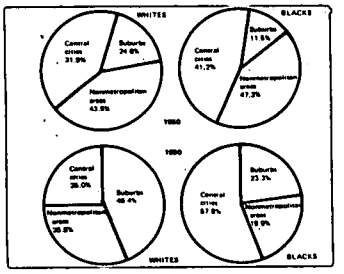
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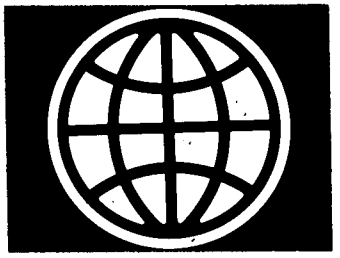
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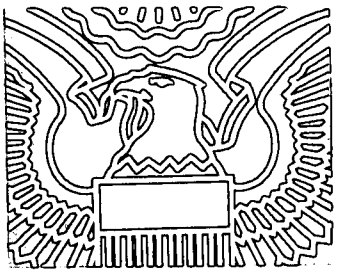
JCPS findings on blacks in central cities, suburbs



Colbert King, former World Bank official, reviews the Bank's first year under President A. W. Clausen



Congressman George W. Crockett calls for more minorities and women in top State Department posts



Plus, introducing

JCPS Conference Report Number 1: *Blacks and the Military*

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

Now is the time for blacks to seek new allies and to develop new coalitions. Clearly we must expand our horizons beyond narrowly defined interests. We may be hurt first and worst by bad policies, but an awful lot of white people are also threatened. For example, blacks may be disproportionately affected by cuts in food stamps, but numerically more whites are affected. So, too, are farmers and businessmen, most of whom are white.

Because a great proportion of blacks in this country—34 percent, according to the most recent Census Bureau figures—remain trapped in poverty, a broad range of federal and state policies have unique effects on blacks. Social programs are by no means the only examples. Because unemployment among black youth is so high, for instance, the economic incentives of the All Volunteer Force are especially attractive, and today, over 33 percent of Army enlisted personnel are black, although blacks make up only 12 percent of the population as a whole. Thus blacks have a particular stake in America's defense policies.

But many of the programs that impinge on blacks with special force have also become a concern to other groups. In areas where these groups come down on the same side as blacks, cooperation can serve the interests of all involved.

This is the time, then, to explore common concerns and strategies with such groups. Take the women's movement, for example. The battle over the ERA has helped politicize masses of women in all parts of the country, and they have vowed not to get mad but to get even. They have targeted political figures who are inimical to their interests, and, in many cases, these are the same individuals who have opposed black advancement every step of the way. I believe there is potential for a powerful alliance between blacks and women.

In this effort, black women must play a pivotal role. For a while, black women can afford to bypass the question of whether they are black first or female first and address a matter of practical politics: What issues unite blacks *and* women, and how can we turn them to our common political advantage? Let's not talk about what divides us; let's talk about how to achieve common objectives.

For understandable reasons, blacks often get totally involved in traditional civil rights issues such as voting rights and affirmative action. That is as it should be. But civil rights, after all, are and must be an integral part of every major policy issue that confronts this nation. To allow others to confine us to a narrow policy spectrum encourages them to do what they would really like to do, namely, ignore us a'together. Our interests are as broad as those of all other Americans.

We cannot afford to ignore any aspects of national life. We cannot speak convincingly about the dangers of racism if we remain aloof from or ignorant of economic and fiscal policies and their impact on employment and the survival of our cities. We oppose cuts in educational programs not only because of our interest in equal educational opportunity, but because education develops human capital as well as the human spirit. We will have something to say about our policies in the Middle East, since those policies send our tax dollars abroad and threaten our national security. When international trade policies restrict opportunities for black entrepreneurs or take jobs from Detroit, Cleveland, and other cities, we are affected directly and we ought to be involved in shaping those policies.

To the extent that black leaders speak out insightfully about the full range of implications of various conditions and policies, they can broaden their constituency and reinforce their own political clout. Blacks have shown that they can be a forceful minority. In league with others with common interests, they can wield the power of a working majority.

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Black Metropolitan Migration Trends

(The following article is based on a report to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development prepared by William P. O'Hare, senior research associate at the Joint Center; Roy Chatterjee, staff analyst; and Margaret Shukur, research assistant.)

The Joint Center for Political Studies recently completed the second part of a three-part study on *Blacks, Demographic Change, and Public Policy* (see *Focus* April 1982 for a report on the first section). This part of the study focuses on recent population redistribution within metropolitan areas. It confirms some widely held impressions—e.g., that the central cities are becoming both poorer and blacker—but challenges some others—e.g., that the increasing proportion of blacks in the suburbs means that blacks are becoming integrated with the white middle class. The study also uncovers some noteworthy regional differences in black population distribution.

Blacks in Metropolitan Areas

In 1950, 52.7 percent of all blacks were located in metropolitan areas, compared to 56.4 percent of all whites. By 1980, the percentage of the black population residing in metropolitan areas had risen to 81.1 percent, compared to 73.3 percent of the white population. *(Metropolitan areas—SMSAs—*include one or more *central cities* and the surrounding counties that are economically and socially tied to those cities. The non-central city portions of metropolitan areas are referred to as *suburbs.*)

The primary reason for this reversal has been the differing migration trends among blacks and whites. Between 1970 and 1980, there was a net movement of 2.9 million people—mostly whites—from metropolitan areas to nonmetropolitan areas. Among blacks, however, there was a net migration *to* metropolitan areas of 254,000.

While the total movement of blacks from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan areas remained relatively constant during the 1970s, over the course of the decade, more blacks began to move to the suburbs and fewer to the *central* cities. In the 1970s, the black population in the suburbs of U.S. metropolitan areas increased by almost 2.5 million. This represented a 70 percent increase in the black suburban population, while the black central-city population grew by only 16.4 percent.

Over half of the total increase in black metropolitan population during the 1970s occurred in metropolitan areas with populations over one million. Thus blacks continue to move to the largest metropolitan areas, where they have been concentrated for many years. In 1980, 41.5 percent of the black metropolitan population lived in 10 of the largest metropolitan areas.

The new movement of blacks from North to South has not changed the metropolitan orientation of blacks. Almost half the total increase in black metropolitan population occurred in the South.

Central Cities

In 1950, 1 out of every 8 central-city residents was black; in 1980, 1 out of every 4 was black.

But while the proportion of the central-city population that is black continued to increase during the 1970s, the trend was due more to whites leaving and to natural increase (births minus deaths) than to blacks entering. In fact, the central cities had a net out-migration of 682,000 blacks in the 1970s, and the rate of out-migration accelerated over the decade.

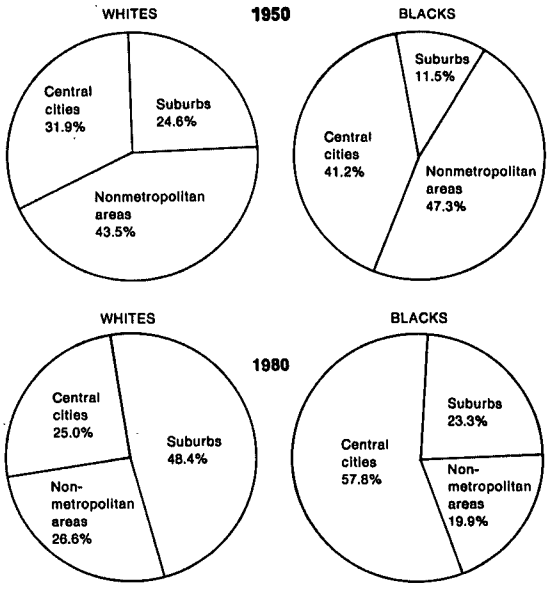
In general, people who migrate tend to be more affluent than those who do not. Black migration from central cities is thus a selective process, which leaves behind those individuals least able to provide for themselves. As relatively better-off blacks have moved to the suburbs, the income level of the black central-city population has declined, both in real dollar terms and in relation to the income of blacks in suburbs. Black median income in the central cities declined by 13.9 percent from 1969 to 1979 (in 1979 dollars), while median family income for blacks in suburbs was 9.1 percent higher in 1979 than in 1969. The proportion of the blacks in central cities living below the poverty line increased from 26 percent to 32 percent between 1970 and 1980.

But another change has compounded the problems of those remaining in the central cities. Shifts in the location of employers and in the occupational structure have dramatically reduced opportunities to enter the labor force at low levels and move up through hard work. Heavy manufacturing has been moving out of the central cities, leaving dead-end service jobs on the one hand and positions requiring a college education or other specialized training on the other. As a result, there is a large and growing gap between the poor and professional sectors of central-city populations, particu'arly in older industrial centers, and this gap manifests itself as a racial gap.

As the prospects for economic mobility among the low-income population have been significantly lowered, this group's geographic mobility has been

(Continued on page 4)

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION



. . . Black Migration Trends

(Continued from page 3)

reduced as well. This combination of factors has led to the term "underclass" in reference to low-income, disproportionately minority populations in large central cities.

Black Suburbanization

During the 20 years prior to 1970, the proportion of the suburban population that was black stayed fairly constant, at about 4.7 percent. From 1970 to 1980, however, there was a significant jump, to 6.1 percent. Most of the black migrants to the suburbs came from the central cities.

Black suburbanization varied a great deal across regions. In absolute terms, about 47 percent of all black suburban growth during the 1970s took place in the South—not surprisingly, since in 1970 over 50 percent of suburban blacks lived in the South.

But while the South experienced a larger volume of black suburbanization than any other region, the increases in the West and North Central regions were more significant in percentage terms. The North Central region experienced an increase of 58.3 percent in black suburban population during the 1970s; the West, a 69 percent increase. The black suburban population of the South grew by 37.8 percent; that of the Northeast, by 33.6 percent.

In the North, blacks have been especially heavily concentrated in large SMSAs, and the growth in the black suburban population in that part of the country took place almost entirely in the largest metropolitan areas. In the South, the black population has been spread through a wider range of locales; in keeping with this pattern, medium-sized and smaller southern SMSAs, as well as larger ones, showed moderate black suburban growth.

Likewise, some of the black suburban population in the South may be different from northern black suburban populations. Because counties are the basic building blocks of SMSAs, some portions of counties classified as suburban are in fact rural areas far from urban centers. Unlike what are generally thought of as suburbs, these areas are not closely linked economically or socially to urban centers, and they often have an agricultural base. In the South, but not in the North, many of these "metro-rural" areas have long had a substantial number of black residents.

The increased presence of blacks in the suburbs during the 1970s has been heralded by the news media as a sign that racial barriers in housing are breaking down and that the "growing black middle class" is relocating to the suburbs. Yet the evidence suggests that many of the new black residents of the suburbs have moved not to predominately white parts of the suburbs, but to "spillover" areas—extensions of predominately black city neighborhoods in suburban counties.

Blacks moving from the central cities to the suburbs do tend to be better off than blacks who remain in the central cities, and thus the spillover sections are often somewhat higher on the economic ladder than central cities. Nevertheless, suburbanization has meant neither a change in the socioeconomic status of blacks relative to whites nor widespread racial integration.

The increase in the black suburban population, then, should not lead to the conclusion that residential segregation by race has ended and that there is no need for government programs in this area. Fair housing legislation, housing assistance, economic and community development, and other programs in this area have not lost any of their importance because of the increase in the suburban black population.

Migration in the United States, 1970-1980 (in thousands of individuals).

	Total	Black
Central Cities		
In-Migrants	12,878	1,461
Out-Migrants	26,242	2,143
Net Migration	−13,364	−682
Suburbs		
In-Migrants	26,360	1,950
Out-Migrants	15,936	1,013
Net Migration	+10,424	+937
Nonmetropolitan Areas		
In-Migrants	14,058	678
Out-Migrants	11,120	932
Net Migration	+ 2,938	−254

SOURCE: Data from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 368, *Geographical Mobility: March 1975 to March 1980*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1981.

The JCPS Demographic Project

The Joint Center's demographic study as a whole has two objectives: to develop a comprehensive portrayal of black migration trends in the United States within the context of overall migration trends, and to examine how these trends affect and are affected by public policies at various levels of government. The first part of the three-part study examined historical, regional, and state-level migration trends and developed and tested a model for explaining net migration by state. The second part, discussed here, examines recent population redistribution trends within metropolitan areas; it is being supplemented by case studies of five metropolitan areas.

The third part of the study will examine policy implications of recent black demographic trends. The centerpiece of this segment will be a conference on *Blacks, Demographic Change, and Public Policy,* to be held in Washington, D.C., on September 16-17, 1982. Opening remarks will be delivered by E. S. Savas, assistant secretary for policy development and research at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; other presentations will be made by prominent experts in public policy analysis. For further information, please write to William O'Hare at the Joint Center.

The demographic project is funded by grants from the Office of Policy Development and Research of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Ford Foundation.

Joint Center For Political Studies

JCPS Conference Report **Number 1, August 1982**

Blacks and the Military

"Today's military is not representative of the society it defends," argued Charles Moskos, professor of sociology at Northwestern University. Moskos pointed to the rising proportion of blacks in the armed forces as a sign that the All Volunteer Force is not a good way to maintain the military.

"Representativeness is not the issue," responded Lawrence Korb, assistant secretary of defense for manpower. "The real issue is readiness. By that criterion, the AVF is as effective as the draft military."

Maudine Cooper, vice-president of the National Urban League, agreed in part with Korb. "We shouldn't be bothered by the number of blacks who join the armed services," she said, "as long as they do it voluntarily." However, Cooper hastened to add, "The real problem is that the society doesn't give black teenagers any viable options."

This was one of many provocative exchanges that took place during a recent symposium on "Blacks and the Military," cosponsored by the Joint Center for Political Studies and the Johnson Foundation of Racine, Wisconsin.

Since the creation of the All Volunteer Force in 1973, blacks have come to comprise approximately 20 percent of all active-duty military personnel, while they comprise only 12 percent of the U.S. population (see Table 1). This fact has become a major issue in the debate over the All Volunteer Force. Moreover, black servicemen and women are not equally distributed among the military branches, ranks, or occupational specialties. For example, approximately 33 percent of Army enlisted personnel are black, while only 12 percent of Navy enlisted personnel are black (see Table 2). Blacks are heavily represented in combat specialties but underrepresented in some of the technical specialties (Table 3). More than 40 percent of the soldiers in some "front-line" units, such as the Second Division in Korea, are black.

The discussion of racial representation in the military crystallized some of the most pressing moral and public policy questions confronting the nation: unemployment, equal educational opportunity, a draft versus a volunteer force, the role of women in the armed forces, the nature of the nation's defense needs, distributing the burden of combat, and the implications of armed conflict.

This last issue provided a starting point for the symposium. Several participants expressed concern about recent U.S. "saber rattling," and the possibility that blacks would play a major role in any U.S. armed conflict. According to a study published recently by the Brookings Institution *(Blacks and the Military,* by Martin Binkin, et al.), blacks would sustain 30 to 50 percent of the initial U.S. casualties suffered in ground conflict.

With this report, the Joint Center initiates a series of Conference Reports, *which present digests of the center's public policy forums and other conferences. This first issue was prepared by Edwin Dorn, senior research associate and assistant to the president at the center. The proceedings of the symposium described here will be published in the fall. The Joint Center gratefully acknowledges the support of the Ford, Johnson, and Rockefeller foundations for this symposium.*



Left to right: D. R. Butler, Roger Wilkins, Brenda Moore, Robert Fullinwider, Maudine Cooper, Milton D. Morris, Lawrence J. Korb, Eddie N. Williams, McGeorge Bundy



Milton D. Morris, Lawrence J. Korb

McGeorge Bundy, who served as national security advisor to the president from 1961 to 1966 and is now a professor of history at New York University, offered his assessment of the current U.S. military posture: "Despite all the cold war rhetoric and talk of a massive military buildup," Bundy said, "I think *less* is happening than meets the eye." Bundy pointed out that the Reagan administration probably would increase defense spending by 4 to 7 percent, allowing for inflation. "That magnitude of increase is not as dramatic as some of the rhetoric would lead us to believe," he argued.

Nor did Bundy see a major escalation of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. "Our government is more interested in selling grain to the Russians than in confronting them," he said. "The current nuclear balance is viewed as stable by both sides." While "living by thermonuclear deterrence is a dangerous means of survival," any change will take time.

Assistant Secretary Korb took issue with Bundy's assessment of the U.S. military buildup. "We're increasing defense spending from 5 percent of GNP to 7 percent of GNP," Korb said, referring to the administration's plan to spend $1.3 to 1.6 trillion on defense over five years. "That is a significant improvement." But Korb acknowledged that some reports on the size of the personnel buildup were indeed misleading. While it is true that approximately 300,000 people will be added over the next few years, most of that increase will be in the reserve forces. Only about 35,000 active duty personnel will be added to the Army, and the Army is the largest of the services.

JCPS Conference Report, Number 1

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The Objections to the AVF

Korb listed the major objections that are made to the All Volunteer Force: that it is too black, too female, too dumb, and too expensive. Thes objections became major points of discussion at the forum.

• *Is the AVF too black?* Korb believes the concern should be about combat readiness, not race. Korb and other experts at the symposium explained that blacks enlist and reenlist at higher rates than whites because the military offers opportunities to black youth that are not available in the civilian economy. The high rate of unemployment among black youth makes joining the military "economically rational." Korb said the rate of growth in the proportion of blacks is leveling off.

In his formal remarks, Korb stated that "neither our allies nor our adversaries care much about the social composition of the U.S. forces." When pressed about the attitudes of the NATO allies, however, Korb conceded that some people in the NATO countries had raised the race issue with him privately. "Some people are concerned," he said, "especially in the continental nations. They want us to return to conscription, and part of the reason is that they think there are too many blacks." John Butler, professor of sociology at the University of Texas in Austin, responded, "If they don't want black Americans, they can always have white Russians." According to Korb, the Reagan administration has insisted that the quality of U.S. forces is as strong now as it has ever been, even with conscription.

• *Is the AVF too female?* Women have increased from 1.5 percent of military personnel in 1972 to 9 percent in 1982. Korb said that the increase had occurred with no decline in military efficiency. "Women are sick more often than men, but men are drunk and disorderly more often than women. So absences from duty tend to average out."

One of the most intriguing pieces of data was reported by Dr. Cynthia Enloe, professor of political science at Clark University in Massachusetts: As of 1981, 42 percent of all enlisted women in the Army were black. Overall, 27.7 percent of enlisted women and 10.7 percent of female officers are black. Like black men, black women tend to reenlist at higher rates than their white counterparts.

• *Is the AVF too dumb?* A study published recently by the Pentagon, *Profile of American Youth,* found that military

Table 1. Blacks as a percentage of all officers and enlisted personnel in the U.S. military, 1971 and 1981.

	1971		1981	
	Enlisted	Officer	Enlisted	Officer
Males	11.4% (262,295)	2.9% (7,103)	21.6% (352,348)	4.9% (12,017)
Females	14.4% (4,236)	3.3% (428)	27.7% (45,056)	10.7% (2,552)

SOURCE: Adapted from D. R. Butler, "Equal Opportunity Policy and Practice," paper presented at symposium on Blacks and the Military, June 1982.

enlistees compare favorably with their civilian counterparts in scores on a standardized vocational aptitude test.

The study also revealed that blacks continue to score lower than whites on the test. Dr. Elsie Moore, assistant professor of education at Arizona State University, noted that the test results demonstrate continuing problems in the training and experience provided to black youth, especially in the scientific and technical fields.

Although they have lower test scores, black enlisted personnel have higher educational attainment levels, on average, than their white counterparts. According to data presented by Dr. Alvin Schexnider, professor of political science at Virginia Commonwealth University and a coauthor of the Brookings study, 90.6 percent of blacks recruited into the Army in 1981 had completed high school, compared with 76.3 percent of whites. This is a reversal from a decade earlier, when white recruits were better educated than blacks. This difference in educational levels has led to the claim that "the AVF is attracting the best of the nation's black youth and the worst of the nation's white youth."

Scores on the Armed Forces Qualification Test help to determine an enlistee's military occupational specialty. It is partly because blacks have lower scores on these tests that they tend to be overrepresented in combat, combat support, and clerical specialties and underrepresented in the more technical jobs. But Schexnider cautioned against attributing these results solely to the test scores or to racial discrimination. "There are other factors," he claimed, including what he called the "macho factor": blacks volunteer in large numbers for "elite" combat units such as Airborne and Ranger. There are also financial incentives for joining high-risk units.

• *Is the AVF too expensive?* Increases in military pay actually began in the late 1960s, when former Representative Mendel Rivers (D-SC) introduced an amendment requiring that military personnel receive pay roughly comparable to that of their civilian counterparts. Korb supports that practice: "We must pay careerists a competitive wage."

Representative Les Aspin (D-WI), a member of the House Armed Services Committee, agreed with Korb on the matter of compensation. "It's simply a matter of equity," Aspin said. "You shouldn't have to pay a truck driver in the Army less than he could receive for driving a truck in civilian life." But Aspin admitted that the pay issue is a source of discomfiture for many people, including some of his colleagues in Congress. "It bothers people to pay for military service at market rates. They think that defending the nation should be more than just another job."



McGeorge Bundy



Les Aspin

Aspin and Korb also agreed that the AVF is here to stay. However, while Korb appeared enthusiastic about the volunteer force concept, Aspin saw it simply as the "least worst" alternative. "It isn't perfect, but it's preferable to the draft," he said. Korb pointed out that reverting to the draft would not reduce the percentages of blacks substantially, because with existing financial incentives, the vast majority of enlistees still would be volunteers. Aspin added that the draft also would not be cheaper than the AVF: "The only way to make it cheaper would be to reduce pay. If you do that, you're exposing draftees to a doubly inequitable arrangement—involuntary service plus low pay."

Table 2. Blacks as a percentage of the U.S. armed forces, by service, 1981.

	Enlisted	Officer
Army	33.2%	7.8%
Navy	12.0%	2.7%
Marines	22.0%	4.0%
Air Force	16.5%	4.8%

SOURCE: Adapted from Alvin Schexnider, "Blacks In The Armed Services: Current Representation and Statistical Trends," paper presented at symposium on Blacks and the Military, June 1982.

The Distribution of Blacks Within the Armed Forces

During a discussion of the Defense Department's equal opportunity policy, Colonel D. R. Butler, a staff member of the Defense Department's equal opportunity office, stated that the overall representation of blacks in the military is not a matter of concern in the Pentagon. The department, he said, is concerned with addressing more specific matters such as increasing the number of black officers, retaining black field-grade officers, and ensuring that blacks are distributed more equally among the various military occupational specialties.

Korb suggested that the military could do relatively little to correct the underrepresentation of blacks in the officer corps. Since officers are college graduates, he argued, the services cannot increase the number of black officers significantly unless colleges begin to produce more black graduates. Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center, proposed another approach: "The military should consider selecting more officers from among the blacks who are in the noncommissioned officer ranks."

Colonel Butler reported that historically black colleges were the source of approximately half of the 14,000 black officers on active duty today. Korb mentioned, however, that a majority of black students today are attending predominantly white universities, and some of the predominantly white schools that dropped ROTC in the late 1960s are beginning to offer it again. How these changes will affect the future supply of black officers is unclear.

The Controversies

The overall composition of the armed forces was very troublesome to many of the forum participants. McGeorge Bundy, Charles Moskos, and Roger Wilkins, senior fellow at the Joint Center, were particularly concerned about the underrepresentation of middle-class youth. Moskos pointed out that during the 1950s, approximately 80 percent of eligible males participated in the military. He and Wilkins then argued that the military experience produced a sense of national commitment in youth, and that today's middle-class youth were failing to gain that experience.

Dr. Enloe, warning against "romanticizing the effects of military service," pointed out that very few women had served in the military during the 1950s. "Women didn't experience the kind of 'communal bonding' that you claim results from military service, but that doesn't mean that women are any less community-minded."

Nevertheless, Wilkins persisted, some form of universal national service might be necessary to overcome the "selfishness" of middle-class youth. "These kids have no sense of national commitment," Wilkins said. "It's a very self-centered generation. National service may help."



D. R. Butler

Table 3. Percentage of all black enlisted men and all white enlisted men in designated occupational categories, 1981.

	White	Black
Infantry, Gun Crews, and Seamanship Specialists	13.9%	19.6%
Electric Equipment Repairmen	11.1	4.4
Communicators and Intelligence Specialists	8.8	9.2
Medical and Dental Specialists	3.6	4.5
Other Technical and Allied Specialists	2.4	0.1
Functional Support and Administration	12.1	20.5
Electrical/Mechanical Equipment Repairmen	22.9	17.1
Craftsmen	4.9	3.3
Service and Supply Handlers	8.2	12.3
Non-Occupational (training, etc.)	12.0	8.9

SOURCE: D. R. Butler, "Equal Opportunity Policy and Practice," paper presented at symposium on Blacks and the Military, June 1982.

The discussion of national service produced heated debate. Korb argued that national service would do more to provoke resentment than to instill a spirit of selflessness. As evidence, he pointed to reactions to the draft during the 1960s. Aspin insisted that universal national service would be "overkill." He pointed out that the military only needs a few hundred thousand recruits each year, while national service would include millions of teenagers. "What would you do with them?" he asked.

In his closing remarks, Eddie Williams emphasized that the symposium marked "the beginning, not the end, of the Joint Center's work in the area of defense policy." He outlined plans for a clearinghouse on military and manpower affairs, which is being funded by a grant from the Ford Foundation. Williams mentioned several of the items on the "preliminary agenda" for the clearinghouse, including ways to increase the number of black officers; special problems of black military families, such as discrimination in off-post housing; Defense Department contracts with minority-owned businesses; and ways in which high schools can better inform youth of the career and training options available in the armed services.

Citing a study which says that the military recruits 42 percent of the young black men who are qualified for military service, Williams said that "We have to consider, too, what happens to the black community when the armed forces absorb so many of our best and brightest young people." Williams concluded by saying that the black community must become more heavily involved in debates over "the uses to which our military will be put."

The World Bank under President Clausen

by Colbert I. King

(Mr. King is vice-president for the Middle East and Africa of the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D.C. He served as U.S. executive director to the World Bank from 1979 to 1981, and deputy assistant secretary of the Treasury Department during the Carter administration.)

The conventional wisdom around the World Bank is that while former President Robert S. McNamara was the right person to lead—and often push—the bank into an aggressive lending program during the dynamic growth period of the 1960s and 70s, new bank President A. W. Clausen, with a lifelong career in commercial banking at the Bank of America, is the right person to position the World Bank to meet the financial realities of the 80s. And, to be sure, since McNamara's departure on June 30, 1981, several key actions have been taken to maintain the bank's relatively strong financial position in the face of higher borrowing costs, adverse exchange rate movements, and generally volatile conditions in the international capital markets.

At the end of Clausen's first year, the interest rate charged by the bank had reached an all-time high. A front-end fee is now imposed on all World Bank commitments, and a new service charge has been added to the bank's loans through the International Development Association. A variable lending-rate policy has been adopted, ending over 40 years of exclusive fixed-rate lending, and the bank's traditional fixed-rate borrowing program has been amended to allow the bank to tap the capital markets for short-term or variable-rate funds.

These were not routine changes, and several members of the bank's board of executive directors, particularly those representing some of the poorest countries in the world, have expressed concern. Clausen's proposals, they argued, went too far too fast; the bank was overreacting to temporary economic conditions; it was taking on the trappings of a commercial bank rather than acting as a development institution; and the entire burden of halting the decline in the bank's net income was being placed unfairly on the backs of Third World borrowers.

But, in fact, many of the changes were inevitable. During the last few years of the McNamara era, McNamara himself and several executive directors (including myself) were calling attention to the potentially serious short- and medium-term financial problems confronting the bank and the need for measures to shore up confidence in the institution, not only in the international financial markets, but also among key contributors such as the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and Japan. The task fell to Clausen, and, in his first year in office, his actions were strong and direct.

The State of the Third World

What is not yet clear, however, is how the World Bank will help its own borrowing members, especially the poorest nations in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, cope with their deteriorating income prospects in the 1980s. For these nations also have been beset by recent adverse external developments: OPEC energy prices, high interest rates in international capital markets, a decline in western demand for Third World commodities, and a weakening of support for foreign aid.

In September 1980, the Carter administration forecast a gradually improving world economy hinged on several ifs. *If* the United States and western countries managed to avoid recessions or at least have mild ones, *if* OPEC kept up oil production or held down price increases, *if* developing countries managed to maintain their creditworthiness and continue commercial borrowings, then a global recession might be avoided and a moderate economic recovery might be possible in 1981.

But the economic growth rate in the industrial countries, expected to be 3 percent in 1981, actually slipped to a modest 1 percent, where it is likely to stay in 1982. The recession has been anything but mild.

The slowdown in industrial country growth brought on by the recession translates directly into smaller export markets and lower growth rates for the Third World. Last year, therefore, oil-importing developing countries achieved an average rate of growth of only 2½ percent, their lowest since the 1960s. Moreover, most fared worse than the average, falling below 2 percent in real growth, which is less than the rate of growth of their populations—a phenomenon not seen since World War II, according to the International Monetary Fund.

The current deficits of the African, Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean oil-importing nations substantially exceed the amounts forecast in 1980. In 1981, these nations staggered under a combined current account deficit of $100 billion, and a similar level is expected this year. Thus the oil-importing Third World nations are now using over 20 percent of their export earnings simply to service foreign debts.

The Kenyas and the Malawis of the world, already groaning under high oil bills, are also being hurt by the industrial countries' inflation-fighting policies. The combination of tight monetary policies and record budget deficits has led directly to sharp increases in interest rates on capital markets, adding billions of dollars to the debt service costs of developing countries.

Those Third World countries which are so poor that they are not creditworthy enough to borrow on the capital markets have been spared the high borrowing costs, but they are facing a retreat, led by the United States, on development assistance.

The World Bank provides such assistance through the International Development Association. IDA makes long-term, no-interest loans to the poorest countries in the world—where 2.2 billion people exist on annual per capita incomes below $700. Most of the eligible countries are in black Africa.

IDA is funded directly by contributions from the World Bank's wealthier members; thus it is in many ways an expression of the political will of the developed world. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that IDA, under assault in the United States in recent years, has sustained the greatest damage of all the World Bank's programs. As the *Wall Street Journal* observed earlier this year in an editorial

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. . . The World Bank

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on domestic programs, "the spending programs most closely identified with the poor have proved the easiest to cut."

The United States and the World Bank

The Treasury Department, in a report in February 1982, states that the World Bank and regional development banks "have been most effective in contributing to the achievement of our global economic and financial objectives"; that "the soft loan windows [IDA] are particularly effective in advancing U.S. humanitarian inerests"; that the banks "have served U.S. commercial interests well"; and that they "have served the U.S. institutional efficiency objective reasonably well."

Nevertheless, and despite an internationally negotiated agreement to which the United States was a party, Congress last year cut the U.S. IDA budget allocation and, at the suggestion of the administration, stretched out the contributions over four rather than the negotiated three years, thus jeopardizing the IDA lending program for this year. This unprecedented act has produced a shortfall and forced a reduction in IDA programs—cuts which could now range from 10 to 20 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa and as high as 30 percent in Asia. And under the impact of greater budgetary pressure, Congress may cut funds for IDA even further.

The administration, despite its own finding that "continued U.S. participation in the [World Bank] is justified by a fundamental national interest in a more stable and secure world," has derailed World Bank plans for an energy affiliate designed to help oil-importing Third World nations develop alternative sources of energy. It has opposed growth in the bank's annual lending program, and it has predicted sharp reductions in future U.S. contributions to IDA.

Ironically, at the same time the administration is reducing financial support, it is demanding more changes in the World Bank. One of its chief goals is to force the World Bank to stress "private sector development, greater participation by commercial banks, private investors" and to serve as a "catalytic agent in enhancement of entrepreneurship" in the Third World.

President Clausen's public reaction to the U.S. position has been circumspect, if not stoic. His rhetoric has at times seemed designed to reassure those who fear that the World Bank is a wimpy, socialist-lending, do-good organization. Last January, Clausen said that the World Bank "is not in the business of redistributing wealth from one set of countries to another set of countries. It is not the Robin Hood of the international financial set, nor the United Way of the development community. The World Bank is a hard-headed, unsentimental institution that takes a very pragmatic and nonpolitical view of what it is trying to do." In a less noticed speech last April, however, Clausen said that the bank "is not concerned with the issues of ownership or control. In Africa, as elsewhere, the bank has made, and will continue to make, effective loans to public sector enterprises. . . ."

Public pronouncements provide only limited clues as to how the bank will address the problems facing poor countries. But with relatively little fanfare, Clausen is pressing the bank to find new ways to encourage the flow of commercial funds to the developing world and is pushing co-financing schemes with commercial banks as a means to fulfill the bank's catalyst role. He has shifted staff to strengthen the bank's ability to dispense technical and policy advice to borrowing members. He has achieved a breakthrough with OPEC nations, winning more of their financial support and thus enabling the bank to perform the key function of recycling OPEC surplus funds to poorer nations.

Clausen also knows that, notwithstanding added commercial flows, more, not less, assistance to the poorest nations through IDA is absolutely necessary. It may well be that "the magic of the marketplace" is the ultimate answer to Sub-Saharan Africa's economic woes, as the Reagan administration believes. But it is certainly true that without external grants for roads, water and sewage disposal, ports and power facilities, and other badly needed physical infrastructure, and for health care, nutrition, clean water, and primary education and training to make people more productive, the Third World is hardly enticing to private business as a place to perform its magic act.

There is no denying that many Third World nations have pursued highly inefficient domestic policies that have retarded growth and development. In Sub-Saharan Africa, especially, reforms are long overdue. But as a recent World Bank study on that region notes, "even if all the desirable reforms were undertaken, without extra aid their effectiveness would be hampered."

For Clausen, heading off an expected decline in the bank's net income may seem, in retrospect, like a piece of cake compared to the challenge he now faces.

The World Bank as Advocate for the Poor

In addition to serving as a catalytic agent for commercial investment, a dispenser of finance and advice, and a key link in the financial intermediation process, the bank—largely because of McNamara's focus on the masses of poor people in the Third World—has assumed the role of advocate for the poor. Poverty is more than the absence of financial resources; it represents the absence of power. The bank has attempted to throw its weight on the side of the poor.

The task of mobilizing support—financial and political—and providing leadership in pursuit of humanitarian objectives and a healthy and fair international economic system is as vital as any of the other endeavors of the World Bank. The challenge is formidable, especially in the face of powerful interests that seem to care more about the preservation of third-year tax cuts for well-off citizens than the fate of millions in the Third World who have, in the words of Robert McNamara, "a condition of life so characterized by malnutrition, illiteracy, and disease as to be beneath any reasonable definition of human decency."

How Clausen comes to grip with this dimension of his job will help determine how successfully he leads the World Bank through the 1980s.

Where Are the Blacks in the State Dept.?

(The author, a Democratic congressman from Michigan, is a member of the Congressional Black Caucus. The following article is adapted from a statement he made before the House Subcommittee on International Operations, on June 10, 1982.)

by George W. Crockett, Jr.

Since I have been a member of the Subcommittee on International Operations, I have taken a strong interest in gauging to what extent and how effectively the Department of State has utilized blacks and other minorities in the formulation and execution of our foreign policy and our overseas programs and projects. One of the stated objectives of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 is to strengthen and improve the Foreign Service of the United States "by fostering the development and vigorous implementation of policies and procedures, including affirmative action programs, which will facilitate and encourage entry into and advancement in the Foreign Service by persons from all segments of the American society."

The undersecretary for management of the U.S. State Department, Richard Kennedy, has told this subcommittee that the increase over the past decade of minority representation in the Foreign Service reflects the department's firm commitment to affirmative action. Regardless of that increase in minority representation, however, it is still apparent to me that precious few blacks are being allowed to play the role they can or should play in the formulation and implementation of this country's foreign policy.

Minorities Play Small Role in Policy Making

There are still only a few blacks in senior policy-making positions at the State Department, and there does not appear to be the slightest pretense that any more are wanted. For the first time in over a decade, no blacks serve as assistant or deputy assistant secretary of state in any of the regional bureaus in the department. Even more disturbing, only two blacks work at the next lower level, as office director. In addition, only one black is employed in a senior executive service position. That one person, I have learned, is the head of the department's office of equal employment opportunity.

The Foreign Service promotion list reflects the same disregard for the career advancement interests of black Foreign Service officers. Only 12 blacks out of a total of 513 officers received promotions in 1981. No black officers were included among those promoted to career minister, minister counselor, or counselor—the three highest levels of the Foreign Service.

The situation for blacks at our embassies overseas is equally gloomy at both the upper and lower echelons. There, we are witnessing a steady retreat from commitments of previous administrations to open up positions and opportunities to minorities. Out of the many ambassadorial positions, blacks now hold only 7, down from a high of 14 during the previous administration. And of these 7, one holds an ambassadorial post in a European country and the other 6 are accredited to nonwhite countries.

The situation for blacks at our American consulates is even worse. Not one black is currently serving as a principal officer. Blacks increasingly appear to occupy positions as minor consular and administrative officers—jobs that don't lead rapidly to promotions to the upper levels of the Foreign Service. Approximately 40 percent of tenured black Foreign Service officers are employed in the consular section. Last year, in Lagos, Nigeria, for example, there was an eight-man consular section. Four of the officers were black. There was also a seven-man political section. Only one of the officers in that section was black. I discovered no other black officers at that large embassy, which for years had a black U.S. ambassador.

Unfortunately, the situation at the embassy in Lagos is not an isolated instance. A dearth of black political and economic officers exists in many prime countries. For example, in Brazil—a country with the second largest black population of any nation in the world—only one black officer serves at our embassy in Brasilia, none at our consulate in Rio de Janeiro, and only two in Sao Paulo. Similarly, in Africa, I met few, if any, black political or economic officers at prime postings in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Somalia, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Senegal, and South Africa. The situation is no better in Europe, where we have only one black ambassador and no black deputy chiefs of missions.

U.S. Image Abroad Hurt

The State Department's employment and promotion record of blacks calls into serious question our commitment to the American ideals of social justice, equal opportunity, and democratic decency—the ideals we profess to promote in our relations with other nations. In effect, the United States, through our State Department, chooses to project an all white—and I might add, white male—image to the world. If this image is not changed, then I believe that the United States' relations with Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and rest of the nonwhile world will continue to deteriorate.

The affirmative action language of the Foreign Service Act provides for both the entry *and advancement* of minorities in the Foreign Service. Those affirmative action guidelines will not be vigorously pursued by a department that chooses to exclude blacks en masse from senior level and policy-making positions. Therefore, I urge officials in the department, particularly the secretary, the undersecretary for management, and the assistant secretary for African affairs, to work with those in the Congress, the black community, and the Black Caucus who want both to improve the qua'ity of minority representation in the Foreign Service and to improve America's relations with Africa, the Caribbean, and the rest of the Third World.

Telescope

Budget Cuts Hit Working Poor Hardest

Last year's budget cuts have begun to take their toll on poor people across the country, falling especially hard on the nation's working poor, according to a report released in June by the Princeton University Urban and Regional Research Center. The report, prepared by Richard P. Nathan, Philip M. Dearborn, and Clifford A. Goldman, analyzes the effects of the federal budget for FY 1982 as observed during the first quarter of that fiscal year (October 1-December 31, 1981). Because of the ways the budget was cut, benefits from welfare programs have been eliminated or substantially reduced for many of the working poor. As Congressman Edward Roybal (D-CA) pointed out, "hit especially hard are working mothers who receive AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] benefits to supplement their marginal incomes. A disproportionate number of these women are black or Hispanic."

According to the Princeton study, "it is the cumulative effect of multiple cuts that has done the most harm to the working poor." For example, because of changes in eligibility rules for AFDC, many working poor families were removed from the AFDC rolls entirely. Since many states are only required to provide Medicaid coverage to AFDC recipients and those who receive supplemental security income, those who lose AFDC benefits often lose their Medicaid coverage as well.

According to the National Urban League, the $1 billion cut in AFDC last year has eliminated or reduced benefits to over 725,000 families. And the league confirmed that "the cuts struck hardest at the working poor—those whose income from minimum wage and part-time employment was so low that they still qualified for a small AFDC benefit and Medicaid. . . . These cuts have made it more economically feasible for them to give up working altogether and become full-time welfare recipients."

The Princeton study found that the states "as a rule did not replace lost federal aid for the poor with their own revenues." And the researchers predicted that state and local governments were likely to begin shifting funds away from social services to construction projects, thus further depleting funds for the poor.

Joint Center for Political Studies Receives $1.5 Million Ford Foundation Grant

The Joint Center for Political Studies has been awarded a two-year, $1.5 million grant by the Ford Foundation. The grant provides both general support for the development of public policy programs and support for research projects on racial issues in the areas of voter law, the military, the new federalism, and immigration policy.

In announcing the grant, Franklin N. Thomas, president of the Ford Foundation, said,

> Through its research, technical assistance to officeholders, and educational activities, the Joint Center for Political Studies has become an important instrument for strengthening our political system and expanding the participation of blacks and other minorities in governmental affairs. The Ford Foundation has supported these activities for a number of years in the conviction that broader and more effective participation in the political process by all Americans, especially those who have been historically excluded, is a necessary precondition for the advancement of rights and opportunities. Now, the center is expanding its research and policy analysis to bring to national attention a range of perspectives that too often are left out of policy debates. We are pleased to continue our support of these efforts of the center to be of greater service to its constituents.

Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center, said in accepting the grant,

> The black experience in America has served to crystallize the nation's most difficult intellectual, practical, and moral dilemmas. We at the Joint Center are glad and grateful that the Ford Foundation shares our belief that, in focusing the best energies of this society on resolving these dilemmas, we can perform a function not only important to blacks and other minorities but crucial to the country as a whole.

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