

# Race, Poverty & the Environment

*A journal for social and environmental justice*

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## Special Military Conversion Issue

### Opportunity for Environmental Justice?

by Carl Anthony

The San Francisco Bay Area is a region hard hit by defense cutbacks. Ten military bases are scheduled for closure in the next few years. These downsizing actions will result in the transfer of 20,553 military personnel out of the region, 17,760 direct civilian job losses, and an estimated 51,000 indirect job losses—a total of almost 90,000 jobs lost in the region. As many as half of these jobs will have a direct impact on communities of color. The Navy estimates that toxic clean up of its facilities in the Bay Area will cost over \$1 billion. In many places the ground water and soil pollution may be seeping into African American, Latino, and Asian American neighborhoods adjacent to closing military bases. At the same time, an estimated 10,000 acres of publicly-owned unsubdivided urban land, thousand of housing units, other

## Bringing it All Back Home

by U. S. Representative  
Ronald V. Dellums

In the Summer of 1993, the President and Congress accepted the federal Base Closure and Realignment Commission (BRAC) recommendation to close Alameda Naval Air Station and the Alameda Naval Aviation Depot, the Mare Island Naval Shipyard, Naval Station Treasure Island and the Oakland

Naval Hospital among other major and minor military facilities in the Bay Area. Prior decisions had already closed Hamilton Air Field and Hunter's Point Naval Shipyard.

The challenges that these closures presented to the Bay Area community were immediate and complex. The

see *DELLUMS*, page 39

see *OPPORTUNITY*, page 40

# Editors Notes

For low-income, working class, and communities of color, economic conversion is not just an opportunity, but necessary for the survival of their communities. With the closure of military base facilities, the remissioning of national laboratories, and restructuring of defense-related industries -- most of which are located in these communities -- economic conversion is the necessary redirection of public investment toward the neglected issues of our communities -- unemployment and crime, environmental hazards, the lack of decent affordable housing and disinvestment in transit, commercial and industrial activities.

Whether the community is the City of Alameda, Oakland or San Francisco, Vieques, Puerto Rico, Kadena, Okinawa, Subic, the Philippines, or Kaoilawe in Hawaii, these communities struggle to deal with the land use and employment legacies left by the defense industry. All are currently struggling to redirect now scarce public dollars to forge a path away from military colonialism.

In this country, the military buildup to support the Cold War, coupled with rapid suburbanization, has left inner cities in desolation. Ironically, the catalyst for suburbanization following World War II, was initiated by earlier federal conversion

See *EDITOR'S NOTES*, page 42

## Race, Poverty & the Environment

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### Editorial Policy

*Race, Poverty & the Environment* is a quarterly newsletter dedicated to publishing material exploring the intersection of race, poverty and the environment. The views reflected in *Race, Poverty & the Environment* are not necessarily those of the editors, California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, or Earth Island Institute.

### Mission Statement

The mission of *Race, Poverty & the Environment* is to provide an authentic voice for environmental justice. *RPE* aims to service its readers with news, articles, book reviews, theory, resources and notices that examine and provide evidence of the relationship among race, poverty, and the environment. Further, we must continue to build the bridges that have been tentatively constructed in the past few years between mainstream environmentalists and grassroots environmentalists, in a way which preserves the autonomy of community groups. *RPE* presents the voices and experiences of a sector of society in a manner that is accessible to grassroots organizers and activists, environmental professionals, concerned citizens, and policy makers alike.

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**Self-Determination**


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# Taking Back Fort Lawton

## Meeting the Needs of Seattle's Native American Community Through Conversion

by *Bernie Whitebear*

*Editors note: We want to thank the author for sharing this draft with us. The author notes that this is a first draft. The final document will attempt to include all the names of those involved with the invasions and occupations at Fort Lawton. If any of our readers know of anyone involved, please contact the author at (206) 285-4425. The final document will be printed for the 25th Anniversary of United Indians in March 1995.*

The March 1970 invasion and occupation of Fort Lawton, an active military base in the northwest section of Seattle, was an attempt by Seattle's Native American community to establish a land base to serve the largest urban Native American population west of Tulsa and north of San Francisco.

Before the invasions and occupations, which lasted approximately three months, there were no Federal, State, County or City funds available for services to Native Americans in Seattle. The only social services were provided by an organization of Indian women, operating from an old church, existing primarily on donations and volunteer help. The organization was the American Indian Women's Service League. Pearl Warren was the director, and Joyce Reyes was the League's President. Other important members who have since passed away were Ella Aquino, Josephine Kauffman, Dorothy Lombard, and Tillie Cavanaugh. Mary Jo Butterfield, Alma Chastain, Adeline Garcia and Lindsay Buxton continue as important members of the community today.

The only other services available were provided by an Indian free clinic, operating from donated space at the Marine Public Health Hospital three nights a week, staffed by volunteer doctors, nurses and stocked with donated pharmaceuticals, which were stored in the lady's restroom. The Indian free clinic later organized as the Seattle Indian Health Board and today is the largest Native American organization offering medical, dental, and mental health services.

During the pre-invasion period in Seattle, Indians had little experience in preventative health care, seeking assistance only in energy or life threatening circumstances. This situation was the result of our people being ping-ponged from

one hospital to the next under the mistaken assumption that the Federal government was responsible for the welfare of all Indians.

In reality, the two federal assistance agencies responsible for administering the trust status and "advocacy" of American Indians, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Indian Health Service (IHS), had developed a policy that in effect meant that "once you left the reservation, you were no longer Indian." A technical translation basically meant that the BIA and IHS restricted their services to Indians who still resided on or near reservations and were under the administrative authority and jurisdiction of Tribal Governments.

This policy, which began with the government's attempt to move the Indian people off their ancestral lands and into the mainstream of society, is known as the "Termination Era of the Fifties." In an attempt to end trust status and liquidate all tribal assets, the federal government set up relocation programs moving thousands of Indians into cities with promises of better employment and educational opportunities.

This was the final injustice to Indian people by the government, after having stolen all but 55 million acres of our land, and presided over the decimation of our culture and religion. The grand planners of the Eisenhower administration saw this

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***This nation had to reassess its priorities  
and live up to the more than 300 treaties it  
used as a premise for stealing Indian land.***

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as the *coup de grace* in segregating our people from our last vestiges as a distinct race of people.

In 1969, Indians in the San Francisco Bay area occupied Alcatraz Island, in an attempt to use the former federal prison site as the location for a Native American cultural center. Alcatraz was deactivated as a federal penitentiary in 1963, shortly after what is believed to be the only successful escape from the "escape proof" prison. A Native American inmate, Al Carnes, was reported to have been an accomplice to the three

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escapees, who have never been captured. Rewards are still being offered for their capture.

Also in 1969, news surfaced that Fort Lawton, an active army base in Seattle, was going to become surplus property. The City of Seattle had hopes that the property could revert to city ownership and be used for a grand park, somewhat on the scale of Stanley Park in Vancouver, British Columbia.

At that time, federal law required that non-federal entities such as the City of Seattle pay between 50-100% of fair market value in order to receive surplus property. This was an exorbitant cost that the City could not afford.

U.S. Senators Henry M. Jackson and Warren G. Magnusen, from Washington State, two of the most influential Senators in the U.S. Senate, introduced amendments in Congress to the U.S. Land and Water Conservation Act of 1965, to reduce costs for surplus property from 50-100% to 0-50%. In effect if the amendment passed, the City of Seattle would be able to receive its multimillion dollar property at zero cost.

Members of a newly formed American Indian organization in Seattle under the name of "Kinatechitapi," (Blackfoot for "All Indians") began making overtures to the City's leaders, requesting that a portion of Fort Lawton be set aside. They wanted to create an Indian Cultural Center similar to the one planned by the "Indians of All Tribes" occupying Alcatraz Island in San Francisco.

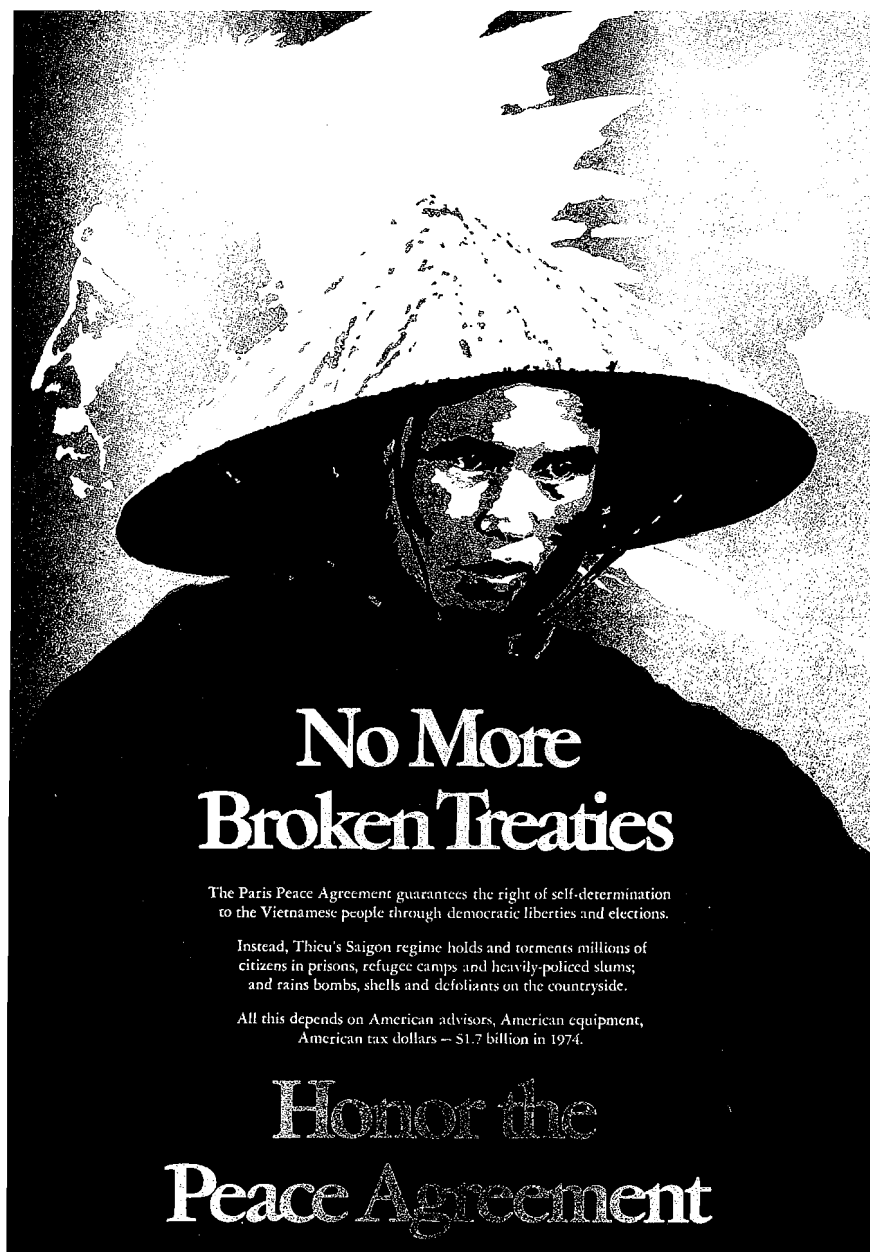
The City administration, obviously not taking the request seriously, responded that the Indians should wait until the City received the property and then they would review the request. They suggested that in the meantime, the Indians submit their request to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This action displayed their ignorance of both the BIA's restricted service policy, which excluded urban Indians, and also the disregard and disfavor urban Indians held for the BIA.

A few weeks later, then Mayor of Seattle, Wes Uhlman, and Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson held a press conference on the Fort Lawton property, promising the community that it could

look forward to the City receiving the land for the exclusive use as a park. No mention was made of the desire of the American Indian community to participate in the City's future plans for the property nor the City's intention to include Indians in the planning process.

Follow up meetings within the Kinatechitapi organization revealed a

widening philosophical split developing as to the future course of action. More conservative members favored a more diplomatic and low-key approach -- to wait for the City to receive the property and resubmit their requests at that time. The other, more impatient and untrusting members of the organization favored a more extreme course of



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action. The conservative members said that if anyone pursued any of the more extreme remedies being discussed, they could not use the name-

**Kinatechitapi.** This position was accepted and respected by all members, and it was understood that if a more activist element evolved, it would more likely split off and form a new organization, and both organizations would pursue their goal of gaining some of the Fort Lawton property.

After considerable discussions, the activist element feared that unless some extreme actions were taken, Indian interests would wane and dissolve as mere pipe dreams.

It should be noted that, at this period in time, a great many efforts were on-going throughout the nation. Seattle had the Students for Democratic Society (SDS), the Black Panthers, United Black Contractors, Vietnam War and United Farm Workers protestors. Indian Tribes had become embroiled in fishing rights struggles against the State since the early 50s. Fish-ins resulted in Indian tribal men and women and their supporters being physically beaten and arrested by State and County police.

The assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, his brother Senator Robert Kennedy and the great civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., further enraged people, including Indians, who felt that this nation had to reassess its priorities, and live up to the more than 300 treaties it used as a premise for stealing Indian land. In essence, it seemed there was no other choice than to follow the activist efforts of a growing number of dissidents, discontent with the nation's disregard for human equality.

The stage now seemed set to follow the path of the "brothers and sisters" on Alcatraz, and attempt to physically occupy the Fort Lawton Military Base. Information from the Indians of All Tribes on Alcatraz that some of the group would be willing to travel to Seattle and join the occupation efforts added incentive to the on-going discussions. Similar commitments of "envoys" from Canada and other hot-

spots sealed the decision to invade and occupy Fort Lawton.

The "Moccasin Telegraph" worked surprisingly well and within days numbers of supporters began arriving in Seattle. Confidence increased with the arrival of Richard Oaks, the charismatic leader of Alcatraz, and Grace Thorpe, daughter of the legendary athlete, Jim Thorpe.

On-going demonstrations by American Indian soldiers stationed at Fort Lewis south of Tacoma and near Franks Landing, brought together other coalitions represented by Private Deni Leonard, fishing rights activists Don and Janet McCloud, Al and Maiselle Bridges and their daughters Susette, Valerie, and Alison. Sid Mills and Hank Adams, founders of Survival of American Indians, gave increased emphasis to the impending occupation.

This coalition was responsible for actress Jane Fonda's presence at Fort Lewis at the same time as the first invasion of Fort Lawton, March 8, 1970. The support and presence of the internationally known actress gave the invasion and occupation world-wide attention and captured the imagination of the world press. American Indians were attacking active military forts along with one of the nation's leading opponents of United States involvement in the Vietnam War. It seemed that what began as an effort to secure a land base for urban Indians had suddenly taken on a bizarre, ready-for-prime-time, movie scenario, complete with soldiers, modern day-Indians, and anti-war activists. Without really appreciating it at the time, the Indian movement had achieved through Jane Fonda's presence, a long-sought credibility which would not have been possible otherwise.

The evening before the first invasion, a pow-wow was held at the Filipino Community hall in south Seattle on a street today named after Martin Luther King, Jr. The purpose of the pow-wow was to announce the invasion plans to the largest possible gathering, including times and locations of the marshalling area for the organizing of car caravans.

The next day as scheduled, two half-mile long columns of vehicles began forming at the Southend Neighborhood

House's Henderson Hall. The two caravans with vehicles displaying red cloth banners from car aeriels, traveled on different routes to their two different invasion sites. Although an attempt was made during the pow-wow to observe

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### ***The March 8, 1970 invasion and occupation of Fort Lawton was an attempt by Seattle's Native American community to establish a land base to serve the largest urban Native American population west of Tulsa and north of San Francisco.***

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the utmost secrecy, the next day, radio news reports broadcast the ongoing invasion and were received on the caravan's car radios.

The caravans reached their target sites on both the north and south sides of Fort Lawton and the Indians proceeded to climb fences, move in tipi poles and canvases, and set about occupying the property. The Military Police (MP) and Army personnel responded by marching in formation and setting up skirmish lines in an attempt to close off further access to the interior areas of the fort. On the south side, Military Police tried to arrest a number of Indians who had entered the Army chapel while Sunday church services were in progress, much to the surprise and indignation of the parishioners.

As arrests and jailing in the fort stockade of the "American Indian Fort Lawton Occupation Forces" continued throughout the afternoon and early evening, hand-to-hand combat happened frequently as tempers flared on both sides due to overly aggressive handling by the MPs.

This pattern of urban guerilla warfare occurred again and again: Invasion, arrests, jailings, letters of expulsion from military property, physical escort off the fort, re-invasion.

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The Army began getting heat from the Pentagon about not being able to secure Fort Lawton and responded by moving in two companies of troops from Fort Lewis and fourteen truckloads of concertina wire. In what seemed like overkill, the Army cordoned off the Fort with concertina wire and manned foxholes, leaving only the main gate accessible. A tipi encampment was set-up at the main gate of Fort Lawton, and on-going demonstrations to block traffic into the fort continued to be a constant harassment to the MPs.

After about three months, Indian leaders felt the encampment was becoming more of a liability than an asset, and plans were made for its dismantlement. A press conference was scheduled at the Main Gate encampment to explain the next course of action. The MPs were ecstatic about the plans and were eager to assist in the tearing down of the tipis. Their jubilation was short-lived when they discovered that the press conference was called to reaffirm the Indian's claim to Fort Lawton. On signal, hundreds of Indians, followed by television news cameras, stormed past the surprised MPs for one last invasion of Fort Lawton's only access, through the concertina wire.

Thus the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation was born, adding "United" and "Foundation" to the name borrowed from Alcatraz to show distinction between the two sister efforts.

The invasions and occupations had achieved one major objective, gaining commitments of support from the local residents of Seattle. Over 40 non-Indian organizations throughout King County now supported the Indian's claim to part of Fort Lawton.

A delegation from United Indians managed to fly to Washington, D.C. and testify before Congressman Morris Udall's committee on Senator Jackson's Amendments to the Land and Water Conservation Act of 1965, later referred to as Senator Jackson's Fort Lawton Bill. This delegation included Gary and Beverly Beaver, Randy Lewis, Grace Thorpe, Douglas

Remington, and Bernie Whitebear. Congressman Brock Adams received the Indian delegation in his office and pledged to support their efforts with Senators Jackson and Magnuson.

In November 1970, a delegation from United Indian Nations including JoAnn Kauffman, Dr. Frances Svensson, Ron Gibbs, Randy Lewis and Bernie Whitebear attended the National Congress of American Indians Convention in Anchorage, Alaska. The convention passed a resolution requesting then Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner, Louis Bruce, to place a freeze on the Fort Lawton property while in its Excess Status, thus blocking the City of Seattle's eligibility for the property. Cities, being non-federal agencies are only eligible to apply for federal property if the property has passed from "excess" to "surplus" status. The author, Vine Deloria, Jr., and newly elected President of the NCAI, Frank Ducheneaux supported the effort.

The Administrative Freeze was enacted by Commissioner Louis Bruce. Eventually, political pressure by the Department of Interior on the BIA forced an end to the freeze, but not until considerable attention was given to the United Indians plan by the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). HEW solicited applications for use of the Fort Lawton property and Regional Director Bernard "Buck" Kelly accepted the United Indians' application for part of the property prior to the City of Seattle's application filing through the Department of Interior (DOI) for all of the property.

The General Services Administration, responsible for final disposition of federal surplus property, ordered the United Indians and the City to negotiate and submit a single application before any property would be transferred. After negotiating from July to November of 1971, it was agreed that the United Indians would lease 20 acres for a 99 year period (with options for successive 99 year leases without renegotiation) and have full development and administrative authority to build its cultural center. United Indians also required the City to provide

\$600,000 to the American Indian Women's Service League for a Social Services Center. This \$600,000 underwrote the Seattle Indian Services Commission, the City's only Native American Public Development Authority.

The United Indians developed a Master Plan which was approved by the City and provided for the development of several facilities: the Daybreak Start Arts Center, the Heritage Resource Center which included an Archives and Library, a Performing Arts Center, a Restaurant, the Peoples lodge, a multi-use facility, and a traditional Northwest Coast Longhouse.

Ground breaking for the Daybreak Start Center took place on September 27, 1975 and was completed and dedicated on May 13, 1977. Funding for the Center came from the City of Seattle, the Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, private donations from the Colville, Quinault, and Makah Tribes, and corporations.

The Daybreak Start Center serves as the Headquarters for the United Indians which owns two other major Service Centers in the City, and leases space for another Center in downtown Seattle. The United Indians employs over 100 staff and operates 11 separate programs.

The United Indians is also working on a Master Plan for the 21st Century which includes a Pre-school through Higher Education campus, Native American Veterans Center, Student and Homeless Housing, and Long Term Care and Housing for Indian Elders.

The 21st Century Master Plan -- A Native American "Commons" -- is the United Indians contribution to the City's Urban Villages and ComPlan visionary planning efforts for the next 100 years and beyond.

*Bernie Whitebear (Colville), is the Executive Director of the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation.*

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# The Indigenous Perspective on Feminism, Militarism and the Environment

by **Winona LaDuke**

Indigenous women understand that our struggle for autonomy is related to the total need for structural change in this society. We realize that indigenous people in industrial society have always been and will always be in a relationship of war, because industrial society has declared war on indigenous peoples, on land based peoples.

To look within a bigger context, when I say indigenous peoples, I'm not only talking about Indians. All people come from land-based cultures. Some have been colonized longer than I have, which means they have got more work to do.

According to an article by Jason Clay in *Cultural Survival*, there are 5,000 indigenous nations in the world today, and there are one hundred and seventy-one states. Indigenous nations have been around for hundreds of thousands of years. They share common territory, common language, common history, common culture, and a common government or political organization. That is the definition of nation under international law. Nations exist in the Americas, in Malaysia, and elsewhere in the world. The Kayapo people in Brazil are a nation; the Penan of Malaysia are a nation; the Palestinians and Kurdish people are nations. Throughout the world, there are indigenous nations. We have come to accept more commonly that there are only 171 nations and these are states. That is because we are told to accept them by these same powers. These 171 states have, for the most part, been around since World War II. We need to understand this context.

Most indigenous women understand that our struggle as women is integrally related to the struggle of our nations for control of our land, resources, and destinies. It is difficult for indigenous women to embrace or even relate to the progressive parts of the women's movement. It is not about civil rights for us. It is not about equal access to something. It is about "Get off my neck." From our perspective, that is what it is all about.

Yet industrial society and the military machine continue to devastate our communities. Throughout the Americas, indigenous women are speaking out against militarism. Our people, specifically our men, are being militarized by the American, Guatemalan, and other states. There were 82,000 Indians serving in Vietnam from August 1964 to May 1975.

Indians had the highest rate of service for all ethnic groups. It was the same in the Persian Gulf War. I read an article in the *Lakota Times*: five hundred Lakota men were in service in the Persian Gulf. That is a horrendous statistic considering that we are only two percent of the population. Militarism changes how men relate to women, the earth, and their communities.

The process of militarizing our men causes a disruption of our order.

I understand very well that militarization has strongly influenced how men relate to women in our society. It is the cause of many problems. As a result, we are talking about hard challenges. We are talking about the fact that the system must totally change if indigenous peoples are to survive. We are talking about the fact that this is a system of conquest. That is the essence of capitalism. That is the essence of colonialism. And conquest means destruction of peoples, which is integrally related to sexism, to racism, to all the other "isms." It is also intimately related to death, because there is no way that a society based on conquest can survive on this earth.

We've basically run out of room for conquest. There are no more frontiers. The West is an American state of mind. Nobody's going anywhere. There's no place else to go. We have to look at how we can make a systemic change in this society so there's a meaningful change—not only change in the social and political relations between people, between men and women, but also between this society and the consumption of resources.

It is within this context that I believe that indigenous women embrace other social movements, embrace them to the extent that they are interested in systemic change. The women's movement is in a good position to take on structural change. Because there are so many women in this country, the women's movement has the numbers and the potential to engage in real change. I believe that women are able to have more courage in our work and in our struggle than men exhibit. I really think that's true. It's a very difficult struggle. But I myself really don't have anything else to do with the rest of my life. The fact that we are women and we are intimately related to the forces of renewal and life means that we are much closer to an optimism in our understanding of things than are many men in this society.

The war has brought home the concept of Armageddon. Indigenous and land based societies don't look at this time as a death. They look at it as a time of Earth Renewal, which is a much different understanding and perception of things. I think that women, because we are women, are more in touch with that way of looking at things, which is what gives us the ability to be courageous and be in there for the long struggle.

*Winona LaDuke is a journalist, community organizer and president of the Indigenous Women's Network, a continental and Pacific network of native women. Reprinted from War After War, City Lights Review 5, Nancy J. Peters, ed. (1992).*

# Challenging U.S. Militarism in Hawai'i and Okinawa

by Roy Takumi

*Editor's Note: The following is excerpted from a speech given in Okinawa, Japan as part of the Japan Peace Conference Against Military Bases and Alliances in November 1989.*

I have visited Okinawa several times and was immediately struck by how similar it is to Hawai'i. The main industries are tourism, sugar and the military. It is the most militarized prefecture in Japan, just as we in Hawai'i are the most militarized state in the U.S. Like Hawai'i, it has a population of a little over a million. An island, Iejima, is used for target bombing like the island of Kaho'olawe in Hawai'i. It is the only prefecture in Japan where American dollars are accepted, symbolic of the dominance of the U.S. military.

Historically, there are many parallels. In February 1609, Satsuma invaded Ryukyu Kingdom with a force of three thousand soldiers forcing King Sho Nei to sign documents pledging loyalty to Japan. The kingdom survived, in name, for 268 years. On March 27, 1879, King Sho Tai was forced to abolish the Ryukyu Han and Okinawa Ken was established. These times were characterized by the attempted destruction of the Okinawan language, culture and traditions. They were forced to identify themselves as Japanese and loyal subjects of the Emperor.

Hawai'i has a similar history. Hawai'i, like Okinawa, was an independent Kingdom. It was recognized by the leading governments of the world as an independent sovereign nation

and had entered into agreements and treaties with the United States recognizing the sovereignty of Hawai'i.

Despite this recognition, on January 16, 1893, 162 U.S. Marines invaded Hawai'i and made possible the overthrow of the Hawai'ian Kingdom. It is important to point out that the reason for the landing of troops was to "protect American life and property." Like the "Formosa Incident" of 1872 which served as an excuse for Japan to intervene in the affairs of the Ryukyu Kingdom, this served as the reason to intervene in the affairs of the Hawai'ian Kingdom.

The overwhelming majority of native Hawai'ians actively opposed the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Despite their efforts and the efforts of their leader, Queen Lili'oukalani, Hawai'i was annexed to the U.S. in 1898.

So we have similar situations where two independent kingdoms were invaded by military force and were the victims of coercion, manipulation, broken treaties and outright illegal acts.

What is the current situation? Again, the parallels are striking. Militarily, Hawai'i and Okinawa play important roles in the overall military strategy of the United States.

Hawai'i is one of the most densely militarized states in the nation. Approximately seven percent of Hawai'i's lands are controlled by the military. Oahu is by far the most burdened with fully a quarter of its land used for over 100 installations scattered across the island. There are 64,000 military personnel and 70,000 dependents who comprise over 11 percent of the population in Hawai'i.

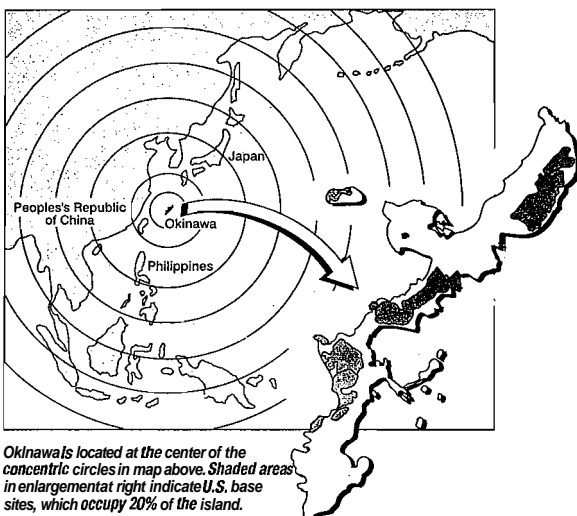
Okinawa is the most militarized prefecture in Japan with 20 percent of its land used for over 80 bases controlled by the U.S. military. One quarter of the U.S. Air Force's Pacific-based fighters fly out of Okinawa. And there are over 35,000 military personnel stationed on this small island.

We can see how military bases have had a heavy impact on the lives of the people of Okinawa and Hawai'i. Globally the U.S. maintains over 1,500 bases and military facilities in foreign countries with more than 1,000 having some role in the U.S. nuclear infrastructure. They are located in approximately 650 distinct locations in 36 different countries and territories around the world. The U.S. has 540,588 military personnel permanently stationed in foreign countries, plus 82,142 afloat.(1)

In many countries, these forces are armed with nuclear and chemical, as well as "conventional," weapons. In the past, the U.S. government has resorted to coups, political destabilization, support for dictators and direct military intervention to obtain or retain bases and military access in other nations.

Military bases are frequently justified as a necessary part of a country's defense. However, many experience both foreign and domestic bases as perpetuating, rather than preventing, global violence and denying, rather than securing, rights to self-determination and sovereignty.

Addressing the presence of military bases is key to building a just and peaceful world. The use of military forces as a means of superpower domination and a solution to regional conflicts is now in question. There is growing opposition in the U.S. and abroad to the presence of military bases. From





## Self-Determination

Afghanistan to Honduras, from Belau to Aotearoa, from Okinawa to West Germany, people are resisting the imposition of foreign military forces and weapons.

At the community level, more and more local governments at the city and state level are getting involved with national and foreign policy issues. At the recent U.S. Conference of Mayors, a resolution calling on the President to work toward a comprehensive test ban treaty with the Soviet Union passed. The states of Iowa and Hawai'i and the city of St. Louis, Missouri recently established Offices of International Affairs.

Even the governor of Okinawa, Junji Nishime, who visited the U.S. in April 1988, has requested that the U.S. Defense Department conduct an overall relocation study concerning U.S. military bases in Okinawa.

Between 1985 and 1989 eighteen cities and towns formally voted against the Air Force erecting Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) communications towers. The Air Force claims that the towers are necessary to ensure proper communication during a nuclear war. The towers, says GWEN Project director Nancy Foster, have become an opportunity for communities "to confront the nuclear arms race in their own backyards." (2)

Over the past decade, organizations focused on the needs of women and people of color in the U.S. have begun to develop alternatives to U.S. foreign policy. Examples of this include Black organizations challenging U.S. policy toward South Africa, women's groups addressing the connection between the military budget and cuts in social services, and Korean groups organizing on reunification issues.

As we enter a new period of relations between the two superpowers, we see new opportunities to institutionalize the perspective of women and Third World Americans into the East-West dialogue.

We also see the opportunity to build ties of solidarity with indigenous peoples who have suffered greatly under the onslaught of military bases. For example, perhaps the most devastat-

ing impact of the bases in Okinawa and Hawai'i has been its impact on indigenous peoples. The bases have meant the confiscation of large tracts of land from native peoples. In Hawai'i, there are many examples of this. Perhaps the most sensitive issue concerns the use of ceded lands. These are lands which were returned to Hawai'i when it became a state in 1959 to be used for the betterment of the native Hawai'ian population. Included in the 1.7 million acres of ceded lands are approximately 200,000 acres set aside exclusively for native Hawai'ians to homestead, ranch or farm. Presently, more than half of the lands that the military controls are ceded lands.

Similarly, in Okinawa, there are many examples of the military confiscating land. Iejima is one. In the 1950's, the U.S. expropriated over half the island and it presently controls 30 percent. Like Kaho'olawe, it is used as a bombing range.

Over the years there has been resistance to the bases led by indigenous peoples in both Hawai'i and Okinawa. In Hawai'i, the Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana has led the opposition to the bombing of this sacred island. One of the leaders of the PKO, the late George Helm, summarized his thoughts as to why he protested the continued bombing:

"What is national defense when what is being destroyed is the very thing the military is entrusted to defend, the sacred land of Hawai'i? The spirit of pride is left uncultivated, without truth and without meaning for the children of the land, cut off from the land as a fetus is cut off from his mother. National defense is indefensible in terms of the loss of pride of many of the citizens of Hawai'i. Call me radical for I refuse to remain idle. I will not have the foreigner prostitute the soul of my being, and I will not make a whore out of my soul (my culture)." (3)

In Okinawa, groups such as the *Hitotsubo Hansen Jinushi-Kai* and the *Imo-No-Kai* are based on the principle of self-determination.

This is the challenge for the peace movement in the U.S. and in Japan. It is no accident that the Nuclear Free

Pacific movement changed to the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement as indigenous peoples made all of us aware that without independence, without justice, without a landbase, then being nuclear-free is meaningless.

We must learn from the courageous struggles being waged in the island nations of the Pacific such as Belau. We must rid ourselves of national chauvinism that has divided us. We must recognize the leadership role of indigenous peoples in the struggle for self-determination.

But above all we must dream. We must dream of a nuclear free, independent, and economically secure Pacific. We must dream of recreating societies based on mutual cooperation and understanding. We must dream of real security for our people meaning jobs, houses, schools, parks, and productive, peaceful use of the land. But as we all know, to realize our dreams, that there comes a time when we have to get up and get to work.

That time is now.

### NOTES

1. American Friends Service Committee, National Disarmament Program, *Briefing Paper*, March 23, 1989.

2. "Local Activists Chop Away At Gwen Towers," *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, Autumn 1989, pp. 44-45. For more information on the campaign, contact: Nancy Foster, The GWEN Project, P.O. Box 135, Amherst, MA 01004.

3. George Helm, "Personal Statement—Reasons for Fourth Occupation of Kaho'olawe," in *Ho'ihoi Hou*, ed. Rodney Morales (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984), p. 55.

*Roy Takumi is a State Senator for the State of Hawai'i. He formerly served as Program Director of the Hawai'i Area Office of the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization founded in 1917 which works for peace and social justice. The views expressed in this paper are not necessarily those of the State of Hawai'i or the AFSC.*

## Self-Determination

# Trials of Okinawa: A Feminist Perspective

by **Suzuyo Takazato**

As an Okinawan whose only memory is of World War II battlefield Okinawa, postwar United States military occupation and, subsequently, Japanese civilian administration, I supported the movement for Okinawa's reversion to Japan in the 1960s. I believed that Okinawa's return to Japan, now governed by a strong Peace Constitution, was preferable to continuing under a U.S. civilian administration strongly tied to the heavy U.S. military base presence on our small island. Of course, many benefits came with Okinawa's reversion to Japan in 1972. No longer did Okinawans need to secure passports to travel to Japan.

We were now protected by Japan's Peace Constitution, which forbade Japan to have aggressive military force. Despite this, today Japan Self Defense Forces personnel number 270,000 and Japan's defense spending ranks number three in the world after the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). We were also under the protective umbrella of the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty. All laws effective in Japan were now in effect in Okinawa as well. This included the Prostitution Prevention Law, which had been passed by the Japanese Diet in 1956 and enacted in Japan in 1958, but was not effective in Okinawa until after reversion in 1972.

One of the anticipated benefits of reversion, the removal of all U.S. military bases from Okinawa, has still not taken place. The fervent desire of Okinawan citizens to regain possession of their own family land has been ignored for 46 years. Today, 75 percent of the U.S. military presence in Japan is located in Okinawa, where 20 percent of the land is occupied by 45 bases accommodating 57,000 American military personnel and dependents. In addition to the U.S. military bases in Okinawa today, Japan Self Defense Forces bases also occupy a portion of Okinawan land.

Looking back, I realize that the reversion movement and reversion itself totally overlooked the problems of women. Okinawan women who survived the battlefield assault faced a new battle in postwar years: the sexual assault that continued throughout U.S. military occupation and the U.S. civilian administration. Many Okinawans agree that the earnings of women who served U.S. GIs enabled Okinawa to survive the total devastation in early postwar years. Many such women who single-handedly reared the children of American GIs bear deep emotional scars today.

The U.S. military bases in Okinawa have played a vital role in the Korean, Vietnam and Persian Gulf Wars, training and dispatching military personnel to the battlefronts. On each occasion women in Okinawa have become commodities to be bought, used and disposed of to assuage the fear and frustration of the warriors going into battle or returning from the battlefront. Today Filipinas are imported to replace Okinawan women in the clubs around the military bases. They are exploited as cheap labor, and because they cater to the sexual needs of American GIs, are described as "the breakwater to protect the people of the town."

Today, the decreased value of the dollar against the yen today means that GIs in Okinawa have greatly reduced spending power; thus, they limit their off-base entertainment to one or two drinks in a seedy club featuring a Philippine floor show and to meeting young Japanese women tourists from the mainland on the streets of Okinawa or in a local disco. GIs also engage in short-term sexual liaisons with local junior and senior high school girl students, resulting in pregnancies discovered only after the man has completed his short term of duty in Okinawa and shipped out.

As a social worker and counselor, I spent 10 years listening to the heartbreaking stories of Okinawan women whose lives were destroyed and disrupted by the violence of militarism. The real wounds of war are not the destroyed buildings, rather the destroyed human hearts of Okinawans and Americans.

In addition to the injury wreaked on the women of Okinawa, social pollution imposed on Okinawan society by U.S. military bases includes crimes committed by U.S. GIs and their dependents involving theft, assault, homicide, and illegal smuggling of weapons and drugs.

After 46 years, major pollution caused by the presence of U.S. military bases in Okinawa continues today. The ear-splitting roar of fighter planes engaged in take-off and landing drills are endured by Okinawan citizens living around the bases, aided by of the soundproofing of homes and schools provided by the Japanese Defense Administration Agency and paid for by Japanese taxpayers.

The level of sound pollution in schools near bases causes teachers and students to speak in abnormally loud voices and develop nervous symptoms; children are unable to play on school playgrounds. Artillery drills mar the hillsides and cause fires; trees are chopped down; and mountains are carved away in northern Okinawa to build Green Beret urban guerrilla warfare training facilities, causing the ocean and nearby resort beaches to turn red after every major rainfall.

The U.S. military presence has left a permanent mark on Okinawa and Okinawan society. While there have been some positive aspects to the introduction of American culture, Okinawa has been permanently scarred by 46 years of American military presence. It is time for the U.S. military to leave, and for Okinawan people to reclaim their own identity and determine their own future.

Okinawa, the only part of Japan to suffer a land battle, was sacrificed by the Imperial Japanese Government to protect the emperor and the Japanese mainland. One-third to one-fourth of the civilian population died in the bloody three-month battle between the defending Japanese military and the invading American forces. Okinawans who somehow avoided the heavy gunfire were ordered by Japanese military to commit mass suicide to avoid the shame of being captured.

*Suzuyo Takazato is an activist in Naha, Okinawa. She has served as an elected Naha City Councilperson and as the Chair person of the Social Concerns Committee of the Okinawa District, United Church of Christ in Japan.*

# Los Alamos Lab

## Toxic Johannesburg of New Mexico

by **Juan Montes**

Nestled in the mountains of northern New Mexico, Los Alamos National Laboratories (LANL), and its political entity Los Alamos County, constitute an island of white, middle and upper-class transient scientists and engineers isolated from the surrounding, Chicano and Pueblo communities. Historically, and to this day, it is these communities that compose the overwhelming numerical majority of inhabitants of this beautiful, forested mountain region. While the state of New Mexico ranks third highest in poverty in the country, Los Alamos County has the third lowest poverty rate in the entire nation. This economic disparity has resulted in LANL being a major area employer, with a great majority of the lab's 12,000 blue collar workers coming from Pueblo and Chicano communities in the valley. The massive, daily commuting of brown workers to the white "City on the Hill" is reminiscent of the daily trek taken by the natives from the homelands to Johannesburg, South Africa.

Hidden in secrecy for the past fifty years, the birthplace of the Manhattan Project, LANL has solidly maintained that its work has been strictly research and development for the nation's nuclear weapons complex and that its environmental record has met the highest degree of scientific integrity. However recent revelations have cast serious doubts as to the credibility of these claims. Propaganda from the 50th Anniversary celebration of LANL does not mention the 3.2 million curies released into the atmosphere in routine and accidental releases over the last 10 years, nor does it mention the more than 2,500 area dumps mostly unlined, that contain a toxic radioactive soup which LANL scientist admit cannot be categorized because of sloppy or nonexistent record keeping. The literature also fails to mention that the Omega West reactor has been leaking 3 gallons per hour over an unknown number of years and has been draining along with other radioactive liquid discharges into arroyos and eventually into the Rio Grande, a major water supply for the arid Southwest.

For the past year, Chicano and Native American groups have been in dialogue with the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry (ATSDR) to assure that any health assessments and dose reconstruction studies done are inclusive of the majority inhabitants of the area. A little over a year ago, the media reported 22 cases of brain tumors believed to be directly associated with radiation releases from LANL. Since then, several individual and two class-action

lawsuits have been filed against the Lab by people that worked and/or lived in the Lab and now have cancer.

With the media exposure of the high number of brain tumors and other cancers found in LANL workers, the Labs moved quickly to do damage control. Community health panels such as the Working Group to Address Los Alamos Community Health Concerns, selected by LANL and chaired by Lab public relation types, was established. The expressed purpose of this DOE-funded group is to "allay public fears following claims of an elevated brain cancer rate in Los Alamos." Following 26 meetings of this group, which somehow mostly focused on one peach tree with excessive tritium levels, their findings were not surprising. "A review of radionuclide concentrations in annual samples of Los Alamos-grown produce (1975-1990) showed that they had never been higher than those found in produce grown in the rest of northern New Mexico as a result of world-wide fallout from atmospheric testing." White waste barrels identified by residents on old aerial photos turned out to be "blemishes on the old photos or irregular shaped materials near construction projects." After a massive release of radioactive iodine in 1985, their analysis showed, "the maximum iodine uptake by a member of the public was at least a million times smaller than is routinely used in medical diagnostic tests," and the total radio-iodine releases since 1943 were "estimated as a few curies, comparable to the amount released annually by a 500-bed hospital during thyroid treatments."

At one of the initial meetings to establish this group, Chicano and Pueblo members of the surrounding communities attended and requested that any health studies done be expanded in scope to include their communities. They stated that unfortunately, Los Alamos did not exist in a vacuum and that the radionuclides routinely or accidentally vented into the atmosphere would be carried by the prevailing winds onto the valleys. The dumps and liquid discharges were draining downstream into their water supplies. They also argued that in terms of a stable study population, the Chicano and Pueblo communities had been there before, during, and would be there after the Labs and that the LANL population was a mostly transient and very mobile population. These arguments, rational and logical as they may seem, proved to no avail and the Chair of the group informed the Chicano and Pueblo representatives that DOE had only funded the health studies for Los Alamos County. It should be noted that Los Alamos County did not exist until the late 1970s when it seceded from impoverished Rio Arriba County so as to not share its tax base.

Currently, LANL's Working Group to Address Los Alamos Community Health Concerns is requesting that CDC and ATSDR recognize them as the site specific community advisory panel for all health studies. Chicano and Pueblo groups have united and are opposing the designation of the illegitimate and unrepresentative entity. Officials from both CDC and ATSDR have publicly stated that this group is not

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## The Labs

and will not be the site specific community advisory panel, in the words of one high-ranking ATSDR official "over my dead body". Even with these encouraging words, affected communities must be ever vigilant to assure that these upcoming health studies are inclusive and that any community panels established are representative of all potentially affected populations.

Historically, people of color have been excluded from the nuclear weapons debate by both the DOE and anti-nuclear groups. While many of the

nuclear weapons facilities are sited within communities of color, secrecy and the jobs blackmail factor have effectively excluded participation. The notion that people of color don't care about the health of oneself and family is a primary consideration regardless whether employed by DOE or living by these dangerous facilities. Rural African Americans living and working at the Savannah River Site, Chicano farm workers and Native Americans living and working at Hanford or LANL all care about the health of their children

and the threat to future generations. The health studies being undertaken by DHHS can only be effective and accurate if inclusion and participation are primary goals in the process.

*Juan Montes is the director of education and programs for the Rural Alliance for Military Accountability, a national organization dedicated to giving voice and vote to low-income, rural people, especially communities of color living in the shadow of nuclear weapons facilities. For information, call 505/586-1241.*

# LABS KILL

## A History of Livermore Lab

by *Marylia Kelley*

Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) was founded in 1952 by Edward Teller and E.O. Lawrence to design, develop and test thermonuclear (hydrogen) bombs. Its mission, then as now, has been the continued development of "new generations" of nuclear weapons, which has included the MX missile and the neutron bomb. Livermore Lab is also the birthplace of Star Wars, including the scandal ridden, nuclear bomb-pumped, X-ray laser and the more recently canceled Brilliant Pebbles scheme.

The lab is now pioneering the "next generation" of nuclear production technologies slated for full scale use at additional Department of Energy (DOE) plants. In short, LLNL can be viewed as the "brains" of the DOE complex; the engine that drives the nuclear cycle.

The hidden history of LLNL is the ongoing saga of environmental degradation which is inextricably linked to the development of nuclear weapons. Tri-Valley CAREs has documented numerous accidents, spills and leaks, perhaps the most serious being the releases of radioactive hydrogen (called tritium), plutonium and uranium.

Since 1960, (the first year for which any information is available) LLNL's known airborne releases of tritium have totaled approximately 750,000 curies. One curie is a large amount of radioactivity, equal to 37,000,000,000 radioactive disintegrations per second. Dr. John Gofman, former Associate Director at LLNL and founder of its biomedical department, estimates these known releases have caused 120 cancers and 60 cancer deaths in Livermore. Additional tritium has been released in open air tests at site 300, between Livermore and Tracy. A lab report says these releases may resume.

There have been airborne releases of plutonium and

uranium as well, including a "criticality accident" (an unplanned nuclear chain reaction) involving uranium. Additional contamination has occurred due to the "burning" of uranium and plutonium chips and filings in order to oxidize them. This process, according to an internal LLNL report, clogs filters and spews particles into the air.

New LLNL projects also raise concerns. A uranium enrichment demonstration plant is projected to add incrementally to the burden of airborne uranium, as well as produce dangerous wastes. LLNL has also begun building an on-site pilot plant which could employ up to 100 workers making plutonium triggers for bombs, work previously done by the Rocky Flats Plant, now shut down because of contamination.

Initial estimates show that the Bay Area has already been subjected to about 1 million curies of radiation from the nuclear weapons labs in Livermore. This is roughly equal to estimates of the radiation dumped on Hiroshima by the atomic bomb.

Airborne releases have been only one part of the lab's effect on the environment. Over 40 years of weapons research, on site fabrication of test bomb components and poor environmental practice has resulted in severe soil and ground water contamination at LLNL's main site in Livermore and Site 300 testing range. Both locations are on the Environmental Protection Agency's Superfund list of worst contaminated sites in the country.

According to a 1988 study, LLNL generates over 4,000 tons of toxic and radioactive waste each year. An internal lab report revealed that 90% of this waste is produced by weapons and weapons-related programs.

## The Labs

# A Vision for Livermore Lab

by **Marylia Kelley and Greg Mello**

Tri-Valley CAREs, a community group in Livermore California, planning expert Greg Mello, and economist Bill Weida —with the help of a large network of contacts at the labs, in academia and government, and in citizens' groups—are drawing together a vision for the conversion of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL). We want the labs to become institutions that nourish the roots of peace and social equity, rather than nuclear terror.

Our effort takes place in the midst of a national debate on the proper role of government in civilian research and development. This debate is crowded with buzz-words, such as: "Dual-use" -- the promotion of civilian technologies which parallel or are the same as military ones; "Technology transfer" -- improving civilian technologies by funding nuclear weapons research; "Critical technologies" -- technologies for which an established industrial lobby has articulated a request for funding; "Competitiveness" -- aiding companies, often transnationals, against their foreign competitors, also usually transnationals.

Into this largely wrong-headed debate, we hope to bring another set of values, reflected in phrases like "sustainable development," "global responsibility," "green technologies," and "community partnership." Our task is to articulate these values in a form that will enter the debate in Washington, and alert the various decision-makers to the tremendous waste, cost to our communities and danger of continuing "business as usual" at Livermore.

We are designing a research and development program for LLNL which could help the nation make the transition to a greener economy, one that uses far less energy and fewer once-through materials. Our vision of LLNL's future includes basic scientific research facilities, as well as user facilities and consultation centers for academics and industrial visitors. We imagine a laboratory much more integrated into the California economy. While LLNL would become smaller than at present, its economic contribution would be far greater.

Our plan must, however, contain a big dose of reality about the ongoing nuclear weapons mission at Livermore, because the weapons-addicted management of LLNL has not yet awakened from its nuclear dreamscape. One tactic is to make a critique of the tremendous overlap in facilities and programs between the three nuclear weapons labs. We compare these vastly overblown programs —now supported by a very vague notion of "stockpile stewardship" —with more reasonable stewardship needs. We are focusing especially on the new facilities that, if built, will further entrench Livermore's current role. We are convinced that conversion of LLNL could beneficially affect Los Alamos, Sandia, and the rest of the

nuclear weapons complex, and not stimulate growth in nuclear development elsewhere. Converting Livermore would contribute to the growing consensus that the days of nuclear weapons as instruments of U.S. foreign policy are nearly over.

Another tactic is to look at LLNL's role in the local, state and national economy and predict how cutbacks in weapons funding will affect the state, Alameda County and the City of Livermore itself. The regional effect is far less than most people think. We are examining the technology transfer process in depth, and comparing LLNL's strengths to the desires articulated by industry, both locally and nationally.

Last month, Secretary O'Leary submitted what she described as the DOE's first post-cold war budget to Congress. That budget contained some cuts for LLNL, reflecting the declining importance of nuclear weapons research and development. Unfortunately, LLNL is now attempting to staunch its budgetary wounds with giant dangerous weapons-related projects like the National Ignition Facility, and to carve out a niche for itself in manufacturing nuclear weapons components, such as plutonium pits, uranium parts, and high explosives.

It is in LLNL's favor to abandon these initiatives and to invest in science and technology that is of greater interest to the country and to the region, and which does not pose nuclear proliferation dangers. If LLNL invested the energy it now puts into promoting its nuclear weapons agenda into positioning itself to address urgent national needs, its future would be bright, and morale at the Lab would be buoyed by a renewed sense of purpose. Tri-Valley CAREs designed an alternative budget, one that reflects our values for energy conservation, environmental restoration and sustainable industry.

Our economist and planner will work with us to understand Livermore's management structure, and ways it might be modified to better serve a civilian mission. From the outset it is clear that managers whose careers have been formed within the nuclear weapons culture need to be replaced with those who come from civilian labs, industry or academia. We and the Livermore community are working toward a people-centered conversion plan, one that puts employees first and increases their options. If people are so empowered, they can make decisions that would substantially convert Livermore Lab.

*Marylia Kelley is the Project Coordinator for Tri-Valley CAREs. She also serves on the East Bay Conversion and Reinvestment Commission. Greg Mello is an engineer, planner and conversion analyst who is writing a conversion study of LLNL for Tri-Valley CAREs.*

**Communities**

# Reintegrating Our Communities

by **Martha Matsuoka**

### BASE CLOSURES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Within the next decade, more than 10,000 acres of land, waterways, and marsh in the San Francisco Bay Area will be relinquished by the U.S. Department of Defense to be utilized for non-military activities. In the current round of base closures, more than 11,000 civilian workers will lose their jobs, many of which are well-paid blue collar positions. The closure of military bases and military support facilities such as hospitals and administrative support centers, marks the end of a chapter of military investment and expansion that has influenced the regional economy, land-use patterns, and formation of communities.

For the region, economic conversion represents an opportunity to redirect economic structures heavily dependent upon publicly funded defense related activities. For individual communities in the region, it is also an opportunity to address the long-term disinvestment caused by the publicly funded buildup of the cold war. Long neglected areas such as employment, health, education, and public works, particularly in the urban core, if left unaddressed, will undermine the long-term viability of any conversion strategy.

### ESTABLISHING A STRATEGY FOR COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION AND BASE RE-USE

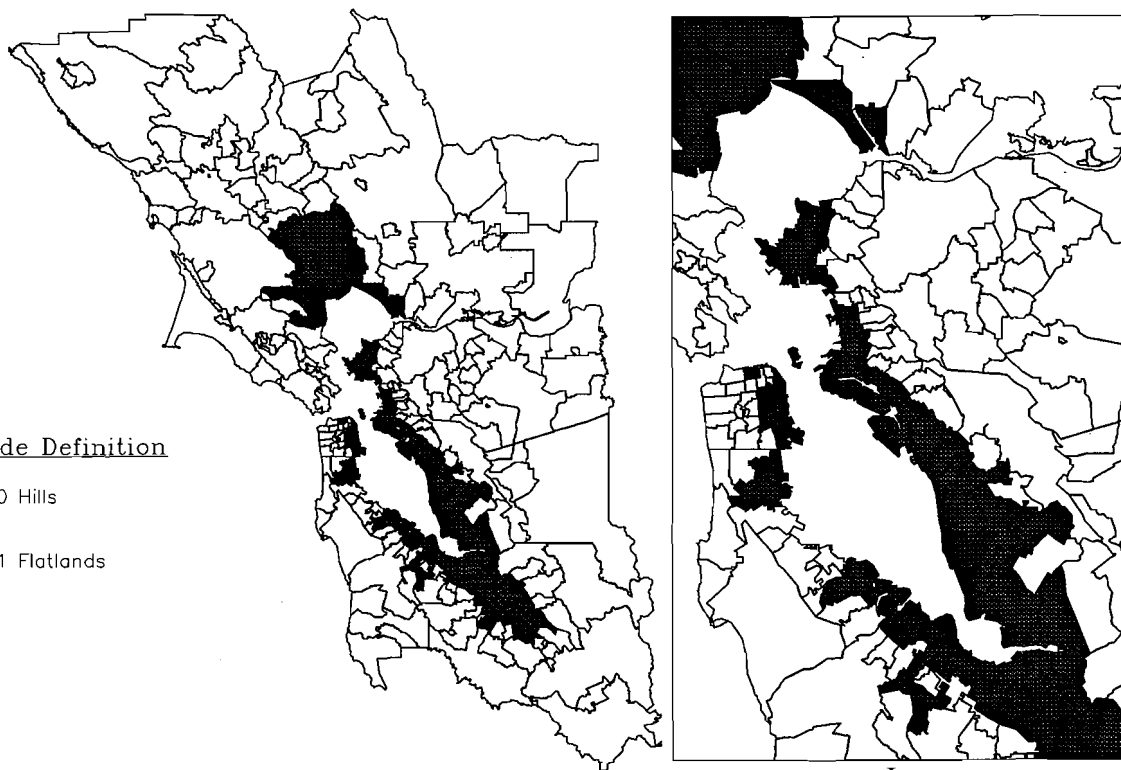
To ensure that the needs of such communities are addressed, the Urban Habitat Program has established a regional framework that shows how the impact of base closure and conversion will affect the San Francisco Bay region, particularly the communities that are located in the flatland areas of the San Francisco Bay area where many of the closing bases are located. Conversion Working Paper #1 uses this Framework to assess the regional impacts of civilian job losses caused by the closure of the Mare Island Naval Shipyard and the naval facilities located in Alameda County. The purpose of our analysis is to focus on the intersection of militarization, the environment, and the low-income, working class and communities of color and to designate the "flatland" region where these relationships are most evident.

Within this regional flatland context, we focus on case studies of base closure and conversion in Alameda County and Solano County. Within this framework, we focus on case studies of base closure and conversion in Alameda County and Solano County. These include the Alameda Naval Air Station

## Flatland Region in the Bay Area by Zipcode

#### Zipcode Definition

- 0 Hills
- 1 Flatlands



Source: IURD/Urban Habitat Program

Inset

## Communities

and the Naval Depot in the City of Alameda, as well as the Public Works Center and Oak Knoll Hospital in Oakland, and Mare Island Shipyard in the City of Vallejo. These facilities are currently closing under the third round of closures and represent major industrial sites that are located on the bay shoreline. These facilities employ the largest number of civilian workers. The closure of both facilities is expected to be complete in 1997.

The research provides a basis for future advocacy work on behalf of the communities that have played host to the military facilities, suffered from the loss of jobs in base closure, or that will be heavily impacted by future re-use of the facilities, and that all have a voice in the conversion activities that will determine their futures.

To ensure that economic conversion addresses the existing needs in these communities, our approach embraces three key principles:

- Public conversion funds must be

directed toward public use and benefit to meet existing community needs. Many neighborhoods and regions suffered from the lack of public investment during the buildup of the cold war.

- Local communities are the primary stakeholders in the conversion process and must be involved and participate fully on the conversion planning and decision-making processes.

- Conversion from former defense-related land uses and economic development, provide an opportunity to establish new models for sustainable land-use and economic development. Lessons learned from the civil rights, environmental, and peace movements provide us with a greater knowledge about the inevitable exhaustibility of our natural resources, as well as models for building community-based institutions and enhancing social ties that bind communities together.

The paper is divided into three sections:

- The establishment of a regional context that highlights a sub-region called the flatland, as well as the neighborhoods that are located adjacent to the military bases.

- A profile of the civilian workforce currently at-risk of losing their jobs at the facilities in Solano and Alameda Counties

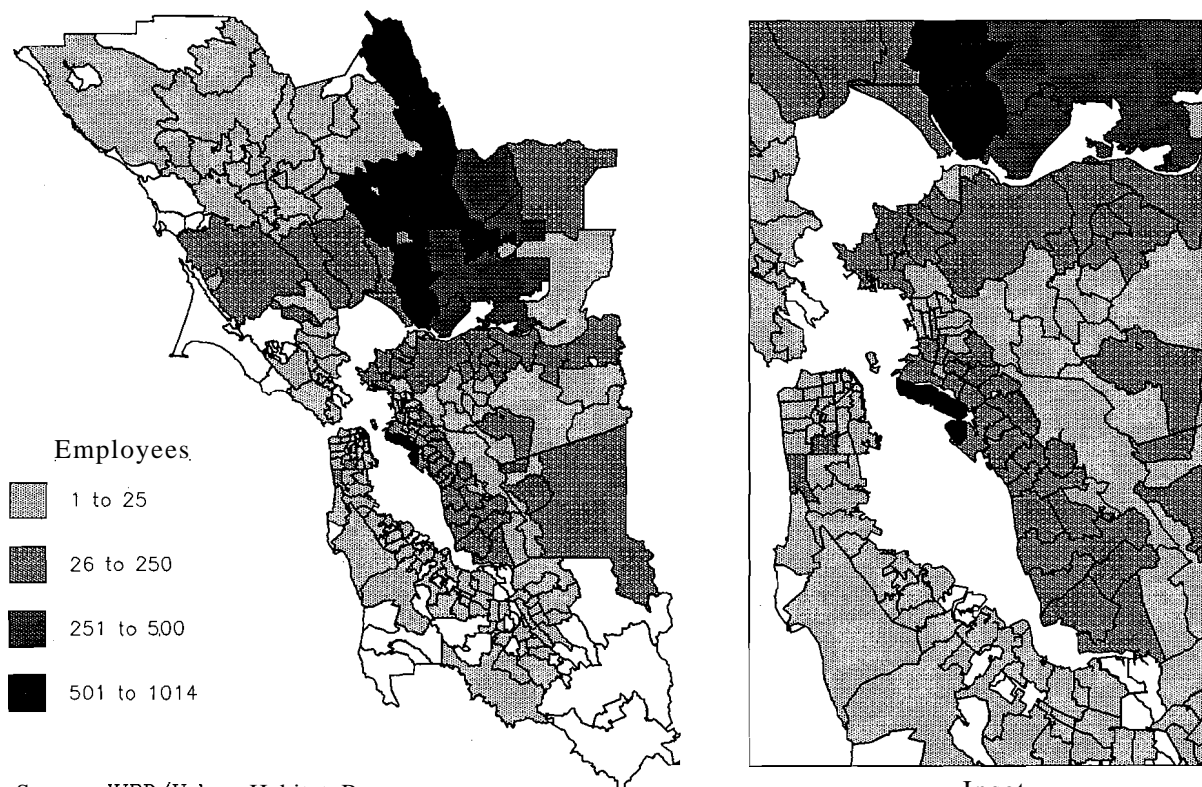
- An analysis showing the geographic relationship between job loss and the region, flatland, and base neighborhoods..

Our paper presents a nine-county assessment of socio-economic characteristics of the region, defines the region's flatlands as the those communities that lie adjacent to the shoreline of the Bay and describes the economic, social, and environmental characteristics of the flatland.

Most of these communities neighbor the closing industrial bases in the Bay Area and are located in what we refer to as the "flatlands". Within these communities we find the highest levels

### Civilian Employees At-Risk of Job Loss by Home Zipcode

Bases: Mare Island, NADEP, NAS, Oak Knoll, PWC (Total = 10,052)



Source: IURD/Urban Habitat Program

## Communities

of unemployment, crime, environmental degradation, and economic dislocation due in part by the diversion of public funds to support defense-related Cold-War activities that had little benefit on these communities. The desolation of these communities is exacerbated by policies that encourage suburban land-use and encourage the flight of people and resources into racially segregated communities far from the urban core. Ironically, suburbanization is the product of World War II economic conversion—when veterans, evacuating the cities, began moving their families to racially exclusive suburbs. In addition, federal subsidies, many times larger than all poverty programs combined, stimulated suburban shopping malls, office parks and millions of jobs, many of them defense dependent.'

With the help of UC Berkeley's Institute for Urban and Regional Development, we used a Geographic Information System (GIS) computer application to map these characteristics to show the geographic relationship between neighborhoods and closing military bases. Personnel data obtained from the Department of the Navy enabled us to map by zipcode where civilian workers live throughout the region.

The study's findings illustrate of the critical relationship between displaced workers, particularly workers of color, and the neighborhoods where they live. Layoffs of workers will occur in specific communities, where the loss of individual salaries will ultimately affect households, and the commercial and social viability of these neighborhoods. Concentrated loss of incomes in individual communities will weaken the stable ones and exacerbate conditions in already at-risk communities, particularly those in the flatland areas that already experience high levels of economic dislocation and disinvestment.

These case studies illustrate the characteristics of civilian worker employed by the Department of Navy and show how their job losses will affect the region, particularly in the neighborhoods where these workers live. It is clear that the impacts of

closure be felt throughout the region, but particularly at the neighborhood level where job losses will impact stable communities and exacerbate the conditions in our already at-risk neighborhoods.

Recognizing the relationships between the development of our region's land use, economic activity and the profile of the communities that reside here, will help direct the successful reintegration of former military land, facilities, and workforce into the region that they are a part.

### THE FLATLANDS AND BASE NEIGHBORS

Closing industrial bases are located in the region's flatland areas that are characterized by a highly multicultural, and economically at-risk neighborhoods.

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***The purpose of our analysis is to focus on the intersection of militarization, the environment, and the low-income, working class and communities of color and to designate the "flatland" region where these relationships are most evident.***

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More than 25 percent of the region's households of color occupy the flatlands which make up only approximately 20 percent of the region's total land area. This concentration of diverse households create a multicultural band of communities that live the closest to the Bay. For African-American households this pattern is evident as regionally African American households comprise only 8 percent, more 58 percent live in the flatland region.<sup>2</sup>

The flatlands also represent a concentration of lower-income households. In 1990, 48 percent of all flatland households earned less than median household income of \$40,000. (See map.) Sixty-six percent of all African American households living in the flatlands for example, earn less than the regional median. More than 50 percent off Native American, Latino and other non-white households living in the flats earn less than median.

41 percent of flatland Asian households earn less than median.<sup>3</sup>

The flatlands also represent a concentration of environmental toxics. Industrial sites have been vacated and have left behind toxics that go unremediated, creating potential public health risks to residents. Data from the Regional Water Quality Board in Oakland for example, show that of the City's 392 reported sites, 91 percent are located in the flatland neighborhoods of West, Central, and East Oakland where the communities are predominantly poor communities of color.<sup>4</sup>

Similar examples of unremediated leaking underground storage tanks occur in the flatland neighborhoods in San Francisco where 75 percent of the City's reported hazardous sites are located in the South of Market, Bayview Hunters Point, Mission, Potrero and Western Addition neighborhoods. Fiftythree percent of these sites are located in Bayview Hunters Point alone. The majority of the residents in these communities are low-income people of color. The Silicon Valley flatlands to the south contain 29 identified Superfund sites, making it one of the most contaminated areas in the nation. Considering too, that the flatland communities located near the Bay are built on sand, fill and have waterlogged soils, these unremediated contaminants continue to pose not only public health threats to residents but threats to the Bay itself.<sup>5</sup>

These economic and environmental conditions are most evident in the flatland neighborhoods that border closing military industrial facilities. The Naval Air Station in Alameda for example, is bounded by the Oakland Estuary on the north, the San Francisco Bay to the south and west, and a residential neighborhood on the east. Thirty-eight percent of the households living just east of the Naval Air Station earned less than \$25,000 a year in 1990. Of these households, 47 percent of the population are people of color, primarily Asian.<sup>6</sup>

The close proximity of these neighborhoods to the Naval Air Station also raises critical environmental issues related to the clean-up of identified



## Communities

hazards on the base site. A total of 20 potentially contaminated sites have been identified by a Navy Assessment study for further study in the Remedial Investigation process to determine clean-up strategies. These contaminants result from a range of industrial activities operating on the base that include metal plant, operation of a power plant, waste disposal, aircraft maintenance, vehicle fueling, missile reworking, and aircraft maintenance.<sup>7</sup>

In Solano County, the Mare Island Naval Shipyard is an island separated from the adjacent City of Vallejo by the Mare Island Strait, and bounded on all the sides by the San Francisco Bay. The Shipyard's most immediate residential neighbors in the City of Vallejo are those households that make up the inner city portions of the City -- constituting the neighborhoods of Roosevelt Terrace and the central city.<sup>8</sup> We find that these neighborhoods are primarily people of color (45%) where 36 to 73 percent of households within seven census tracts earn less than \$25,000 a year?

### THE WORKFORCE AND JOB LOSS

As of March 1994, there were approximately 11,000 workers employed at the five facilities in the two counties including: Mare Island Naval Shipyard (MINSY), Alameda Naval Aviation Depot (NADEP), Alameda Naval Air Station (NAS), Public Works Center (PWC), and Oak Knoll Naval Hospital.

Our research presents an overall profile of these civilian workers and illustrates where in the region these workers live. This approach is necessary to compare with the existing socio-economic conditions within the region and show how additional job losses will impact the region and specific neighborhoods within the region. Our findings show that the home residences of the workforce are widely distributed throughout the nine county region and the entire Bay Area will be affected to some extent by the impending base closures. However, the neighborhoods within the region will incur the greatest impacts. More specifically, the neighborhoods where the workers of

***The neighborhoods where the workers of color reside will be the most heavily impacted by increased unemployment, loss of disposable income, and potential downturn in commercial viability within these residential communities.***

color reside will be the most heavily impacted by increased unemployment, loss of disposable income, and potential downturn in commercial viability within these residential communities.

### CONCLUSION

The socio-economic characteristics of the flatlands as well as the environmental challenges and the ecological resources of the land area that surrounds these closing facilities, establish a critical starting point for any base closure and conversion strategy. This context provides an integrated and place-specific approach to understanding impacts of closure such as the loss of jobs and the scale of toxic cleanup, as well as developing any set of strategies to address these impacts and develop strategies for re-use of the military facilities. Not only is this approach necessary to ensure that base conversion strategies serve adequately as community revitalization strategies, without it new tracts of land will be developed within a vacuum and at public expense of the neighborhoods that they should ideally become a part.

Understanding the relationship between these workers and the impacts their job loss will have on neighborhoods within the region is critical to establishing strategies for conversion and re-use. How we view the new additions of displaced labor in adjacent communities as well as the region as a whole, force us to consider planning approaches that are regional and integrated in scope, rather than to plan simply within the boundaries of the

base.

While the re-use of our military bases and redirection of military-related industries will not solve all of the persistent urban problems that we face today, it is a start. It is also a benchmark for recalling and capitalizing on past lessons learned about the preservation and conservation of our natural resources, as well as systems to achieve social and economic justice. Integrating these experiences into the planning and implementation of new land use and economic development in the conversion process will put us on a course that recognizes limited natural resources, capitalizes on human resource potential, and creates systems that are socially equitable and ultimately sustainable.

<sup>1</sup> Anthony, Carl. "Converting and Revitalizing the Inner City". *Positive Alternatives*, Center for Economic Conversion. Summer 1992

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Census. 1990.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel O'Connor. "Leaking Underground Storage Tanks in the Bay Area". *Urban Action* 1993. pg. 49.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pg. 50.

<sup>5</sup> These neighborhoods are comprised of census tracts 44274, 4276, and 4277, located in the City of Alameda. Data is taken from the 1990 Census.

<sup>6</sup> Governor's Office of Planning and Research. California Military Base Closures, Summary Information. July 1993.

<sup>7</sup> Mare Island constitutes census tract 2508; Roosevelt Terrace makes up tract 2517.02, and the City Center consists of tracts 2517.01, 2516, 2509, 2507.01 and 2507.02.

<sup>8</sup> U.S. Census, 1990.

***Martha Matsuoka is the Director of the Economic Conversion Project of the Urban Habitat Program. Copies of the report, "Reintegrating the "Flatlands": Conversion Working Paper #1" are available for \$20.00 (\$15.00 for community-based organizations). Send check and request to UHP, Earth Island Institute, 300 Broadway, Suite 28, San Francisco, CA 94133.***

## Communities

# Fighting For Community Needs: Restoration Advisory Boards

**by Jo Ann Wilkerson**

Despite the expansion of community involvement afforded by restoration advisory boards, participation is meaningless if citizens do not understand the technical issues they are considering. An educated citizenry is necessary to provide oversight of environmental restoration decisions or the cleanup of military facilities will be led by the military itself.

Besides cleanup of contaminated sites, members of restoration advisory boards and concerned citizens must be educated about economic opportunities afforded by the cleanup. Historically, people of color have borne the brunt of pollution and received none of the benefits associated with the growth of the environmental restoration industry.

In October 1993, Xavier University in New Orleans, Louisiana received an Environmental Protection Agency grant for a project designed to organize people of color to serve as community representatives on Department of Defense restoration advisory boards. Restoration advisory boards coordinate public participation at military base sites. The boards are made up of people directly affected by base cleanup activities and include persons living adjacent to the bases and representatives of labor, environmental and civic groups. The sites chosen for this demonstration project were Keesler Air Force Base, Biloxi, Mississippi; Columbus Air Force Base, Columbus, Mississippi; and the Naval Construction Battalion Center, Gulfport, Mississippi.

The project team was charged with raising the consciousness of citizens who have traditionally been locked out of the decisionmaking process regarding environmental and economic issues related to base cleanup. These people have a right to participate in decisions to reduce the environmental threat in their neighborhoods, and must be empowered to press for real participation in environmental restoration decisions. Accordingly, the goals of the project were to: 1) strengthen citizens' right to know, and encourage the participation of community persons in military environmental restoration activities; 2) provide environmental education and information that is not easily accessible to these citizens; and, 3) encourage the participation of the entire community in economic opportunities afforded by base cleanup.

The primary result of this project is that African Americans are prepared to serve as restoration advisory board members who have meaningful roles in decisionmaking, planning and implementation of military base environmental restoration activities at each base site. Because restoration advisory

boards are advisory panels, a second, but equally important, result of this project is an organized citizenry who are prepared to force accountability from military base decisionmakers.

### THE BASE COMMUNITIES AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Keesler Air Force Base, the Naval Construction Battalion Center and Columbus Air Force Base are located in military-dependent communities where a large percentage of the population either work for the Department of Defense or in an industry which is military dependent. In fact, the defense sector comprises a large portion of Mississippi's economic activities. Defense spending accounts for 7% of total state purchases in Mississippi, while the national average is approximately 4%.<sup>1</sup> Besides Keesler and Columbus Air Force Bases and the Naval Construction Battalion Center, there are seven other major defense installations scattered throughout the state. Defense contractors in the state include General Motors, Litton Industries, Trinity Industries, Raytheon Company, and Barrett Refining Corporation.

Despite the strong presence of the military-industrial complex, Mississippi is a very poor state. One out of every four Mississippi residents lives below the poverty level. According to the 1990 census, the per capita income was \$9,648, the lowest in the nation.<sup>2</sup> In 1993, the unemployment rate in the Biloxi-Gulfport metropolitan area, where the Keesler Air Force Base and Naval Construction Battalion Center are located, was 5%. However, the unemployment rate of people of color in the area was approximately 9%. The unemployment rate in the five counties (Lowndes, Chickasaw, Clay, Monroe and Oktibbeha Counties) economically dependent on the Columbus Air Force Base was 6%. The unemployment rate for people of color was 11%.<sup>3</sup>

The presence of the military-industrial complex is especially noticeable on the Gulf Coast of the state where signs of military installations dot the interstate. Besides Keesler Air Force Base and the Naval Construction Battalion Center, the Naval Station Pascagoula, the Air National Guard, the Army Ammunition Plant, the NASA John Stennis Space Station, and other facilities are located in a "gunbelt" on the Gulf Coast. Military retirees settle in the community, local chambers of commerce have divisions which concentrate on military affairs and the area celebrates a day called "Salute to the Military."<sup>4</sup>

The importance of the military to the entire state makes it

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difficult to organize for the enforcement of environmental accountability. Besides the pro-military atmosphere of each base community, there are other factors to complicate any environmental organizing effort. First, there are no visible emissions from any of the installations. This is in contrast to some of the petrochemical companies on the Gulf Coast of Mississippi and along the Mississippi River in Louisiana. For example, the fumes from the International Paper plant in Moss Point, Mississippi can be seen and smelled for many miles along the Mississippi Gulf Coast, especially at night and on weekends. Second, to most African Americans who were born during and after World War II, the bases have always been located in the community. Again, this is in contrast to petrochemical companies in the area which usually move to already populated settlements. Third, and perhaps most important, since the Truman administration, the military hired people of color when very few institutions would.

Despite the difficulties of organizing African Americans in a military dependent region, it is a misconception that they don't care about the environment or their health. People of color in Mississippi have a long history of environmental justice activism. These activities range from relentless grassroots struggles at the four Superfund sites in the state to the mobilization of thousands of persons to protest the permitting of major landfills in African American communities. Nevertheless, the military dependency of the citizenry and the secrecy of military environmental violations have shielded base installations from people of color environmental activism. African Americans living near or working at base installations care about the health of their children and the threat of toxic contamination to future generations. These people want and need to be involved in any public participation efforts to remove the environmental threat in their communities.

There are significant numbers of African Americans who live near the Naval Construction Battalion Center,

***People of color have borne the brunt of pollution and none of the benefits associated with the growth environmental restoration industry. Only with strong, united community backing will community members of restoration advisory boards have the strength to bring adequate pressure to bear on government officials.***

and the Keesler and Columbus Air Force Bases. There has been little effort from any of the bases to involve residents of these communities in public participation efforts revolving around environmental restoration activities. Public participation efforts at the Keesler and Columbus Air Force Bases have been minimal, and no technical review committee or restoration advisory board is in place. The Naval Construction Battalion Center has a technical review committee with one community representative who is white and does not live near the base. No people of color sit on the technical review committee.

### RECRUITMENT IN BASE COMMUNITIES

To make community persons aware of public involvement opportunities at military installations, a comprehensive outreach plan for people of color and base neighbors was implemented at each base site. Organizations with strong roots in the community, particularly African American churches, were sought to provide the organizational foundation necessary for community people to participate in cleanup decisions. The church has always been important as a vehicle for social change in the African American community. Thirty years ago, African American churches in Mississippi served as sanctuaries for "freedom schools" where African Americans learned to read in order to register to vote.

Department of Defense efforts to encourage public participation, with the collaboration of the African American church, provides legitimacy and some credibility in African American communities. Through the collaboration, the Department of Defense empowers communities of color to plan and control the outreach process, and provide people of color leadership and participation.

With the organizational foundation laid, communities next need strong, organized groups to exercise the right to participate in cleanup decisions. The project utilized the expertise of veteran community organizers with strong ties to religious institutions and other community-based organizations. They utilized the principles of environmental justice to help implement model public participation programs which included people of color and base neighbors. This project built on the leadership roles played by the Reverend James Lewis Black, Dr. Howard Gunn and Pat Bryant. These men are recognized community leaders who have organized people of color regarding social justice issues for many years.

Reverend James Lewis Black of Biloxi, Mississippi was responsible for organizing the Biloxi, Mississippi community to serve on the Keesler Air Force Base restoration advisory board. Many members of his church, Faith Tabernacle of Praise, work or live near the base. He is Executive Director of UJAMA Community Services, the social services arm of Faith Tabernacle of Praise, and board chairman of the Gulf Coast Rescue Mission, an organization that feeds, clothes and houses indigents. Reverend Black is general manager and principal owner of WQFX Radio Station in Gulfport, Mississippi. He is also founder and host of two television ministry programs. Through his radio station and television broadcasts, Reverend Black has effectively spread the message throughout the Mississippi Gulf Coast that African Americans have a responsibility to be involved in military base environmental restoration activities. To further improve the accessibility of base information to people of color and base

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neighbors, Reverend Black has offered the use of his church as a repository for installation restoration program documents and summaries.

Dr. Howard Gunn was responsible for community organization in the five counties that surround the Columbus Air Force Base in Columbus, Mississippi. He is the minister of a church in the area and the director of the East Mississippi Multi-County Safe Environmental Association, a federation of environmental justice groups in northern Mississippi. He has been a freedom fighter for over forty years, and was an active member of the United League of Mississippi, a social justice organization that pushed for voting and human rights issues. Dr. Gunn has made a conscientious effort to select individuals to support the project who are already established leaders in the community, including local and state elected officials. Most of his community meetings are held at Mary Holmes College, an African American junior college, where he was a former president.

Pat Bryant also served on this project, and was responsible for developing the Naval Construction Battalion Center community in Gulfport, Mississippi to support and demand a restoration advisory board. He is Executive Director of the Gulf Coast Tenants Organization, a federation of tenant and environmental justice organizations in Louisiana and Mississippi. Most of his organization's work is focused in "Cancer Alley," an eighty-five mile corridor bordering the Mississippi River between Baton Rouge and New Orleans where more than 135 petrochemical companies have located.

Staff persons of the Gulf Coast Tenants Organization were utilized to assist in organizing public housing tenants who live across the street from the Battalion Center.

The strategy for attracting African Americans and other people of color outside the immediate networks of the community organizers was to market the project to entrepreneurs. Local businesspersons were invited to recruitment meetings. Department of Defense literature concerning contract-

ing opportunities was summarized for community persons, and a listing of resources, including sources of capital and technical assistance was developed. The intent was for community people to be informed of potential economic opportunities related to military toxics cleanup. The Department of Defense estimates that the total cost of facility cleanup will be \$25 billion.<sup>5</sup> The Environmental Protection Agency places this figure at \$100 billion, while the General Accounting Office states that \$200 billion is a more accurate figure.<sup>6</sup> Cleanup at these facilities will take at least forty years to complete, and environmental cleanup and restoration promises to be a growth industry well into the next century.

The effects from assisting people of color businesses in developing potentially very lucrative relationships with major military environmental restoration contractors ripples out to the surrounding community. African American businesses employ many people of color in the locale and the surrounding region. The businesses, which are mostly small, serve to diversify an economy which is too dependent on the military-industrial complex. African American enterprises also make a substantial contribution to the local tax base.

### ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP

The project team will soon begin the most important phase of the effort -- environmental education and leadership development training workshops. Residents of base communities must be empowered with information that will allow them to organize their communities, and apply political pressure which will force accountability from the military. The content of the workshops will be tailored to each community and base site, and will include the following topics: 1) federal and state environmental laws/ environmental justice; 2) toxins and health; and, 3) economic development.

The program begins with an orientation session for participating leaders to discuss environmental justice issues and the impact of environmental racism in their communities. Environmental justice issues regarding the military will be expanded from issues of the location of the

installations in people of color communities to other concerns such as the thoroughness of cleanup at installations in these communities. Another environmental justice concern involves the question regarding the destination of toxic garbage from military installations after removal. In the Columbus Air Force Base installation restoration program documents, the base officials state that they send most hazardous wastes to a landfill in Emelle, Alabama, an African American low-income community. Participants in the workshop will be shown that the dumping of poisons in their communities is not only a local or regional occurrence, but a national and even international one.

In addition, workshop participants will discuss the environmental restoration programs at each base installation. For each site, the information from installation restoration program documents was summarized to approximately twenty pages to increase the readability and accessibility of the documents. The summaries include easy-to-read maps of the bases showing the contaminated sites and their proximity to base neighbors. The appendices of each summary include a section concerning the poisons of concern and a section of environmental terms with which citizens should be familiar.

An environmental education study guide comprised of relevant articles about military toxins and environmental justice will be developed for each base community. Participants will review articles such as the Executive Summary of *Toxic Wastes and Race*, written by the United Church of Christ's Commission on Racial Justice in 1987. The document gives statistical evidence of the disproportionate number of dumpsites in people of color and low income communities.

### COALITIONS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

After the education and leadership development phase, each community organizer will assist participants of the workshops in organizing coalitions to encourage the establishment of a

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restoration advisory board by each military installation. Organizers will assist in focusing the issues for the groups, but each community group will define its own short and long-range goals and determine the objectives to accomplish the goals. Goals and accompanying objectives will include timely cleanup of military facilities, pollution prevention, as well as community representation on restoration advisory boards.

After the restoration advisory board membership selection phase is complete, each board will develop its operating procedures, decide the necessity of formally chartering the group under the Federal Facilities Advisory Committee Act, and select community and installation co-chairpersons. Hopefully, the community co-chairs and other members of the boards will be selected from the coalitions which the project team helped develop.

At the same time restoration advisory boards are developing, the team will continue to assist in organizing the base communities around military toxics issues. Because the boards are advisory panels, the inclusion of persons of color on restoration advisory boards does not necessarily mean their voices will be heard. Very few officials make decisions that require additional funding (such as complete cleanup) without being forced to do so. The decisionmaking power which restoration advisory boards wield is in the organized community backing of the boards. Only with strong, united community backing will community members of restoration advisory boards have the strength to bring adequate pressure to bear on government officials. Nevertheless, this inclusion strategy, with community support, should further democratize environmental decision-making and empower disenfranchised people to speak and represent themselves.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Virginia Mayer, *Local Officials Guide to Defense Economic Adjustment*, (Washington, D.C.: National League of Cities, 1992), pp. 13-15.

<sup>2</sup> Anita Lee, "Mississippi Stakes All on Riverboat Gambling," *Planning*, December 1993, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Mississippi Employment Security Commission, Mississippi Labor Market Information for Affiliative Action Programs, (Jackson, Mississippi: Mississippi Employment Security Commis-

sion, April 1994.

<sup>4</sup> "Salute to the Military," *The Sun Herald*, September 19, 1993.

<sup>5</sup> United States Environmental Protection Agency, *Interim Report of the Federal Facilities Environmental Restoration Dialogue Committee*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Environmental Protection Agency, February 1993), p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> United States General Accounting Office, *Superfund, Backlog of Unevaluated Federal Facilities Slows Cleanup Efforts*, (Washington,

# LABOR: A Call to Action

Economic Conversion in New England was launched by a few committed individuals and quickly became an effort that reached across state, industrial and organizational lines to involve hundreds of labor and community leaders in the Northeast. This effort will continue to work for increased involvement of conversion activists in and outside the labor movement.

In less than a year, A Call to Action has grown from an idea to an important labor-led mobilizing force for defense conversion in New England and nationally. Our kick-off conference in June, 1993 attracted over 200 labor leaders from the New England states who endorsed an ambitious program to move a military conversion agenda into corporate board rooms and state and national capitols. This represents the first major effort where unions have joined together to endorse a regional conversion program as a response to defense cuts. In the following months, A Call to Action's resolutions were passed by every New England state AFL/CIO, setting conversion as a priority. Through all our efforts, we have reached out to build relationships between labor, peace activists, state legislators and communities of color. Our July conference included a session on coalition work that raised tough coalition issues such as union exclusion of black and

Hispanics from apprenticeship programs and tactics employed by the peace movement that have alienated defense workers.

This fall the UAW Region 9A held a week-long retreat for 300 labor and coalition activists at their Black Lake retreat center. An eight-hour, small group, educational curriculum, that raises issues which divide and unite coalition partners on conversion, was enthusiastically received at the event.

Another major focus of our work has been the development of model legislation which challenges "business climate" economic development programs that give public funds to business without clear public goals or accountability measures. The legislation requires that companies that receive state support for defense conversion and economic development involve labor and community organizations in the planning process and set clear goals. In a major victory, we passed this legislation through the Connecticut House and Senate this session and it is currently awaiting the Governors signature. While several "social compact" bills have been introduced nationally, this is the first such bill to pass. It will provide an important model for other states in the region and country.

*For information, please contact A Call to Action, c/o UAW Region 9A, 111 South Road, Farmington, CT 06032, 203-674-0143.*

D.C.: United States General Accounting Office, July 1993), p. 3.

*Jo Ann Wilkerson is Program Manager for the Deep South Center for Environmental Justice, Xavier University of Louisiana.*

## Labor

# Conversion Up Close: Labor's Agenda For Change

by **Marc Baldwin**

A typical week for Mel Olsson, president of United Auto Workers Local 571, might start with a meeting with his employer, Electric Boat in Groton, Connecticut, about lobbying for another submarine contract. But the next day might find him side by side with peace advocates at a rally for conversion from military to civilian production. Like other presidents of defense-dependent local unions, Olsson faces a stark dilemma. Lobbying for defense contracts yields clear, immediate benefits, while the payoffs from conversion efforts are distant and uncertain. And when a local president stands for re-election, it's usually the concrete gains that win votes.

As budget cuts eliminate more and more defense contracts, however, the need to plan for conversion is becoming increasingly obvious to local unions. So in spite of the risks involved, more and more local union presidents and international unions are actively supporting conversion. Former adversaries in the labor and peace communities are struggling to find common ground, and regional efforts across the country are gathering momentum.

Historically, progressive activism around conversion issues has fallen into two distinct categories, economic conversion and industrial retention. Economic conversion begins from the premise that the defense economy should be converted to a civilian one. Motivated by the risks of weapons proliferation, peace advocates have focused on reducing the defense budget and redirecting military spending.

Unions, on the other hand, have often resisted efforts to eliminate weapon systems that their members produce. They have favored the industrial retention approach, which has reflected workers' concerns by focusing on plant-level conversion, the nuts and bolts of changing production, and resisting plant closings. While individual peace activists sometimes joined in these efforts, for a long time peace groups rarely got involved in the industrial retention struggles of workers' organizations and labor-community coalitions.

That all changed in the late 1980s. Key peace activists began to take a keener interest in plant-level conversion. Without it, the workers in the plants could never fully support a civilian economy. Likewise, on the labor side, the scale of defense cuts and the need for community allies have led more and more local leaders to set aside old fears and resentments. In state after state, local peace organizations have risen to statewide prominence and reached out to local efforts for plant conversion. The result is a shared commitment to pursuing a broad economic agenda through local plant-level activity and

experimentation.

The groups share an optimistic view of the capacity of government to develop and maintain new industries, a view hotly contested in both state and federal political arenas. In spite of considerable political obstacles, coalitions of peace activists and labor unions are generating industrial policy proposals to reorient defense plants toward civilian markets. Squaring off against hostile conservative forces at the state and national level, activists are drawing new battle lines to support industrial extension services that provide advice and funds to firms, and targeted training programs that prepare workers for new job opportunities. But one question is still worrying union locals. How real are the prospects for conversion right now?

### SPOTLIGHTING SUCCESSES

The landscape of examples of real conversion is not as barren as many believe. At the Hummer factory in South Bend, Indiana, members of UAW Local 5 work on camouflage HumVees, vehicles used to carry troops, as well as Hummers for firefighters. Pratt & Whitney in East Hartford recently received \$3 million in state funds to turn its aircraft engines into turbines to generate electricity efficiently. Rockwell, in addition to making bombers, recently purchased Allen-Bradley to lead its push into commercial electronics. Small companies are converting, too. At Quadrax Corporation in Rhode Island, the carbon fiber material used in Seawolf submarines is now being shipped overseas to make tennis rackets.

The media often overlooks stories such as these, as they are not as "newsworthy" as those about thousands of jobs being lost when conversion efforts fail or never get started. And the trend toward conversion is just beginning. When the Clinton administration made over \$400 million available to firms planning civilian products, it received 2,850 proposals. According to a survey of 148 senior executives of defense companies by the Winbridge Group, DRI/McGraw Hill, and the Fraser Group, 78% of the respondents are planning commercialization efforts over the next five years. Three out of four firms that have already studied commercialization possibilities have begun marketing a new product.

### THE HURDLES

Despite these successes and the ground swell of conversion coalitions and state-level pro-conversion activity, there are still distressingly few examples of complete conversion from defense to civilian product lines. Far more prevalent have been firms' decisions to sell divisions or close plants. Merging, shutting down, and selling off defense divisions has itself become a minor industry. In a world of shrinking defense markets, none of the largest contractors has stepped up to the challenge of going fully commercial.

With declining defense budgets and heightened competition, why are there so few prominent conversion success stories among large defense contractors? There is no easy answer, but most failures stem from the breakdown of key links in the chain of events that leads to conversion.

Conversion is a process with several stages, each of which requires time and money. A company must identify an alterna-

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tive product, assess the market for that product, design the product, change their manufacturing system to produce the new parts, and market the result. This takes managerial time, substantial financial commitment, and new agreements with affected workers if they are represented by unions.

Any firm that wants to change product lines will face such a process, but defense firms face a series of additional problems. In the DRI/McGraw Hill survey, defense industry executives cited a lack of in-house capabilities, inadequate knowledge of alternative markets, and lack of support from top management as dominant reasons for failure. Of these barriers, it is the last point—lack of top management support—that most often decides success or failure in conversion activity. If they are sufficiently committed, managers can hire new workers whose skills will improve the firms' capabilities and knowledge of markets. This level of commitment is too rare. At best, companies pursue funding for such efforts but fail to find it. At worst, the process of conversion never begins. Instead, executives of many defense firms try to scare their workers into opposing conversion, claiming that conversion efforts would make the company look less serious about doing defense work.

To address this lack of commitment among top managers, labor-oriented conversion advocates have called for labor-management "alternative use committees" to be established in every plant. These committees, linking the shop-floor knowledge of production workers to the engineering and marketing expertise of managers, are a critical structure for conversion. Often production workers, with their jobs and communities on the line, have a deeper interest in plant-level conversion than do corporate presidents or vice-presidents. Presidents and CEOs of defense firms may be safe from the employment effects of selling off a defense division or closing a few plants. Plant level managers and workers, on the other hand, don't have the luxury of distance. They need alternative use committees so they have an organized forum for new product ideas and structure to implement

commercialization plans.

The federal government could and should use its vast purchasing and regulatory power to lure defense firms into new markets. Some states have taken the lead in this regard, encouraging new development through regulations and special funding. In California, for example, the zero emissions requirement for cars will help create a vast market for electric and hybrid vehicles. At the same time that it instituted the regulation, the state made funds available to the Machinists Union and former defense contractors to initiate the Calstart project, which links dislocated defense workers to future electric car component suppliers. As it combined regulations with funding to help workers and firms meet the new requirements, the California project could serve as a model for federal intervention in conversion.

### CAN WE GET THERE FROM HERE?

Until recently, federal support for defense conversion took two forms. It provided training money for dislocated workers and assisted communities with their diversification planning, but it devoted no funds to plant-level activity. Without federal money to help firms explore new market opportunities, to purchase equipment they need to meet new civilian demands, or to establish labor-management committees for conversion planning, conversion

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***The federal government could and should use its vast purchasing and regulatory power to lure defense firms into new markets.***

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generally hasn't happened. In the absence of such federal support, unions and local industrial retention coalitions tried to fill in the gaps with state resources. The Clinton administration has taken some steps toward federal plant-level conversion support through the Advanced Research Projects Administration, but far more effort and funding is needed.

Now labor-community coalitions are setting their sights on Washington. The Call to Action in New England is a case in point. Although still in its infancy, the Call to Action program places heavy emphasis on federal action. The steering committee for that effort developed a set of principles to guide conversion policy, a list of three top priority initiatives (establishing alternative use committees, creating incentives and accountability for company actions, and providing federal and state purchasing to provide new markets for converted firms), and a long-term, comprehensive strategy for conversion.

By linking the twin ideals of local industrial retention and new national economic priorities, the proposals that Call to Action and others are advancing could form the basis of a new industrial policy, a means to recapture the vast investment that taxpayers have made in the military-industrial complex and to direct it toward civilian ends. As these regional efforts join together to push for federal support, the prospects for a serious national commitment to defense conversion are looking brighter all the time..

*Marc Baldwin is a Research Associate for the United Auto Workers.*

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## National Policy

# Dismantling the Cold War Economy

*by Ann Markusen and Joel Yudken*

Looking out his window at the Chicago skyline, the Illinois Institute of Technology Research Institute's vice-president for business development, Morton Klein, thought for a bit when asked what he and other Chicago defense contractors might do if there is a serious military build-down. "Well," he said, brightening up and reflecting on the dozens of chemists and chemical engineers in his heavily defense-dependent lab, "we wouldn't need to be the Illinois Defense Technology Association. We could be the Illinois Waste Treatment Association!" Such remarks illustrate the interest of some private-sector managers in the adjustment problem and offer glimmers of hope for a post-cold war economy.

Unfortunately, managers like Morton Klein do not repre-

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***Typical is the attitude of Stanley Pace, CEO of General Dynamics, who believes that his corporation's only recourse in the face of threatened budget cuts is to hunker down, lay off workers, and wait. He has faith that military spending inevitably will pick up again.***

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sent the mainstream of the military contracting world. More typical is the attitude of Stanley Pace, CEO of General Dynamics, who believes that his corporation's only recourse in the face of threatened budget cuts is to hunker down, lay off workers, and wait. He has faith that military spending inevitably will pick up again. Such a strategy may help to frighten communities and Congress into holding the reins on defense cuts. But in the end it is a losing strategy for the nation.

There will be no peace dividend without a coordinated and highly visible alternative to the military-based economy. Many industries, along with their workers and communities, badly need some form of help in making the transition. Given the risks associated with change, however, firms are stonewalling and workers and communities are scared. Meanwhile, scientists, engineers and academics worry that if they bite the hand that feeds them, no other source of funding for research and development will materialize. The military-industrial complex is paralyzed by inertia. As the *laissez-faire* paradigm dissolves under the weight of economic recession and financial crisis, only the piecemeal and limited dual-use technology policy has been put forward as an attempt to fill the void.

Until an effective adjustment strategy is found and the Pentagon is no longer the primary supporter of innovation, the nation is not likely to move forward on the domestic economic front. It is just too costly to bail out savings-and-loans and banks, pay for higher unemployment benefits, and continue to spend \$300 billion a year on military preparedness. Unless one or more of these federal commitments changes, there will simply be no money left for new initiatives. Morton Klein may have to wait a long time for his waste treatment research contract (and communities around the country will continue to wrestle with a growing waste disposal crisis).

### TOWARD A NURTURING ECONOMY

Public denials aside, the United States has had an industrial policy for fifty years. The policy has accomplished a great deal. It has ensured that the U.S. military is technologically the strongest on the globe. In either cold war or hot war confrontations, American missiles, aircraft, computers, and satellite-based intelligence and guidance systems can count on dominating. With its military might, the U.S. government has been able, when it so wishes, to unilaterally play the role of the world's cop as it did exceptionally well in the Gulf War of 1991.

The closet U.S. industrial policy has created whole new industries that stock the military arsenal -- the aerospace, communications, and electronics complex. Hundreds of billions of defense dollars, year after year, have gone into constructing an American advantage in these industries, both in direct arms production and in commercial products such as aircraft, computers, and telecommunications. Hefty export sales in these industries are the fruits of years of public-sector cultivation, both in the R&D greenhouse and in the deep and reliable furrows of government sales.

Yet the assembling of this very special and deep expertise, nourished at public expense, has not helped to stave off a slow stagnation in the American economy. Why has the harvest been so lean? First, the closet industrial policy has been very expensive, adding to the budget deficit and absorbing capital that might have been used elsewhere. Second, it has undermined older sectors as it nurtured new ones.

Third, radical but selective technological change has created new problems of worker retooling and displacement and artificially rapid obsolescence of plants and equipment. Fourth, it has created new forms of environmental degradation that pose high costs to the present and future economy. Finally, it has permitted other players in the international economy, particularly foreign companies backed by their



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governments, to capitalize on the "free" basic research available in the United States and to adapt it to commercial uses, outpacing U.S. firms.

Perhaps most important, though, is that the price for our military preeminence has simply grown beyond our ability to pay. The bulk of the nation's debt is attributable to the defense buildup of the 1980s. Deficits are not necessarily bad; if they are invested in areas such as infrastructure and education, they contribute to the nation's future productivity. But spending borrowed money to fashion ever more deadly and baroque weaponry does nothing for the productivity of American manufacturing industries. Regardless of the nation's foreign policy track, all parties agree that the military budget will have to be cut by at least 20 to 50 percent. If the U.S. economy continues to be sluggish, and with tax revenues faltering, demands for civilian industry revitalization and safety nets for the marginalized will compete for the same precious public funds.

It will not be easy to get the economy back on track. Companies, workers, communities, and whole industries have become addicted to military infusions. Decades of selective and lavish public spending on the military have erected a wall of separation between the civilian and military-industrial segments of the economy. Defense-dependent sectors have a hard time changing course. And because of the geographical concentration of such spending in the Gunbelt, military budgets on the order of \$300 billion annually have deepened the

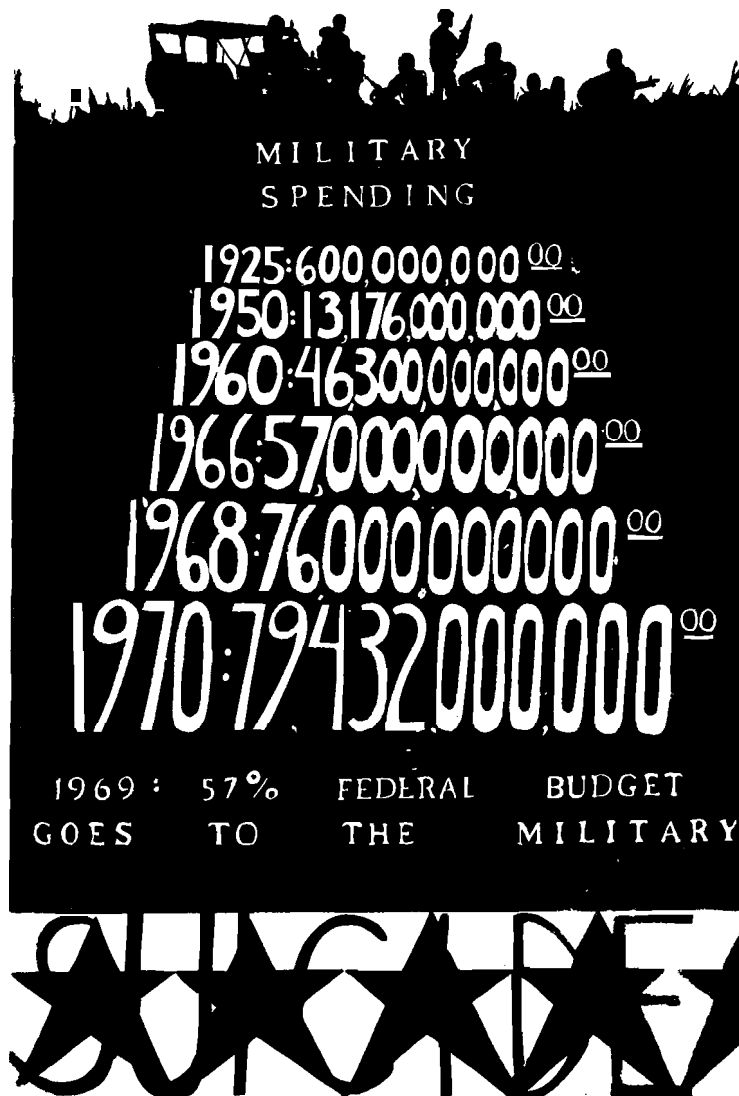
dependency of large pools of workers, both white- and blue-collar, on inflated military budgets. Their communities worry that there will be no substitute for the Pentagon gravy train, especially when the same government ruthlessly pursues free trade, deregulation, and privatization policies in every other realm of the economy.

Creative, sometimes strenuous

efforts have been made to cope with the specter of military cuts. Companies have begun research and development on large transportation systems, hoping to switch from military aircraft to mass transit. Unions have pushed for worker retraining and alternative use planning. Communities have attempted to convert some military bases and defense plants. But for the most part, the results have been disappointing. Piecemeal approaches, lacking the kind of powerful integrated framework provided by the Pentagon's cradle-to-grave financing, have not been able to replicate the performance of the military-industrial system. As a result, many contractors continue to pursue military markets and lobby for funding, while closing plants and displacing workers. Often, the defense work force and defense-dependent communities act as if they are held hostage to the same future.

What America needs is a systematic economic development strategy aimed at delivering a healthy environment rather than

at honing the weapons in the arsenal of destruction. We do not mean simply the physical environment of grass, rocks, rivers, and air, but all living and working environments, from housing to factories and offices, to recreational and wilderness spaces. An economy devoted to personal and public health, a clean and sustainable physical environment, and the stabilization of community and



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workplace life would be more productive and would achieve a higher standard of living for everyone. Its benefits need not be limited to Americans but could be spread throughout the globe. At the risk of sounding corny, we would put our chips down on a nurturing economy, rather than a destructive one.

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***The point is not to save the steel or electronics industry, but to conserve resources, put people to work productively, and provide the goods and services that society needs.***

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### A NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

To achieve a new economic order, vague exhortations to competitiveness should be superseded by a national economic development strategy. We call it an economic rather than industrial development strategy because its goals should be more expansive than picking winners and losers, choosing electronics over steel. The point is not to save the steel or electronics industry, but to conserve resources, put people to work productively, and provide the goods and services that society needs.

Putting forward an economic development strategy for the United States may seem odd. "Economic development" used to be pursued by Third World countries only. But in the final decades of this century, the countries that have done well (Germany, Italy, Japan, Korea, or Singapore) have done so primarily because they have undertaken concerted economic development policies based on a vision of where their economies ought to be in the long term. State and local governments across the United States are already in the vanguard on economic development. A decade of structural change with both farms and factories folding in unprecedented numbers, and no help forthcoming from the federal government, forced governors, mayors, legislatures, and city councils to act.

They felt they had no choice; they had to stop the hemorrhaging of jobs by anchoring existing industries in their communities and encouraging new ones to start up. Publicly funded economic development services proliferated, and bold new experiments in industrial retention, technology transfer, and entrepreneurial aid began.

But these efforts must be nurtured with federal help. State and local governments do not have the resources to fund large-scale industrial turnover, alternative use planning efforts, major R&D initiatives, and large new infrastructure projects, especially when the nation faces new rounds of defense plant and military base closings. Never before has the need for a coordinated national initiative been so pressing.

The substance of a new economic order for the United States can be neatly captured under three main rubrics: environment, health, and community stability. These are the major concerns of the American people going into the troubled 1990s. The environmental vision of a new economic order should encompass a healthy living environment for all, including other species. Clean air, clean water, a protected biosphere, preservation of wilderness, and judicious use of scarce natural resources, from agriculture to industry to households, are its goals. Both a massive amount of careful scholarly research and public sentiment clearly favor a new set of rules governing the interaction between people and nature. The content and effectiveness of these rules will be largely determined by economic considerations -- by how much new research, new investment, and new regulation can be devoted to creating a healthier environment.

Human health is another crisis arena. A much smaller share of the population is now covered by health insurance than fifteen years ago. Diseases, whether new ones like AIDS or old ones like cancer, have proliferated. Infant mortality is widespread. Mental illness still claims many victims, and stress and depression are on the rise. Occupational health and safety gains have been made in the older industries, but new workplace hazards have arisen with the

chemical-intensive processes used in high-tech industry and the eye and muscle-straining machinery in offices.

Compared with the environment, health has received massive public support, both for research and development and to procure health services for the elderly and poor. But as in defense, these resources have been poured into private and nonprofit sectors without much accountability, resulting in an overemphasis on costly, esoteric technologies and drugs rather than on preventive care. More doctors than ever before favor a national health system like Canada's, and more corporations than ever before are lining up behind the notion of national health insurance. Most important, more people than ever before are fed up with the cost and quality of the health care they receive.

Community stabilization is the third pillar of a new economic order. Champions of the market and rapid capital mobility ignore the destructive effects on workers, households, local governments, and regional businesses when a local economic environment suddenly changes. More subtle but just as important as the external costs -- lost incomes, plunging property values, and shrinkage of local clientele -- are the losses in well-being from the economically-forced outmigration of family

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***Because of the geographical concentration of such spending in the Gunbelt, military budgets on the order of \$300 billion annually have deepened the dependency of large pools of workers, both white- and blue-collar, on inflated military budgets.***

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members and the breakup of neighborhoods and communities. Excessive displacement accompanied many plant closings in the industrial heartland in the 1980s. It now threatens defense dependent communities in this defense

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build-down period.

Economic stabilization has a long, venerable history as a public policy goal. Since the 1930s, governments all over the world have accepted the need to monitor market economies and to intervene when they deviate too much from the desired, generally modest, path of growth. In the 1930s the Tennessee Valley Authority was authorized to rebuild the battered South Central economy. During the Second World War, government planners were concerned about disrupting the settlement patterns of the country and tried to match new defense plants with pools of unemployed workers. In the 1960s the Kennedy administration targeted Appalachia as a region of distress and out-migration, which it attempted to stem by encouraging growth and stabilization in a number of key cities. In the 1970s the Nixon administration redistributed federal funds to suburbs, and later in the same decade, President Carter launched a national urban policy to reverse the fiscal crisis and decline of many cities. Despite their critics, most of these projects were successful to some degree. The Tennessee Valley today, with its new Japanese auto plants and diversified agriculture, is quite a success story, and cities across the nation have revitalized their downtowns, albeit without eliminating inner-city poverty.

Environment, health, and community stability -- these areas must compete with national security as a major national priority. For fifty years, Americans have devoted the lion's share of their surplus to pursuing national security above all else, with disappointing results for the economy and growing environmental, health, and community crises. Today, it can be argued that resolving environmental, health, and economic crises is an essential dimension of any meaningful definition of national security. Moreover, unlike expenditures on costly MX or Patriot missiles, gains in these three areas would boost productivity in the economy as a whole. Much less wastage of human resources occurs when healthy, happy citizens are working and living in clean and stable environments.

In such a world, precious public funds need not be spent only on cleaning up the messes left behind from current practices.

a cleaner environment, a healthier population, and economic stability. Expenditures with long-term economic payoffs would be treated as investments

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***The first step is to shift the discourse on industrial policy and economic conversion away from the preoccupation with competitiveness and toward economic development, to encourage citizens and policymakers alike to entertain new possibilities.***

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### Building the New Economic Order

Putting forth a vision of change is one thing. Getting there is another. The purpose of a book like this is not so much to map out a specific roadmap but to point in the right direction. The first step is to shift the discourse on industrial policy and economic conversion away from the preoccupation with competitiveness and toward economic development, to encourage citizens and policymakers alike to entertain new possibilities.

What might a new national economic development strategy look like? First of all, it would survey the nation's economic assets, including the stock of capital, labor, and land now devoted to superfluous military activities. During the Reagan-Bush years, national intelligence on the state and stock of our national resources, industries, and infrastructure deteriorated badly. Many public data sources have been terminated, and some are now available only to high-paying corporate clients. Even data on the military industrial base is deficient. A series on subcontracting begun in 1979, for instance, was discontinued early in the Reagan years.

Second, savings from military cuts would be judiciously distributed across competing priorities—deficit reduction as well as public investments in the environment, health, and community stability. These priorities would be determined through public debate and the established channels of democratic decision-making. Decisions to invest in overlapping priority areas, such as public infrastructure, transportation, and energy, would be guided by the extent to which such investments contribute to

and distinguished from ongoing operating expenditures. Such "demand pull" forces would carry the economy much farther into a new future than would uncertain military high-tech spin-offs or the opportunistic pursuit of narrow technologies like high-definition TV.

Third, nonspending initiatives, such as regulation and incentives for cooperation and planning, would bolster the economic development strategy. Establishing rules for attaining environmental quality, from recycling schemes and minimizing industrial pollutants to cutting allowable auto emissions, will automatically boost interest in finding ways to use recycled materials, make plants cleaner, and explore electric and other nonpetroleum-fueled cars. Companies, assured by the rules of a future market, will invest in the new technologies to attain these ends, creating new jobs at the same time. The market will be the means for testing competing products.

Fourth, the distribution of federal R&D dollars would be guided by this more pluralistic set of goals, creating a robust science and technology base to buttress the economic development strategy. This would include major new science and technology initiatives keyed to these goals. For example, support would be given to R&D programs on new high-tech manufacturing processes that are nontoxic to workers and pollution-free. R&D funds would continue to be disbursed through the relevant agencies whose missions match the call for innovation. If necessary, new agencies would be created, such as the proposed national institutes for the

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any one sector. Included in the strategy would be a more carefully crafted technology policy that does not lead to feast or famine for workers and communities.

*Ann Markusen is also author of The Rise of the Gunbelt (1991) and Professor of Urban Studies and Policy Development at Rutgers University.*

**Year after year, comprehensive conversion legislation has been introduced into Congress. Each time, the preventive remedies, especially alternative use planning, have been dropped for more conventional efforts to help workers and communities cope.**

*Joel Yudken is currently a staff member of the Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Credit, Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.*

*Excerpted from Dismantling the Cold War Economy. Published by Basic Books, 1993. Available in paper back.*

# Jobs with Peace in Philly

A program in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is at the forefront of efforts to turn military conversion into a community development opportunity.

## NAVY YARD AND NAVAL HOSPITAL CONVERSION PROGRAM

The Philadelphia Naval Shipyard is one of the largest industrial employers in the city, providing 48,000 jobs during World War II, 11,500 in the early 80's, and falling to 7,000 in 1992. In the mid-80's, Jobs with Peace organized an industrial development entity, the League Island Development Corporation (LIDC), representing business, labor, neighborhood and civic interests. Their idea was to promote full-use of the underutilized sections of the Navy Yard, creating skilled, labor intensive job opportunities for both dislocated shipyard workers and underemployed workers from around the city. Proposals to produce for real community needs included bridge construction, prefab buildings and incubators for small metal working companies who could share transport and overhead costs. LIDC also advocated that the closing Naval Hospital be converted to a much-needed nursing home, funded by the Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

## PENNSYLVANIA ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT ACT

Thousands of skilled manufacturing jobs have been lost in the state in recent years. Jobs with Peace researched and wrote this legislation to provide a structure for government, business, labor and the community to work together to prevent layoffs and military/industrial closings by planning ahead for alternative production. This economic conversion now has over 50 co-sponsors in the House and support of many peace and justice, labor, religious and community activists. In 1991, Jobs with Peace sponsored a statewide economic conversion conference, established a bi-monthly teleconference and launched the Pennsylvania Economic Conversion Bulletin.

## HOMES NOT BOMBS CAMPAIGN

In work with the homeless, in the community of Mantua, and with housing advocates throughout the Delaware Valley, Jobs with Peace has helped to make the links between a federal focus on military spending and severe neglect of the most basic local needs, with housing as a prime example.

For information write or call Philadelphia Jobs With Peace, 1809 Spring Gardens St. Philadelphia, PA, 19106, Tel. (215) 751-9933.

# Expanding the Rights of the Poor

by **Lauren Hallinan**

Across the country, 115 major military bases are closing or "realigning" (losing most military uses), and 112 smaller installations are closing.<sup>1</sup> This situation creates the potential for dramatic economic disaster or opportunity especially for homeless and low-income people in and near base closure communities. The right of first refusal for surplus military real and personal property goes to the homeless under the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987<sup>2</sup> and the 1994 Pryor Amendments<sup>3</sup> to the base closure laws.<sup>4</sup> In addition, new federal initiatives offer major funding for grants to support planning, training, and economic development in base closure communities as these military installations convert to civilian uses.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the 1994 amendments emphasize the federal intent to expedite the military conversion process.<sup>6</sup>

Base closures are "fast track" for everyone — federal bureaucrats, private developers, local politicians, community-based organizations, and all their lawyers. Already, legal aid attorneys and community-based organizations have helped block the proposed razing of high-quality military base housing at Hamilton Air-Force Base in Marin County, California, and Eaker Air Force Base in East Arkansas. Advocates have also drafted first source and affirmative employment targets for the Presidio of San Francisco.

This article analyzes the 1994 amendments to the 1988 and 1990 base closure and realignment acts, outlines opportunities for homeless assistance and low-income housing, jobs, and community-based economic development, and suggests local and national legislative, advocacy, and litigation strategies on behalf of the poor. Finally, this article proposes a four-point plan for a legal services base closure network.

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***New federal initiatives offer major funding for grants to support planning, training, and economic development in base closure communities as these military installations convert to civilian uses.***

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## THE BASE CLOSURE ACTS

There are two primary base closure statutes — The Defense Authorization Amendments and Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1988. The official entities dealing with base closures are different for each military services, for each federal agency, in each state, and within local communities. For example, in 1993 at Hamilton Air Force Base alone, the DoD, Army Corps of Engineers, Navy, General Services Administration, various congressional offices, and the City of

Novato Base Reuse Committee all asserted various degrees of control over the base and reuse plans.

Advocates need to establish contacts through as many official and unofficial channels as possible in order to get access to information. For example, advocates at Legal Aid for Marin have obtained a lot of useful information from military attorneys who are experts on base closures. Military attorneys are surprised to hear from legal aid but seem happy to help. This is not as difficult as it would appear since amendments to the 1988 and 1990 Acts expressly give preference to addressing economic hardship and homelessness.<sup>8</sup>

## KEY 1994 AMENDMENTS TO THE 1988 AND 1990 ACTS

The 1994 amendments to the 1988 and 1990 Acts set out new language<sup>9</sup> that could help legal services attorneys advocate for clients in the legislative arena, in community planning, and for the provision of jobs, housing, and services. First, the amendments state that the United States should facilitate economic recovery and assist communities that experience adverse economic circumstances as a result of base closure or realignment.<sup>10</sup> Second, to aid the goal of swift implementation, each federal department or agency involved with a base closure designates a person to assist the local transition coordinator (who often knows details but little about pending legislation or overall activity and plans for a base). "The United States will also accelerate "environmental restoration" and make property available "on a timely basis and at less than fair market value."<sup>12</sup> Third, real and personal property may be transferred at little or no cost to "affected communities and States."<sup>13</sup>

Decisions concerning federal property transfers will depend on local reuse plans. Whether local governments, private developers, or nonprofit organizations serving the poor get property and how they use it will be controlled by a local entity — a "redevelopment authority." Therefore, the decisions about exactly what local entity will create and control the reuse plan and what entity becomes the controlling redevelopment authority for the base are critical. Legal services advocates have an important opportunity to mandate representation of clients' needs and a place at the table for low-income community-based organizations.

Jurisdictional issues are important considerations for community groups and legal services advocates because the entity that controls the land and planning will control community participation, the type of development, and allocation of tax revenue. If the entity that gains control is a high-income suburb with a intense commitment to preserving homeowners' perceptions of property values, development will be very different than if the redevelopment entity is a large county with high unemployment, lack of affordable housing, and

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the members of the last mentioned organization decided to change its name during the 1980s.)

These intercultural relationships are evident in the town of **Bitburg**, a town of 12,000 people, situated in the mountains south of Cologne. It hosts an U.S. air base with 12,000 soldiers. This U.S. military facility is scheduled for closure in the fall of 1994. In **Bitburg**, everybody is anxious to mention the good relationship which Americans and Germans have enjoyed. Thousands of German-American children were born in **Bitburg** and, in 1993 alone, 43 of the

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***Conversion in Germany is within the context of national re-unification and the problems associated with this process.***

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141 marriages in town were mixed American-German couples.

Other U.S.-Germany relationships are defined by issues directly related to the military facilities in **Bitburg**. A citizen's action group was formed to protect the town from more aircraft noise when the U.S. Army planned to expand the air base. Six years ago the last major construction, which pumped 65 million German marks into the local economy, was made on the air base. Today, considering the future economic disaster **Bitburg** must face, the former opponents to the U.S. presence sometime have trouble defending their position.

Economically, the U.S. plays an important part. After **Bitburg's** famous brewery, the U.S. army is the second largest employer in town. It provides 600 civilian jobs and generates the equivalent of \$115 million into the region each year. By the end of September, the U.S. troops are scheduled to leave town. On October 1, the 50,000 acre airport will be put up for sale, as a whole or in parts, whatever the prospective buyer prefers. But there are not many buyers in **Bitburg**. Who would want to buy a former army base with 72 scattered missile shelters which were built so solid that even dynamite — at a

cost of 300,000 German marks per shelter — would be sorely challenged to remove them? The only prospective buyer showing any interest in the air base's solid buildings is a manufacturer who is considering storing fireworks for German New Years Eve parties. Because of **Bitburg's** dependence on the U.S. military, economic conversion will be critical for its continued economic viability.

Conversion, or *Konversion* as the Germans say it, is a word which came into fashion when the foreign armies started planning to leave Germany. The procedure is not a simple downsizing process, like that which is taking place within the German National Army. After the withdrawal of the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, France and the former Soviet Union, the German Federal Finance Department, which is the new owner of all the abandoned bases must face the challenge of toxic clean up and reuse planning. Once the federal agency gets the land back, it only keeps the sites useful for federal purposes. Everything else is passed to the states, and if not used at that level, to the local community. Often local communities inherit large portions of former military land because they are last in line. The question of who will come up with the money for the clean-up remains unanswered. Very often, the communities are simply overwhelmed by the whole process, not to mention the financial burden. The departing foreign armies, always ready to "help" German companies or station new weapons for Germany's "safety," all of a sudden do not show the same enthusiasm regarding environmental clean-up.

Often the negative environmental side effects go beyond the facilities themselves. **Bitburg**, for example, has to cope with a sewage plant built for the larger population of Germans and Americans, which will deteriorate if it does not get enough waste water for proper operation.

Due to active German environmental and peace movements, environmental issues have been part of Germany's political debates for many years. For the past two decades, city planning in Germany has moved toward the goal of

sustainability, with green cells and recreation areas, efficient and convenient public transportation, central business districts supported by several sub centers as well as city centers (often historic), and with inviting pedestrian zones. The redevelopment of the closed American army bases will have to meet these standards. While the planning and its implementation is still in process, the interim use of the bases, in most cases, includes housing for students, the homeless and political refugees, who have the added misfortune of receiving the brunt of the hostility and attacks from parts of the German population. Ironically these bases which were formerly populated by a powerful tenant are now inhabited by the least powerful classes of society.

In more general terms, base conversion in Germany is within the context of national re-unification and the problems

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***Today, considering the future economic disaster Bitburg must face, the former opponents to the U.S. presence sometime have trouble defending their position***

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associated with this process. Although the closure of American army bases is a result of the end of the Cold War, compared to the problems in and with former Eastern Germany, the closures are just one issue among many that communities have to struggle with.

In contrast to the huge number of problems the American base closures cause in rural areas like **Bitburg**, Germany's metropolitan areas are able to realize at least a few positive results of *konversion*. These cities will lose the positive economic influence the bases had on their economy, but on the other hand, they will gain valuable and desperately needed housing and industrial space. The larger cities not only have a stronger economic potential, they often have more time to prepare as well. While the metropolitan

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areas like Frankfurt will face the bulk of the American troops leaving, a good portion of the smaller cities outside the metropolitan areas have already closed the gates of their bases and completed the planning process as well.

For small rural towns like Bitburg, base closures is a threat. Such problem-ridden areas run the risk of idealizing the past and forgetting the bad effects caused by the presence of the U.S. military. In Bitburg, perhaps the most honest summary of the contact between Germans and Americans was the aircraft noise and the barbecue smell which hovered over the town during summer week-ends.

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*Birgit Neuer is a researcher at the University of Freiburg, who worked with the Urban Habitat Program's Economic Conversion Project for six months in 1994. She would like to thank Jim Aron, Daniel O'Connor and Petra J. Yee for help with this piece.*

## Historical Poster Art

The Vietnam era, anti-war posters used to illustrate this issue come from the Aouon Archive, curated by Michael Rossman, a Berkeley writer and social historian. The archive of 7,500 posters from the anti-war, solidarity, environmental, cultural, women and gay liberation movements date from 1965 to the present. For information contact Michael Rossman by phone at 510-849-1154 or fax at 510-540-1707.

### DELLUMS continued from page 1

questions to be answered were many: To what use would the land now be put? What decision-making process would be established to determine the answer to that question? What could be done to provide employment for civilian personnel and assistance to the communities adversely affected by the closure decisions? What environmental problems existed at the facilities and how would they be cleaned up?

The stakes were rightly perceived in the community to be quite high, a fact made more urgent by examples of inability or delay in dealing effectively with the effects of the earlier closure decisions. These included the possibility of significant unemployment, possible catastrophic economic losses in the Bay Area, and the potential waste of valuable land and real estate resources.

### A MODEL FOR THE NATION

For years, I have argued that East Bay civic leaders had an obligation to plan for the possibility that some or all of our military installations might be determined to be excess and then slated for closure. In 1992, a year before the BRAC 1993 process that recommended the most recent closures. I secured a provision in the FY 1993 Defense Authorization bill that established a four-community pilot conversion program. This program supports the conversion planning processes in four communities potentially affected by base closures, defense industrial downsizing or national laboratory closure or realignment. The information developed from these four experiences will be available to these communities, as well as collected into a usable resource for other communities which might also face these challenges.

While BRAC '93 was undertaking its assessments, the Defense Department determined that the East Bay would become one of the four pilot programs. I had hoped that we would have our community designated as one of the pilots when I conceived of the legislation, not because of any certainty that we would face an actual closure decision but because of my long standing view that prudent leadership required such

planning. The circumstance that resulted in our community receiving planning money in advance of actually having to deal with an actual closure was extremely fortunate, as it allowed us to get underway prior to the closure announcement.

### WHO, WHAT, WHEN, WHERE, AND WHY

Having established the basis and resources for such a process, we needed then to answer: who should participate, what is the process and goal, when do we need to reach decision, where will the process take us and why are we proceeding?

The first question — who should participate? — provides the real key to understanding what is at stake and how we can succeed. Solving it provides confidence that the four other questions will be adequately resolved because all of the questions will be addressed and answered.

In our view it is critically important that all elements of the community fully participate in planning for what purposes these facilities will be used in the future. It is especially important to ensure that many who are traditionally outside of such processes — minority groups and the poor — be brought into the center and that the whole range of community interests be reflected — including organized labor, the base workers, business groups, environmentalists, civic leaders, etc.

A common-sense view of the impact of closure alone shows why this is so important. Communities of color, especially, face significant adverse impacts from these decisions. The bases affected have long provided significant opportunities for meaningful and well-paid jobs — both blue collar and white collar — for these communities, in part because of aggressive programs that we pursued to ensure equal employment opportunities at federal facilities. The loss of these jobs threatens to further tear the already fragile economic fabric of these communities.

The resources that these employment opportunities generate in the community are additionally significant, helping to support local businesses.

As a result, we have established a planning process that includes these communities in the vital effort of

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conversion. Not only does this apply with respect to the types of end-uses to which the land might be used—a vitally important question to the employment, economic and quality-of-life concerns of traditionally disenfranchised communities. But it also applies to contracts for planning, analysis, land clearance, environmental remediation or any of the other myriad problems associated with a successful conversion effort, ensuring the full and effective participation of communities traditionally absent or under-represented in such projects.

Whatever the final outcome of the decision making process that culminates from the East Bay Conversion and Reinvestment Commission, the land reuse authorities and other active agents, it is clear that it will be better made by having vigorous participation from communities of color.

Such participation will help to ensure that the employment needs of the community are fully considered. It will help to ensure that in these communities—long afflicted as dumping grounds for environmental hazards—planning will proceed in a manner that fully takes into account the health and safety of these communities.

Although the closure decisions represent the possibility of crisis in our community, they also represent great opportunity. We must not flinch from the opportunity offered by the end of the Cold War to cut military spending and pursue social investment. My long-standing commitment to an aggressive program of economic conversion now has an opportunity to be tested at home—in a manner that can benefit both the East Bay in its immediate needs and the nation as a whole, by way of learning, guidance and experience. When coupled with a commitment to ensure social equity, full participation and the acquisition of a meaningful stake in the outcome, this process represents an opportunity to remake our communities into a better place for our children and their children.

*For information write: East Bay Conversion and Reinvestment Commission, 530 Water Street, 5th Floor, Oakland, CA 94607. Tel. (510)834-6928; Fax (510)834 8913.*

***ANTHONY continued from page 1*** buildings and specialized facilities will be declared surplus. Military conversion in the San Francisco Bay Area represents a major opportunity for change.

When the Urban Habitat Program was established five years ago, it was clear that the question of defense conversion would be important to our communities. We saw that it was especially critical that the voices and interests of communities of color, working people and poor people be involved in the process. Our early activity focused on conversion of the San Francisco Presidio, which has conveyed from the Army to the National Park Service as of October 1, 1994. Working with the National Park Service, the Urban Habitat Program helped to form the Community Consultation Initiative which brought together grassroots organizations, labor and advocates of communities of color to take part in decision-making in five major areas: 1) establishing a new vision for the site; 2) promoting participation by people of color in key decision making roles in the process; 3) procurement contracting, and job opportunities; 4) developing options for transportation access to the site from low income communities and communities of color; and 5) promotion of demonstration conversion projects which address the needs and issues of our community.

With the announcement that additional Bay Area military facilities would be closed, the Urban Habitat Program expanded its conversion activity. We formed a collaboration with two other progressive conversion groups in the Bay Area, the Center for Economic Conversion and the Arms Control Resource Center.

When Congressman Ron Dellums formed the East Bay Conversion and Reinvestment Commission, we got involved in conversion planning for the County of Alameda, where four military facilities are slated for closure and the Livermore National Laboratory is slated for remissioning.

The Urban Habitat Program works closely with the East Bay Conversion and Reinvestment Commission which now has a broad base of regional participation including elected officials, representatives of educational institutions, the national

laboratories, unions, private sector groups, peace and environmental groups, and community based organizations. An important goal of the Commission is to test new approaches of national significance to community adjustment in regions where the local economy would be significantly affected by military downsizing. The Commission has already helped to set up reuse authorities for base conversion in the Cities of Alameda and Oakland, and is considering over 80 innovations in the conversion process. Among innovations relevant to social and environmental justice are the following:

### 1. NATIVE AMERICAN ISSUES

Federal appropriation of historic lands of indigenous people raises important policy questions for the military conversion process. Under federal legislation, recognized tribes may indicate their interest in acquiring surplus federal property, and receive a measure of priority much like homeless providers can do under the McKinney Act. Responding to Native American interest in conversion issues requires completion of four steps: research and documentation of the legal context at national and regional levels; documenting examples of conversion projects involving Native communities; strengthening the institutional base for participation of Native American communities in the conversion process; development of policies, initiatives, proposals plans, and actions to meet the needs of specific Native American communities.

### 2. ADDRESSING TOXIC RACISM

Many low income communities and communities of color adjacent to military bases have been discovered to contain high concentrations of hazardous contaminants. Such communities should be provided with open and accurate information about how the clean up process will affect local environments, air, water and soil. Affected communities should have the opportunity to review and comment upon the extent and nature of contamination, remediation options and clean up plans including consideration of



## Politics

social justice implications of toxic exposures.

### 3. INSTITUTIONALIZING THE ROLE OF COMMUNITIES OF COLOR

Communities of color have a long and complex history with the United States military. As military downsizing accelerates, it is critical that communities of color be involved in the conversion process. Their neighborhoods and institutions have been negatively impacted by five decades of over-investment in the military industrial complex. Affirmative action regulations are poorly enforced by the Department of Defense contractors. The conversion process may be the most significant opportunity for these communities to affect national industrial policy for years to come. Some of the ideas the Commission is considering include: the creation of a community institute to transfer environmental and other technologies to community based organizations and minority and woman owned business enterprises; business to business links including incubators, monitoring, partnerships, and bonding capacity; loan programs and financial intermediaries for community based economic opportunity.

### 4. COMMUNITY-MANAGED TOXIC CLEAN UP

The President has demonstrated a commitment to transfer excess military bases as quickly as would accommodate communities' interest and their ability to enhance economic viability. Under current schedules, environmental reviews alone can take more than three years to complete. The process is slow and unresponsive to a community's economic reinvestment alternatives. The transition process can be accelerated by providing federal clean up dollars directly to a community, which would then be responsible for the scoping, technical support, hiring and monitoring performance for environmental cleanup. The community-managed clean up process could meet all current environmental regulatory standards through partnerships with state and federal regulators.

### 5. ENTERPRISE ASSISTANCE TO DISPLACED DEFENSE WORKERS

The most valuable resource at the military bases are the people. Many are middle aged and have devoted many years of their lives to the federal government. In this capacity, they have acquired skills and insights valuable in the civilian economy. Many bases have state-of-the-art equipment and facilities familiar to the on-site skilled workforce. Bases' facilities can be used to incubate new employee-owned businesses involving defense workers in management decisionmaking. Employee-owned companies at these facilities will allow workers to continue their customary work in an environment which lends itself to increased productivity. Access to marketing information, capital, and technical assistance is essential if this potential is to be realized.

### 6. HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE NEEDS OF DEFENSE WORKER FAMILIES

The experience of plant closures and corporate downsizing has indicated that massive employment layoffs are accompanied by increased hypertension, heart attacks, alcoholism, spousal abuse, homicide, suicides, and other social and health problems among workers. To date much of the public discourse around service delivery has addressed the needs of individuals. Little attention has focused on the first line support for those individuals facing crisis: their families. Accurate information is needed to determine the type of health and social support services for defense workers and their families facing base closure.

### 7. OVERCOMING BARRIERS TO RE-EMPLOYMENT OF DEFENSE WORKERS

Employment and training needs of affected workers often assume lower priority than decisions around facility reuse and economic development. An effective conversion strategy must overcome this barrier by involving workers in planning for and implementing their own services. Defense workers, service providers, companies, military officials and community representatives should work together on

the following types of activities: one-stop service center for defense workers with separate branches at various facilities; continuous updating of a database to match job seekers with job vacancies; linkages between economic development planning and job creation activities with employment and training services for workers.

### 8. INNOVATIONS IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL EVALUATION PROCESS

Current federal regulations require the Department of Defense to prepare an Environmental Impact Statement describing the effects of the shut down of military facilities on the surrounding community. This document is prepared by military agencies which have little practical understanding of the surrounding communities. Communities are at a disadvantage since it takes many months to organize community resources to develop an effective reuse plan—a separate process requiring state and local environmental review. Thus communities have little opportunity to provide input into the planning assumptions and the alternatives being considered by the military. The process would be simpler if communities could be drawn into the planning at an earlier stage and a single environmental review process would be based on the community reuse plan hammered out with broad public participation.

### 9. REMISSIONING OF THE NATIONAL LABS

Ten national laboratories are set up across the country to provide scientific and technological tools to meet critical national needs. Three of these are defense labs, focused on nuclear weapons research and testing. With the end of the Cold War, their role is shifting, with more resources focused on prevention of nuclear proliferation, verification, and arms control. Environmental justice advocates are worried that deadly nuclear R&D will end up at Los Alamos, concentrated in predominantly Latino and Native regions of northern New Mexico. Beyond this is the broader question of national purposes of science and technology, and the role of the laboratories in meeting new national needs. Many argue that labs should concentrate on helping

## Politics

the nation achieve competitive advantage in the global market place. An alternative vision suggests that technology policy for the labs should aim to help meet full employment, ecological sustainability, community well-being, and democratic decisionmaking

### 10. BASE CONVERSION AND SUSTAINABILITY

Since the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the concept of sustainability has received considerable attention. This concept first came into public debate with the publication in 1987 of the World Commission of Environment and Development report, *Our Common Future*. The opportunity is at hand to focus the discussion of sustainability on the military base conversion process. There are opportunities for ecologically sound land use planning, expanded public transportation, housing and employment for vulnerable populations, recycling of building materials and surplus equipment, protection of fragile ecosystems, public access to recreation, and reinventing work to meet real human needs.

These innovations and many others are needed to help convert our economy away from its addiction on defense spending to an economy based on ecological health, justice and sustainability. They represent a beginning. Yet the most important innovation must be organizing and increasing the consciousness of our communities about the opportunities to make more basic changes as we face an uncertain future.

*Carl Anthony is the Director of the Urban Habitat Program and President of the Earth Island Institute. He has been appointed by Congressman Dellums to Chair the East Bay Conversion and Reinvestment Commission.*

### EDITOR'S NOTES continued from p. 2

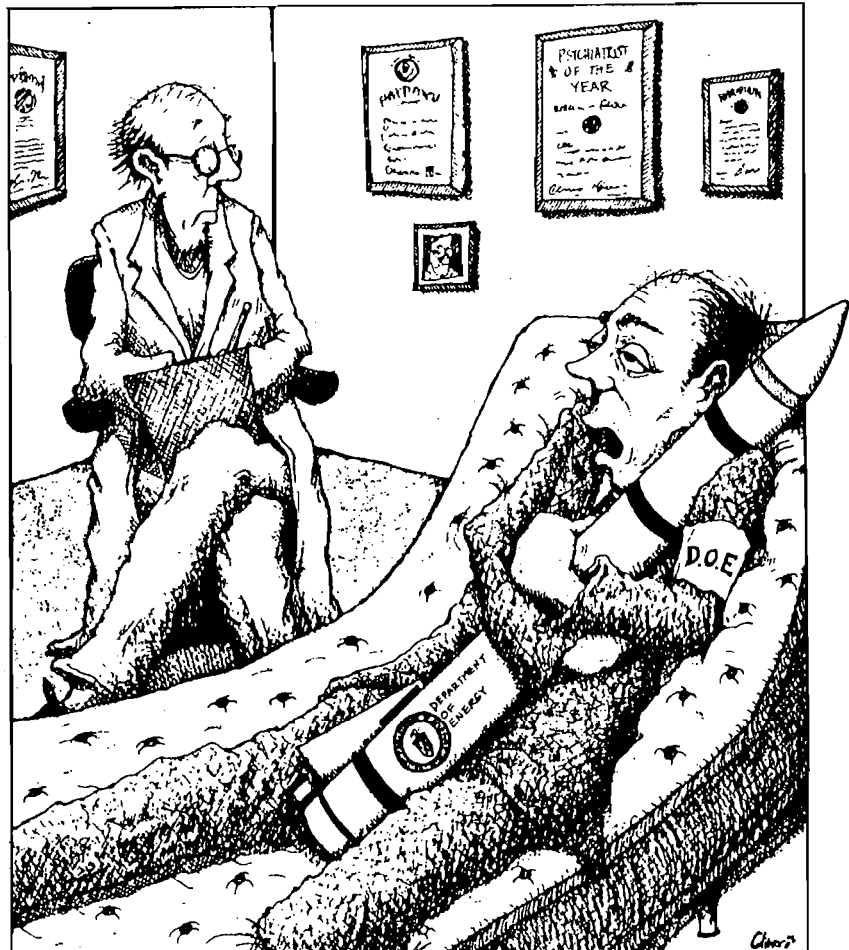
policies, particularly housing programs, offering families an opportunity to flee from urban cores, thus creating racially exclusive neighborhoods. Suburbanization was also fueled by post-war efforts to expand construction of the nation's highways; many of these programs were rooted in national security and defense-related goals and funded by the Department of Defense.

While it is still unclear whether federal initiatives for conversion will actually result in dollar-for-dollar conversion of defense dollars to public benefits, such as adequate clean-up of facilities, future employment, education, and healthcare, the conversion movement is gaining momentum. Our challenge is to make sure that this movement restores the viability of the places that have grown dependent upon the military and suffered the

disinvestment of public dollars from civilian to defense-related activities.

Across the country, base closure commissions and re-use authorities grapple with the complex process of addressing the immediate needs of workers, and toxic clean-up of the facilities. At the same time, these decision-making bodies will set in motion the long-term re-use strategies and activities to fill the economic void left by the military, as well as establish a viable set of systems and to sustain such changes over the long-term. The East Bay Conversion and Reinvestment Commission, formed by Congressman Ron Dellums, described in these pages, is in the leadership of these efforts.

We at *Race, Poverty and the Environment* believe that in order to wean our nation off of the addiction to militarism we will need two things: 1) to find some other compelling organiz-



Friends of the Earth 1992

## Resources

# Military Conversion Resources

## WEST COAST

Arms Control Research Center  
833 Market St., Ste. 1107  
San Francisco, CA 94103  
415-495-1786

Asian Immigrant  
Workers Advocates  
310 8th Street, #310  
Oakland, CA 94607  
510-268-0192

Asian Pacific  
Environmental Network  
1221 Preservation Parkway  
Oakland, CA 94612  
510-834-8920

CA Network for  
a New Economy  
1308 Mariposa St.  
San Francisco, CA 94107  
415-826-5030

Career Pro  
425 Market St. 2nd Flr.  
San Francisco, CA 94105  
415-904-7755

Center for Economic  
Conversion  
222 View St.  
Mountain View, CA 94104  
415-968-8798

**Labor/Community**  
Strategy Center  
3780 Wilshire Blvd. Ste. 1200  
Los Angeles, CA 90010  
213-387-2800

**Marin** Legal Aid  
30 N. San Pedro Rd.  
San Rafael, CA 94903  
415-492-0230

Military Toxics Project  
3384 26th St.  
San Francisco, CA 94110  
415-641-0356

The New **Bayview** Committee  
4909 Third St.  
San Francisco, CA 94124  
415-467-0535

**Peace Studies Center**  
2226 View  
Mountain View, CA 94041  
415-969-1545

Peace Action of Washington  
5516 Roosevelt Way  
N.E. Seattle, WA 98105  
206-527-8050

**San Diego** Economic  
Conversion Council  
405 W. Washington Ste. 143  
San Diego, CA 92103  
619-298-8878

Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition  
and **UPSIZ**  
760 N. First St.  
San Jose, CA 95112  
408-287-6707

Social Economic  
Environmental Justice  
Advocates  
1371 Palou Ave.  
San Francisco, CA 94124  
415-822-7124

**Tri** Valley Cares  
5720 East Ave.  
Livermore, CA 94550  
510-443-7148

**SOUTHWEST**  
Citizen Alert  
P.O. Box 1681  
Las Vegas, NV 89125  
702-795-5662

**Rio Arriba** Conversion  
Alternatives Strategies, &  
Education  
P.O. Box 3933  
Fairview, NM 87533  
505-753-3867

Rocky Flats Local Impacts  
Initiative  
5460 Ward Rd. Ste. 205  
Arvada, CO 80002  
303-940-6090

Rural Alliance for Military  
Accountability  
New Mexico Alliance  
P.O. Box 855  
Questa, NM 87556  
505-586-1241

Southwest Network for  
Economic & Environmental  
justice  
211 10th St., SW  
Albuquerque, NM 87102  
505-247-8832

Tusconians for a Clean  
Environment (TCE)  
5009 S. 12th Ave.  
Tucson, AZ 85706  
602-294-0411

United Indian Nations  
1320 Webster St.  
Oakland, CA 94612  
510-763-3410

**SOUTH**  
Carolina Alliance for Fair  
Employment of **WRP**, Inc.  
1 Chick Springs Rd. Ste. 110-B,  
Greenville, SC 29609  
803-723-4436

Citizens for  
Environmental Justice  
PO Box 184  
Savannah, GA 31401  
912-236-9870

Deep South Center for  
Environmental Justice  
Xavier University  
7440 Stoeplitz St.,  
New Orleans, LA 70125  
504-488-3075

Gulf Coast Tenant Leadership  
Project  
1866 N. Gayoso St.  
New Orleans, LA 70119  
504-949-4919

Military Facilities **Corp.**  
601 Madison St.  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
703-684-4654

Southern Organizing Comm.  
for Economic & Social Justice  
P.O. Box 10518  
Atlanta, GA 30310  
404-243-5229

## MIDWEST

Federation for Industrial  
Retention and Renewal  
3411 W. Diversey Ave. #10,  
Chicago, IL 60647  
312-252-7676

Indigenous Environmental  
Network  
PO Box 485  
Bemidji MN 56601

**Int'l** Brotherhood of  
Electrical Workers  
P.O. Box 552  
Willernie, MN 55090  
612-426-4316

Minnesota Jobs with Peace  
Campaign  
1929 S 5th St.  
Minneapolis, MN 55454  
612-338-7955

St. Louis Economic  
Conversion Project  
438 N. Skinker Blvd.  
St. Louis, MO 63130  
314-726-6406

Sustainable Economic  
Development  
1723 6th St. S.  
S. Fargo, ND 58103  
701-232-2164

## NORTHEAST

A Call to Action  
186 Hampshire St.  
Cambridge, MA 02139  
617-547-4474

Community Coalition for  
Economic Conversion  
P.O. Box 1093  
Norwich, CT 06360  
203-889-5337  
Connecticut Peace Action  
55 Van Dyke Ave.  
Hartford CT 06106  
203-522-7661

Maine Economic  
Conversion Project  
P.O. Box 676  
Portland, ME 04104  
207-781-3947

## Resources

- MA Peace Action**  
11 Garden St.  
Cambridge MA 02138  
703-354-2169
- Mass. Working Group on Economic Conversion,**  
11 Rambler Rd.  
Jamaica Plain MA 02130  
617-524-8185
- Maine Economic Conversion Project,**  
P.O. Box 676  
Portland, ME 04104  
202-781-3947
- WE-CAN**  
63 Taylor St.  
Holyoke MA 01040  
413-533-5131
- EAST COAST AFL-CIO, Industrial Union Department,**  
815 16th St. N.W. Rm. 301,  
Washington, DC 20006  
202-842-7842
- Americans for Democratic Action**  
1625 K St. NW Ste. 210  
Washington, DC 20006  
202-785-5980
- Business Executives for National Security**  
1615 L St. NW, Ste. 330  
Washington, DC 20004  
202-296-2125
- Center for Economic Organization**  
1522 K St. #406  
Washington DC 20005  
202-775-9072
- Economists Allied for Arms Reduction**  
70 W. St.  
NY, NY 10018  
212-768-2080
- Economic Working Group**  
3407 34th Place NW  
Washington, DC 20016  
202-244-8566
- Grassroots Policy Project**  
1875 Connecticut Ave. NW#710  
Washington, DC 20009  
202-387-2933
- International Association of Machinists**  
9000 Machinist Place  
Upper Marlboro, MD 20772  
301-967-4704
- Long Island Economic Conversion Task Force**  
38 Old Country Rd.  
Garden City, NY 11530  
516-741-4360
- National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament**  
1828 Jefferson Place NW  
Washington DC 20036  
202-728-0815
- Nat'l Congress for Community Economic Development**  
1875 Connecticut Ave. NW,  
Washington, DC 20009  
202-234-5009
- National Council for Urban Economic Development**  
1730 K St., NW., # 915  
Washington, DC 20006  
202-223-4735
- NETWORK: National Catholic Social Justice Lobby**  
806 Rhode Island, N.E.  
Washington, DC 2001  
202-526-4070
- Peace Action**  
1819 H St. NW, #640  
Washington, DC 20006  
202-862-9740
- Peace Action of Delaware Valley**  
6355 Lancaster Ave., A-10,  
Philadelphia, PA 19151  
215-387-5773
- Peace Economy Campaign**  
1819 H St. NW  
Washington, DC 20006  
202-862-9740
- Pennsylvania Jobs With Peace**  
321 Willings Alley  
Philadelphia, PA 19106  
215-925-5667
- Philadelphia Jobs With Peace**  
1809 Spring Gardens St.  
Philadelphia, PA 19106  
215-751-9933.
- Philadelphia Peace Campaign**  
227 Summit Ave.  
Jenkintown, PA 19046  
215-884-3829
- Physicians for Social Responsibility**  
1000 16th St. NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
202-898-0150
- Project on Demilitarization and Democracy**  
1601 Connecticut Ave. NW,  
Washington, DC 20009  
202-319-7190
- Project on Regional Industrial Economy, Rutgers University**  
Lucy Stone Hall, B119  
New Brunswick, NJ 08903  
908-932-4587
- United Methodist Board of Church and Society**  
100 Maryland Ave., NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
202-488-5645
- Workplace Economic Conversion Action Network**  
1775 K St., Ste. 630  
Washington DC 20006  
202-833-7915
- BOOKS**
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## Editor's Notes

ing principle besides national military defense; and 2) to develop the leadership to forge the way. Clearly, there is a real need to rethink the objectives of conversion in terms of the real social, economic, and environmental factors that continue to shape our institutions, economic life, and the dynamics of our communities in the long-term.

In an effort to find this vision and the steps necessary to achieve it, we start first with history. A critical view of our development as a nation and as communities, shows us how our livelihoods and lifestyles are related to the well-established economic and political context defined by national defense and militarization. In order to create new directions, we need to know where we came from.

We must also understand the long-standing relationship between the military and our low-income, working class and communities of color if we are to design conversion agendas which indeed revitalize our communities. We should know about the hypocritical legal doctrines that rationalized theft of Indian lands east of the Mississippi, doctrines which emerged in the peace time conversion program after the American Revolutionary War. We should know about the decade long resistance of the Seminole people against military aggressors from the North, and the Trail of Tears which followed the uprooting of the Cherokee people from Georgia and Tennessee. We should remember that the conversion of the U.S. economy after the Mexican American War not only robbed the Chicano and indigenous people of land and water rights in the Southwest, it also paved the way for the sectional dispute between the North and South over the future of slavery in the United States. We should remember the economic conversion program, called "reconstruction," after the Civil War, and the legacy of this conversion on African and Native Americans in the South and West. We should acknowledge the paradoxes and contributions of the Buffalo Soldiers, as well as the Spanish and Mexican troops who were stationed at the Presidio in San Francisco.

We must also remember and understand the events surrounding the explosions on Suisun Bay at Port Chicago

Naval Magazine where over 300 men died and 390 were wounded in the deadliest domestic disaster of World War II which accounted for 15 percent of all African American deaths in the Navy during World War II. Two hundred and fifty African American sailors refused to return to the unsafe

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***With this history in mind,  
we see differently, the immigrant peoples who now  
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working conditions; 50 were charged with mutiny and found guilty by a court-martial conducted by white officers. Though the Defense Department has come to recognize over 50 years the racist injustice, the court-martial and the convictions continue to stand.

We must recognize that the Western Addition neighborhood in San Francisco is rich in Japanese-American as well as African-American history, because of the forced military evacuation of the Japanese from the West Coast in World War II and the migration of Blacks from the South to help in the war effort. We should remember the inevitable personal conflict of the men and women of color who fought in American wars while their families were segregated into separate schools, buses, and concentration camps. With this history in mind, we see differently the immigrant peoples who now carve out a life in the very country that supported the militarization and conflict in their home countries.

We should remember that many of the economic and political structures directing the conversion debate involve the entities which are the cause of the problems we are trying to address. Corporate interests who benefited from wartime production during World War II continue to reap the benefits of public federal contracts to clean-up the military facilities that they helped to develop. Billions of federal conversion dollars are

being spent to encourage the transfer of technologies into the commercial marketplace via private firms. This has resulted in new patterns of public subsidies directed toward private commercial activities. Ordinary people are left shaking their heads, wondering when the peace dividend will reach them. There is a real need to recognize that conversion applies not only to facilities and economic activities, but also to making systemic changes in how our institutions function.

These histories are at the core of conversion and are the starting point for any shared strategy or agenda for conversion. Within these stories, we find that issues of race and class are common denominators, not only as unifying themes but also as reasons for policies and programs that have created the economic, political and social dislocation in our communities today. We argue that there must be an honest acknowledgment of these histories in order to understand any of the issues in our communities and to establish any agenda for conversion and social change that will address these issues. Beyond a common conversion framework and agenda, we also need the leadership to move us in the right direction.

It is clear that new leaders and new styles of leadership will be necessary to take this conversion movement down a path toward equity, justice, security, and long-term sustainability. While this new leadership will have had less direct experience with the military, they will be steeped in the violence and conflict of many of our cities. These leaders will have been born too late to remember the Vietnam War but will remember vividly the conditions of war in the streets of Los Angeles and in New York City where armed forces decorated in blue and other colors of gangs take up military tactics to gain respect and order. They will know that more young black males lose their lives nationwide to homicide every year than they did during the entire Vietnam conflict. There will be those who will look back and recall having to stay at home from school because of ethnic conflict and fear of guns or remember how much easier it was to buy guns, drugs and liquor on the corners in our

## Editor's Notes

neighborhoods that should instead be occupied by grocery stores or health clinics. We think they'll be well prepared.

Compiling the articles for this issue of *Race, Poverty and the Environment* reconfirmed that there is a wealth of vision and leadership existing within our own communities. There were moments of simultaneous feelings of outrage, solidarity, and hope when we found stories of people of color in this country as well as around the world, who are forced to serve in military conflict, subjugate their local culture to that of a foreign military, and abandon their homelands. The articles that we've included describe the relationship between our communities and the military and defense-related activities which have shaped the human and physical dimensions of these communities.

The articles set a context for conversion and provide us with approaches and models. At the core of any discussions of land, communities, and conversion, are the stories of the indigenous peoples. Bernie Whitebear and Roy Takumi raise critical issues of indigenous peoples and their relationship with federal property, their ongoing struggle for self-determination and land rights. An article by Congressman Ron Dellums sets a post-Cold War context for community revitalization by illustrating the relationship of militarism and political, economic and social movements.

Several of these articles address the impact of our U.S. military forces abroad, illustrating the long reach of U.S. military and cultural influence. Birgit Neuer, a researcher with the University of Freiburg, worked with UHP for six months and provides the European perspective of the U.S. military in Germany following World War II. Suzuyo Takazato gives us a native Okinawan perspective. Winona LaDuke provides a Native American feminist perspective of militarization and the environment.

Struggles by communities living in the shadow of national laboratories are described in articles by Marylia Kelley and Juan Montes, showing the relationship between the working class and

Latino/Native communities in Livermore, California and Los Alamos, New Mexico.

A recently published Urban Habitat Working Paper establishes a regional approach to assessing the impacts of military base closure and conversion on the "flatland" neighborhoods that border San Francisco Bay. The commonalities among base communities are also reflected in Jo Anne Wilkerson's article on the environmental justice and conversion struggle in Louisiana. Lauren Hallinan's article presents public policy and legislative interventions that translate conversion opportunities into mechanisms for capacity building within low-income communities. In an excerpt from *Dismantling the Cold War Economy*, Anne Markusen and Joel Yudken propose strategies for extracting our industrial

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***There are, and will be,  
many other stories to tell.  
The unfolding events in the  
Caribbean and Africa illustrate the role of post-cold war  
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base from the Defense Department toward a more sustainable future.

Taken together, these articles present strong arguments for using conversion efforts to further the principles established by the environmental justice movement. The clean-up of military facilities -- many of which are industrial facilities located in neighborhoods that are primarily low-income communities of color -- is an important first step to addressing the long-neglected public health issues caused by unremediated toxics in these neighborhoods. The conversion of our military-dependent industries provides additional opportunities to create jobs for the under and unemployed, ensuring that workers have safe and democratic workplaces and secure and well-paying jobs. Because of the challenges faced by our communities of color, indigenous leadership has two primary responsibilities: 1) to utilize the resources and opportunities presented by conversion to meet some critical needs in our communities; and 2) to define the

terms of the conversion debate.

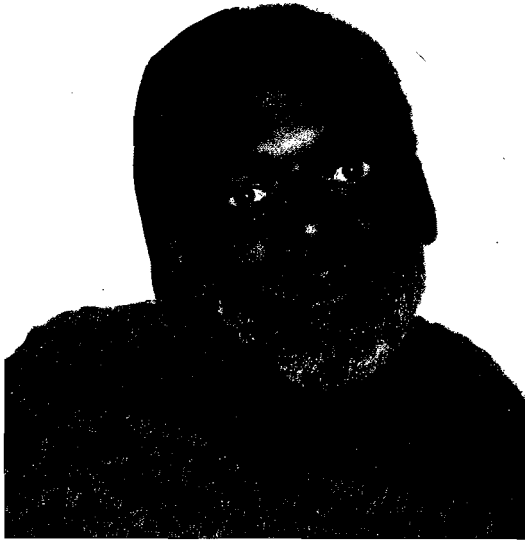
There are, and will be, many other stories to tell. The unfolding events in the Caribbean and Africa illustrate the role of post-cold war militarization. The lessons of Port Chicago have gone unlearned as the Navy and the Defense Department continue to operate under their own set of codes that discriminate against gays and fail to deal with sex-related scandals. The defense conversion underway in local communities will illustrate, we hope, social change and revitalization against the backdrop of one of the oldest and entrenched institutions in the nation.

We hope that this issue of RPE captures the stories and struggles of communities as they continue their fight for survival and self-determination on this new front. Without the deliberate articulation of these perspectives, economic conversion strategies will fail to address the deep structural issues which have divided our communities by class and by race. Along with many of our allies in the environment, peace, and social justice movements, we recognize the conversion movement as to address these issues and develop strategies for restoring our communities and our environment.

Special thanks must be directed to participants in the Presidio Community Consultation Initiative, our collaborators on the Bay Area Base Conversion Project (Center for Economic Conversion and the Arms Control Research Project) and the National Economic Conversion Alliance. Thanks too, to the staffs of the East Bay Conversion and Reinvestment Commission, Office of Representative Ron Dellums, and the Urban Habitat Program, as well as Nereo Loresto, a student at Sonoma State University, working with UHP this summer as a Irvine Foundation I SEAC fellow.

**-- Martha Matsuoka**

*Martha Matsuoka is the Director of the Urban Habitat Program's Economic Conversion Project.*



## CHAPPELL ROLAND HAYES

August 5, 1948 — January 24, 1994

As a West Oakland resident and fourth generation wood craftsman, Chappell took responsibility for training and providing jobs for youth through a non-profit organization he founded, called the Dowelling Jig. Other efforts in West Oakland included assuring funds were designated for curbs and sidewalks, stopping the shipment of radioactive nuclear spent

fuel rods from the Port through the community, and promoting a less expensive routing for the rebuilding of the Cypress freeway that would not take homes and businesses and further endanger the health of nearby residents. His dream was for quality of life in all communities no matter what the race or economic standing of the people. He planted many seeds for sustainable economic development which his friends and neighbors plan to bring to fruition.

Regionally, Chappell led the effort to change Oakland's election date which brought opportunity for new leadership to the City Council. As Vice President of GeoNodes, Inc., a political consulting firm, he managed and advised successful campaigns for progressive candidates. He fought against badly conceived development projects including the INS Detention Center in West Oakland. As the first African-American on the Executive Committee of the Sierra Club Bay Chapter, he promoted a holistic view of the environment which included urban health and poverty issues.

Chappell's outreaching warmth, his smile, deep resonating voice, and love of all people will be sorely missed. His roots were also Native American (Choctaw, Cherokee and Tarheel) from which he drew great spiritual and environmental understanding. He launched his 12 year old daughter, Sele Nadel-Hayes, to be disciplined and proud. He inspired his wife to reach farther than she ever dreamed she could. Chappell's soaring spirit will lead many to continue their work for social and environmental justice.

***Race, Poverty & the Environment***  
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# URBAN HABITAT Update: Community-Based Transportation **Ianni**

UHP's extensive work this past year on economic conversion is well-documented in this special issue. Our Social and Ecological Justice Transportation Project is making strides as well. We spent the past year working with community activists in the Bayview Hunters Point area of San Francisco to design a transit proposal that would serve the community, maximize job/income opportunities, provide transportation, promote energy efficiency, protect the environment, and be feasible enough to be accepted by city authorities.

The Bayview Hunters Point Social and Ecological Justice Transportation Plan was finished a few months ago. It is a proposal for light rail, employing low floor vehicles, stations every 2-3 blocks, connected to future subway extensions and other existing transit. It carries with it an economic development strategy for the area. One component of the plan is to relocate the Metro East Rail Yard facility to the abandoned Ship Yard at Hunters Point, increasing job opportunities for this low-income, community of color.

The transit alternative designed by the community has already won acceptance from city and regional transit officials. It has also achieved national recognition as a model of bottom-up transit planning that includes economic development and land use issues. EPA and the Surface Transportation Policy Project chose it as one of the first case studies in its "Mobility Partners Program." In the coming two years, UHP will continue to work with the community to win implementation of the plan.

*To order a copy of the BVHP Transportation Study, send \$12 to UHP, Earth Island, 300 Broadway, Suite 28, San Francisco, CA 94133.*

# CRLA Update: Center on Race, Poverty & the Environment

In the past six months, CRPE has kept busy providing direct legal and technical assistance to low-income communities fighting environmental hazards in California and providing training and consultation to legal services and other attorneys throughout the country.

In Buttonwillow, California, a Latino farmworker community is fighting expansion of a toxic waste dump. *Padres Hacia Una Vida Mejor* (Parents for Better Living), working with CRPE, generated more than 200 letters of comment on the dump's Environmental Impact Report (EIR). This is the largest number of comments ever received by the local Kern County agency and all were in Spanish. *Padres* continues to push for the right to full inclusion, building on the successful model of Kettleman City, just an hour up the road. *Padres* recently succeeded in convincing the Local Assessment Committee to defy the Board of Supervisors and vote to translate the EIR into Spanish.

In Salinas, activity is also heating up. The state toxics department recently issued a permit for a toxic waste recycling facility just one block from a farmworker housing complex, over strong local protest. CRPE provided technical and legal expertise to the group — *Residents of Sanborn Court* — and will assist in the group's appeal of the permit. In July, our long-running struggle on behalf of Concerned Citizens of Malaga won a victory when a Superior Court Judge ruled that a local auto speedway complex could not be built next to the farmworker community of Malaga without an EIR.

*We can be reached at our new office at 631 Howard Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, CA 94105. 415/777-2752.*

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