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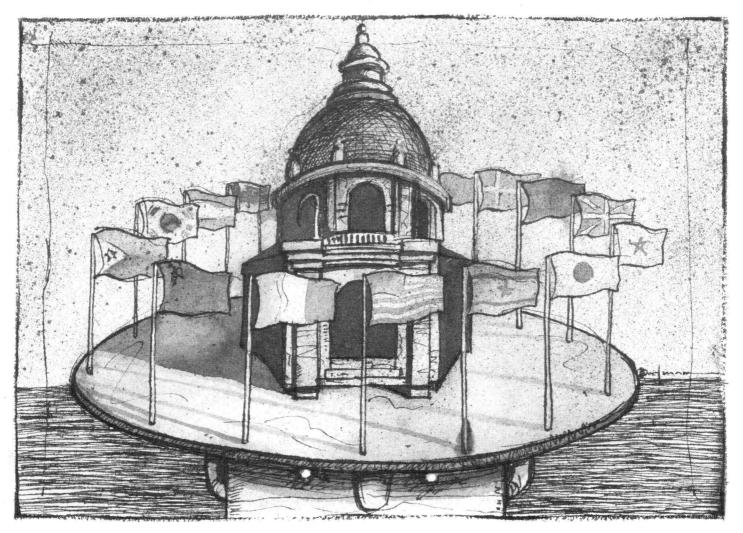
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Municipal Foreign Policy

CITY INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND GLOBAL POLITICS SPRING 1989, VOL. 3, No. 2



THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM
Municipal Offices of International Affairs

JIM HIGHTOWER'S BEEF WITH THE FEDS Playing Cowboys and Bureaucrats

CLOSE MORE MILITARY BASES... and Improve America's National Security

"In the representative system, the reason for everything must publicly appear. Every man is a proprietor in government, and considers it a necessary part of his business to understand. It concerns his business because it affects his property. He examines the cost, and compares it with the advantages; and above all, he does not adopt the slavish custom of following what in other governments are called leaders."

Tom Paine

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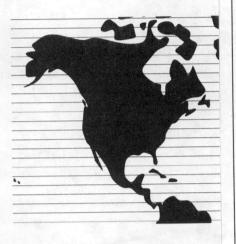
12 El Salvadoran National Guard checking movement of civilians.

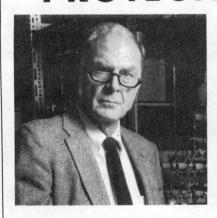
SPRING 1989

OZONE DEPLETION GREENHOUSE EFFECT

How they're caused. What they mean for the future. What cities can do.

THE NORTH AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOR A STRATOSPHERIC PROTECTION ACCORD





University of California Professor Sherwood Rowland, Irvine, California Mayor Larry Agran, and participating mayors and councilmembers from cities across North America invite you to a two-day public policy conference for local government officials and concerned citizens.

July 21-22, 1989
National Academies of Sciences and Engineering
Irvine, California

Held at the prestigious west coast headquarters of the National Academies of Sciences and Engineering, the North American Conference for a Stratospheric Protection Accord will provide an unparalleled opportunity to learn about ozone depletion and global warming from some of the world's top scientists and policy experts. You'll join colleagues in a special session to learn about present city responses, and to formulate a strategy for the 1990 Stratospheric Protection Accord negotiations.

In late 1973, University of California chemist Sherwood Rowland and his post-graduate assistant Mario Molina discovered that commonly used propellants and solvents called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) were destroying the ozone that protects life on Earth from the sun's ultraviolet light.

Rowland immediately began a worldwide crusade to ban CFCs. While winning the 1976 U.S. ban on CFC use in aerosols, Rowland's campaign infuriated the nation's chemical industry and jeopardized his professional career. Rowland persisted.

After more than a decade of challenges and industry resistance, Rowland's predictions were borne out by the 1985 discovery of an ozone "hole" over Antarctica. In January 1989 Sherwood Rowland was awarded the prestigious Japan Prize for his work on ozone depletion.

Dr. Rowland serves as principal scientific advisor to the Stratospheric Protection Accord Project. Conference participants will have a rare opportunity to learn about ozone depletion from the man who has done the most to help publicize its dangers.

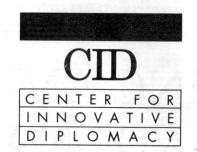


The Center for Innovative Diplomacy's Stratospheric Protection Accord Project

I'm interested. Please send me more information about the conference.

Mail to: Jeb Brugmann • Center for Innovative Diplomacy
45 Rice Street, Suite 3 • Cambridge, MA 02140

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



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

BULLETIN OF MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY

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STALKING AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL CITIES

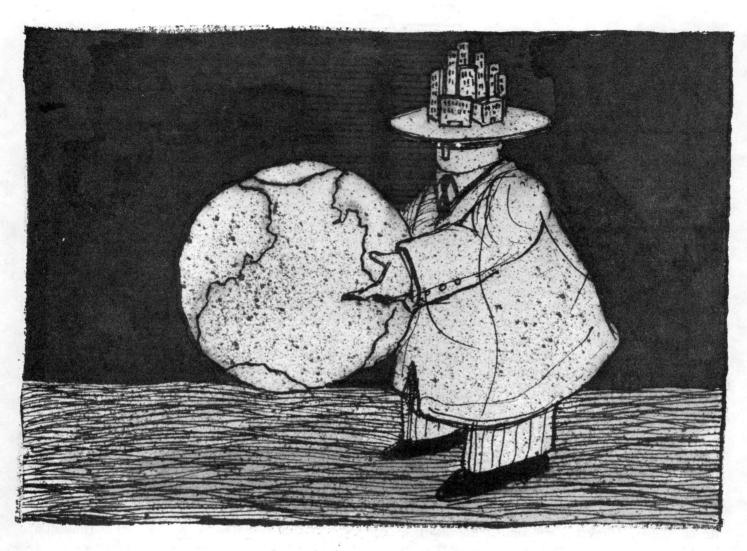
Jeb Brugmann Guest Editor

For the last four months we've scoured the nation for the best examples of local institutions promoting municipal foreign policy, whether they're already operating or just in the works. Our findings were so surprising and encouraging that we decided to dedicate much of this issue to reports about these institutions.

Beginning on page 27 you can read about Seattle's Office of International Affairs, Trenton's TrenMos Foundation (that's short for Trenton-Moscow), Baltimore's Development Commission, Cambridge's Peace Commission, and the initiatives of four other cities.

Throughout the country international affairs agencies are being established or are under consideration in key cities like Portland, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Irvine, Phoenix, Tucson, Dallas, San Antonio, Houston, New Orleans, Mobile, Atlanta, Orlando, Miami, Newport News, Washington, Jersey City, New York, New Haven, Boston, Chicago, St. Paul, Columbus, and Louisville.

Despite their differences, all of these cities share a basic belief: Urban vitality now requires a thoughtful and concrete international strategy.



THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

Cities across America have "gone international" because internationalism pays. Foreign trade agencies and peace conversion commissions boost the local economy.

Sister city offices enrich local culture. And international affairs departments serve the growing economic and political demands of their constituents.

The good old days of a local government dealing strictly with local problems are fast disappearing. Today's urban officials and public managers now face problems and opportunities that are increasingly global in scope:

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS and world trade are coming to dominate local urban, suburban, and even rural economies.

- FOREIGN INVESTORS ESPECIALLY from Japan and Western Europe are buying up urban real estate.
- Immigrants are flooding into cities because of international political unrest, human rights abuses, or wars, posing new challenges to already stressed schools, hospitals, and infrastructure.
- AMERICA'S YOUNG PEOPLE ARE falling behind their international counterparts as cities struggle with declining resources to improve the quality of education in science, math, foreign languages and geography.
- International DRUG CARTELS driven by Third World poverty and inadequate global police cooperation are shredding the fabric of urban life with drug addiction, crime, disease and alienation.

To deal effectively with these issues in the 1980s, cities began mustering their resources — skilled staff, public involvement and money — though often in ad hoc, uncoordinated ways.

In many cities today, staff can now be found working on international issues in the mayor's office, or in the economic development department, the parks department, the human services department, the arts council, or almost any other agency — each staff person often only dimly aware of what others are doing, duplicating effort, wasting city resources, missing significant international opportunities, and establishing contradictory city policies.

In the last issue of the *Bulletin*, for example, we documented how the city council in Tallahassee, Florida, was attempting to divest from South Africa while the city's Economic Develop-

ment Commission was giving lease subsidies to Tadiran, a firm with a parent doing business in South Africa.

Timid about defending an "international affairs" line item in the budget, many city managers prefer to keep their initiatives hidden in piecemeal programs like these.

But scattering the evidence is often more expensive — and always less effective — than coordinating international efforts through one central agency. That's why a growing number of cities have recently proposed and created international affairs agencies. Leaders in these progressive communities find that the payoffs of doing a job with foresight, strategy and coordination far outweigh the possible political damage from explicitly participating in foreign policymaking.

MAXIMIZING BENEFITS, MINIMIZING RISKS

There's no doubt that formally committing a city's money and staff time to global affairs can entail political risks. Consequently some heads of international affairs agencies, as well as their political sponsors, have emphasized "safe" activities — promoting international trade and tourism, or establishing only "nonpolitical" sister city relationships.

Our research on the experiences of many international affairs offices, however, calls this approach into question. The lowest risks and greatest benefits are actually accruing to those cities that bring together diverse and differing interests — businesspersons, cultural exchange specialists and political activists. These are the cities that have declared themselves internationalist. No apologies.

Cities cautiously limiting their international involvement to sister cities and trade have often encountered as much public criticism and disaffection as those stridently launching hard-edged foreign policy initiatives. The hyper-cautious posture of Seattle's Office of International Af-

fairs, for example, has alienated some of the city's foreign policy activists — a part of the community no less important nor politically potent than the city's conservatives.

The heart of an effective foreign affairs strategy is the fundamental principle of all consensus politics find something for everyone. On the municipal foreign policy stage, corporate leaders should meet ethnic community leaders, Cold War conservatives should meet non-interventionists, and tourism promoters should meet immigrants' rights activists. Only open institutions with broadbased participation and diverse agendas can sufficiently mobilize a community to build a truly international city. International programs are most effective when the entire community can rally behind an agenda that in some way serves the interests of each constituency.

In California, the city of Irvine's new Citizens' Advisory Committee on International Affairs provides an excellent example of just this kind of consensus-based institution. Here in the heart of conservative Orange County, a new institution has brought businesspersons, human rights advocates, peace activists, and sister city supporters together to design common international strategies.

The Committee has helped these various constituencies organize around several projects — rather than struggle to find reasons not to work together. The key to success seems to lie in gaining agreement that a city's international affairs agenda should be diverse.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, learned this lesson the hard way. In 1982, the city established a Peace Commission with a single focus: nuclear disarmament. This immediately incited a heated battle between the business community and the activist community. Then the Peace Commission broadened its agenda and facilitated some unlikely partnerships. Today the Chamber of Commerce, military contractors, various ethnic

leaders, and veterans' groups work with peace activists on Soviet sister city exchanges, plans for economic diversification, human rights policies, educational programs, and Third World development projects.

This diversity of initiatives is keeping Cambridge—a city of 100,000— in the forefront of global affairs. Every bit of the city's extensive publicity, no matter how controversial, drives home a common point: Cambridge is truly an "international city." And its citizens are proud of that fact.

A well-designed Office of International Affairs might bring constituents together to promote trade and tourism with Central America while simultaneously establishing peacemaking sister city relationships with countries like El Salvador or Nicaragua.

Such a regional focus would provide the framework for import/export initiatives, special cultural exchanges, new school curricula, and a variety of foreign policy initiatives.

That's what Trenton's TrenMos Foundation does. For three years Trenton Mayor Arthur Holland and his associates have focused his city's international attention on the Lenin district of Moscow, sponsoring numerous Soviet cultural performances, trade agreements, and peace initiatives.

As the stories in this issue of the Bulletin reveal, municipal forays into the world arena are still at the experimental stage — and, as with all experiments, there are both exciting successes and disappointing failures. But perhaps the most important conclusion is that the world is shrinking, and it's time to move your city's international initiatives - and aspirations out of the hidden corners of city hall and into a legitimate city institution where citizens of all persuasions can together build a global future that is a source of genuine pride. Now is the time to get started.

For a copy of CID's "Office of International Affairs Prospectus," send \$5 to: Prospectus, CID, 17931-F Sky Park Circle, Irvine, CA 92714.

IN THE EYE OF THE HURRICANE

Elias Freij often calls himself "the world's best known mayor." As the Christian-Arab mayor of Bethlehem in Israel, he enjoys enormous visibility though there are times when he probably wishes he were anonymous.

As a mayor of a city in the heart of the Mideast conflict, Freij has rarely shied away from controversy. But after recently calling for a truce between Palestinians and the occupying Israeli army on the West Bank, he was faced with repeated threats - from graffiti scrawled on walls ("Death to Traitors") to statements from Yasir Arafat who warned that any Palestinian who urges an end to the Arab uprising against Israel "exposes himself to the bullets of his own people."

In the wake of such threats Freij backed down, explaining, "If the PLO says it is not time for a truce, then I withdraw my suggestion.

"You know," he added, "it is hard to be in the spotlight. You have to watch every step, every word, jealously."

SOURCE: Daniel Williams, "Arab Mayor Calm in Face of Threats," Los Angeles Times, 8 January 1989.

WHEN STATES DIVEST. CORPORATIONS LISTEN

Maybe the Bush administration believes that a divestment strategy is more show than substance, but some states aren't buying that argument. Last January, a Michigan law went into effect barring state pension-funds from investing in companies doing business with South Africa. Michigan statute came on the heels of a similar law passed by the Massachu-



setts legislature. And both laws seemed to have an immediate impact.

For instance, it didn't take Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts & Co. (KKR) long to recognize the implications of these laws. As it was trying to take over RJR Nabisco Inc., KKR was counting on state pension funds to help finance the deal. But then Robert Bowman, Michigan's state treasurer, said that the new law would ban his state's fund from delivering \$110 million KKR expected in investments. His announcement followed Massachusetts' decision not channel \$25 million to KKR.

The reason: RJR Nabisco operates two firms — Royal Beechnut and the South African Preserving Co. - in South Africa.

KKR didn't waste a moment in reacting. Within two days of the threatened defection by Michigan, KKR pledged to sell the food and tobacco giant's holdings in South Africa. A spokesman for KKR said that, although he "wouldn't look for a direct causality" between Michigan's position and KKR's sell-off of South African holdings, "certainly it's not unrelated. KKR obviously is in no position to tell its investors they have to violate their South Africa laws. That would be dumb. KKR tries to accommodate them."

Meanwhile, the American Committee on Africa has just published its

annual list of companies with business ties to South Africa — a list that many cities now use in making their investment and purchasing decisions. According to committee spokesperson Richard Knight, "the biggest single thing" occupying his group's time is fielding inquiries from businesses and explaining to them the reasons for their presence on the list. The committee receives two to three calls a day from firms who are asking why they have been included on the list - and how they can get off.

SOURCES: Michigan State Treasurer's office (517-373-3200); Associated Press, "KKR Plans to Sell Nabisco Holdings in South Africa," Washington Post, 21 January 1989, p. D12; James A. White, "KKR Pledges Sale of RJR Operations in South Africa," Wall Street Journal, 20 January 1989, p. C15; Rodd Zolkos, "Michigan Fund Influences KKR on Divestiture," City & State, 30 January 1989, p. 3; American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038 (212-962-1210).

THE THEATER OF **POLITICS REVISITED**

It was a scene fit for opera. Last February, minutes before the curtain went up on the Welsh National Opera's version of Verdi's "Falstaff," Mayor Ed Koch took the stage in a



New York Mayor Ed Koch.

rumpled business suit to welcome Princess Diana Windsor to the Brooklyn Academy of Music and to New York.

"Your royal highness, I am out of dress code because I have a town hall

BRIEFS

meeting in the Bronx tonight," his honor intoned. "The city is graced with your presence."

And then the mayor exited, stage left. Outside, "Brits-Out" demonstrators howled for the princess' speedier exit from Northern Ireland. New York's Irish community accused Mayor Koch of being "a turncoat in a redcoat" for uncritically welcoming the princess.

As we reported in the Autumn 1988 issue of the *Bulletin*, Mr. Koch has had problems solving the Irish Question before. Last summer, on a self-described "peace pilgrimage," he outraged his traveling companion, New York Cardinal John O'Connor, when he described British troops in Northern Ireland not an as "occupying force" but rather as "safeguarding the peace by preventing what, if these people were Jewish, would be called pogroms."

SOURCE: John J. Goldman, "A Humble Home — but Fit for a Princess," Los Angeles Times, 3 February 1989, p. 4.

NEW YORK LEADS STATES IN ARMS EXPORTS

California may lead the nation in military contracts with the Pentagon, but New York state is number one in arms exports.

Crain's New York Business, citing an Investor Responsibility Research Center study, reports that Long Island-based Grumman Corp. accounted for \$504 million of the state's total \$706 million in international sales in fiscal year 1987. New York's total sales during the previous year were just \$281 million.

Grumman's overseas revenues included \$171 million in sales of its E-2C Hawkeye, and \$325 million in sales of the F-15 and S-2.

SOURCE: Crain's New York Business, 12 December 1988; Investor Responsibility Research Center (202-939-6500).



Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion Barry.

BARRY TEES UP FOR TROUBLE

Will Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion Barry's problems never end? At press time, a federal grand jury was investigating Barry's alleged visit to a hotel room of a former city employee suspected of drug dealing. Barry has denied any wrongdoing and pledged to submit to a drug test "under the right conditions." Meanwhile, Barry faced another embarrassment. When he flew to the Bahamas last November to attend a golf tournament, critics noted that the event was partly sponsored by the Shell Bahamas oil company — a subsidiary of the same Shell Oil that proudly does business in South Africa.

Joslyn N. Williams, president of the AFL-CIO's Washington Metropolitan Council, said, "There is no excuse for the mayor to be lending credibility and respectability to an institution like Shell when he knows what Shell has been doing in South Africa.... It does not make any difference whether it is Shell U.S.A. or Shell Bahamas. It is all part of one giant conglomerate, and that conglomerate is exploiting blacks in South Africa."

Barry's press secretary attempted to deflect the criticism, asserting that Shell had not paid for the mayor's trip. In fact, he explained, Barry's expenses were picked up by Resorts International, Ltd., a company that operates gambling casinos. Barry himself said, "I'm the only mayor here [at the tournament]. I was singled out to come down here. I'm honored."

SOURCE: Athelia Knight, "Apartheid's Foe Condemns D.C. Mayor's Golf Trip," Washington Post, 2 November 1988, p. A1.

SWEDES DECLARE WAR AGAINST FRENCH WINE

Exasperated by France's nuclear testing program at Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific, the Mayor of Jarle, a small Swedish town 200 kilometers west of Stockholm, has declared war on the French.

Mayor Elof Elinder claims to have drawn his authority to declare war from a statute instituted by Queen Christina of Sweden in 1642. Originally intended to apply against sailing ships, that law permits towns unilaterally to declare war against any country.

While conceding that Jarle isn't likely to send troops up the Seine River, Mayor Elinder has opened fire on the economic front. He is urging Swedes to boycott all French products, particularly wine and food. The boycott, he added, should remain in force until the French stop their nuclear testing in the South Pacific.

MILWAUKEE MAYOR BOYCOTTS NAVY BASH

Missing from the more than 5,000 Milwaukee residents attending the October 1988 recommissioning ceremonies of the U.S.S. Wisconsin was Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist. The mayor has labeled the Wisconsin a "white elephant" and complained that the Navy was wasting \$385 million "to

bring back a ship that is mostly of nostalgic value." That \$385 million, he argued, could be better used to restore fire, police, and city health services, all of which had recently been reduced because of federal budget cuts.

SOURCE: Mayor John Norquist's office (414-278-2200).

GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR...

The Village Council in Grafton, Wisconsin, is facing an issue that just won't die. It all began when an industrialist donated \$400,000 to the city council to build a library, and asked that it be named the U.S.S. Liberty Memorial Public Library. At the time, no one remembered that the Liberty was an American intelligence ship, allegedly mistaken for an Egyptian vessel, that was attacked by Israeli boats in 1967, killing 34 crew members. Since then, a number of extremist groups have used the incident as a rallying point for anti-Jewish sentiment

The Milwaukee Journal ran an editorial asking the council to change the library's name, noting that the donor had a history of donating money to anti-Semitic and racist organizations, including the Ku Klux Klan. "If village officials can't see the harm in a name deeply offensive to many Jews, maybe the rest of the community can persuade its leaders to make the needed mid-course correction."

An organization called Voices of Interested Citizens Ending Silence (VOICES) was formed to protest the name. They presented over 400 signatures to the council, as well as a 69-page document explaining how the Liberty name was being used in Grafton and in the Middle East to foster anti-Jewish sentiment.

By press time, the council had not yet acted and VOICES members were vowing to make the matter a campaign issue in the April city elections.

SANTA BARBARA JOINS CALL FOR TEST BAN TREATY

"It is appropriate at this time to push for a comprehensive test ban treaty."

With those words, Santa Barbara (CA) Mayor Sheila Lodge threw her support behind a City Council resolution calling on President George Bush to negotiate a total ban on nuclear testing with the Soviet Union. The council



Santa Barbara Mayor Sheila Lodge

supported the measure last January, 5-0-1.

The text of the resolution reads:

"Dear President Bush: As you are sworn in today as this nation's 41st President, you shoulder the awesome responsibility of keeping our country secure. As concerned Americans, we are pleased that you have already met with Mikhail Gorbachev. We welcome, too, your commitment toward a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty with the Soviet Union at the earliest possible date.

"But we are concerned that in order to fully protect national security these positive efforts and a START Treaty must be coupled with a comprehensive test ban. A comprehensive test ban would:

"Prevent the development of more advanced nuclear weapons that

could threaten U.S. survival.

"Help stop the spread of weapons to less developed regional powers where the risk of nuclear war is great.

"Rule out costly new nuclear weapons at a time when our government is faced with tough defense budget choices in order to remain strong."

About 250 U.S. cities have passed similar resolutions. The Committee for National Security (CNS) is considering a nationwide campaign to get more cities involved with this issue, according to coalition director Carolyn Cottom.

SOURCE: Mayor Sheila Lodge, P.O. Drawer P-P, Santa Barbara, CA 93102 (805-564-5318); Carolyn Cottom, Committee for National Security, 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202-745-2450).

UNDERSTANDING FOREIGN LANGUAGES SOMETHING TO CROW ABOUT, SAY GOVERNORS

Virginia Governor Gerald L. Baliles wants to know how Americans "plan to sell our products in a global economy when we neglect to learn the languages of the customer?"

At a recent meeting of the National Governors Association in Washington, D.C., a task force provided one answer — make proficiency in a foreign language a requirement for college graduation.

The task force chair, New Jersey Governor Thomas H. Kean, told reporters, "Obviously you do these things gradually."

But Baliles, who appeared before reporters alongside Kean, struck a note of urgency: "How are we to open overseas markets when other cultures are only dimly understood? How are our firms to provide international leadership when our schools are producing insular students?"

The task force also recommended

BRIEFS

that elementary and high schools adopt a course of study that would include foreign languages, world culture, world history, and geography as early as the first grade, and continue offering those courses during summer school, after school, and on weekends.

The study noted that California's International Studies Project already offers teacher training in many of the suggested fields.

Governor Baliles discovered the importance of knowing other cultures on a recent trip to Hong Kong, where he learned the Chinese serve chicken feet as a delicacy. On his return the governor contacted Virginia poultry producers and found that chicken feet are routinely thrown out.

"A match was made," said the report, "and his state is now a supplier of chicken feet to Hong Kong."

SOURCE: Paul Houston, "Stress on Foreign Language Study Urged by Governors," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 February 1989, p. 4.

TELLER STREET HITS DEAD END

Building on its well-established nuclear-free status, the city of Davis, California, decided to strip the name of Dr. Edward Teller from one of its new streets. By a 3-2 vote, the City Council decided in January that it made a mistake naming an avenue in its new research park "Teller Street."

"This may not be a person we wish to have a street named after," said Councilmember Ann Evans, referring to Teller's distinction as "the father of the H-bomb." Some councilmembers tried to keep the controversy to a minimum, noting that Davis has an unwritten policy not to name streets after living persons. But according to Councilmember Jerry Adler, "Teller Avenue would have become an issue even if Teller were dead."

SOURCES: City Clerk's office, City of Davis, 23 Russell Blvd., Davis, CA 95616 (916-756-3745); Eric Mattson, "Davis Balks Over Street for Teller," *Sacramento Bee*, 19 January 1989, p. B3; "Teller Ave.—Idea That Bombed," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 January 1989, p. I:2.



Edward Teller, "father of the H-bomb."

KOBE CELEBRATES ITS SAYANORA TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The popular Japanese aversion to nuclear weapons, embodied in the federal government's three non-nuclear principles — not to manufacture, process or allow nuclear weapons onto Japanese territory — needs little explanation. What's less elementary is that government's habit of looking the other way when U.S. nuclear-armed warships enter Japanese ports.

Only the Japanese port at Kobe actually requires visiting ships to declare themselves nuclear-free, a 14-year practice it celebrated in March. Since 1975, Kobe has relayed its requests for nuclear-free declarations through the Japanese Foreign Ministry. And while the Japanese government itself has been loath to challenge visiting warships, it dutifully passes on Kobe's requests.

Says a spokesperson for nuclear free ports in the United States, "The Japanese government recognizes that Kobe's policy falls under local authority to regulate port activity."

Before adopting its non-nuclear policy in 1974, Kobe was the site of a U.S. navy base and the port of call of

hundreds of navy ships. Since 1974, no nation has challenged the city's non-nuclear policy, and Kobe has risen to become Japan's largest commercial port, and the largest container port in the world.

SOURCE: Foreign Bases Project, P.O. Box 150753, Brooklyn, NY 11215 (718-788-6071).

AND THE SOVIETS SAY "NYET," TOO

As the *Bulletin* went to press, municipal authorities in four of the Soviet Union's major Pacific ports had barred a two-month-old nuclear-powered ship because of fears about its safety.

In an unprecedented anti-nuclear protest, city councils in Nakhodka, Vostochny, Magadan and Vladivostok took the action because, they said, the Maritime Ministry refused to guarantee the safety of the the 858-foot container ship Sevmorput.

The city councils' decisions were backed by dockworkers in the port towns who refused to provide any port services because of their fears of handling potentially radioactive cargo, according to the *Los Angeles Times*.

The newspaper Soviet Russia reported that a "huge wave of public indignation has been set in motion by the lack of information, by [uncertainty about] the safety of the ship itself, by an invisible shadow of the Chernobyl tragedy and by the complex ecological situation in the Soviet Far East.

The Los Angeles Times report said "tens of thousands" of letters of protest and petitions are flowing into the Communist Party headquarters in Moscow, in what the Times called "one of the largest such popular protests ever in this country."

SOURCE: Michael Parks, "Four Soviet Ports Bar Ship in Protest Over Nuclear Safety," Los Angeles Times, 8 March 1989, p. 1.

BERKELEY MAYOR BATTLES FOR RELEASE OF SALVADORAN MAYOR

Salvadoran town of San Antonio Los Ranchos, was traveling in a United Nations vehicle last January on a road from San Salvador to his home town. Along the way the vehicle was stopped at a military checkpoint, and within minutes, Lopez and three others with him — including Manuel Cartagena, the president of the coordinating committee of El Salvador's repopulated communities — had been captured and detained by soldiers of the 4th Brigade of the Salvadoran armed forces.

Mayor Lopez spent almost a week in jail on charges that he was a "guerrilla" leader. And the Army was hardly a cordial host. The four captives spent the entire time stripped of their clothes (except for underwear), blindfolded and tortured, with their thumbs tied together.

In fact, Mayor Lopez's only crime was that he had led 900 Salvadoran refugees from a Honduran refugee camp to San Antonio Los Ranchos last August, after most had spent about five years awaiting an opportunity to return home. Mayor Lopez negotiated with the military to ensure the safe passage of these refugees, and since then the Army has resented his presence.

Mayor Lopez's detention might have lasted longer — or had a worse outcome — were it not for a sister city relationship established between Berkeley, California, and San Antonio Los Ranchos in

As the war rages in El Salvador's countryside, searches such as these are common in the capital city, San Salvador.

1983. Six years ago Berkeley created that link to offer moral and political support to the Salvadorans, who were being threatened with resettlement at that time.

When Mayor Lopez and the others were detained, the people of Berkeley — including Mayor Loni Hancock and the city council - aggressively worked for their release. The Berkeley Sister City Project rallied the community to send about 250 telexes to officials in El Salvador. At the same time, members of the city council unanimously passed a resolution condemning the detention of the four civilians and calling for their immediate release without harm. It also directed Mayor Hancock to use her influence to help secure the release of the prisoners. Copies of the resolution were sent to El Salvador President Napoleon Duarte, the head of the High Command of the Salvadoran Army, the Salvadoran consular office in San Francisco, and the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador.

The day after that resolution was passed, a religious delegation went to the Salvadoran Consulate in San Francisco, but they were not allowed to see Ana Margarita Cuellar, the head of the office. That so incensed Mayor Hancock that she decided to visit the same office the next day - Thursday whereupon she herself demanded a meeting with Cuellar. The consul claimed she was unaware of the capture of the four civilians, but Mayor Hancock persisted, and began making calls to El Salvador, reaching the Salvadoran Governmental Human Rights Commission and the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador.

Meanwhile, the Berkeley organizers convinced their Congressional representative, Ron Dellums, to begin applying pressure, too. He also asked the U.S. Embassy to investigate the detention, and sent a telegram to President Duarte.

The political arm-twisting apparently worked. The very day of Mayor Hancock's phone calls, the detainees were taken before a civil judge, who

ruled that there was "no merit in the accusations" against the four civilians — and they were released.

"The interest of Mayor Hancock and the city council was vital to the release," according to Paul Desfor of the sister city project. And as Peggy Sullivan of the mayor's office says, this most recent incident has clearly let the Salvadorans know that "we're watching."

SOURCES: Mayor Loni Hancock, 2180 Milvia St., Berkeley, CA 94704 (415-644-6484); Paul Desfor, Berkeley Sister City Project, 3126 Martin Luther King Blvd., Berkeley, CA 94703.

DENVER COUNCIL LENDS SUPPORT TO CENTRAL AMERICAN REFUGEES

Last December, Salvadoran and Nicaraguan refugees received a boost from the Denver city council, which passed a resolution calling for Congressional passage of legislation granting the refugees a temporary

haven in the U.S.

The measure was sponsored by Councilmember Ramona Martinez. and although some opposition was expected, it was passed unanimously by the "We ancouncil. ticipated the possibility of debate and confrontation." said an aide to Martinez. "But we also did our best to educate the Coun-



National Guardsman checking movement of civilians in El Salvador, where 30% of the population has been displaced by the war.

cil before the vote was taken."

The resolution endorses the DeConcini-Moakley bill, which has been reintroduced in Congress this year. The same legislation passed the House in 1988, but never was voted on by the Senate. The DeConcini-Moakley bill specifically provides for "a General Accounting Office investigation and report on conditions of displaced Nicaraguans and Salvadorans," and "the temporary stay of detention and deportation of certain Nicaraguans and Salvadorans."

More than a year ago, the Denver city council consideredwhether to make Denver a city of refuge for Nicaraguans and Salvadorans displaced by the wars in their countries. The ordinance would have called upon city employees—including police—to refrain from helping federal immigration officials to deport Salvadorans. That measure, however, never came to a formal vote. Some proponents of the new measure see the recent Council action as a step toward reintroducing the city of refuge legislation.

SOURCES: Ramona Martinez's office, Denver City Council, 80 S. Federal Blvd., Denver, CO 80219 (303-922-7755); Congressman Joe Moakley, U.S. House of Representatives, 221 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515 (202-224-3121); Drew Digby, "Council Expects Heated Debate Over Bill to Protect El Salvador Refugees," *Denver Post*, 18 December 1988, p. 6B.

Fish / Impact Visuals

Here are highlights of the activities of some of the growing number of U.S. - Nicaraguan sister city (and state) relationships. They were gathered and written for the Bulletin by Beth Katz and Sheldon Rampton of the Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua.

NICARAGUAN PHOTO DISPLAY TOURS BROOKLYN

In Brooklyn — sister city to San Juan del Rio Coco — a photo exhibition titled "Puente de Paz" (Bridge of Peace) has been displayed at several locations, featuring photographs by Linda Eber and text by Susan Metz and Pat Murray.

"When I went down with the delegation, it was with the thought of using photographs of our sister city to dispel some of the myths of what a lot of people's image of Nicaragua is," Eber said. "I wanted to provide a means whereby people could see Nicaraguans as real thinking, breathing individuals whose lives are constantly being threatened by our policies, instead of simply 'the other' or 'the enemy' or 'the communists,' which is the way the Reagan-Bush administrations would like them to be seen. I have attempted to present a visual picture of what San Juan and the surrounding area is like and how the people live."

"There have probably been over 1,000 people who have come in to see it, and many of them have told their friends, who then have told other friends," commented pastor George Knight of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church, whose church was one of the hosts of the exhibit. "Many of the people who have seen the exhibit came to the church for services and other programs and ended up so captivated by what they saw and read that they returned for another look. Several people have commented to me that



each time they have seen the exhibit, they have learned more."

The exhibit appeared at Manhattan Community College from late September through mid-October, and then moved to the District 65/UAW building through mid-November, where the sister city project held a reception and forum featuring eyewitness accounts of labor leaders investigating union activity in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

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

MINNESOTA CLEAN WATER PROJECT DRAWS IN OTHER SISTER CITIES

Several U.S. cities paired with Leon, Nicaragua have joined forces to provide chlorinators for purification of Leon's drinking water. Spearheaded by Project Minnesota/Leon (PML), the effort raised \$15,000 this fall and sent two chlorinators. Organizers say another five are needed to provide adequate water treatment for the city.

The idea for the chlorinator project began in November 1987, when Enrique Gentzch of the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency visited Leon and discovered that the city's drinking water hadn't been chlorinated for six years due to worn-out systems. A project to deal with the problem was proposed but tabled for lack of re-

sources, but it was revived at the 3rd U.S.-Nicaragua Sister Cities Conference, held in Managua in June. At that conference, PML members met and agreed to work jointly on the project with Leon's other U.S. sister cities — New Haven, CT; Berkeley, CA; and Gettysburg, PA.

Project Minnesota/Leon kicked off its campaign in September with a "Fall Festival Fundraiser" featuring a silent auction, food, sports events and games.

Regarding other projects, PML has sponsored annual fall visits to Minnesota by Nicaraguan youth delegations in the past, but this year the visit had to be canceled after the U.S. said it could not grant visas. "The recent expulsion of ambassadors from the two countries created a political situation which no one seemed able to penetrate," said PML organizer Elizabeth Sander.

In December a benefit concert for hurricane relief titled "Boogie In the Eye of the Storm" was held in Minneapolis, featuring The Maroons, a reggae band. In the same month PML joined other Minnesota groups in sponsoring a holiday vigil for Central American peace at the State Capitol Rotunda in St. Paul.

Despite these activities, organizer Nancy Trechsel expressed concern that public interest in Nicaragua seems to be declining. "We're wondering how we can keep things going," she said. "We might have to get a little more political."

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

NORWALK SENDS AMBULANCE TO NAGAROTE

Norwalk, Connecticut, has obtained a donated ambulance for its sister city of Nagarote and spent this fall obtaining medical supplies necessary to keep it in operation after deliv-

ery. Nagarote, with a population of 32,000, presently has no vehicle to carry its sick and injured to the nearest hospital, some 25 miles away.

In addition to medical supplies (including oxygen tanks and intravenous equipment) and a CB radio, people in Norwalk have been acquiring spare parts such as oil filters, spark plugs, brake pads and wheel bearings, which are impossible to obtain in Nicaragua due to the U.S. trade embargo.

Last September four members of the Norwalk/Nagarote Sister City Project held a public forum recounting their personal experiences in Nagarote that summer.

CONTACT: Scott Harris, Norwalk/Nagarote Sister City Project, P.O. Box 962, South Norwalk, CT 06856 (203-227-1307 or 203-846-8324).



Jane Furchgott of Richland Center, Wisconsin, presents sister city scrapbook to Santa Teresa, Nicaragua, Mayor Luis Humberto.

MARIN COUNTY CAMPAIGNS FOR HURRICANE RELIEF

A benefit event in December titled "Laugh Your Lights Off" helped residents of Marin County, California, provide their sister city of Condega with medical supplies, clothing and tools for rebuilding from Hurricane Joan. The event featured jugglers, a

puppeteer, a stand-up comic, and a man-and-dog acrobatic act. Funds raised went to a delegation of four people and a reporter who left for Condega on December 5, carrying 800 pounds of donations valued at \$7,000.

"Our original plan was to put street lights in Condega, but the hurricane changed things," said Tim Jeffries, a founder of the sister-city project. "Instead, the delegation carried sutures, antibiotics, other medicines and power tools. Some of the medicines, including 5,000 medical kits and 1,000 sutures, went to Rama, which was hit harder than Condega."

For Condega, Hurricane Joan was less destructive than Hurricane Gilbert, which hit the country in September, destroying three houses and causing one death and five injuries. In addition to delivering donations, the December delegation picked coffee in the area outside Condega and helped build a primary school.

The Condega area has been a war zone, and recently a truck was blown up by claymore mines 15 miles north of town. However, Jeffries said, delegates were surprised that the city seemed better off than they had expected. Besides Condega, the delegation visited Esteli, Ometepe, Rama, Rivas, San Juan del Sur and Granada. It brought back slides and black-andwhite photographs showing how those cities were affected by the hurricane.

CONTACT: Tim Jeffries, Marin/Condega Sister City Project, P.O. Box 336, Fairfax, CA 94930 (415-456-7433).

D.C. PROJECT FOCUSES ON MATERIAL AID

The Washington, DC-Bluefields Sister City Project has been working with the Quixote Center of the Catholic Church to coordinate a national material aid drive for Nicaragua. Previously the project was focusing on community education to promote U.S.-Nicaraguan friendship, but after the hurricane, organizer Hillary Stern said "we realized that the most urgent need was material goods" to deal with what has become "less a political war and more an economic war."

Stern said she had witnessed economic deterioration during the time she spent living in Nicaragua, but also saw political progress toward peace, culminating when the Nicaraguan government successfully negotiated a cease-fire with the contras.

CONTACT: Hillary Stern or Keith Williams, Washington, DC/Bluefields Sister City Project, Box 11099, Cleveland Park Station, Washington, DC 20008 (202-462-8848 or 202-232-6789).

COMINGS AND GOINGS IN NEW HAVEN

A September bikeathon for Central America raised \$10,000 in New Haven, Connecticut, half of which will be sent to field hospitals in El Salvador through the Northeast Central America Network. The other half will go to a project in New Haven's sister city of Leon, co-sponsored by the sister city project and Bikes Not Bombs, which will repair wheelchairs for disabled veterans. A phoneathon later that month drew pledges of \$50,000 to pay for material aid shipments.

In November a delegation of educators from New Haven visited Nicaragua to study the country's programs that succeeded in reducing the illiteracy rate from 54 percent to 12 percent in the early 1980s. Organizers are hoping to use the Nicaraguan program as a model for a similar literacy campaign in New Haven.

After the hurricane New Haven groups raised \$10,000 through potluck dinners, sidewalk collections, church donations and a benefit concert. In support of these efforts, New Haven Mayor Ben Dilieto declared January

"Nicaraguan Hurricane Relief Month" and sent a letter to the New Haven Chamber of Commerce asking for donations to the Nicaraguan Red Cross.

By January 14, the New Haven/ Leon Sister Cities Project, in cooperation with Brookline, Massachusetts (which is paired with the Nicaraguan city of Quezalguaque), had raised money to send a shipment of 29,000 pounds of powdered milk to aid hurricane victims.

The city of Leon is located further north than the area where the hurricane struck hardest, and thus it suffered comparatively minor damage to crops and homes.

Organizer Alan Wright said the program is emphasizing material aid efforts that contribute to long-term development rather than charity donations. "The point is to avoid fostering economic dependence," he said. "This means we prefer to send sewing machines or drills rather than food and clothes."

CONTACT: Alan Wright, New Haven/Leon Sister City Project, 965 Quinnipiac Avenue, New Haven, CT 06513 (203-467-9182).

CHELSEA HAS A "SISTER'S SISTER" IN TRAUN, AUSTRIA

Residents of Chelsea, NY, have joined forces with the city of Traun, Austria to help their mutual sister city of El Jicaral in Region II, Nicaragua.

The collaboration began when four people from Chelsea visited El Jicaral last June after attending the U.S.-Nicaragua Sister City Conference in Managua. They met Herwig Adam, who has been living in Nicaragua for the past eight years and oversees the Traun Sister City Projects in the area, including organizing and funding agricultural projects and building schools.

After learning that Chelsea was

planning to help build a well in El Jicaral, Adam offered to join forces. He said the city of Traun could contribute \$25,000, which was raised by assessing each taxpayer one shilling after an historic vote by Traun's Municipal Council. In Chelsea, all funds for the project are being raised through private donations, which had reached \$2,000 as of October.

"A source of fresh running water would reduce sickness and infant deaths resulting from household use of water from the polluted Sinecapa River," said Chelsea resident Audrey St. Mark. "The women and children of El Jicaral now must carry buckets a long distance to meet their daily needs for washing, drinking, cooking and bathing. Death from dehydration resulting from diarrhea has become a national concern."

Chelsea residents also sent \$400 in August for completion of an elementary school in Las Mojarras, one of the districts of El Jicaral. Las Mojarras is a farming community that has suffered three years of severe drought. Its population is 1,300, of whom 500 are children. The funds from Chelsea went to buy materials for the school, and Las Mojarras residents donated their labor.

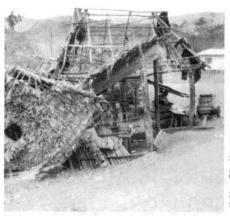
CONTACT: Mary Jean Chilcote or Fran Nesi, P.O. Box 1574, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10113 (212-989-1592 or 212-255-9236).

TUCSON AIRLIFTS HURRICANE ASSISTANCE

Santo Domingo was caught in the path of Hurricane Joan last October. According to eyewitness accounts, 100 roofs were blown off in town, with more damage in the outlying areas, including destruction to crops and the deaths of many cattle and other animals.

Six days after the hurricane struck, members of the Tucson-Santo Dom-

ingo Sister City Project helped send an airplane containing 30 tons of aid bound for Managua and Bluefields. The airlift, organized by Tim Nonn and David Tang of Walk-In Peace and the Tucson Ecumenical Council, in-



Home and crops outside of Rama, Nicaragua, destroyed by Hurricane Joan.

cluded supplies worth \$150,000.

In January seven people from Tucson drove a donated school bus to Santo Domingo, "loaded to the gills" with aid, according to organizer Molly Moore. The supplies included medical materials, bike parts, clothes, school supplies, building materials, tools, and two electric solar collectors.

Moore said one of the drivers would be staying for a month "to conduct a hands-on survey of leaks in Santo Domingo's water system with fancy electronic detectors and other equipment.

One of our major projects is to help Santo Domingo revamp its inadequate, run-down water system. Last summer, Richard Luckemeier, a civic engineer, did an extensive study of the water system, and now we are doing follow-up work."

In addition, the Tucson project is helping the Peace in Central America Coalition fill a 22-ton cargo container with clothing for Nicaragua.

CONTACT: Mark Mayer or Molly Moore, Tucson/Santo Domingo Sister City Project, 921 E. 7th Street, Tucson, AZ 85719 (602-325-5531 or 602-623-5371).

INDIANA LAUNCHES AID DRIVE

The Indiana-Rio San Juan Sister State Project, in cooperation with Indianapolis Folks Concerned about Central America, kicked off its second material aid drive in January. Organizers hope to raise a semi-trailer of supplies for delivery by July, when Nicaragua will commemorate the 10th anniversary of the country's victory over former dictator Anastasio Somoza.

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

ANN ARBOR SPONSORS WASTE DISPOSAL EXPERIMENT IN JUIGALPA

Ann Arbor residents are raising money to provide their sister city of Juigalpa with "composting toilets" that may become a model for environmentally-healthy waste disposal systems in the Third World. The "Clivus Multrum" toilets are self-contained units that turn waste into compost material. If the design proves successful, additional toilets can be built locally from indigenous materials and may help improve sanitary conditions in Juigalpa. The experiment is partly funded by Abby Rockefeller, who owns the patent for the Clivus toilets and is interested in seeing the design tested in the Third World.

The toilet project continues the emphasis on public health and sanitation that has formed the mainstay of Ann Arbor's relationship with Juigalpa. The sister city program's most ambitious project to date was a \$22,500 garbage truck that Ann Arbor residents bought and drove 4,000

miles to Juigalpa in 1987.

"For now, we expect the emphasis of our work will stay the same," says Ann Arbor organizer Gregory Fox. "Sixty percent of our efforts will be devoted to public health and sanitation." But, he added, "We have to increase our profile and find ways of dealing with opposition from our local newspaper."

The sister city relationship was established initially through a voters' referendum, and became a subject of local publicity after an Ann Arbor delegation, including two reporters, witnessed a contra attack in 1986. The garbage truck project also received extensive coverage in the local media as well as national publications, including *The New Yorker* and *Car and Driver* magazines. Since then, the cities have exchanged several delegations, but publicity has been less forthcoming, says Fox.

In the aftermath of the hurricane, one Ann Arbor delegation has visited Juigalpa, carrying money to help with recovery from the disaster. Although Juigalpa itself was not badly damaged, it has taken responsibility for helping refugees from the surrounding area, including the city of Rama, which was 95 percent destroyed.

CONTACT: Gregory Fox, P.O. Box 8198, Ann Arbor, MI 48107 (313-663-0655).

KALAMAZOO, ANN ARBOR SEND JOINT SHIPMENT

Kalamazoo's sister city, Acoyapa, was directly in the center of the path of Hurricane Joan. Its damages, though not as severe as those in Rama or Bluefields, included 31 houses destroyed and 283 damaged, as well as 1,000 acres of crops ruined and 185 head of cattle killed. Four people were hurt, but no one was killed.

Shortly after the disaster, the Kalamazoo steering committee sent money directly to Acoyapa to be used by the mayor's office in projects such as replanting crops and installing water purification equipment and latrines.

Kalamazoo residents worked with Ann Arbor to make a major shipment of aid that departed for Nicaragua October 29, and are exploring the possibility of sending another shipment in collaboration with Grand Rapids.

CONTACT: Alexandra Chaplin or Tom Small, 2502 Waite Avenue, Kalamazoo, MI 49008 (616-381-4946 or 616-349-8559).

PRINCETON HELPS PROVIDE SCHOOL DESKS

Princeton, New Jersey, kicked off a campaign in August to provide school desks for elementary schools in Princeton's sister city of Granada. Currently, hundreds of children in Granada have to sit on floors because of a shortage of desks. The sister city project hopes to raise \$18,000 for materials to be used in building the desks.

In October Princeton's Film Project was completing work on a film titled "In the Absence of Peace," which was shot during an eight-day visit by a Princeton delegation to Granada in January 1988. The film features interviews with former contra leader Edgar Chamorro and with Ernesto Cardenal, Nicaragua's recently retired Minister of Culture and a native of Granada.

CONTACT: James Laity, Princeton/Granada Sister Cities Committee, #3 Shirley Lane, Lawrenceville, NJ 08648 (609-896-2441).

MICHIGAN'S NEW SISTER CITY PROJECT

Residents of East Lansing, Michigan, recently launched an unofficial sister city relationship with the Nicaraguan city of La Libertad.

CONTACT: Lisa Mulds, Peace Education Center, 1118 S. Harrison, East Lansing, MI 48823; phone (517-351-4648).

ECONOMIC CONVERSION

JOBS WITH PEACE: MAYORS SHOULD BE "MAD AS HELL"



hen Michael Brown heard the details of a U.S. Conference of Mayors report released in January, he booked a flight for the Conference's June 1989 meeting in Charleston, South Carolina. In a survey of 27 cities the report found demand rising for food and shelter — precisely the sort of federally subsidized aid no longer widely available. "During the past year," the report said, "requests for emergency shelter increased by an average of 13 percent across the survey cities." Requests for food assistance "increased in 88 percent of the responding cities, by an average of 19 percent."

Continued on next page



"The only way we're going to change decisions made at the federal level is to bring more people into the [federal budget-making] process.

To do that, we'll have to work at the local level."

-Iill Nelson

Brown, who is national programs director of the Boston-based Jobs with Peace says figures like those should have the nation's mayors "mad as hell that more than 50 percent of the tax money their constituents pay is going to the Pentagon, while they struggle with ever-shrinking resources to address the thousands of problems they see and hear about every day.

Brown says Jobs with Peace will push the U.S. Conference of Mayors to support a "Build Homes Not Bombs" resolution urging "significant cuts in the military budget to fund affordable housing. Logically, mayors should be concerned about the Pentagon budget," he says. "Part of the cities' financial squeeze comes from the elimination of General Revenue Sharing and cutbacks in Community Block Grant funds and other support, along with dramatic rises in Pentagon spending."

Prop. 13 and the Peace Movement

Jobs with Peace has been broad-casting that message for ten years. But the group only rose to real prominence with the rise and fall of Michael Dukakis in 1988. During the second Bush-Dukakis debate, *Newsweek* reporter Margaret Warner asked Dukakis if his position "on the board of Jobs with Peace in Boston" suggested that he supported the group's recommendation of a 25 percent cut in the military budget.

"I don't happen to share that goal," Dukakis said, while admitting that he sympathized with the group's more general concerns, and would go so far as cutting the military budget a little and boosting social services spending a little. But the group's real work of curbing the Pentagon's appetite began in 1978, with an urban crisis created by the state of California's social service cuts. Following the passage of the state's tax-revolt initiative, Proposition 13, San Francisco organizers wondered how their city would continue to fund essential social services in the face of massive social spending cuts.

"Proposition 13 cut everything out of the city, in terms of the budget," says San Francisco Board of Education member Jo Anne Miller, who worked on the 1978 San Francisco Jobs with Peace campaign, the first of its type in the nation. "We just sat around the table and asked ourselves, 'What can we do?' And we decided that nobody had ever had the chance to vote on what was going to be done with their money. Nobody had ever asked the people."

When Miller and others asked the people of San Francisco if they wanted a chance to vote on the issue, if "the People of the City and County of San Francisco" would prefer to see their tax dollars flowing into social, rather than military, programs, the people said yes — in a vote of 61 percent to 39 percent. "It was an exciting campaign," recalls Miller of the 1978 effort.

It still is. Between 1978 and 1986, activists and local officials around the country placed Jobs with Peace initiatives on ballots in 85 cities. In that time, the campaign has taken hold in ten cities — ranging in size from Albuquerque, New Mexico, to Los Angeles — and now claims nearly 20,000 members nationwide.

What the People Want

"We weren't looking to organize a permanent campaign," Miller says. "We just saw [the 1978 San Francisco campaign] as a way of responding to Prop. 13. . . . We were really just very frustrated about all the money going into weapons, and so little going to meet human needs."

So are a lot of other people. Today, Jobs with Peace is continuing to organize campaigns that give people a chance to vote on just how their taxes ought to be spent. And, by drawing connections between rising military spending and falling social spending, Jobs with Peace activists reach folks often overlooked by the peace movement.

"It's [a strategy] that gets people involved in issues of peace and justice, even the low-income people," Baltimore Jobs with Peace activist Katherine Corr told the *Bulletin* late last year. "Some people say the poor just want to get food on the table, but this has helped them see that these [national and foreign policy] issues are immediate things that need to be addressed. You see people growing and waking up, and saying, 'Hey, these affairs do affect our city.'"

"The only way we're going to change decisions made at the federal level is to bring more people into the [federal budget-making] process," says the group's executive director, Jill Nelson. "To do that, we'll have to work at the local level."

And so they have.

- In Los Angeles, Jobs with Peace has begun a "Child Care not Warfare" campaign, calling upon the city and county to increase funding for after-school child-care and focusing on cuts in military spending to pay for it.
- In Pittsburgh, Jobs with Peace focuses on housing, working for cuts in military spending to increase funding for the Community Development Block Grant program.

- In Baltimore, Jobs with Peace leaders collected thousands of signatures to place a referendum on the ballot in 1986 establishing Baltimore's City Development Commission to study the impact of military spending on Baltimore. The Commission issued its first report in 1988 and held its second annual hearing in April.
- In Boston, Jobs with Peace qualified a referendum for the 1987 ballot calling for an annual report detailing the impact of a military spending cut on the city's affordable housing crisis. "Here again," says the group's national program director, Michael Brown, "the city's housing crisis has worsened due to severe federal cutbacks, and citizens took the lead in pointing out the need for the federal government to increase funds for affordable housing."

Now, Brown says, he's headed for Charleston to meet with the nation's mayors in June, where he hopes to persuade the Conference to throw its weight behind HR 1122, a bill introduced in the Congress by Representative Ron Dellums (D-CA). If passed, the measure would cut \$53 billion from the military budget for the expansion of federal housing programs.

"We look to the Conference of Mayors because it's the mayors who've been really hard hit by the budget priorities of the last ten years. And they're the people we'd like to push to take a stand on the budget issue," says Brown. "We're looking to them for leadership toward the renewal of our cities and towns, and renewal of the belief that people count, that people deserve better than deteriorating neighborhoods and a declining standard of living."

SOURCE: Mike Brown and Jill Nelson, Jobs with Peace, 76 Summer St., Boston, MA 02110 (617-338-5783).



"We're looking to mayors for leadership toward the renewal of our cities and towns, and renewal of the belief that people count."

- Michael Brown

ECONOMIC CONVERSION BRIEFS

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

LOCAL EFFORTS

New London (CT)

When a Diversification Task Force convened to discuss meaningful economic conversion projects, no one knew what, if anything, would ultimately materialize. But fears that this was just one more committee with more flash than substance have been eased in recent months.

Composed of local and state elected representatives, as well as small businesspersons, defense contractors, citizens' groups, and academicians, the Task Force now has several projects coming to fruition. The most fully developed is the Southeastern Area Technology Development Center (SEATECH), a nonprofit corporation located in New London to help new business ventures and diversify the entire regional economy of southeastern Connecticut and Rhode Island. SEATECH's first client is a company cleansing semi-polluted shellfish — a project expected to assist the local fishing industry, minimize coastal pollution, and create additional jobs. SEATECH is providing the company with a technical review of its business operations as well as a review of its business plan.

SEATECH is being funded through a \$600,000 federal grant. Also on the drawing boards of SEATECH are plans to purchase a large building to offer low-cost office or light manufacturing space to new businesses. The University of Connecticut is involved, too, providing business stu-



dents to help evaluate new clients and assist them in writing business plans.

CONTACT: Jerry Lamb, Southeastern Area Technology Development Center, Rt. 184, North Stonington, CT 06359 (203-535-3902).

Santa Barbara (CA)

Is public education and dialogue the first step toward meaningful economic conversion? Some people in Santa Barbara think so. In January and February Santa Barbara City College's adult education division sponsored a series of four public forums on how communities can shift away from military spending.

Santa Barbara County now relies heavily on Defense Department spending; five of its top ten private employers are large military contractors. With the real possibility of cutbacks in military expenditures, "We would like to try to minimize the dislocation and maximize the opportunities," says Jackie Diamond, an organizer of the symposia.

Santa Barbara citizens heard arguments for conversion initiatives articulated by leading spokespersons such as Michael Closson, director of the Center for Economic Conversion, and Will Swaim, associate director of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy. Closson urged the audience to work with local officials to create a commission that can assess local needs and help militarily-dependent firms plan for diversification. Sheila Lodge and

Harriet Miller, Santa Barbara mayor and councilmember, respectively, also participated in the forum, as did County Supervisors Bill Wallace and Tom Rogers.

In the aftermath of the symposia, the Santa Barbara City Council voted 7-0 to instruct the mayor to "request that the Area Planning Council consider the matter of economic conversion" and evaluate how that planning council "might assist businesses, local government (county and cities), and the citizens of the county in a constructive discussion of this important economic issue." The Area Planning Council is made up of the County Board of Supervisors and a representative from each of the county's incorporated cities.

CONTACT: Gregory Cross, Peace Resource Center of Santa Barbara, 331 N. Milpas St., Suite F, Santa Barbara, CA 93103 (805-965-8583).

STATE EFFORTS

Washington

The Washington state legislature will soon be acting on an economic-conversion bill strongly supported by activist organizations such as SANE/Freeze. The measure calls for the formation of a statewide commission on economic diversification empowered to get military-related industries to develop alternate-use plans, and to help these firms implement the plans. The commission also would help companies gain access to loan and grant funds available for diversification. These include community blockgrant funds and state loans.

Bill Penz of Washington SANE/ Freeze concedes that, as presently drafted, the measure has only a slim chance of passage. But he believes that hearings on the bill will stimulate an important dialogue in the state. "We might get the commission," says Penz, "but we might not get it with the teeth we'd like."

CONTACT: Bill Penz and Sara McCoy, SANE/Freeze, 5516 Roosevelt Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206-364-9112).

ENVIRONMENT

Portland Turns Thumbs Down on Foam Food Containers

B EFORE LONG RESTAURANTS IN PORTLAND, OREGON, WILL have a different look. Portland has joined a growing list of communities taking action to protect the global environment by restricting the use of polystyrene foam food containers.

The ordinance, passed last January, targets disposable foam food containers and packaging used by retail food

vendors and restaurants. The ordinance contains three major components:

■ Effective March 1, 1989, restaurants, retail food vendors and nonprofit food providers were banned from using polystyrene foam containers made with certain chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) — the chemicals that threaten the earth's ozone layer.

■ After June 30, 1989, local packagers of meat, eggs, bakery products or other foods will be prohibited from using polystyrene foam containers manufactured with CFCs. Foam items manufactured with other blowing agents or biodegradable paper products may be used. Packaged food shipped from other areas and then sold in Portland will be exempt.

■ Beginning January 1, 1990, restau-

rants and retail food vendors will be prohibited from serving prepared food in any polystyrene foam products. This applies to food either served on the premises or prepared for take-out. Washable ware or readily-available biodegradable paper products will need to be substituted. Nonprofit organizations are exempt.

"Nothing epitomizes the problems associated with our throw-away society more than the polystyrene foam issue," says Commissioner Earl Blumenauer, a sponsor of the council's action. "We use these products for ten minutes and they last forever as litter in our landfills."

The city council passed the measure, 4-1, swayed by arguments that foam products not only fail the test of biodegradability, but that CFCs are destroying the ozone layer that protects the Earth from the sun's ultraviolet rays. Bob Koch, the sole dissenting voice on the council, argued that the city should work toward recycling foam products, not banning them. But according to a city report, "Recycling of foam food containers is not practical or economical because the product is so light and hard to clean. Recycling programs, other than a few expensive, industry-sponsored demonstration projects, have not been developed."

This was the second city commission action on CFCs in Portland in six months. Last July the commissioners unani-

mously approved an ordinance imposing a ban on the city's purchase of polystyrene foam products manufactured with CFCs and any throwaway foam products.

A city task force drafted the new ordinance passed last January, which included amendments proposed by Commissioner Blumenauer. The latest vote came on the heels of three public hearings, including a four and one-half hour

> session. The measure was supported by the League of Women Voters of Portland, the Oregon Consumer League, the Oregon Environmental Council, and the Sierra Club.

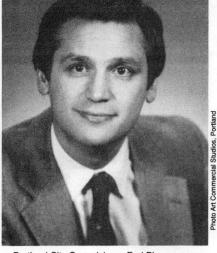
Much of the opposition came from the business community. "It's just so ludicrous they picked on this industry and this product, it's such a minute factor," said Regina McCarthy of Sysco-Continental Distributors, a distributor of both foam and paper products. Industry spokespersons argued that the production of paper products produces more serious air pollution, without reducing the bulk in landfills.

But according to Commissioner Blumenauer, "There will be less litter and a different kind of litter. It won't be

polystyrene foam that will last forever."

Barbara George, a council advisor on the environmental issue, says that the council sees the CFC issue as an opportunity to influence the Oregon legislature to enact similar legislation of its own. "If the state lawmakers see that the biggest city in the state has done something, maybe they'll be moved to do the same," she says. George also says that a new city task force of industry and citizens will be looking at the feasibility of council action regarding other types of foam and plastic, and will make recommendations to the commissioners next year.

Foam food container bans have already been instituted in other cities and regions. For instance, some jurisdictions — including Suffolk County, New York, and the state of Florida — have restricted the use of foam products regardless of whether CFCs were involved in their manufacture. Others — Berkeley (CA), Palo Alto (CA) and the state of Rhode Island — have restricted the use of CFC foam products. Los Angeles, Portland and five states (Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota and Vermont) have banned the government purchase of foam products.



Portland City Commisioner Earl Blumenauer.

SOURCES: Earl Blumenauer, Portland Commissioner, City Hall, 1220 S.W. 5th Ave., Room 407, Portland, OR 97204 (503-248-5577); Barbara George, City Hall, 1220 S.W. 5th Ave., Portland, OR 97204 (503-243-7995); Kathleen Glanville, "Foam Container Ban Adopted," *The Oregonian*, 26 January 1989, p. A1.

SAN FRANCISCO HOMEPORTING FOES WIN BITTERSWEET VICTORY

VEN THOUGH THE HOMEPORTING of the nuclear-armed U.S.S. Missouri is all but dead in San Francisco, homeporting opponents aren't dancing with glee on Market Street.

"People here in San Francisco feel an odd mixture of relief and ambivalent anger," says Saul Bloom, executive director of the Arms Control Research Center. "They feel a little bit used."

Late last December, the federal Commission on Base Realignment and Closures recommended that the refurbished battleship and its flotilla be based in one of three other cities -Honolulu, San Diego and Long Beach - rather than San Francisco. That report appeared to put an end to the Missouri controversy in San Francisco, particularly after Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci approved the panel's recommendations. This decision, however, ran counter to the apparent wishes of many San Francisco voters, who narrowly approved Proposition S in last November's election — a measure that affirmed a 1987 memorandum of understanding between the city's Board of Supervisors and the Navy for berthing the Missouri in San Francisco.

Although homeporting opponents such as Bloom cheered the commission's decision, they were miffed that the Navy may not have been seriously interested in San Francisco homeporting at all. The final Navy budget submitted by the Reagan administration did not provide any funding for the homeporting of the Missouri in the bay area. The Navy



"The city budget
analyst's office
substantially reduced
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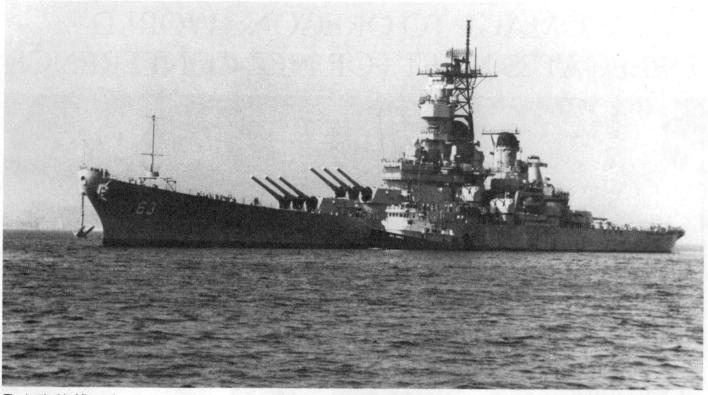
- Leamon Abrams

says it was awaiting an environmental review of the San Francisco homeporting before requesting funds. But Bloom contends that the Navy had already decided to base the battleship in Honolulu, even before the November vote, and gave the appearance of supporting the bay area site to help California Senator Pete Wilson — a strong pro-Navy legislator — win reelection.

When the base-closures commission turned its back on the Missouri homeporting in San Francisco, both pro- and anti-homeporting forces in the city were startled by some of its conclusions. For instance, the twelve-member panel reported that by placing the Missouri elsewhere, San Francisco would lose only 93 civilian jobs. That countered earlier studies by the Navy, the Chamber of Commerce and the city's budget analyst, all who concluded the Missouri would bring thousands of civilian jobs to the community.

"I think [the commission's] figures are incorrect," responded John Jacobs, executive director of the Chamber of Commerce. "They just estimated direct employment figures. They haven't taken into consideration that the Navy will be spending \$60 million in ship repairs and another \$120 million in payroll."

Mayor Art Agnos, a vocal opponent of San Francisco homeporting, reacted differently. "We had been hearing that the location of these ships at Hunters Point would mean thousands and thousands of jobs and millions of dollars," he said. "Yet this report casually dismisses all that, say-



The battleship Missouri.

ing it would have a minimal impact on employment in this area."

The results supported another study Mayor Agnos received in May 1988 from Deloitte, Haskins & Sells (DH&S), a major independent accounting firm that analyzed the homeporting studies that had been carried out to date. In its preliminary report, DH&S concluded that "neither the data itself nor the method in which it is portrayed supports a decision by the city of San Francisco to proceed with the significant up-front investments required of the city to implement homeporting of the U.S.S. Missouri and its accompanying battlegroup ships." It called into question the data utilized by the city's budget analyst, and added that "even if the numbers were accurate, a simple comparison of costs minus the benefits does not justify a city investment."

Leamon Abrams, who was a DH&S senior consultant and a co-author of the report, told the *Bulletin* that the city budget analyst's office initial reports concluded that homeporting

costs far exceeded benefits, but "they substantially reduced the costs estimates in later versions which made the project look better financially." The city, he added, had never actually conducted its own detailed fiscal impact study, relying instead on a socioeconomic impact analysis in an environmental impact review.

Although the DH&S investigation was intended to be a confidential report only for Mayor Agnos' eyes, it was eventually released to the media, and was roundly criticized by former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, a strong homeporting supporter who had remained actively involved in the issue even after leaving office. In public, she stood behind the city's own reports that claimed that the Missouri would have positive economic effects upon San Francisco. And in private meetings with DH&S executives, she threatened to commission a separate study by another major accounting firm.

Ultimately, DH&S went ahead and prepared a final report that sup-

ported its earlier conclusions. But having taken so much heat in the earlier go-round, the company chose not to release that final, 50-page examination, instead submitting a four-page letter to Mayor Agnos summarizing its major findings. Even though the letter took no sides and talked of the need for additional study, prohomeporting forces used excerpts in their campaign literature prior to the November election.

At press time, Congress had not yet formally sanctioned the base-closure commission's recommendations, which would put the final nail into the coffin of San Francisco homeporting. Bay area opponents of the Missouri, however, were optimistic that Congress would soon do so. Other homeports set for closing are Lake Charles, Louisiana, and Galveston, Texas.

SOURCES: Saul Bloom, Arms Control Research Center, 942 Market St., Suite 709, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415-397-1452); Leamon Abrams (415-673-3011); Deloitte, Haskins & Sells, 44 Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94104 (415-393-4300); Thomas G. Keene, "Anger, Cheers Over S.F.'s Loss of the Missouri," San Francisco Chronicle, 30 December 1988, p. 1.

HOMAGE TO OREGON: WORLD DELEGATES MEET FOR NFZ CONFERENCE



Homage to Oregon: An Italian delegate bows before Eugene Mayor Jeff Miller (in kimono).

ELEGATES AT THE FOURTH annual International Nuclear Free Zone Conference in Eugene, Oregon, met for four days in early February to discuss the increasing impact of their movement on national and international policy.

"We set out with a number of goals to accomplish," said conference planner Barbara Keller. "And to a very large extent we were very successful."

Keller said conference planners had several hopes, but key among these was the establishment in the U.S. of a national nuclear free zone organization like those in some European and Asian nations.

"There is nothing more important at this conference than setting into motion the process that will lead to the creation of a United States nuclear free zone secretariat," said the international organization's new president, Ian Leitch, a local official from Dumbarton, Scotland. "The United States is a leader in many areas. Unless the

international movement can claim the United States as an active member — in fact, as a leader — of this movement, our powers of persuasion will be severely limited."

Letich was not to be disappointed. Throughout the three-day conference, activists and local officials from around the United States met to discuss the shape of a proposed "United States Nuclear Free Zone Association" (USNFZA).

Irvine Mayor Larry Agran, who chaired the conference session on the creation of the USNFZA, said the most significant problem facing the U.S. nuclear free zone movement is local official's support.

"My own attitude is that if an association is to be credible, it's going to require a contribution of public funds," Agran said. "if this is going to be an association commensurate with the task before us, we have to talk about building an institution with the resources to enlarge the movement."

Keller agreed. "It's important that

U.S. local officials take some initiative at this point," Keller said. "Citizens have taken the [U.S.] nuclear free zone movement about as far as they can. It's important to the success of the international movement that American local officials begin working with international local officials to keep this movement expanding."

Hank Prensky, the official delegate from Takoma Park, Maryland, took part in all the discussions. "We hammered out a rough draft of the structure of the association, and began plans for getting it off the ground," Prensky said. "Using the National League of Cities (NLC) as a model, funding for the organization would come from dues paid from public funds by member NFZs based on population."

(The U.S. delegation met again during the March meeting of the NLC in Washington, D.C., where Prensky said officials from around the country agreed to help "fine tune the document" establishing the national or-

ganization.

Attendance at the NLC meeting "was above and beyond our wildest expectations," Prensky said. The group will meet at the next NLC meeting — in Atlanta in late November — to finalize work on the USNFZA's constitution.

The Oregon conference, organized by Keller's Eugene-based committee and carried out by a volunteer army nearly equal in strength to the 300 or so representatives from 18 countries, was not without its ironies. Eugene has had a rocky history implementing its own nuclear free zone.

The city council has effectively shelved two nuclear free zone ordinances in the last three years, in spite of overwhelming support for those ordinances at the polls. And yet international representatives feted Eugene Mayor Jeff Miller, one of the city council's most vigorous opponents of the proposed ordinances, at the conference's opening night buffet.

Former Mayor Brian Obie, who led the charge against the ordinances, was also present, much to the chagrin of local activists.

"They've fought us every step of the way," said nuclear free zone advocate Thom Alberti. "We worked and got the Nuclear Free Zone initiative on the ballot [in 1986], fought the city council tooth and nail, and won." When the council disregarded and undercut that ordinance and proposed a much weaker one instead, Alberti said, "we gathered signatures again for a different version and got that back on the ballot," though it won't appear until May 1990.

But the conference's organizer, Barbara Keller, wasn't worried. Even if local activists think Eugene's ordinance is weak by international standards, said Keller, "We really have a very strong nuclear free zone."

While Alberti and his friends dug in at the offices of Eugene Peaceworks, down the street at Eugene's Hilton Hotel, representatives of nuclear free zones in Japan, Italy, England and Scotland presented Mayor Miller with goblets, books, ceremonial robes, souvenir pens, buttons and praise. Obie, whose billboard company donated signs at entrances to the city ("Welcome to Eugene, City of Peace"), was clearly comfortable in his role as former mayor.

Keller said she believed the conference could prompt Eugene's local officials to endorse a stronger nuclear free zone ordinance. "That's what's going on in that room down there," she said of a welcoming ceremony that brought together avid proponents as well as grudging supporters of the NFZ movement. "It's full of converted opponents."

SOURCE: Barbara Keller, Eugene International Nuclear Free Zone Conference Organizing Committee, P.O. Box 3197, Eugene, Oregon, 97403; Albert Donnay, Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th Street, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301-235-3575); Hank Prensky, Nuclear Free Takoma Park Committee, (202-376-3373).

NUCLEAR FREE ZONE BRIEFS

Since the last issue of the Bulletin, Nuclear Free America has reported the following developments regarding nuclear free zones (NFZs) in its publication, The New Abolitionist.

Homer (AK)

At press time, Homer was moving closer toward declaring itself a nuclear free zone. A NFZ ordinance was introduced at a Homer city council meeting in January, and the following month public hearings were held on the issue. The measure would ban work on or storage of nuclear weapons, components of nuclear weapons, or the storage of radioactive materials within city limits. Supporters of the ordinance promised that if the city council did not pass the ordinance, signatures would be gathered to place it on the ballot as an initiative.

Missoula (MT)

Last November the people of Missoula County celebrated the tenth anniversary of their nuclear free zone — the first declared in North America. The Missoula County Commissioners issued a proclamation to mark the occasion, establishing a "Nuclear Free Zone Awareness Week." The original measure a decade ago was a ballot

initiative approved by 60 percent of the voters; it banned nuclear power in the county, as well as the storage or disposal of radioactive materials and any facility capable of mining, milling, converting, enriching, fabricating or reprocessing uranium minerals or other nuclear fuels.

Marin County (CA)

Later this year Marin County voters may vote on a new NFZ ordinance, designed to strengthen the existing statute. Although 60 percent of Marin's electorate passed the original NFZ law in 1986, the county supervisors refused to fully enforce it, citing what they termed a "loophole" permitting the county to purchase products manufactured by nuclear weapons contractors, as long as they were bought from independent distributors [See Bulletin, Winter 1988-1989].

The new ordinance, drafted as a citizens' initiative, would ban these third-party purchases, except in certain specifically-described circumstances. It would also create strict guidelines that would guarantee due process for affected contractors, while eliminating challenges to the law solely on procedural grounds. Signatures are presently being collected for the new measure, with hopes to get it on the November 1989 ballot.

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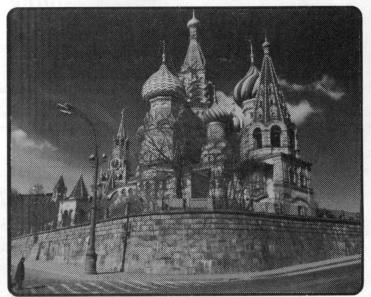
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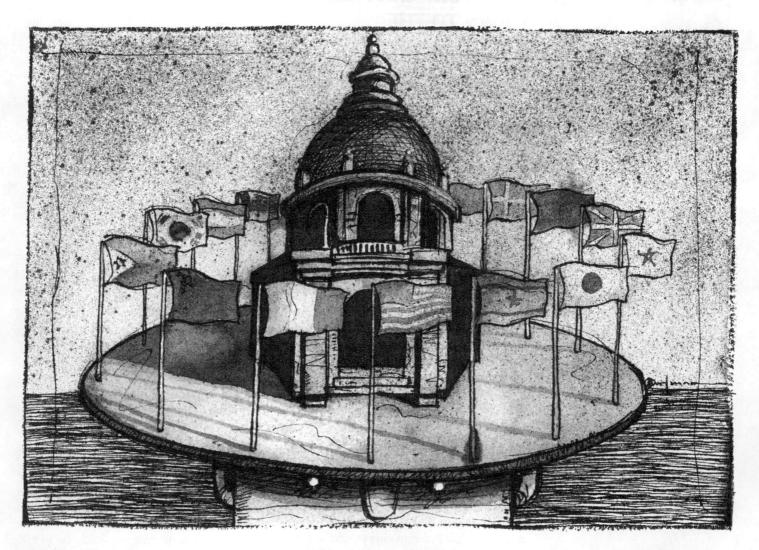
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CITIES THAT SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES



he world is what it is," the British novelist V.S. Naipaul wrote. "Men who are nothing, who allow themselves to become nothing, have no place in it."

So it goes with cities in a changing international order.

The priorities and patterns established decades ago no longer serve the nation's cities, and yet many local officials follow them still. Local officials who refuse to understand the new order — of local government involvement in world trade and global politics — will have no comfortable place in it.

In the following pages, we'll look at a few of those who've seen the future and built at City Hall the institutions capable of harnessing its opportunities. Their efforts constitute the single greatest advance in local government since the turn of the century — the period historian Richard Hofstadter called "The Age of Reform."

This new Age of Reform is a response to pressing urban problems: the declining flow of federal dollars to the nation's cities and towns; declining education and public health systems; fierce international economic competition and the demise of high-wage industrial jobs; and rising Pentagon spending and the dangers of Pentagon-dependency.

Some cities are waiting for the federal government to act. But these eight cities — among countless others — have tapped local resources that make them among the most formidable international affairs constituencies in the nation.



Trenton Mayor Art Holland (L) and Shelley Zieger in Red Square.

In the near future, with Zieger's business leadership, a new restaurant called "The Trenton" will open up in the Lenin District.

TRENTON: GETTING DOWN TO THE BUSINESS OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

TIMES ARE TOUGH IN TRENTON, New Jersey. One-third of the city's families live below the federal poverty level. One-quarter live on public assistance. With a declining tax base, and a fifteen-year tax abatement on new construction, Trenton faces a \$20 million budget shortfall in 1989.

Under these conditions one would expect a retrenchment at city hall — a return to bare essentials with councilmembers circling like vultures to tear apart worthy projects. Surely, in such circumstances — and on the heels of eight years of Reagan administration cuts in urban aid — Trenton has no business in anything as frilly as international affairs.

But Chamber of Commerce Chairman Shelley Zieger and Trenton Mayor Arthur Holland see things differently.

"Some people jump in and do things, and others sit back and watch," says Zieger, Trenton's businessman-diplomat. Zieger, who is decidedly a "doer" and not a "watcher," has been behind a recent flourish in city-based international diplomacy that has brought everything — from a Swedish Trade Center to the Moscow Ballet — to this city of 92,000 people.

Zieger makes his living importing handmade souvenirs from the Soviet Union and Poland. Mayor Holland, who also serves as president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, has a keen appreciation of Trenton's international roots.

Somewhere between Zieger's globetrotting and Mayor Holland's dedicated attendance at the Polish-American Club's annual dinner, the two men forged a partnership. As bigger cities were drawn into 1980s internationalism, Trenton city hall jumped onto the global scene.

Holland has always had a keen sense of history. He renovated the city's historic districts and beefed up local tourist trade. As if Revolutionary history was too obvious, Holland started pushing Trenton's history as a stronghold of the pre-Revolutionary colony of New Sweden. When a representative of the New Sweden '88 Committee from Jonkoping County, Sweden, paid a visit to Mayor Holland in February 1988, the mayor talked him into basing a New Sweden Trade Company and exhibition center in his city, "along the Delaware River," he says, "where the Swedes came 350 years ago to trade with the Indians." Leading a mayoral delegation to Jonkoping in August, the mayor and local businesspersons sealed the deal - nudging out Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Delaware - with a Trenton-Jonkoping sister city tie.

Zieger — who, as a young boy, only barely escaped German concentration camps when he was hidden in the cellar of a Ukrainian villager — is intent on bringing Trenton, his adopted home, along with him on the road to material success. On trips aimed at discovering the Ukrainian peasant who saved his life, Zieger established a flourishing trade in Russian folk art. And a few years ago, he finally found the man who hid and protected his family through the war. Zieger, a generous man, bought him a new car and a new house.

Zieger had big ideas for Trenton. As *Esquire* magazine put it, Zieger does so much moving and shaking that around town his name has become a verb. "To zieger," one acquaintance said, "is to sit down, schmooze, and really get things done."

In 1985, Shelley Zieger got plenty of things done. He arranged for Mayor Holland to lead a delegation to meet officials of the Lenin District of Moscow to discuss a sister city relationship. Following an exchange of delegations, the two cities formalized their partnership. A year later, Zieger used sister city ties to bring the world-famous Kirov Ballet to Trenton. The performance was a big success. As if to prove that city-to-city diplomacy with the Soviet Union can do more to serve local needs than to distract from them, Zieger donated nearly \$18,000 in concert profits to a Trenton building fund. In 1987, he contributed the remaining \$17,000 in profits to a new organization, the TrenMos Foundation.

"I knew that in order for the Trenton-Lenin District thing to flourish it had to be financially sustaining," says Zieger. "With urban problems as they are, it is difficult for people to look at the longrange benefits of something like this."

Since 1987, the TrenMos Foundation has organized Trenton performances of the Moscow Ballet, the Ukrainian State Dance Company, the Georgian State Dance Company, the American-Soviet Youth Orchestra, and the Yiddish Theater. Out of the profits, the Foundation has given an additional \$20,000 to the Trenton Symphony, \$10,000 to the mayor's antidrug fund, and \$10,000 to Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident victims. The TrenMos Foundation stands out as a unique example of the new public-private institutions that are turning otherwise symbolic sister city ties into major community resources.

While Zieger went on to receive international acclaim for opening up a Moscow pizza business during the 1988 Reagan-Gorbachev summit, Trenton pursued a variety of sister city exchanges, including a newspaper journalist exchange. In the near future, with Zieger's business leadership, a new restaurant called "The Trenton" will open up in the Lenin District.

To further develop Trenton's international opportunities, Zieger and Mayor Holland have been considering the joint hiring of a professional staff person. "I'm worn out," says Zieger. But weariness does not stop him from dreaming.

"You know," he says, "one looks at the Delaware River bridge and the sign 'Trenton Makes, The World Takes,' and notices that some letters are lit and some are not. That's probably true of the industrial history of Trenton. At one time the world did indeed take what the city made. But now, with the transition from smokestack to high-tech industry we have lost some of that impact on the nation and the world. What I would like to do in my own way . . . is to develop a Yankee trader attitude in Trenton, to get some of our companies to participate in world commerce. . . . I would like to develop our region commercially, and light up that sign completely."

BALTIMORE: THE ARMS RACE COMES HOME

THE BALTIMORE SUN CALLED IT A "GIMmick of peace activists which, however well-intentioned, abuses local government." Baltimore's citizens thought otherwise. On 4 November 1986 Baltimore voters approved, by a vote of 61 to 39 percent, a city charter amendment to create the nation's first Citizens' Advisory Commission on the Impact of Military Spending. Otherwise known as the "Development Commission," the sevenmember volunteer agency has spent its first year and a half bridging neighborhood demands for more housing and street-lighting with the arcane world of Pentagon appropriations.

The campaign to make federal budget priorities an institutional and operational concern of Baltimore city government was spearheaded in 1982 by the Baltimore Jobs with Peace Campaign. Supported and staffed largely by the religious community, Jobs with Peace put its first charter amendment on the ballot that fall.

The amendment, which passed in a 59 to 41 percent vote in November 1982, requires the city's finance department to prepare and publish an annual report on the tax contribution of Baltimore citizens to the Pentagon. Speaking out for urban isolationism, the *Sun* called the effort "tomfoolery" and "playing hob with the City Charter." But working as a grassroots campaign, the Jobs with Peace group — which collected more than 16,000 signatures to put each of its charter amendments on the ballot — has seen the drive to expand the policy concerns of the city as a necessity of the times.

"It's making the government work for us," says neighborhood activist and Jobs with Peace leader, Sister Katherine Corr. "It is our government and our money. Through the commission, government responds to our concerns."

Since the initial appointments to the commission were made in June 1987, Corr and other Jobs with Peace activists have insured that the new agency remains re-

A 1988 Baltimore finance department report states that city residents paid annual federal taxes of \$566,385,000 for military programs — about \$752 per person.

sponsive to neighborhood concerns. Corr prods Baltimore residents to address the commission at its monthly meetings, informing commissioners of neighborhood needs for child care, teen pregnancy programs, and infrastructure improvements. Jobs with Peace has even taken commission members on tours of low-income areas, as Corr puts it, "to see the devastating impact of bloated military spending first hand."

Working with other city agencies to meet neighborhood needs has made commission members all the more aware of the problems associated with increased military spending and decreased local aid. A 1988 finance department report states city residents paid annual federal taxes of \$566,385,000 for military programs — about \$752 per person. Meanwhile, the commission says, federal aid to Baltimore declined to \$90 million in 1987 — a 68 percent drop from the 1980 level. The result, commission members add, is written in Baltimore's landscape.

To advance its case, the commission has drawn Michael Lemov, Baltimore's veteran lobbyist in Washington, D.C., into its cause. Lemov presented a 20-page report to the Development Commission in September 1987, concluding that "the current military budget is unjustifiably high in relation to neglected domestic human services and job-creating programs."

Lemov cited the year-to-year transfer of \$50 billion in unobligated Department of Defense (DOD) funds as evidence that military spending can be immediately trimmed. "After years of largely rubber-stamping the administration's military budget requests, Congress is now attempting to reassert control," Lemov says. "This is a particularly important time for citizens and state and local government officials to exert all possible pressure to support this developing Congressional position."

In addition to winning Lemov's support, the commission has won the cooperation of the Baltimore Regional Planning Council. The council is already developing a data base on the role of military spending in the regional economy.

On 9 April 1988, the commission held its first annual public hearing, as called for

"Far too much money is wasted in the military budget.

And when I see needs in our city, I just can't justify that waste."

-Baltimore Councilmember Jody Landers in the charter amendment. The hearing was attended by more than 300 city residents. Pushing the hearing beyond its scheduled three hours, thirty-three community representatives spoke on local needs. An additional ten people were forced to present written testimony because of a shortage of time. In all, nearly half of those who testified cited housing and support for the homeless as a critical Baltimore need. Just as many, the commission reports, "urged the commission to hire a full-time staff person to research how those [unobligated DOD] funds could be reallocated and to lobby Congress to take action to return tax dollars to the City of Baltimore."

Riding high on its initial year-and-a-half of work, the commission presented its first annual report to Mayor Kurt Schmoke in October 1988. In it, the commission cited recent advances in U.S.-Soviet relations and worsening federal fiscal problems to conclude that "the creation of the Development Commission could not have happened at a more crucial time. Any city lacking such an entity will be ill-prepared for changes and trends of the 1990s."

IN A DECEMBER MEETING WITH MAYOR Schmoke, commission members got a nod on their request for a staff person. Mayor Schmoke has asked the commission for a job description and a budget proposal.

In its short time at city hall, this "gimmick of peace activists" has convinced Baltimore Councilmember Jody Landers — one of those who worked with Jobs with Peace to establish the Commission — that international affairs are indeed city business. "I can see the need for domestic spending programs that help our people - like senior services and housing," Landers says. "And I can see this money going out of the city and into military spending. I've personally felt for a long time that far too much money is wasted in the military budget. And when I see needs in our city, I just can't justify that waste."

For a copy of "Citizens' Development Commission Report of Baltimore, Maryland" write the Rev. William Burke, Chair, Development Commission, City Hall, 100 N. Holiday Street, Baltimore, MD 21202.

BALTIMORE'S PLACE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

In addition to his support for the New Development Commission, Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke is also tapping into the international resources of his community. "We're talking about competing with other cities for a position in the international community," says Lee Tawney, new director of the Mayor's Office of International Programs.

Tawney's mission, he says, is to "create a program that would be proactive and not reactive. We want to take advantage of the international interests in our city." Tawney cites the rich ethnic fabric of the



Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke.

Baltimore community as a basis for those interests. "The cooperation and participation of our ethnic neighborhoods were critical to our urban redevelopment. They are also the basis upon which we are building our international thrust."

Still an important seaport for world trade, Baltimore has faced stiff economic competition in recent years from expanding, modernized ports in cities like Newport News, Virginia. Nevertheless, Tawney believes that the intellectual network provided by Johns Hopkins University, the city's ethnic communities, and its

nine sister city relationships — eight of them port cities — anchors Baltimore's position as an international center.

The office maintains an advisory committee, says Tawney, "to help us look at what we should be doing and to help us set up a priority list of countries we want to be involved in. The committee will help us develop a policy toward each country." The result is not only international programs, but educational and cultural programs about the world in Baltimore's schools and neighborhoods.

Rather than taking the lead role in all of the city's international efforts, the office works to get other city departments to create and budget for their own international programs. Asked whether his office will involve itself in foreign policy debates, Tawney responded, "We're not the State Department. We don't see our role as setting foreign policy for the whole United States," he says. "But we can establish, for example, our own municipal priorities — ways in which the city can situate itself in the international community."

Still there are some distinctly political initiatives emanating from Tawney's office. When the South African flag was being flown at the city's trade center, the mayor moved to have it taken down. "We're moving our sense of what diplomacy is," says Tawney, "from the old paradigms to the new."

CAMBRIDGE: WINNING THE MIDDLE GROUND

1981 WAS AN AUSPICIOUS YEAR FOR THE peace movement. Peace activists organized Nuclear Weapons Freeze and Jobs with Peace campaigns around the country in the hope that hundreds of town meetings and city councils might give moral support to a progressive foreign policy agenda.

But long-time Cambridge, Massachusetts, activist Mark Levine hoped for something more. Levine had just witnessed the unprecedented. In February 1981, an outraged Cambridge city council voted unanimously to refuse participation in a Reagan administration civil defense program to prepare Cambridge citizens for a nuclear war.

As the first city to reject the "Crisis Relocation Plan," Cambridge was inundated by hundreds of callers from throughout the United States seeking advice. The council allocated funds it would have used to implement the federal program to publish and distribute to every home in the city a booklet, "Cambridge and Nuclear Weapons: No Place To Hide." Of even greater significance in Levine's eyes, the council appointed a small group of peace activists to field the calls, answer the letters, and distribute the new publication.

The joint effort formed a partnership between city hall and the peace community that no single vote of moral support or simple ballot measure could provide. Mark Levine had an idea. Why not institutionalize this partnership through the creation of a permanent city agency?

Moved by the idea of a truly democratic peace agency that would be representative of the entire community, Levine approached City Councilor David Wylie to draft an ordinance. In September 1982, a unanimous city council vote established the Cambridge Commission on Nuclear Disarmament and Peace Education. With the appointment of 20 volunteer commissioners, the new agency — the first of its kind in the U.S. — was immediately challenged to live up to Levine's democratic



Jeb Brugmann with Tip O'Neill.

"The commission's government status allowed us to make the promotion of peace a truly mainstream community activity."

vision.

And so it has. In 1985, writing about the commission's recommendation that the city council make Cambridge a sanctuary city, Massachusetts Senator John F. Kerry disagreed with the commission's critics.

"There are those who look at this problem and say, this isn't a problem for Cambridge, this is a national problem, one that Congress should address," he wrote. "I believe that foreign policy is too important to be left to the President and the Congress. It is not irresponsible for a city council to be concerned about the refugee problem and the policies of the Immigration and Naturalization Service; it would be irresponsible not to be concerned."

A year later, in 1986, columnist Mary McGrory wrote, "I wish the Cambridge Peace Commission was running the country."

But the accolades have not always come so easily. In the weeks following the unanimous passage of the ordinance establishing the commission, a group of Cambridge-area peace activists launched a campaign to make Cambridge a nuclear free zone. That campaign — and the bitterness it engendered even when it was defeated — sapped much of the support the commission might otherwise have enjoyed.

"I guess the major challenge that has always faced the Peace Commission," says Jeb Brugmann, the agency's first executive director, "is proving that a government peace agency can really serve everyone's interests for peace. By that I mean everybody—veterans, defense workers, conservative politicians, you name it. Without that kind of unanimity of support, the commission cannot really serve the community. It becomes another special interest group, isolated in its role and its effectiveness."

BRUGMANN MET WITH OFFICERS OF THE Chamber of Commerce, CEOs at defense firms, and alienated Cambridge politicians. In spite of his conciliatory gestures, they remained opposed to the new agency—partly out of a conviction that the recently defeated nuclear free zone initiative had been inspired by the same people who

had pushed for the Peace Commission and would serve as its staff.

Brugmann's problems didn't stop there. Cambridge City Councilor Walter Sullivan told Brugmann he would do everything he could to block the commission's projects. Under the threat of a taxpayer suit, the city manager refused to budget city funds for the commission or for Brugmann's salary.

Nor were common folk at first persuaded that Cambridge needed a Peace Commission. "People were wary," Brugmann remembers. "They thought a Peace Commission had to be some kind of elitist thing, and that we were an elite."

Brugmann initiated a wide range of commission projects designed to attract the disaffected, as well as the outright critical. "We went out into the mainstream community — into the schools and the ethnic neighborhoods and the poor neighborhoods with our projects," Brugmann says. "But we selected projects that addressed peace issues as they related to people's lives. That opened hearts — and doors."

The Commission's schools committee — headed by a popular retired principal and a group of teachers - patiently worked the channels of the school system bureaucracy to establish a system-wide peace curriculum. A Soviet sister city committee was formed. When the commission hosted its first Soviet guests in Cambridge - including the famous Georgian State Dance Company — it staged a joint performance featuring the visiting Soviet dancers and Cambridge's own Portuguese folk dance group in the ethnic, working class East Cambridge neighborhood. Hundreds of local Portuguese families attended the event. When then Mayor Leonard J. Russell, counted among Cambridge's conservative politicians, stopped in at the event, he was deeply moved by what he saw: Hundreds of East Cambridge residents standing and roaring their approval of the Soviet dancers.

On yet another front, the Commission established a project to interview local military contractors and to learn from them what steps could be taken to reduce the city's dependency on military contracts. The results of their research were

published in the report, "The Cambridge Case for Diversification Planning."

Finally, the Commission established a link with the city's Haitian and Central American communities by campaigning for a sanctuary policy to protect the political rights of refugees in Cambridge.

"The odd thing is," Brugmann remembers, "we really weren't working that much with peace groups. You'd think they would be the commission's natural partners. But in many of our projects we were out there in the Cambridge community working with more locally oriented groups. I suddenly realized that the commission's government status allowed us to make the promotion of peace a truly mainstream community activity."

In early 1985, Brugmann received a call from Mayor Russell. The Mayor told him that he had talked with the city manager about getting a budget for the commission and for Brugmann's salary. They agreed that it was time for the city to fund what the mayor called "such good work."

As a result of the Cambridge Peace Commission initiative, the Cambridge school system now has a fully integrated peace curriculum, guided by a school department peace committee. Two large-scale sister city projects — with Yerevan in Soviet Armenia, and with San Jose Las Flores in El Salvador — have become a prominent part of Cambridge community life.

Each year, the commission brings young people from around the world to Cambridge to participate with Cambridge youth in a Work for Peace Camp.

Looking beyond the local community, the Commission's economic diversification project has spawned a growing campaign for statewide diversification legislation. The Commission also played a central role in the establishment of the nationwide group, Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility.

"I think the most exciting opportunity the Peace Commission can take advantage of is our access to local institutions," says Cathy Hoffman, the commission's director since May 1987. Access to local officials, she says, "means that we can bring into peace and justice activities a really diverse group of people." Hoffman has carried on the Commission's tradition of organizing and educating for peace through community service. Under her leadership, the commission played a central role in starting the city-wide AIDS Task Force, and has provided leadership in addressing recent occurrences of racist and anti-Semitic graffiti in the community.

"Our definition of peace has broadened," says Hoffman, who notes that "disarmament was always a white and middle class issue. Broadening the definition of peace enables us to bring in a lot of others."

"The Cambridge Idea: 5th Anniversary Report" (\$4) and "The Cambridge Case for Diversification Planning" (\$3) are available from the Cambridge Peace Commission, 57 Inman Street, City Hall Annex, Cambridge, MA 02139.

NO ORANGE COUNTY JOKES, PLEASE, WE'RE FROM IRVINE

DEEP IN THE HEART OF CONSERVATIVE Orange County, California, Irvine Mayor Larry Agran has brought together a diverse coalition of business and labor leaders, professors from the nearby University of California, human rights activists, foreign language teachers from local schools, and immigrant businessmen. Their goal, says Agran, is "to make sure our city moves into international affairs with its eyes open." Their most recent accomplishment: the creation of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on International Affairs.

Agran says his city of 110,000 has already been deeply involved in global affairs. A quick study by the local Chamber of Commerce concluded that more than 400 Irvine-based corporations serve as either international headquarters or as a principal office for international firms. And an Agran aide points out that Irvine has become home to several thousand Asian immigrants, many of whom have, over the years, appealed to city hall for help in reuniting families torn apart by the Cold War.

Agran, of course, is no stranger to



Mayor of Irvine, Larry Agran.

"I found it increasingly clear that separating foreign policy and local government made no sense."

municipal foreign policy. First elected to the city council in 1978, he says he "found it increasingly clear that separating foreign policy and local government made no sense." By 1981, he was urging likeminded colleagues in local governments around the country to take stands on foreign affairs issues.

Agran practiced what he preached. He welcomed the Nicaraguan national baseball team to city hall in 1986, and last spring found himself under siege — from a small group of right-wing activists outside his city — for his official endorsement of a Veterans for Peace convoy trucking food and medical aid to Nicaragua. He's met with the Palestinian mayor of Nazareth, turned up at trials in support of arrested anti-contra demonstrators, and helped establish a national organization of local officials interested in progressive foreign policies.

There's a price to be paid, of course, for carrying out such activities in the heart of Reagan Country. The *Orange County Register* has called Agran a blend between Boss Tweed and Daniel Ortega. They've declared his curbside recycling program — the most successful in the nation — "a collectivist plot," and dubbed his followers "Agranistas." They recently labeled his nationally-recognized child care pro-

gram a "baby gulag."

But Agran says the name-calling doesn't bother him. "I've been elected and reelected for ten years because I do a good job," Agran says simply of his unusual success. Nuclear Times editor Robert Schaeffer, who interviewed Agran in 1987, wrote a year later that Agran survives—and, in fact, thrives—"because he is a smart, pragmatic politician who delivers the goods to local voters."

Delivering the goods on local issues, Agran says, has not kept him from delivering the goods on national and international issues.

"If we stopped the arms race tomorrow," he told Schaeffer last summer, "we'd have 15 percent unemployment in our area. Even though people do legitimately attack what I do as a betrayal of local economic self-interest, I've decided not to defend the city's short-term interest, but to take the longer view that the arms

"A lot of cities get involved with sister cities only on the cultural level. We wanted a project that would interest the business community as well."

-Daniel Juarez

race is not in the interest of our city or any other American city."

AGRAN BELIEVES THAT HIS CITIZENS HAVE A role to play in creating the international conditions in which disarmament is achievable. As a first step in that direction, he recently tapped a local university student, Daniel Juarez, to lay the groundwork for the designation of an officer of international affairs.

Juarez's first job was to find out how other cities had addressed the increasing burden of international commitments. "I found a lot going on in Seattle, Phoenix, New Orleans, and Dallas," Juarez says. In virtually every one of those cities, "the city established an office with some help from public interest groups and with almost no help from the private sector.

"They told me, 'Try to get the business community involved, but if they don't come along, don't worry about it.' But I did worry about it," Juarez says.

Juarez knew what Agran himself has learned as mayor: Without the support of the powerful business community, the project would founder. Juarez asked the Irvine Chamber of Commerce to help him bring together a group of people who might ultimately sit on the task force that would design Irvine's office of international affairs.

It was with the chamber's help that Juarez finally drew together a group of 25 who met with the mayor in early February for preliminary discussions about the city's involvement in foreign affairs.

"There was a lot of energy in that room," Agran says of the early February meeting. "There were corporate executives sitting next to people from Amnesty International and professors of Latin American studies at the university — and everyone agreeing that formalizing the city's involvement in foreign affairs was a proper development, that it is something the city should be doing."

Juarez says the task force — now officially called the Citizens' Advisory Committee on International Affairs — was divided into three subcommittees on trade and economic development, sister cities, and human rights and family reunification. Within the next few months, the

committee is expected to help establish Irvine's first sister city tie with Hermosillo, a city of about 600,000 people in northern Mexico.

"A lot of cities get involved with sister cities only on the cultural level," Juarez says. "We wanted a project that would interest the business community as well." By car, he points out, Hermosillo is five hours from Irvine, and the prospect of locating production facilities there interested several in the city's Chamber of Commerce.

But this will be one sister city relationship with a twist. Juarez points out that, in most projects of this sort, there's "not a lot of emphasis on development of the sister city's economy. We want to make sure that the jobs we help create down there are decent jobs that enhance the community."

"Why is the city doing this?" Agran asks. "We have no alternative. Ours is already an international city in global commerce. Unless we want to stand on the sidelines — in matters of trade, cultural exchange, the protection of the global environment and the formation of a sane foreign policy — we have to get serious about our involvement. We have to have an institution to guide our affairs reasonably and with foresight."

SEATTLE: THE FLAGSHIP OIA

IF THE MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY MOVEment has a flagship city, it may be Mayor Charles Royer's Seattle. But perhaps because Seattle is so close to Canada — a nation which most people in the U.S. have whited-out from the world map in their memories — the city's ambitious international affairs activities are rarely so noteworthy as, say, Los Angeles's, New York's or Washington, D.C.'s, three cities with which Seattle might reasonably be compared.

There are Seattle's sister cities — thirteen of them, with cities in Japan and the Soviet Union, among others. There are the constant trade missions abroad, for-

eign policy resolutions, Seattle's status (now repealed) as a sanctuary city for Central American refugees, and what one activist called the council's "unflagging interest in the world."

There's also the city-backed Office of International Affairs.

Three years ago, Royer asked the accounting firm of Arthur Young and Company to look around the city of nearly half-a-million to determine the need for a fully-funded, staffed office to handle Seattle's burgeoning international responsibilities. In a May 1986 letter to Royer's staff, the firm said it had "identified a variety of community resources involved in international affairs" and proposed the creation of "an organization and allocation of city resources that can complement and leverage, not duplicate, those community resources."

That, in one sense, was that. Four months later, Seattle established its Office of International Affairs.

But at about the same time, a small group of citizens began gathering signatures on a petition that would bar city officials from foreign policy activities. One activist remembers that the city's voters were bitterly divided over the initiative, which had gained support among moderate residents in the wake of high-profile arrests of Seattle-area sanctuary workers.

"We were trying to be a refugee city, and we had just established a sister city relationship with Managua," the activist, who asked that she not be identified, says. "I guess for some people that was just too much."

Too much indeed. The initiative passed. Only a few months old, the city's Office of International Affairs was forced to pursue a somewhat narrower range of issues than it might have.

"There's probably no one in city hall who wanted to see that initiative passed, especially Charlie [Royer]," said one staff person who requested anonymity.

Still, the ordinance establishing Seattle's Office of International Affairs represents one of the most promising models for city involvement in foreign affairs.

With an annual budget of \$230,000, the office's director, Virginia Schafer and her



"Any city that wants international affairs to be in its future should have an Office of International Affairs."

-Jacquie Reed



Seattle Mayor Charles Royer.

three full-time staff manage the city's interests in three areas:

PROTOCOL. The OIA helps the mayor and city council bone-up on international trade, and cultural and political issues in preparation for the arrival in Seattle of foreign dignitaries, or in advance of an international trip which Seattle officials may be planning. Staff themselves, on occasion, travel with Seattle officials on those trips.

SISTER CITIES. Seattle's sister cities include Managua, Tashkent in the Soviet Union, and Chongqing in the People's Republic of China. It will soon have a fourteenth. The OIA works with the committees of each of those sister cities.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND TOURISM. Schafer says that, more than anything, the OIA "fills information gaps. We don't do major projects ourselves," she says, but if a business person is trying to gather trade-related information, her office will serve as a clearinghouse, directing business people to sources of information. "We don't want to duplicate what others are already doing," she says. So her office keeps close track of the trade and tourism activities of federal, state, and county agencies, as well as private organizations like the Seattle-based Washington Council on International Trade (WCIT).

"They have a lot of information, and keep track of a lot of things, that a smaller company could not afford [on its own]," says WCIT's Lee Russo of the Seattle Office of International Affairs. "They certainly know the ropes as far as diplomatic arrangements and the cultural aspects — the rights and wrongs of the people you've got coming into the city. They do a lot of good work."

Jacquie Reed, the Seattle Chamber of Commerce's trade development director, agrees. Three years ago, her organization passed a resolution urging the city to establish the Office of International Affairs.

The reason was simple, Reed says. "Any city that wants international affairs to be in its future should have an Office of International Affairs." Now, Reed says,

the Seattle OIA has proved itself critical to Seattle's international ambitions, especially in the area of protocol. "Who you introduce first at official gatherings — that's not minor," she says.

Not everyone is pleased with the Seattle OIA, however. One community activist complained that the OIA had insulated city government from the peace and justice community. "It was easier before the office was there, because some of us had direct contact with the mayor's people," he said. "My sense is that the office started out as an office designed to help activists, but that it's become much more of an avenue for international trade people to get political support for their initiatives, and that the political stuff was pushed aside."

But others disagree. Fred Noland, of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee, points out that the OIA's director, Virginia Schafer, nominated his group for the Seattle World Affairs Council's World Citizen Award.

"She showed a grasp of our activities that was far deeper than I would have expected," Noland says. He believes that, in the end, Schafer's support was essential in the World Affairs Council's decision to recognize and reward his committee's work with Tashkent.

When the office was first opened, Noland says, "I was skeptical. In the debate about whether or not to have that office, the so-called hard-headed realists were saying we'd have to link [the office] to trade and economic development to make it work." And while the Seattle OIA does initiate "a heavy dose of trade projects—that's a major part of its agenda"—his group has found Royer as accessible and energetic as ever.

Though at least one person interviewed expressed the hope that Schafer "is developing a sense of the power of these private political initiatives," Schafer herself said she harbors no ambitions about expanding the office's mandate. She's not even certain she would be interested in seeing the office grow to meet its already overwhelming responsibilities. She recalls that, when the OIA was being debated, some Seattle councilmembers expressed concern that the office "would

get big and fat like bureaucracies do. I have felt it's not politically smart to grow fat. Yes, we could meet with every foreign businessman who comes to the city, but that's not our mandate."

Nor will the OIA become involved in overtly political controversies. "We have to stay out of political issues," she says, pointing to the 1986 ordinance barring the participation of local officials in foreign policy.

But just what that ordinance actually means is itself a matter of some debate. Anne Fennessy, Royer's press secretary, says the mayor "couldn't come out and say we should be a sanctuary city, for example. He couldn't say, 'I oppose what the U.S. is doing in Central America,' or 'I'll help Central American refugees,' or 'I'll help Soviet Jews.' But he can hold a conference about human rights in Central America and the Soviet Union — because that's educational.

"It's a pretty grey line," she says. Royer can do anything — support cultural exchanges, international trade, education, and dialogue — so long as it is not obviously political. "When it comes down to impacting foreign policy or trying to change the policies of other countries, he can say anything he wants, so long as he doesn't use city money, facilities, stationery, or staff."

In the end, however, few others – "except officials who need an excuse to keep their agenda narrow," an activist claims – read much into the ordinance. "The idea that the mayor can't make political statements is stupid and legally wrong. He can say whatever he pleases about foreign policy and he's protected by the First Amendment."

And Royer — who often travels on behalf of the city's OIA, and in his capacity as chair of the U.S. delegation to the U.S. Japan Conference of Mayors — is indeed still seen as a friend of the progressive foreign policy community.

Fred Noland, for one, says Royer has been a tremendous supporter of his group's Seattle-Tashkent relationship. "In order to operate a Soviet sister city project, you really benefit by having at least the appearance of city government approval. Whenever we've asked for help [from the

mayor's office], it's been given," Noland says.

Seattle's OIA may have its critics, then, but Noland isn't among them. "If I was the mayor," Noland concludes, "or on the city council, I'd say this was money well spent."

WILMINGTON: A SMALL CITY REACHES OUT TO CHINA

HISTORICALLY, WILMINGTON, NORTH Carolina has often tred fearlessly into uncharted waters. Most notably, it was the first town to offer armed resistance to the Stamp Act, eight years before the Boston Tea Party.

Although its present activities aren't nearly as dramatic, Wilmington is making its presence felt in other realms, including international trade and commerce. Even though it is a relatively small city (population 56,000), its officials have tried to avoid letting its size get in its way. Although it probably can't compete with the likes of Atlanta or San Francisco, and it can't yet boast of a formal municipal institution comparable to an OIA, it is still holding its own, barely hampered by its limited size and adjusting as best it can to municipal budgetary constraints.

Wilmington has an undeniable advantage in international trade — namely, its location. It sits on the east bank of the Cape Fear River, about 30 miles from the river's mouth at the Atlantic Ocean. As a result, it is North Carolina's chief deepwater port. It also is a city that is accustomed to fighting for what it wants and winning — not only in its resistance to the Stamp Act, but more recently, in its successful battle back from a hurricane in the 1950s that left it severely damaged — its own version of Atlanta rising from the ashes.

Even so, some observers might say that at the moment, Wilmington seems to be moving too slow — and perhaps even regressing in some ways — in the field of international affairs. After all, even though it has never had a formal OIA, it



seemed that it might be heading in that direction in the mid-1980s. Until about two years ago, the city had an economic development specialist named John Bauer, who explored various avenues for international trade, as well as economic development in general. But when Bauer was promoted to a new position in a different city department, his vacated position was never filled.

"Budgetary constraints have prevented us from hiring someone to replace him," admits Mitzi York, special assistant to Wilmington's city manager. "And they also are keeping us from forming an OIA."

Nevertheless, Bauer points with pride to his accomplishments, some of which are coming to fruition now and are largely being engineered out of the city manager's office. While serving as the city's economic development liason, he made himself available to small businessmen in Wilmington who were interested in international trade, steering them to the appropriate contacts and "serving as an extra leg" for state and federal agencies that might also be able to help out.

"Our efforts also helped create the groundwork for heavy involvement in a sister city program with Dandong in the People's Republic of China," says Bauer. Since that sisterly link was formalized in 1987, Dandong has sent a delegation to Wilmington for a trade exhibition. Chinese products were displayed for five days, and although no contracts were signed on the spot, connections were made and some commercial relationships are beginning to materialize. Several of these ties are with firms outside the city limits of Wilmington, but since they will involve the use of the city's port, local officials are encouraging such endeavors.

Dandong has also opened a two-man trade headquarters in Wilmington — an office that has recently signed a joint venture agreement with a local company to market products. And discussions are underway for Wilmington businessmen to travel to Dandong in 1990 to display their products to the Chinese.

As an outgrowth of the sister-city relationship, the port authority in Wilmington signed a sister-port link with its counterpart in Dandong last NovemThe Wilmington
City Council
has not
ventured into
politicallycharged areas
such as
human rights,
where an OIA
might play an
active role.

ber. Noel Painchaud, executive director of the North Carolina Ports Authority in Wilmington, hopes that this association could lead to direct steamship liner service between the ports of Dandong and Wilmington. He met with representatives of the China Ocean Shipping Corp. during his visit to the Far East last year. In the meantime, Wilmington port officials are providing some technical assistance to their counterparts in Dandong. "They're interested in building container cranes," says Bill Stover, a spokesman for the port authority. "So we're providing them with some expertise and support materials to do that."

York says that the city continues to work with the World Trade Association and the local Chamber of Commerce. The chamber has a committee on international trade development in which the city participates. During Bauer's tenure as Wilmington's economic development specialist, he served as vice-president of WTC's local chapter, and "sensed a real appreciation there that the city was interested in promoting international trade," he recalls.

THE WILMINGTON CITY COUNCIL HAS NOT ventured into politically-charged areas such as human rights, where an OIA might play an active role. Consequently, there isn't a groundswell of support for an OIA among councilmembers on these or any other — grounds at the moment. Ironically, Bauer thinks that Wilmington's strong economy may be one reason that the city council and local business leaders are not pushing more aggressively for greater municipal promotion of world trade. Many small entrepreneurs have enough domestic business without having to pursue the sometimes complex avenues of international trade.

"It's not that the city council has lost interest," says Bauer. "The council has invested time and resources into our sister cities." But for the present, he adds, pursuing other approaches to international trade isn't high on its list of priorities.

According to York, "The council would like to see us provide trade avenues like the sister-city program, but it also wants to see businesses take the lead."

TUCSON: A CITY GROWING WITH THE TIMES

In 1848, as part of the Gadsden Purchase, Mexico sold to the U.S. government the strip of land on which Tucson sits. Today, plazas like Tucson's La Placita Village — filled with small shops, restaurants and office buildings — are reminders of Mexico's culture and heritage.

No wonder that Tucson's city fathers have maintained an interest in international matters — and not just with Mexico. Global ties now stretch across the Pacific to Taiwan as well.

Even so, as recently as the mid-1980s, Tucson's Division of International Program really existed in name only.

While the city government did occasionally pursue foreign ventures, they occupied just five to 10 percent of the time of Bill Cline, Tucson's international programs manager.

All that changed when the division was boosted to more meaningful status two years ago, thanks to a decision by the city council and the mayor to emphasize global trade and commerce.

The city fathers had been urged to follow such a course, prodded in that direction by the Economic Development Office, in which Cline's division operates. Today, Cline not only devotes all his time to international pursuits, but he has two other staff members — a protocol officer and an international trade consultant — to help him. They work with an annual budget of \$300,000. And the payoffs are already evident.

DESPITE TUCSON'S PROXIMITY TO MEXICO, the number one priority of its international programs division is stimulating foreign trade with Taiwan, anchored by a trade office the Arizona city operates in Taipei.

"We handhold Tucson companies through their deals," reports Cline. "We put Taiwanese and Tucson companies in touch with one another, we work with banks, and we make sure all the documentation is in order." The result: In 1988, the

Despite
Tucson's
proximity to
Mexico, the
number one
priority of its
international
programs
division is
stimulating
foreign trade
with Taiwan.

Division of International Programs was responsible for \$250,000 in trade between Tucson and Taiwanese firms alone. "This is just the tip of the iceberg," says Cline. "We expect those numbers to grow."

Why Taiwan? Julie Daub, the division's international trade consultant, says Tucson looked to the Pacific Rim because of Arizona's proximity to it. Also, she notes, there was clearly a lot of business activity there, with existing markets for products that Tucson businesses could supply.

"We narrowed it down to Tokyo and Taipei," recalls Daub. "And our decision was based in part on the cost factor — it would have cost us about four times as much to open an office in Tokyo. Also, there were already many other trade offices in Tokyo, whereas we became the first U.S. entity to open a trade office in Taiwan's World Trade Center."

BACK IN TUCSON, CLINE AND HIS STAFF certainly haven't forgotten about Mexico. They channel much of their energy into promoting business relationships south of the border — particularly those involving a group in nearby Sonora that sponsors a program called *maquiladora* ("production sharing").

The Sonorans have been successful in attracting U.S. companies to open plants in the Mexican city, thanks in part to the support of Cline and his staff. As a result, Tucson benefits in two ways: Workers in those Sonoran plants come across the border to spend part of their wages in Tucson stores; and just as significantly, a "twin plant program" calls for manufacturing products on the Mexican side and packaging and warehousing them in Tucson. "About 15 percent of our manufacturing employment in Tucson is now related to maquiladora," says Cline.

The Division of International Programs also has partnerships with the University of Arizona — helping researchers spin off high-tech projects into international business ventures — and with the local Chamber of Commerce, with whom it helps organize an annual World Trade Fair in Tucson.

Despite such diversity, the office has not tred into the political arena. Neverthe-



Bill Cline with Amy Peng, manager of Tucson's trade office in Taipei.

"You'll never see us pursuing trade opportunities in South Africa."

-Bill Cline

less, because the Tucson City Council has taken a stand against apartheid, "you'll never see us pursuing trade opportunities in South Africa," says Cline. "But our office's active involvement in political matters is not on the drawing boards."

Although the city is stopping short of opening foreign trade offices elsewhere, Cline's division has begun to develop the infrastructure to gain recognition for Tucson in Europe. It is exploring the possibility of attending some European trade shows and advertising in specialized publications. It is also laying the groundwork for a new sister city relationship with Florence, Italy, and the surrounding region with its sights set on major trade activity emerging from this sisterly tie.

"Tucson's mayor and city council no longer want to establish sister cities with only a cultural emphasis," according to Cline. "There has to be a bigger payoff for the community, and that means trade."

Promoting international tourism is not part of the agency's agenda. Instead, the city channels funds to a non-profit, private bureau in Tucson that handles tourism. Yet a growing number of American cities — including those with strong tourist attractions — recognize that business visitors can be even more lucrative.

For instance, most people know Orlando, Florida, home of Disney World, for its tourists — and oodles of them. But Orlando Commissioner Glenda Hood, a leader in that region's international trade initiatives, reports that Orlando now hosts more business visitors than tourists — an economic boon she attributes to cooperation between the city and the Orlando Chamber of Commerce.

The story is much the same in Tucson, says Cline, where cooperation between city government and the business community has produced new sources of revenue from international trade and investment opportunities.

If international trade fails to rise as quickly as Cline predicts, it's unlikely that Tucson's streets will be smothered by sand and tumbleweeds. But Tucson's future, Cline says, is "absolutely" tied to his agency's success.

CHICAGO: PEACE IN THE MIDST OF CONTROVERSY

When Harold Washington took over Chicago's mayor's office in 1983, says Chicago Alderman David Orr, the "old, white machine promised to fight him tooth-and-nail." And they did. "There's no problem with a loyal opposition," says Orr, "but what they did went way beyond loyal opposition."

Having dropped the reins of power—and then suffering the ignominy of seeing a black reform Democrat pick them up—the defeated Daley Democrats threw obstacles in the path of every effort at reform, Orr says. "They went so far as to say publicly that they'd block every project the mayor proposed, even the good projects because those might actually help the city and [so] get him re-elected."

In such apparently sterile soil, the Chicago Peace Conversion Commission nevertheless flowered. Backed by the mayor and his supporters on the council, the Commission was launched as part of a nuclear free zone ordinance that passed through the council in March 1986 in what the New York Times called "a rare display of political unanimity." Just as remarkable, the ordinance passed with the full support of the city's Department of Economic Development and without any objections from the business community in spite of the fact that the Commission would be overseeing implementation of the city's nuclear free zone regulations.

The key, says David Orr, was that "we did our homework."

Besides collaborating with activists from Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) — who gathered 10,000 signatures and organized the city's key religious and neighborhood leaders — Orr found a cosponsor for the ordinance creating the Peace Conversion Commission on the other side of the aisle, Alderman Bernard Hansen.

Hansen's position as chair of the city's Economic Development Commission assured Orr and CALC that the ordinance would receive the imprimatur of the business community before it hit the council floor for discussion.

On the more technical issue of the nuclear free zone itself, the Chicago law firm of Sachnoff, Weaver & Rubenstein, Ltd., provided \$100,000 worth of pro bono legal analysis. In a letter to the city council, the firm declared the ordinance "a proper exercise of the extensive home rule police powers. . . . It regulates local parties to address local problems associated with nuclear weapon-related activities within Chicago's boundaries. . . . "

Illinois Governor James Thompson disagreed, and called the ordinance "stupid and un-American." But with business support locked in and a clean bill of health from a major legal firm, Orr and Hansen took their case to their colleagues on the council. There were no objections. On 12 March 1986, Chicago, Illinois, became the largest nuclear free zone in the United States.

The job of overseeing the implementation of that ordinance fell to the Peace Conversion Commission. But not immediately. "Everyone assumed it would happen in a reasonable time, that the Commission would get started pretty quickly," says Ron Freund, CALC's former executive director and current Commission vice-chair. "It just didn't. Everything here takes forever."

Given the political climate, it might have taken twice forever. But within a year, Freund and six colleagues began the work of implementing the city's nuclear free zone ordinance.

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," the Commission's tasks are legion. In addition to public outreach to city agencies and grassroots political organizations, the Commission holds regular public hearings and has contacted Chicago's more than 300 military contractors to determine which are affected by the ordinance ("We've narrowed it down to 20 or 30 companies," Freund says).

The Commission also plans the city's annual 6 August "Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Commemoration," and has posted

nuclear free zone signs at all major airports and at city hall.

The Commission also provides its members with a pulpit from which to address issues farther afield. During a public forum at the Rockford Unitarian Church last December, Freund called for "grass-roots action" to support the passage of the Defense Economic Adjustment Act (HR 813) by Congress. He said the legislation would make "the federal government responsible for [conversion] planning in the defense sector."

According to Freund, other members of the Peace Conversion Commission are now considering whether the body itself



Ron Freund, center.

will take a formal stand on HR 813.

Such activities might alienate some in Chicago. But so far, says Nuclear Free America's Albert Donnay, the Conversion Commission has succeeded in steering between the Scylla of inaction and the Charybdis of political outrage.

"Clearly, what made the difference in Chicago was not so much the content of the campaign [in support of the ordinance] but its style and focus," Donnay wrote in the Spring 1988 Bulletin. "All of the positive elements of local organizing were evident in the Chicago campaign: 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."

"I see us as a catalytic agent," says Freund. "Our goal is to see a plan for conversion created, to use federal, state and city agencies to help firms convert to peaceful production. If we're successful, I hope we'll be a model for other communities."

U.S. Nuclear Free Zones

with NFZ, Peace or Conversion Commissions

Takoma Park, Maryland

via City Council action, 12 December 1983 Contact: Robert Alpern (301-270-8094)

Berkeley, California

via City Council action,
7 January 1986; Nuclear Free
Zone in November 1986;
amended to include responsibility for nuclear free zone,
12 January 1987
Contact: Ann Fagan Ginger
(415-848-0599)

Chicago, Illinois

via City Council action, 12 March 1986 Contact: Ron Freund (312-869-2424)

Marin County, California

via petition initiative, 4 November 1986 Contact: Jennifer Rienks (415-459-2911)

Okanogan County, Washington

via public advisory question, 4 November 1986 Contact: Michael Mazzetti (509-486-4188)

Arcata, California

via City Council action, 5 November 1986 Contact: Victor Schaub (707-822-5953)

BLEEDING ART

San Francisco Gets Its Message Across

TELEVISION CAMERAS HAVE BEEN banned from much of South Africa and, as a result, the South African government says, violence has subsided.

Not so, say representatives of the Bay Area Lawyers Guild Antiapartheid Committee and the Lawyers' Campaign to Free Nelson Mandela. Members of the groups recently succeeded in a year-long one step further in prohibiting city employees from aiding the Immigration and Naturalization Service in its efforts to track down and prosecute South African and Namibian refugees.

"The billboard campaign has the purpose of advertising this legislation (the first of its kind in the United States) and also of sending a message to the South African govern-



A city speaks its mind: One of six city-sponsored billboards.

effort to persuade San Francisco city officials to adopt legislation condemning apartheid as a "crime against humanity."

That legislation, sponsored at city hall by Board of Supervisors President Nancy Walker and Supervisors Willie Kennedy and Harry Britt, and passed last summer, led to the erection in March of six signs around the city, each publicizing the city's stand on apartheid.

A spokesperson for the two groups says the legislation prohibits meetings between San Francisco city officials and representatives of the South African government. It goes ment that we are still watching even though there is virtually a total media blackout," a member of the groups, Kirsten Spalding Brubeck, wrote in a recent news release.

"While the television scenes have gone away, the brutality of apartheid continues in full force," says Supervisor Kennedy.

The Lawyers' Campaign funded the billboards with contributions from 40 Bay Area lawyers. Public Media Center created the billboards as its pro bono contribution to the effort. Gannett Outdoors, the billboard company, also sponsored the project.

ST. PAUL MAYOR REJECTS SOUTH AFRICAN OFFER

IT DIDN'T TAKE GEORGE LATIMER, Mayor of St. Paul, Minnesota, long to make his decision: Invited by the Mayor of Johannesburg to travel to South Africa, Mayor Latimer bluntly turned him down.

"I fear that accepting your invitation to travel in South Africa as your guest would be misconstrued as support for policies which I abhor," Mayor Latimer wrote in a letter to Johannesburg Mayor Jan Van Blerk.

Mayor Latimer's decision is not surprising. He has been a strong supporter of St. Paul's year-long sister community relationship with Lawaaikamp (a black township in South Africa), as well as a strong advocate of the city's official anti-apartheid stance.

Before formally rejecting Johannesburg's invitation, Mayor Latimer consulted with local and national advisors on South African affairs. According to Jim Bellus, Latimer's chief of staff, the opportunity to visit Lawaaikamp during the Johannesburg visit and personally protest the forced removal of its residents was weighed against the negative impact of his journey as a guest of the South African government.

In his letter to Mayor Van Blerk, the St. Paul mayor added, "I look forward to and work for the day when full rights are granted to all citizens of South Africa. At that time, if I were asked to visit Johannesburg by a fully representative government official, I would accept the invitation with great pleasure."

In 1985 the St. Paul City Council approved a resolution that discontinued the city's purchase of commercial paper from banks and businesses that invest in South Africa. That resolution stated that "the system of apartheid, officially adopted by the government of South Africa in 1948, is morally repugnant to the people of St. Paul."

SOURCE: Mayor George Latimer, 347 City Hall, St. Paul, MN 55102 (612-298-4323).

SISTER CITIES LEAD ARMENIAN EARTHQUAKE RELIEF EFFORT



by Steven Kalishman

At 11:41 a.m. on 7 December 1988, the first tremors of Soviet Armenia's devastating earthquake began. Within minutes, four-fifths of the buildings in Leninakan, at the epicenter of the quake, were reduced to rubble. Three other towns and dozens of villages were destroyed. More than 40,000 people died, and half a million people lost their homes in one of the most devastating natural disasters in history.

Offers of assistance poured in from around the world. Several U.S. cities with Soviet sister cities assumed leading roles in coordinating efforts to relieve the incomprehensible misery caused by the earthquake, which measured 6.9 on the Richter scale.

Continued on next page

Top: American emergency physicians apply cast to an earthquake survivor in Leninakan after reducing her fractured arm. Bottom: Soviet physicians watch as American surgeons treat a 10-year-old Armenian earthquake victim with a fractured leg.



Steven Costello

In Seattle, Washington, whose sister city of Tashkent lies near the 80 kilometer zone of destruction, the King County Disaster Team called on Dr. Roy Farrell, an emergency room surgeon who speaks Russian, to direct a medical contingent to Armenia.

At first, the Soviets refused to accept relief groups from the United States. But when Bob Walsh, president of the Goodwill Games (which will be held in Seattle next year) asked to send a medical team, the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., granted his request.

Farrell spent the next three days assembling people and supplies for the trip to Armenia. "People's desire to help was overwhelming," Farrell said. "Every hospital we contacted contributed boxes of equipment. People called from throughout the United States to help."

Hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of medical equipment, cooking and camping gear, supplies and medicines were donated. Flying Tigers, a major freight carrier, offered the use of a Boeing 747, fuel and a flight crew to transport the 53-member team to Armenia, including 32 physicians and



Dr. Roy Farre

nurses, 12 paramedics, a pharmacist, an administrator, and a three-man, two-dog search and rescue team sent by Alaska Governor Steve Cowper. The Northwest Medical Team of Portland, Oregon, Khabarovsk's sister city, sent 16 of the physicians and nurses.

No one on the flight had ever landed in the Yerevan airport, which by then was handling 200 planes per day, 10 times its usual traffic load. No Boeing 747 had ever landed there. Two days earlier, a Yugoslavian trans-

port plane had crashed seven miles from the Yerevan airport, killing all aboard.

But after a 20-hour flight, the plane landed safely on a murky, over-cast day. "It was a real white-knuck-ler," Farrell said.

Soviet officials dispensed with the usual customs and immigration procedures. More than 200 people were on hand to unload the 90,000 pounds of equipment and supplies.

Although the group brought its own mobile surgical unit, it was given

two operating rooms at the Republican Hospital. They split into a search-and-rescue team, which left for the earthquake zone, and an operating team, which coordinated its efforts with Soviet orthopedic surgeons who had been working 18 hours a day.

Farrell said the Soviet and American doctors observed and learned from one another. "A funny thing happens between people who go to help and those who are being helped. Bonds of mutual respect form which will last forever."

In the earthquake zone, the search-and-rescue team joined with others looking for survivors in the freezing rubble. Lloyd Hiebert of the Northwest Medical Team remembers "seeing the hopelessness and sense of loss and shock on their faces, and the long lines behind the bread trucks. Thousands of coffins were stacked everywhere. A soccer field was filled with coffins stacked 10 high."

People stood by collapsed buildings and pointed to where their friends and relatives had been buried in the rubble. In the town of Spitak, an eight-year-old boy explained how his teacher, at the first tremors, had told her students, "It's an earthquake. Everybody hurry outside." The boy dove right through the window, then turned to watch in horror as three schools, side by side, collapsed, killing all 600 of his classmates and teachers.

Going to Armenia was "the most incredible medical exchange imaginable," Farrell said. "I was using all my skills, all at once, all day long. Most of the Seattle community was part of the team, in one way or another. The crisis proved that citizen diplomats have been effective in generating trust and openness, and that there is no limit to the goodwill which can be generated. Focusing on our mutual problems and challenges is the key."

OTHER REACTIONS TO THE QUAKE

- Mayor Bud Clark and the people of Portland, Oregon, "We, the residents of Khabarovsk, express our profound gratitude to the people of many countries, including Americans, who, brushing aside differences in political views, extended a hand of friendship and assistance. The tragedy on a small point on earth and the worldwide response it received are evidence that the ultimate goal of all nations of the world is to preserve and develop our civilization so that all people on earth can live in peace and friendship. All of us are closely interconnected, and our common efforts must be directed to harmonizing international relations."
- When the earthquake devastated Soviet Armenia, Babken Vardanyan, the vice mayor of the Armenian capital of Yerevan, knew he could turn to Cambridge, Massachusetts for help.

City Councilor Frank Duehay, a founder and longtime supporter of the sister city program, chaired the relief effort in Cambridge, which included such fund-raising events as a six-hour telethon on cable television. The close connection which developed between Cambridge and Yerevan during the past several years inspired contributions from many institutions, city departments and individuals, particularly among Cambridge's Armenian community. Within a few weeks, Cambridge had sent dozens of boxes of medicine and had raised more than \$70,000 for the relief effort.

■ The Portland (ME) -Archangel Sister City Committee joined a group of Maine businesses and other volunteers in organizing a national fund-raising campaign to help the American Red Cross relief effort for Armenian earthquake survivors.

Businesses donated the paper and printing for 500,000 Red Cross "Armenian Earthquake Relief" badges, which were distributed as identification for volunteers recruited throughout the United States in a grassroots, door-to-door campaign to raise money for supplies.

- Ten Armenian children were given medical treatment in Buffalo, New York, which is paired with Kalinin. A Rochester, New York, high school raised \$400, matched with another \$400 by a local foundation. A letter of condolence was sent to Rochester's sister city of Novgorod. Eastman Kodak of Rochester sent a supply of x-ray film and equipment for analyzing blood.
- Gainesville, Florida, Mayor David Coffey wrote to Novorossiisk Mayor Valery Prokhorenko, "The people of Gainesville send their deepest sympathy for your countrymen who have perished in the terrible earthquake in Armenia. Such events make us realize the necessity for cooperation in contending with the problems that face mankind."
- Soviet Ambassador to the United States Yuri Dubinin acknowledged that "the aid that our country received from the American people helped to save hundreds of lives and will continue to help rebuild the devastated areas. We are very encouraged by the human dimension of the response in your country and by the active involvement of Americans helping those who survived this catastrophe."



U.S.-SOVIET SISTER COMMUNITY BRIEFS

Each issue of the Bulletin features highlights of recent and upcoming activities of U.S.-Soviet sister communities. If your sister community group has been ignored in this issue, send information—newsletters, newspaper clippings, press releases, and photos—to Steven Kalishman, Bulletin, 17931-F Sky Park Circle, Irvine, CA 92714.

CAMBRIDGE (MA) - YEREVAN

When an earthquake devastated Soviet Armenia on December 7th, Babken Vardanyan, the vice mayor of the Armenian capital of Yerevan, knew he could turn to Cambridge for help.

"We received a telex almost immediately asking for medical supplies and funds," said Jeb Brugmann, president of the Cambridge-Yerevan Sister City Association. Within a few weeks Cambridge had sent dozens of boxes of medicine and had raised \$55,000 for the relief effort.

On January 6th, Vice Mayor Vardanyan and a group of high-level Armenian officials and businessmen arrived in Washington, D.C., as guests of Cambridge. After a meeting that day with then-Vice President George Bush and American Red Cross leaders, the delegation traveled to Cambridge for a week of nuts-and-bolts business.

The product of that week's work is the "1989 Program of Exchanges and Cooperation," an agenda of nine sister city exchanges for the upcoming year. Prominent on the list is a September environmental conference that will bring top Yerevan and Boston area environmentalists, pollution management specialists and environmental officials together for the first time.

Brugmann said the environmental conference is evidence that the sister city exchange program is "moving beyond simple cultural exchange to joint problemsolving. The conference will generate projects to evaluate, manage, and solve environmental problems together. Yerevan is facing a severe environmental crisis that threatens Armenia's survival as much as the recent earthquake."

The first of the 1989 exchanges has already been successfully completed. A delegation of chief executive officers, officials, Chamber of Commerce representatives and other business leaders visited Cambridge in January, led by Vice Mayor Vardanyan, to discuss new joint business and trade possibilities. Tours of local companies such as Polaroid gave the visitors a view of American business and the possibilities of future business ventures. A

cooperative agreement was signed between the Yerevan Chamber of Commerce and Massport, the Massachussetts Port Authority.

CONTACT: Jeb Brugmann, c/o The Cambridge-Yerevan Sister City Association, 45 Rice Street, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617-576-6164).

DETROIT (MI) - MINSK

A high-level Byelorussian trade delegation spent a week in Michigan meeting with representatives of some of the 116 Midwest and 36 Detroit firms competing for contracts with Minsk enterprises.

Michigan Governor James Blanchard, Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, and the chairmen of Wayne County and the Detroit Central Business District each hosted receptions for the delegates. Mayor Young provided police escorts for the group, and Ford Motor Company provided cars.

"They will get first class treatment," said John Cherveny, head of the commerce and industry division of the Detroit/Minsk Sister City Program in the days before the delegation arrived.

The delegation was led by Vladimir Kebich, deputy chairman of the Byelorussia Council of Ministers, who also serves as chairman of the Byelorussian State Planning Committee and president of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Other delegates included: Victor Andryushin, chief executive officer of the Byelorussian Association of Foreign Trade and director general of the Byelorussian Republican Self-Supporting Foreign Trade Association (Byelorusintorg); Minsk Deputy Mayor and head of trade relations Yevgeny E. Zasaditch; Oleg Morozov, director of television and radio information and operations; and Konstantin Vstymchuk, director general of the Minsk Bicycle and Motorcycle Plant.

The delegation came to Michigan to discuss the purchase of food processing and packaging systems from Michigan companies, and the sale from Minsk of heavy-duty trucks, bikes, electric and mechanical equipment, electronic watches, crystal, porcelain, national handicraft wares, jewelry, furs and linens.

Cherveny said discussions concerned three methods of conducting trade: payment in hard currency, with some financing provided by Detroit bank credits; barter; and countertrade.

"Everything is now in writing," Cherveny said. "And this is only the beginning."

The Potato Growers' Association of Michigan, which is already selling 10 tons of dehydrated potatoes per day to Minsk for hard currency, also wants to reopen a potato processing plant in Greenville, Michigan, for a joint venture between Detroit and Minsk companies. The plant, owned by the Heinz company, was closed recently. Heinz and Gerber are also selling 30 tons of baby food every day to Minsk.

Mayor Young will continue the development of trade between the two cities during a visit to Minsk in June, following his participation at the fourth annual US/Soviet Sister Cities Conference in Tashkent.

CONTACT: John Cherveny, Detroit/Minsk Sister City Program, 1504 E. Lafayette, Apt. 61, Detroit, MI 48207 (313-259-3804).

DULUTH (MN) -PETROZAVODSK

Three recent delegations from Petrozavodsk have expanded the awareness and participation of Duluth's citizens in their community's relationship with Petrozavodsk. An official delegation consisting of the deputy mayor of Petrozavodsk, the director of the Pioneer Palace, an educator, and a television and print journalist held meetings with their counterparts. The results included school pairings, a scheduled exchange of carpentry students this summer, and a comprehensive agreement between universities for exchanging students, teachers and research. The representatives also made plans for the establishment of a Duluth Center in Petrozavodsk and a Petrozavodsk Center in Duluth. And discussions proceeded regarding a

three-way relationship with a city in a developing country.

A variety of other activities have also occurred. In January a Petrozavodsk youth group was formed in Duluth. Four cross-country skiers came to Duluth on February 23 to participate in a regional race. A youth tour to Petrozavodsk is planned for late May. An English teacher from Petrozavodsk Teachers College will be at the College of St. Scholastica teaching Russian during the 1989-90 academic year. And a Petrozavodsk geologist and an English teacher have just completed a three-month visit to Duluth.

CONTACT: Brooks Anderson, 520 W. Superior St., Duluth, MN 55802 (218-723-3848) (Peacenet: Duluthpeace).

EUGENE (OR) - IRKUTSK

During a recent visit of an Irkutsk delegation to Eugene, Oregon, officials of both cities signed a pairing agreement. Led by Mayor Yuri Shkuropat, the Irkutsk group of six included representatives of construction and textile enterprises, youth organizations, and higher education institutions.

Following the signing ceremony, both sides proposed various exchanges, including reciprocal visits by eye surgeons, artists, students, and sports teams. A Eugene delegation will travel to Irkutsk in July to further develop the exchange proposals. This fall the University of Oregon and the Irkutsk Language Institute will swap professors for a semester.

Eugene's mayor at the time, Brian Obie, and University of Oregon President Paul Olum led the first official delegation to Irkutsk in July 1988, accompanied by the president and vice-president of the Eugene-Irkutsk Sister City Committee and representatives of the media.

CONTACT: Joseph A. Kremers, secretary, Eugene-Irkutsk Sister City Committee, P.O. Box 11642, Eugene, OR 97440.

GAINESVILLE(FL)-NOVOROSSIISK

Gainesville families will host 15 engineering students and a teacher from the Novorossiisk Merchant Marine Academy for two months in the spring of 1989, pursuant to an agreement signed last September by Gainesville Mayor David Coffey and Novorossiisk Mayor Valeri Prokhorenko in Novorossiisk. The agreement provides for exchanges of delegations from municipal, scientific, engineering and educational organizations; business and workers groups; local groups of artists, performers, and youths; sports teams; and tourists.

"Especially important," says the agreement, "will be an exchange of newspapers, which will allow the citizens of each community to learn about what is happening in their sister city's local government, and to find out about education, health, social services, the arts, and sports and recreation in their sister city."

An exchange of newspaper articles began during the visit to Novorossiisk with the publication of "Tree City, U.S.A.," an article about Gainesville, in the Novorossiisk Worker. The story was written by a reporter with Gainesville's Florida Alligator, the largest independent student newspaper in the United States.

In a recent message sent to Gainesville for publication in the newspaper, Mayor Prokhorenko said, "Many of you probably know the enthusiasm with which the people of Novorossiisk welcomed the publication of an article about Gainesville in the daily *Novorossiisk Worker*. We think the publication of that article can be considered the first brick in the support of a kind of 'press bridge' which could connect our two cities, helping our people learn about each other's lives, achievements and problems. The journalists of Novorossiisk

are willing to actively contribute to building such a bridge."

Other activities in progress include exchanges of technical videos concerning municipal services, a partner school program, reciprocal visits by journalists, and an exchange of religious leaders. In return for hosting the merchant marine cadets, Gainesville will send 15 Russian language students and a teacher to live and study in Novorossiisk during the months of June and July 1989.

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

JACKSONVILLE (FL) -MURMANSK

A folk-singing grandmother of three, Murmansk Deputy Mayor Galina Podobedova left the rampaging winter of the Arctic Circle recently in search of a Florida suntan and warmer relations between Jacksonville and Murmansk.

Deputy Mayor Podobedova and four colleagues from Murmansk spent a week in Jacksonville this past winter to "learn more about the American political and electoral systems and decision-making at the city and state levels. We in the Soviet Union used to give it little attention. Now that the political reform is under way, we could learn from the American experience," she said in an interview with Novosti Press Agency North American correspondent Nikolai Vishnevski.

"Perestroika offers unprecedented opportunities in the Soviet Union and the world for tearing down the Cold War barriers which have separated our peoples," she said. "It would be fine to continue exchanging delegations of young people. In the near future they will run the affairs of our cities and countries."

In addition to her duties as deputy mayor of the Arctic city of 450,000,

Podobedova also heads the city planning commission. Other delegates included: City Councilor Tamara Zaitseva, who is a teacher and chair of the Youth Commission; Nina Abakumova, a construction superintendent from Murmansk; Anatoli Mukhachev, a professor at the Murmansk Teachers' Institute and head of the Teachers for Peace Association; and Dr. Vasily Gnoian, a urologist who successfully treated Jacksonville mayor's aide Ivan Clare for kidney stones in Murmansk last year. After the treatment, Dr. Gnoian took Clare to dinner at a Murmansk restaurant. The doctor recalls, "When he told me he would take me to dinner in Jacksonville, I thought he was joking."

A group of 20 Murmansk university students visited Jacksonville for two weeks last October, and 21 Jacksonville collegians will participate in a reciprocal visit to Murmansk from May 13-25 of this year. Sponsors of the project in Jacksonville include the University of North Florida, Jacksonville University, and Florida Community College at Jacksonville.

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

MOBILE (AL) -ROSTOV-ON-DON

The Autumn 1988 issue of the *Bulletin* reported on a visit to Mobile by a Rostov delegation led by Mayor Gennady Zorenko, who traveled to Mobile hoping to sign a sister city agreement. Mobile Mayor Arthur Outlaw and the Mobile City Council refused to allow the city to enter into a formal relationship with Rostov, citing differences in governments and security considerations.

Despite being insulted and rejected by some officials, the Rostov delegation was treated "warmly on every occasion" by Mobile citizens, according to Mayor Zorenko. Un-

daunted, Mayor Zorenko has maintained a positive attitude, and nine months after his ill-fated visit, he sent the following message to the *Mobile Press-Register*:

"Dear Mobile residents: I would like to avail myself of the opportunity granted by this newspaper to wish you peace and prosperity in the new year on behalf of Rostov-on-Don residents.

In April 1988, I visited Mobile as head of the Rostov-on-Don city council delegation. I still remember how impressed we were by the hospitality and warmth of ordinary Mobile residents, their cordiality and openness. Of course, we heard different opinions concerning the official establishment of sister ties between our two cities. Understandably, such problems cannot be settled overnight. Negative attitudes reflect the difficulties in Soviet-American relations in general. But we believe that peoples' desire to live in friendship is an objective need, reflecting the specifics of the times we live in. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed at the U.N. that a new world which opens before us requires new approaches based on the peoples' awareness of the tasks and interests common to all humankind. Decades of confrontation have only harmed our two nations. We should learn to live together on our planet. I am convinced that our cities and nations will have better relations in the future. Respectfully yours, Gennadi Zorenko, Mayor."

Meanwhile, Mobile supporters of the sisterly tie celebrated Rostov-on-Don Week from February 19 through 25, which was billboarded as "a cultural and educational celebration." At a press conference during the event, a group of Mobile high school students announced an exchange program planned for this summer, in which Mobile students will visit and attend camp in the U.S.S.R., and Rostov students will spend two weeks in Mobile.

CONTACT: Jay Higginbotham, P.O. Box 1827, Mobile, AL 36633.

OAKLAND (CA) - NAKHODKA

Nakhodka Superintendent of Schools Galina Solomai brought ten Nakhodka teenagers, each representing a different high school, to Oakland for two weeks in April. An English teacher and an Intourist guide who have hosted Oakland delegations in Nakhodka also joined the group.

The visitors were the guests of the Oakland/Nakhodka Sister City Association and the Head-Royce School, and stayed in the homes of students of the school. They attended English and American cultural classes in the mornings, and toured Oakland and San Francisco in the afternoons. Officials from the city of Oakland and its port authority also participated in entertaining and educating the guests.

The visit was the first by young citizen diplomats from Nakhodka to Oakland in the 14-year history of the relationship. Last September a teacher and ten students from Head-Royce School traveled to Nakhodka to begin the exchange, which will continue next year when a group of students from the Oakland public schools visits Nakhodka.

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

RICHMOND (IN) -SERPUKHOV

Neighbors East and West (N.E.W.), the organization that launched the Richmond-Serpukhov Sister City Program in 1986, celebrated three successful years of people-to-people exchanges in March at an event called, "Rubbing Shoulders with the Glasnost Generation." Three American participants in the first US/USSR Emerging Leaders Summit, held in December 1988 in Philadelphia, described their week-long experience. Participants included 350 Soviets and

Americans (ages 28-40) considered experts in their fields and emerging leaders in their countries.

N.E.W. has organized nine Richmond sister city delegations to the Soviet Union. Last fall, the Chanticleer String Quartet accompanied by mimes performed eight concerts in Serpukhov of a program they created called "Building Bridges."

In the story, two very different strangers discover each other, become friends, experience a conflict and resolve it, becoming deeper friends through their differences. Soviet children musicians were invited onto the stage to play along with the quartet. An estimated 3,000 Soviet children enjoyed the performances, which were received with great enthusiasm.

In January, the Sister City Committee proposed to Serpukhov an exchange of grade school children later this year. Each child would be accompanied by a parent, and would stay in a private home. At the same time, a group of adults will spend five days kayaking and camping along the Oka River near Serpukhov at the invitation of Outdoors Conservation Club President Stanislav Zakharov. The two groups plan to join together for the celebration of Serpukhov's 650th birthday from September 6-8, 1989.

Dozens of Richmond residents are now corresponding with people they have met while traveling in the Soviet Union on sister city delegations.

Last year two of the Soviet pen pals visited Richmond on a private tour, and more are planning to do so this year.

CONTACT: Ed Nicholson, President, N.E.W., 609 West Main Street, Richmond, IN, 47374.

ROCHESTER (NY) - NOVGOROD

This spring, Mayor Alexandr A. Buzin will lead the first Novgorod delegation to visit Rochester, accompanied by the same Soviet Intourist guide assigned to several Rochester groups visiting Novgorod.

According to the Rochester/ Novgorod "Linkages" newsletter, Rochester delegates have "fallen in love" with Nadezhda Afonina, who was their national guide on recent trips to Novgorod. "Nadia," as she is fondly known, "is a striking young woman whose knowledge and personal style provide much more than just a 'tape recorded' description of the regular tourist sights." Many community relations groups who tour the Soviet Union have similar experiences with their guides, but few have had the opportunity to return the hospitality in their own hometowns.

In a recent telex message to Rochester Mayor Thomas Ryan sent via Novosti Press Agency's "Press Bridge" project, Mayor Buzin accepted Ryan's invitation to lead a delegation to Rochester. It will also be his first visit to the United States, "a country in which I have long been interested. I believe that it is not enough for mayors or official delegations to meet," he wrote. "Genuine relations presuppose meetings between common people. I am pleased to note that relations between Novgorod and Rochester started with exactly such meetings, without an official initiative 'from above.'"

The delegation is planning to visit Rochester schools, the Public Market, industries, the courthouse and jail, farms, newspapers, television and radio stations, museums, art galleries and private homes. An official reception with the mayor and city council and an evening with university Russian language students are also on the agenda.

In addition, Mayor Buzin also requested discussions on "the possibility of joint enterprises, and the establishment of a regular exchange of young people who, in the near future, will determine the image of our cities

and countries."

Indeed, other Novgorod citizens are also actively participating in various types of exchanges with Rochester.

Irina Kucharin, a school teacher and director of an after-school group called the Young Sailors Club, has challenged Rochester to find 1,000 students to correspond in English with her students.

More than 100 pen pals from the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and United Nations Association have already responded to Kucharin's challenge with letters to be delivered by upcoming delegations to Novgorod.

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

SALEM (OR) - SIMFEROPOL

An English professor and a student from Simferopol State University are spending this semester at Willamette University in Salem as part of an educational exchange program between the two cities.

Professor Valentina Levashova is taking the opportunity while in Salem to research a textbook she plans to write on U.S. history, economics, geography and culture.

"I want [Soviet] students to know what America is really like," she said. "I could only learn by gathering tiny scraps of information. I also want to devote a chapter to American beauty. We are also interested in what is considered to be the ideal here."

David Hunt, coordinator of the Salem-Simferopol Sister City Committee, said that Professor Levashova and the student, Igor Ochinnikov, have been well-received in Salem, and "are mixing extremely well. Each is a fine individual and they're such good representatives of Simferopol."

Levashova says recent US/Soviet summit meetings have created a tremendous interest in U.S. events. "My students in the Soviet Union are asking meso many questions like 'What is a caucus?' or 'What is a primary election?' They are curious," she said.

In other Salem/Simferopol exchanges, Stacy Allison, the first American woman to conquer Mt. Everest, will join seven other mountaineers from the Willamette Valley in June for some "technical climbs" in the Crimean Peninsula near Simferopol.

The Simferopol soccer team, "Tavria," former Ukrainian and national champs, is visiting Salem for a week in April.

Mayor Tom Neilsen will represent Salem at the fourth annual US/Soviet Sister Cities Conference in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, in May, followed by a three-day visit to Simferopol in June.

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

TALLAHASSEE (FL) -KRASNODAR

The "Friends of Tallahassee" society, a public association established in Krasnodar in 1988 to promote twinning ties with Tallahassee, has grown to more than 500 members, including new corporate participants, according to Chairman of the Board Yuri Zenyuk.

A recent telex message from Zenyuk, a nationally-prominent Soviet journalist, reported that the new corporate members include "the local branch of the artists' union, staff of the Regional Hospital, some new cooperatives, the youth club 'Columbia,' which studies the history and life of American Indians, and a student performing group whose repertory includes dozens of American songs."

Zenyuk, who will visit Tallahassee this spring, believes that wide public membership in the group will boost the relationship between Tallahassee and Krasnodar, and contribute to a "new stage" of Soviet-American relations.

When it became known in Krasnodar that Zenyuk would be going to Tallahassee, he was deluged with requests from Krasnodar citizens to assist with exchanges ranging from doctors to clergy to journalists. Krasnodar artists offered to exhibit and sell their works in Tallahassee.

Soviet families extended invitations for Tallahassee journalists to live with them while gathering material for stories. And New Year's wishes were conveyed, thanking Tallahassee for bringing the cities together in friendship.

The Bureau of International Tourism of the Florida Department of Commerce invited Zenyuk to visit as a member of a press delegation. The purpose of the visit is to promote Florida as a tourist destination for Soviets traveling abroad.

Zenyuk will be joined by Novosti Press Agency reporter Nikolai Vishnevski, who has been active in promoting press bridges and other Soviet-American community relations.

In addition to the press tour, Tallahassee hosted the first official delegation from Krasnodar in April, which was led by Mayor Valeri Samolenko. Included in that group were representatives of Krasnodar's university, business, media and arts communities. A reciprocal Tallahassee delegation will visit Krasnodar in September.

Other activities include ham radio contacts, pen pals, and exchanges of newspaper articles.

In June, Mayor Dorothy Inman will represent Tallahassee at the Fourth Annual U.S.-Soviet Sister Cities Conference in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, and then make a three-day trip to Krasnodar.

CONTACT: Bob Broedel, Tallahassee-Krasnodar Sister City Program, P.O. Box 20049, Tallahassee, Florida 32316 (904-576-4906) (Peacenet: Bbroedel).



HIGHTOWER TO FEDS: 'CUT THE BUREAUCRATIC CRAP'

n the late 1970s, the U.S. and Europe banned the use of the hormone DES in the beef industry. When fed to cattle in the days leading up to slaughter, DES sharpened the appetite of the beasts, adding pounds to the cattle, and dollars to the pockets of the corporations that raised them.

But DES also produced horrific side effects in humans who ate the beef — such as breast development and menstruation in children. Though DES was banned, it was soon replaced by ostensibly safer hormones, but some consumers are still unsatisfied. Last year, consumer groups in Europe finally persuaded the European Economic Community (EEC) to ban the sale of hormone-treated beef in the 12-nation alliance.

continued on next page

"While some ideologues were off waging war with their shadows, we were sitting down at the table working to reach a solution."

Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower saw "opportunity" written across the EEC.

"Here was our largest customer saying it wanted a specialty cut of beef, and based on the old entrepreneurial concept that the customer is always right, let's sell that to 'em since we have it," Hightower said, adding, "Texas has the largest supply of the best quality beef to be found anywhere in the world. Period. We will meet the highest standards set anywhere in the world."

Not everyone was so optimistic. U.S. trade negotiators in Europe to discuss the proposed ban on hormone-treated beef promptly denounced the EEC decision as trade protectionism unrelated to health concerns over growth-inducing hormones. A government spokesperson claimed the move was, even in Europe, unpopular, foisted on the public by a band of "leftist groups, like the Greens, working with the European beef industry" to keep U.S. beef out of Europe.

So when the EEC's ban went into effect on 1 January, the U.S. answered with a 100 percent tariff on several European imports, including tomato sauce, canned tomatoes, wine coolers, beef, fresh hams, instant coffee, and fruit juice. The EEC responded with a threat to bar from its 12 nations all U.S. imports of dried fruit, shelled nuts, canned sweet corn, and natural honey.

"The basic issue is this," a spokesperson for the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative in Washington, D.C., said. "The Europeans contend that this is a health issue. We in the United States argue that it's a trade barrier masquerading as a health and safety concern. What happens when other countries around the world decide to turn away American products for standards that have nothing to do with standards based on scientific evidence?"

But for Hightower, "this isn't a question of beef hormones. It's a question of beef sales. Texas ranchers, feedlot operators and meat packers have beef they want to sell Europeans." And, said Hightower, "If Washington won't play a stronger hand — a winning hand for cattle producers — then we in Texas will."

And he did. In January Hightower arranged for the visits of EEC agricultural specialists who inspected Texas feedlots and slaughterhouses and pronounced them fit. Talks with those experts led, on 7 February, to an agreement to ship Texas beef to Europe—what has come to be known, in the state capital at least, as the "Texas Plan."

But in Washington, "initial response to the plan was somewhat negative," admits John Vlcek, Hightower's director of communications.

Somewhat negative indeed. Hightower's letters and phone calls to President Bush's agriculture secretary Clayton Yeutter went unanswered. Yeutter himself, during his Senate confirmation hearing, threatened to invoke the Logan Act—which prohibits U.S. citizens from negotiating with foreign governments— to stop Hightower's "meddling."

"Our response to that," Hightower said, was "we're not making foreign policy. We're making a trade deal. We're doing a marketing deal, which we do all the time. If you can cite us some law which we're actually violating — if you have a formal embargo, if you have a treaty or something, show us that. Absent that, it's a states' rights position that a state can do anything that it is not prohibited by the federal government from doing.

"If Ollie North can go run a private war, with the applause of the administration, then why are they getting in the way of a few cattlemen who want to make a sale to our very best customer?" Hightower asked.

When the Agriculture Department claimed there were no reliable tests to detect the presence of hormones, Hightower found that the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) already carried out such tests — and he produced USDA packing labels to prove the point.

To Hightower the USDA's position seemed ludicrous. "Our major competitors, like Australia and Argentina, already had come up with a verifiable, no-added-hormone plan. If they can do it, we can do it better."

According to the New York-based Village Voice, Washington insiders told Hightower to ignore Yeutter "and go directly to fellow Texan and new secretary of state Jim Baker. . . . At the same time, the Texans were told that the Agriculture Department's general counsel had written an opinion rebuking Yeutter's assertions" that Hightower might be in violation of the Logan Act.

In mid-February, agriculture officials who had denounced Hightower announced that verification was indeed possible — and went so far as to hail the Texas Plan as a basis for breakthrough negotiations with the EEC. By early May, a U.S.-EEC task force concluded a 75-day cooling-off/negotiating period which some expect will produce a U.S. agreement to meet the EEC standard.

"It just makes good sense to try to cut the bureaucratic crap so the market can work and so we can avoid losing beef sales to our competitors," Hightower said. "While some ideologues were off waging war with their shadows, we were sitting down at the table working to reach a solution."

SOURCES: Texas Department of Agriculture, P.O. Box 12847, Austin, TX 78711 (512-463-7446); James Ridgeway, "Who was the masked man anyway," *Village Voice*, 28 February 1989, p. 18; "A Food Fight as Big as the Atlantic," *Newsweek*, 9 January 1989, p. 41.

by Larry Agran Mayor of Irvine, California

CLOSE MORE BASES

Deep cuts in military spending are essential to the nation's security

he air in military communities is dark with warnings of an apocalypse. Last December, when a bipartisan federal commission called for the closure of 86 military bases around the nation, some aggrieved political leaders promised retaliation — as if their communities had been strafed and bombed rather than presented with what may well prove an unprecedented economic opportunity.

U.S. Congressman George E. Brown, Jr., (D-CA) — ordinarily a progressive Democrat — told the Los Angeles Times he has mustered his fellow House members in response to the "rather heavy hit" launched by the President's Commission on Base Realignment and Closure. Illinois Senators Alan J. Dixon and Paul Simon complained that closure of bases overseas hadn't even been considered, and promised they would fight the shutdown of bases in their state.

At stake are several billion dollars in Pentagon funds that flow each year from Washington through military bases and into more than 800 communities around the country. And at first glance, closing some of those bases might seem a callous slap at communities already hard-pressed by recent cuts in federal urban aid.

But an Office of Economic Adjustment (OEA) study of 100 bases closed between 1961 and 1977 concluded that cities and towns actually thrive when nearby bases are closed. Two decades after the Department of Defense closed Dow Air Force Base in Bangor, Maine, for example, non-Pentagon businesses have gradually taken over one-million square feet of empty buildings the Air Force left behind, and the town is booming. About 2,500 new jobs have been created, a campus



of the University of Maine has opened, and the 11,400-foot Air Force runway now handles 2,500 charter flights a year, mostly to and from Europe.

The OEA study shows that Bangor isn't alone.

Local governments across the country have successfully converted military installations abandoned by the Pentagon into 42 municipal airports, 12 four-year colleges, 14 high schools, 32 vocational schools or junior colleges, and 75 industrial and office parks. In Terre Haute, Indiana, new industrial parks replaced what was once the Defense Industrial Plant Equipment Center. And the city of Torrance, California, converted the Long Beach Naval Supply Center into a recreational complex.

But the closure of 86 bases — which will shave a mere \$700 million a year from an annual Pentagon budget of some \$300 billion — is only the first of what may be many such closings and reorganizations in America's national security establishment. Pressed to slash federal spending because of a staggering budget deficit, the national government will almost certainly have

to axe — even more heavily — other bases, and weapons systems as well, idling thousands of people working for military contractors across the nation.

The plain truth is that we should welcome those cuts. We should press, however, not simply for cuts in military spending and budget deficit reductions, but for the restoration of urban spending programs, as well. A recent study by the U.S. Conference of Mayors concluded that a \$30-billion transfer from the Pentagon to urban aid programs would actually strengthen the nation's security by dramatically improving life in America's cities and towns.

Redirected to conventional programs of urban uplift, those funds would help communities build their way out of the federally-imposed urban anguish that began in 1978 and continues unabated even today.

According to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, a \$30 billion shift in Pentagon spending to America's cities would mean that in five years we could renovate or build nearly 1 million homes, hire 387,000 new teachers and support staff for our schools, and build mass transportation systems that really work. We could hire 30,000 additional health care workers, and still have more than \$1 billion left each year to build and improve public health care facilities and fund vital health care services. We could open hundreds of thousands of places in Head Start programs and feed millions of senior citizens now mired in poverty.

Every \$1 billion shifted from the Pentagon to America's cities creates 6,600 more jobs than we have today. That shift would, of course, mean dislocation in the military-industrial

complex. It would mean base closings and plant lay-offs. But it would also mean hundreds of local economies freed from their dependence on military spending, and hundreds of others liberated to produce real national security — well-educated, healthy citizens working in modern industries that are competitive in the global marketplace.

In the wake of cuts that are almost sure to come, only far-sighted local leadership will smooth the path to a diversified local economy. Base conversions have succeeded, "not simply because the Pentagon abandons a base," says the Center for Economic Conversion's Michael Closson. "There is a lot of historical evidence that, when people in communities plan effectively, conversions can be very successfully accomplished."

Planning for a future in which the military is not a chief engine of the economy is difficult, of course, and not always politically popular. But planning is easier when we recognize a single, simple truth: Closing 86 bases

isn't going to save the republic from the economic and social threats it faces. The projected savings of a puny \$700 million will barely pay for a single Stealth bomber. The fact is that deep cuts in military spending are essential to the nation's vitality. The President-elect has promised no new taxes. Meanwhile, of course, for the last eight years, social programs have borne the brunt of budget-cutting. There are only two places left to look for savings. Either military spending is on the table, or we are.

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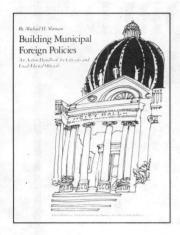


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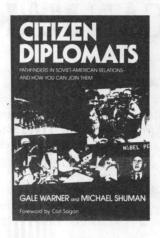
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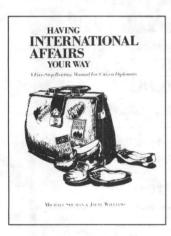


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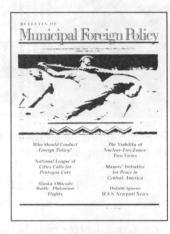
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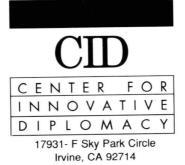
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