the \$3.5 billion taken away from General Revenue Sharing and given to the study of Strategic Defense Initiative or "Star Wars" research. 39,000 cities, towns and villages lost this money which was used for people programs.

The editorial is correct when it suggests that redirecting the economic resources of nuclear weapons programs to domestic



“**T**he history of our country teaches us that if men and women follow their ideals they can accomplish fundamental change in our society.”

programs will not be simple. Conventional military forces are sorely lacking in many areas. Some of the money can be used to give soldiers a pay raise, so that military families, as is the case today, do not have to use food stamps to survive.

Although the editorial doesn't question the sincerity of my position, it does question the amount of time and dedication I apply to my local responsibilities. *The Jersey Journal* is aware that I go to my office every day in the morning and work all day, usually through lunch, addressing local concerns, while some others on the council come to city hall four times a month. Two of those days are to pick up pay checks. I have given my full-time efforts to what is defined as a part-time job.

The charges of poor spending on the part of any city may have a ring of truth, but . . . [m]y goals [in Nevada] were not only to participate in the anti-nuclear action. I attended workshops and met with other local officials and national figures. We are trying

to change the image of Jersey City.

Finally, the editorial pits my idealism vs. my practicality. Ideals are, for the most part, formed in our minds when we are young. By the time most people are 30, their ideals have faded. I have tried to live by mine.

The history of our country teaches us that if men and women follow their ideals they can accomplish fundamental change in our society. The civil rights movement and the protest against the Vietnam War are examples. When it comes to saving the world from nuclear holocaust, everything that can be done must be done.

I will continue my work as councilman with the same sense of commitment and responsibility that I started with, and I will speak out on the critical issues of the day. To keep silent and not act would be a greater injustice and abdication of my responsibilities.

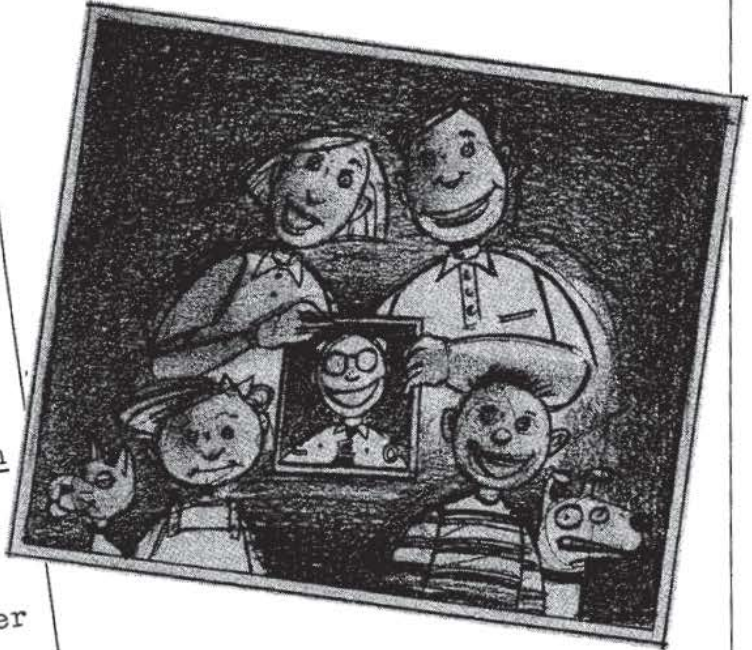
Dear Local Elected Official,
 You've always had a keen eye
 for connections. Like the
 connection between
 international affairs and the
 vitality of our city.

That's why we've adopted you!

We asked CID to send you its
Bulletin of Municipal Foreign
 Policy.

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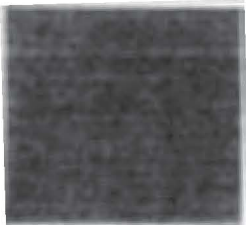
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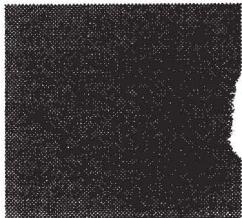




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