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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

PERSPECTIVE

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Critics of Affirmative Action Are Wrong

Too many public officials have embraced a disturbingly rigid brand of conservatism focused on undoing programs that have helped minorities in recent decades, including affirmative action programs designed to expand opportunities in employment and education. Affirmative action has been the official policy of the federal government and most state and local jurisdictions, educational institutions, and private businesses since the 1960s. Its opponents allege that it requires setting fixed quotas, hiring unqualified people, and giving preferences to minorities and women. But a serious look at the evidence shows that, in the main, these claims are bogeymen created to frighten and provoke disenchanted white voters. Racial inequality still exists, and racism continues to be a cancer in our society. The evidence is all around us, in data from the Census Bureau, in numerous studies, and in news accounts.

A soon to be released Joint Center book, *Economic Perspectives on Affirmative Action*, challenges many current misconceptions and criticisms. The book, edited by Joint Center Director of Research Programs Margaret C. Simms, contains the findings of three studies by scholars who have examined the economic impact of affirmative action. In a chapter on "The Economic Cost of Discrimination Against Black Americans," economist Andrew Brimmer, a former member of the Federal Reserve Board, concludes that discrimination against blacks in education and employment costs the U.S. economy more than 241 billion dollars annually, or about 4 percent of the gross domestic product.

Cecilia Conrad, an economist at Columbia University, takes on the conservatives' argument that affirmative action is a drag on business efficiency. She documents the fact that the direct cost of enforcing affirmative action in private industry is quite small, relative to the cost of doing business, on the order of $12 per employee per year.

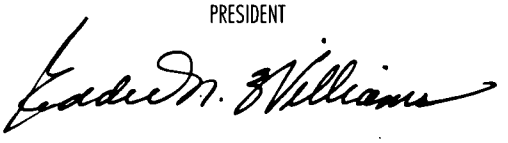
And M.V. Lee Badgett and Heidi Hartmann, both of the Institute for Women's Policy Research in Washington, provide a powerful rebuttal to the allegations that affirmative action is taking jobs away from white males. According to their sweeping review of the scholarly literature, the preponderance of evidence indicates that equal employment and affirmative action policies have resulted in small but significant gains by blacks and women in a range of blue-collar and white-collar occupations. Moreover, they find no evidence that these gains have either harmed the competitiveness of American businesses or violated any fair employment practices. It appears that many of the jobs gained by minorities and women resulted from getting a greater share of newly created jobs and not from any displacement of white males.

Despite the use of affirmative action by both public agencies and private businesses, the black unemployment rate continues to be double the rate for whites.

There is increasing pressure from the right to abandon policies of inclusiveness and to revert to the politics of separateness. If we, as a society, go down that road again, we will meet disaster along the way. All of us have come too far to allow the civil rights clock to be turned back now. We must continue to pursue justice and equality, and we must do it together.

Toward that end, we need a balanced national dialogue on race and diversity—a dialogue that should be led by a prestigious and impartial blue-ribbon commission like the 1968 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders. We need a similar commission today to depoliticize the race issue and help launch a new era of racial understanding. ■

PRESIDENT



FOCUS

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Africa and U.S. National Interests

U.S. Agency for International Development Administrator Asserts That Assistance to Africa Is a Good Economic Investment

In February, at a Summit on Africa held in Washington, D.C., J. Brian Atwood, Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, defended his agency's aid program to Africa as in the economic interests of the United States. His remarks are particularly relevant at a time when Republican members of Congress have proposed the abolition of the agency, reducing its funds and merging its functions into the State Department. Senator Mitch McConnell (R–Ky.) is advocating shifting development funds from Africa to Eastern Europe. An excerpt from Administrator Atwood's address follows:

Congressional critics of our African aid policies are asserting that we have no national interests in Africa; that we must reduce or eliminate development assistance to that continent; and that Africa has neither geopolitical importance for the United States nor economic value. With all the fervor we can muster, we say: That is just plain wrong.

Let's examine this issue objectively. For just a moment let's leave out America's humanitarian values. Let's put aside our historic ties to Africa. Let's forget sentimentality. Instead, let's talk about hard economic facts and markets and sales. Let's ask ourselves: Is Africa worth the investment? Is a continent of half a billion people worth one-half of one-tenth of one percent of the federal budget, which is what we now spend on it? Is the three dollars and change that each American family pays each year to help several dozen sub-Saharan nations a burden worth the price? Of course it is. It's a good investment for Americans. Our aid to Africa is not welfare, nor is it charity. It is an investment we make in other people for our own self interest.

How do we build markets in Africa? The answer is simple: We do it by making investments for the future. If we want to discuss economic rationales, then we must look at Africa as the last great developing market. We must look at it the way we looked at Latin America and Asia a generation ago.

A Payoff in Jobs and Income

Consider Latin America. Today it is the fastest growing market for American goods. This is a huge, new, eager middle-class market of 350 million people. It got that way because of investments made during the last 40 years—$30.7 billion in economic assistance from the United States between 1949 and 1993. Yet our exports to all of Latin America in 1993 alone were more than two-and-a-half times that amount—$78 billion. Quite a payoff in jobs and income, and that was just one year. And the Latin American market is likely to grow three times larger in the next decade.

Where would we be if Presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon had not committed themselves to the Alliance for Progress and the education programs that helped create a generation of economists and technicians who now lead South America's burgeoning growth? What kind of customers would we have if we had not supported health and education programs that invested in the human capital of Latin America, an investment that now is producing an educated, healthy workforce that can afford to buy our goods and services? What kind of stability would we have in this market if we had not supported democracy-building programs that have made military juntas and coups a thing of the past?

It is an interesting exercise to compare sub-Saharan Africa today to three of the so-called "Asian Tigers"—Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand—as they were in 1960. African per capita income is 80 percent of what it was in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand 35 years ago. But Africa today has four times the number of people Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand had in 1960. Think of the potential of this African market, even at its current stage of development.

The bottom line is that Africa today is not significantly behind where the "Asian Tigers" were in 1960. In the three decades since, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand substantially reduced poverty, their rates of population growth, infant mortality, and illiteracy. These countries are now major players in the world economy. Africa, we believe, can do as well.

The doubters should not just look at Africa's potential; the market is already significant, and like other developing markets it is growing far faster than our markets in Europe. In 1992, sub-Saharan Africa imported $63 billion worth of merchandise goods from the world. African imports have risen by around seven percent per year for the past decade. At this rate, the African market would amount to $480 billion by 2025. That is approximately $267 billion in today's dollars. In other words, we believe that 30 years hence, the entire African market could be the same size as the Japanese market is today.

The United States currently accounts for nearly 10 percent of the African market. Do the arithmetic. Each American family now spends about $3 annually on aid to Africa. At current growth rates, that will produce something like $50 billion worth of American exports to Africa each year in 30 years. In 2025, the United States is projected to have a population of 320 million. Again, do the arithmetic. Exports worth $50 billion would work out to about $600 worth of exports per family, annually, in 2025. And that is if Africa's growth remains at its current level; if we make the investments Africa needs, and if African nations implement the kind of policies that have benefitted Asia and Latin America, the return for each American family in 30

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Africa

Continued from page 3

years could be as much as $2,000 per year. These are not trivial amounts. They represent millions of jobs for our children, financial health for our nation. These numbers aren't pie in the sky. They reflect precisely what happens when developing countries grow.

Isn't Africa worth the investments now that we made in Asia and Latin America decades ago? Those who argue against such investments are short-changing the next generation of Americans. There is, of course, no guarantee that our investment will pay dividends, but it is as good a bet as most mutual funds. Moreover, the cost of not acting could overwhelm our Treasury, and, I fear, our consciences.

A Partner in African Successes

Those who say we have no strategic interests in Africa should understand that if African nations fail to make progress, if they descend into chaos and decay, the tragedy will not take place in a vacuum. Chaos there will affect our interests here. As long as we remain true to our values, the costs of humanitarian operations will continue to be borne in part by the United States. We will share the costs of caring for the millions of refugees. We will shoulder the burdens of dealing with famines. And we will have to confront the spreading political disorder, the environmental damage, and the consequent loss of markets for our goods.

Much of Africa is living on the edge. Many of the continent's nations face adverse climatic and soil conditions. Their populations are ethnically diverse. These are states whose histories are deep but whose experience with modern nationhood is limited. Each day the people of Africa face problems of poor health and malnutrition and illiteracy that few other peoples confront.

Yet lost in the apocalyptic descriptions of an Africa seemingly falling apart is genuine reason for encouragement. The headlines rarely report the many positive developments and success stories in Africa. In a number of African nations, democratically elected, enlightened leaders, committed to broadening participation and undertaking reforms necessary for development, are creating an environment for success. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), through its Development Fund for Africa, and other development assistance programs, has been a partner in that success.

- Today, USAID is working in 35 African nations that, in our judgment, are consolidating their democracies, are in transition to a democratically elected government, are committed to free markets, or are implementing structural reforms. Conversely, we have ended our investment in several nations where the governments refuse to commit themselves to reform or to a development partnership with their own citizens.
- Many new African leaders are pursuing extensive economic restructuring programs, including privatization of state-owned enterprises, reducing government functions and budgets, stabilizing the economy, and implementing policy changes that help the private sector expand.
- New crops and market liberalization are expanding food production, raising farmer income, and reducing food prices for consumers.
- More children, especially girls, are attending school so that they can become more productive members of society. And we know from our own experience that more than any other factor, improving the education of girls enhances the economy, the environment, and the prospects of democracy.
- Programs to expand immunization and the use of oral rehydration therapy are saving the lives of an estimated 800,000 African children each year.
- Fertility is starting to fall as more and more parents use family planning services.

Investing in Democracy

Progress is still tentative, often fragile, which is precisely why we must not hesitate now. But this continent is no write-off. It is a good investment. We have learned from the mistakes we made during the Cold War. We are now concentrating our aid in countries that are implementing sound economic policies, promoting open and democratic societies, and investing their own resources in broad-based development. That is exactly what the Congress wanted to accomplish with the Development Fund for Africa. And that is why this Administration strongly supports the fund. Under this fund, we have taken a longer-term approach to Africa's development, systematically addressing the root causes—economic, social, and political—of underdevelopment.

That is why we are providing assistance for family planning, child survival, education, and training, natural resource management, democratic governance, and consolidation of a civil society. That is why we are supporting the twin pillars of African economics—smallholder agriculture and small- and micro-enterprises. In countries stricken with disaster, we are treating emergency relief as more than an end in itself. Rather, we are structuring it to help nations make the difficult transition from crisis to sustainable development. This is a true crisis prevention, an approach that is far preferable to crisis management.

By emphasizing regional cooperation and planning, and by helping nations acquire the ability to respond to food crises early on, President Clinton's Initiative for the Greater Horn of Africa can prevent droughts from becoming famines. This Initiative, we believe, will save lives and resources. The partnerships it builds will enable the donor community to save billions of dollars in relief assistance over the next 15 years and focus resources instead on recovery efforts and long-term development.

The case for Africa gives us the opportunity to be the champions of common sense. This is a battle well worth waging. Not for African Americans, not for historical reasons, not even for humanitarian values. This is a battle worth waging for America's national interest and the future of our children. We will wage it and we can win it. ■

May 1995

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Congressional Report Card—the GOP's 100 Days

Since 1990, "TrendLetter" has periodically published congressional report cards on how selected members of the U.S. House of Representatives have voted on major issues. This year our report card focuses on 10 key roll-call votes taken on the House floor during the first 100 days of the 104th Congress. Each of the 101 members listed in this report card represents a district whose constituency is at least 15 percent black. All but one of the 10 roll-call votes were designed to enact the House Republicans' "Contract With America."

A broad spectrum of organizations representing the interests of African Americans, Latinos, children, women, and the poor have opposed the Contract. Many of these groups charge that the Contract's call for a balanced budget amendment and its drastic revisions in welfare programs would shred the nation's social safety net, leaving many poor people, particularly children, more vulnerable. They also reject the Contract's massive tax cut proposals, arguing that the cuts favor the wealthy, and point to its skewed priorities according to which the House Republicans have been advocating cuts in funding for school lunches alongside increases (of 30 percent) for spending on prisons.

On virtually all of the 10 votes, the Democratic members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) voted in the negative. By contrast, the CBC's two Republican members, **GARY FRANKS** of Connecticut and **J.C. WATTS** of Oklahoma, voted "yes" on 9 of the 10. Nearly all (18) of the 23 GOP representatives listed here, including those from districts that are more than 25 percent black, voted "yes" on every vote. Unlike their black party colleagues, several white Democrats, notably those from the South, supported the Contract in most of these votes.

Key Votes in the Report Card

1. Cuts in Social Programs—Emergency Supplemental Appropriations and Recisions (H.R. 1158) would cut $17.3 billion from appropriations approved by the 103rd Congress for programs that primarily assist low-income Americans. These programs include school lunches and other child nutrition programs, summer jobs for young people, and housing programs for the poor. Roll-call vote No. 251, March 16, 1995, passed 227-200. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC. *Present status: Passed by the Senate on April 6.*

2. Tax Cuts for the Wealthy—The Tax Relief Act (H.R. 1215) would provide $189 billion in tax cuts to individuals and corporations over five years. The measure would provide special benefits to the wealthy, permitting families earning up to $200,000 a year to take a $500-per-child tax credit, and it would also lower capital gains tax rates. Roll-call vote No. 295, April 5, 1995, passed 246-188. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC. *Present status: Referred to the Senate Finance Committee, no action taken.*

3. Welfare Revision—The Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 (H.R. 4) would cut federal aid to the poor by an estimated $69 billion over five years, repealing the income guarantees of programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Supplemental Security Income that assists the handicapped, and foster care. Federal funding for food stamps, child nutrition, and child care programs would also be cut under the plan. If fully implemented, the legislation would make millions of poor children ineligible for support under these programs. Roll-call vote No. 269, March 24, 1995, passed 234-199. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC. *Present status: The Senate Finance Committee held hearings on the bill in April, but no other action has been taken.*

4. Balanced Budget Amendment—H.J. Res. 1 is a constitutional amendment to require the federal government to submit balanced budgets by the year 2002. Advocates for the poor fear that if such an amendment were enacted, Congress would be compelled to make draconian cuts in medicare, support for education, and other programs that benefit low-income Americans. Children and the elderly would be among the most severely harmed by such cuts. Roll-call vote No. 51, January 26, 1995, passed 300-132. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC. *Present status: The amendment was defeated in the Senate by two votes on March 2.*

5. Minority Broadcast Ownership Incentives—H.R. 831 will provide a 25 percent tax deduction for insurance premiums paid by the self-employed and will also dismantle the only effective method of advancing minority ownership of broadcast stations by repealing a 50-year-old provision of the tax code, Section 1071. Section 1071 permits companies who sell broadcast properties to defer (*not avoid*) taxes on the gains realized from a sale when the sale promotes Federal Communications Commission (FCC) policy, such as addressing the underrepresentation of minorities among broadcast owners. From 1978 through October of 1994, the FCC awarded 281 tax certificates to

encourage minority broadcast ownership. At present, of the 11,128 broadcast stations, only 323 (2.9 percent) are controlled by minorities. Roll-call vote No. 150, February 21, 1995, passed 381-44. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC. *Present status: Passed by the Senate on March 24. Signed as Public Law 104-7 by President Clinton on April 11.*

6. Product Liability—H.R. 956 would limit punitive damages in most civil cases ranging from the manufacture of defective products to violations of civil rights. By diminishing the ability of injured parties to punish wrongdoers, H.R. 956 would weaken the ability of state and federal courts to deter harmful conduct by firms producing unsafe drugs and white supremacist groups waging terror campaigns. Roll-call vote No. 229, March 10, 1995, passed 265-161. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC. *Present status: Passed by the Senate on May 10.*

7. Congressional Term Limits—A constitutional amendment (H.J. Res. 73) to mandate a lifetime limit of 12 years of service for legislators in each house of Congress. If enacted, the term limits bill would diminish the political clout of African Americans by forcing the retirement of many experienced senior black legislators. Roll-call vote No. 277, March 29, 1995, rejected 227-204 (a constitutional amendment must pass by a two-thirds majority). A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC. *Present status: No bill to limit congressional terms has been acted on in the Senate. (Note: On May 22, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states may not limit the terms of members of Congress, striking down term limit statutes in 23 states.)*

8. More Prisons—H.R. 667 would replace portions of the omnibus crime bill passed last year by increasing federal grants to states for prison construction by 30 percent, from $7.9 billion to $10.3 billion. The U.S. incarceration rate is second only to that of Russia. There is no evidence, however, that building more prisons will reduce violent crime. Roll-call vote No. 117, February 10, 1995, passed 265-156. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC. *Present status: Referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, no action taken.*

9. Diluting the Fourth Amendment—The Exclusionary Rule Reform Act of 1995 (H.R. 666) would permit police officers to ignore some of the current statutory protections against unreasonable searches and seizures as long as the officers act in "good faith," even in cases involving warrantless searches. The Exclusionary Rule is a means of guaranteeing Fourth Amendment protections. It states that if a search is conducted illegally, no evidence obtained from that search will be admissible in the main part of a criminal trial. In a move to protect gun owners, the bill was drafted to require agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms to adhere to the present rules of excluded evidence. The Internal Revenue Service was also exempted from the provisions of the bill. Roll call vote No. 103, February 8, 1995, passed 289-142. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC. *Present status: Referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, no action taken.*

10. Death Penalty—The Effective Death Penalty Act of 1995 (H.R. 729) would reduce the number of appeals one can make to sentences of death. If passed, this measure would have a disproportionate impact on African Americans sentenced to death, since they comprise over 40 percent of the inmates on the nation's death rows. Roll call vote No. 109, February 8, 1995, passed 297-132. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC. *Present status: Referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, no action taken.*

How to Read This Report Card

In the chart below, a plus sign (+) indicates a vote consistent with the position taken by the majority of the Congressional Black Caucus; a minus sign (-) indicates the reverse; and a question mark (?) indicates that the legislator did not vote. CBC members' names appear in **boldface**. Every member of the CBC is included in the chart with the exception of GOP Representatives Franks and Watts, whose districts are just 5 and 7 percent black, respectively. Both Franks and Watts voted with their Democratic CBC colleagues on only one occasion. The rules governing the House bar **ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON**, the Democratic delegate from the majority-black District of Columbia, from voting on the floor of the House.

					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Alabama	1	Callahan	(R)	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	Everett	(R)	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	Browder	(D)	24	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	Cramer	(D)	14	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7	**Hilliard**	(D)	64	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+
Arkansas	1	Lincoln	(D)	15	?	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
	2	Thornton	(D)	15	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
	4	Dickey	(R)	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
California	7	Miller	(D)	15	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	9	**Dellums**	(D)	29	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	32	**Dixon**	(D)	40	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+
	35	**Waters**	(D)	44	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	37	**Tucker**	(D)	34	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Delaware	At-Large	Castle	(R)	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Florida	2	Peterson	(D)	21	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	**Brown**	(D)	51	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	11	Gibbons	(D)	15	+	+	+	-	-	?	+	?	+	+
	17	**Meek**	(D)	54	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+
	23	**Hastings**	(D)	46	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Georgia	1	Kingston	(R)	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	**Bishop**	(D)	52	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3	M. Collins	(R)	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	**Lewis**	(D)	58	?	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+
	8	Chambliss	(R)	18	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
	10	Norwood	(R)	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	11	**McKinney**	(D)	60	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Illinois	1	**Rush**	(D)	68	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	+
	2	**Reynolds**	(D)	66	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
	7	**C. Collins**	(D)	60	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	12	Costello	(D)	15	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Indiana	1	Visclosky	(D)	19	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
	10	Jacobs	(D)	27	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Kentucky	3	Ward	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Louisiana	2	**Jefferson**	(D)	56	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	-	+	+
	3	Tauzin	(D)	20	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4	**Fields**	(D)	63	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+
	5	McCrery	(R)	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7	Hayes	(D)	18	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland	3	Cardin	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
	4	**Wynn**	(D)	56	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	5	Hoyer	(D)	18	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	7	**Mfume**	(D)	68	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Massachusetts	8	Kennedy	(D)	20	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Michigan	9	Kildee	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	14	**Conyers**	(D)	65	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	15	**B. Collins**	(D)	68	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	?
Mississippi	1	Wicker	(R)	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	2	**Thompson**	(D)	58	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3	Montgomery	(D)	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	4	Parker	(D)	37	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	5	Taylor	(D)	18	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Missouri	1	**Clay**	(D)	48	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	5	McCarthy	(D)	21	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
New Jersey	1	Andrews	(D)	15	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	?
	10	**Payne**	(D)	57	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
New York	4	Frisa	(R)	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-
	6	**Flake**	(D)	55	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	10	**Towns**	(D)	59	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+
	11	**Owens**	(D)	72	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	15	**Rangel**	(D)	47	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+
	16	Serrano	(D)	42	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	17	Engel	(D)	40	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
	30	Quinn	(R)	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
N. Carolina	1	**Clayton**	(D)	53	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2	Funderburk	(R)	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	Jones	(R)	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4	Heineman	(R)	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7	Rose	(D)	17	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
	8	Hefner	(D)	21	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
	12	**Watt**	(D)	53	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ohio	1	Chabot	(R)	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	Hall	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	+	+
	11	**Stokes**	(D)	55	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	12	Kasich	(R)	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania	1	Foglietta	(D)	50	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2	**Fattah**	(D)	58	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	14	Coyne	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
S. Carolina	1	Sanford	(R)	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	Spence	(R)	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	Graham	(R)	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4	Inglis	(R)	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	Spratt	(D)	28	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	6	**Clyburn**	(D)	58	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
Tennessee	5	Clement	(D)	21	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	8	Tanner	(D)	17	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	9	**Ford**	(D)	54	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Texas	1	Chapman	(D)	16	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2	Wilson	(D)	15	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	5	Bryant	(D)	15	?	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	9	Stockman	(R)	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	+	-
	11	Edwards	(D)	15	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	18	**Jackson-Lee**	(D)	49	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	24	Frost	(D)	18	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	?	+	-
	25	Bentsen	(D)	25	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
	30	**Johnson**	(D)	47	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Virginia	1	Bateman	(R)	17	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
	2	Pickett	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
	3	**Scott**	(D)	61	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	4	Sisisky	(D)	31	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	5	Payne	(D)	23	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Wisconsin	5	Barrett	(D)	29	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+

Lacretia Hill, a former intern at the Joint Center and May graduate from Howard University, assisted in the compilation of the data contained in this report card.

An Academy for Future Diplomats

A New York-Based Program Prepares African American and Latino High School Students for International Careers

by Ralph F. Baker

Dozens of African American and Latino high school students are learning that they can survive for extended periods without television or refrigerated snacks as they study village life in African countries. As fellows in the International Youth Leadership Institute, a unique New York-based program, they are also learning that they can have careers as diplomats and international development professionals. Founded in 1989, the Institute prepares young people for occupations in public service and international relations through biweekly seminars on foreign affairs, community service projects, and study programs in foreign countries.

According to co-founder Michael Webb, the mission of the Institute is "to help develop the potential of student fellows as future leaders by expanding their knowledge of the economic and political forces that influence the world and to link that knowledge to local problems." Webb is an educational consultant and former director of education and career development for the National Urban League. About 35 African American and Latino high school students are involved in the Institute's program each year.

One student who exemplifies the goals of the Institute is Candace Cardwell, a senior at the Columbia Grammar and Preparatory School, who has participated in the program since the ninth grade. Over the last four years, Candace has met ambassadors, visited remote development sites in Senegal and the Dominican Republic, and studied three languages. As a result, she has developed a view of Africa different from that of most Americans. "There is much more to Africa than the 30-second snapshots of war and violence we see on TV," she says. "These are sophisticated cultures and highly developed social systems." Candace will be entering Princeton University next fall and plans a career that includes a tour in the Peace Corps, a stint in the foreign service, and work as an educator after she completes her education.

Career development is a major aspect of the Institute's program. Susan Wilcox, the Institute's program director, notes that one of the primary reasons for starting the International Youth Leadership Institute was the conspicuous absence of African Americans and Latinos in the U.S. foreign service. While these two minority groups together represent more than 20 percent of the U.S. population, they make up less than one percent of the senior officials within the State Department, including U.S. missions overseas. Wilcox is a former group leader of Operation Crossroads Africa, Inc. and is now a doctoral student at Columbia University. "Students have to take the right classes and get the grades and study foreign languages, but they also have to learn how to break into the U.S. foreign affairs apparatus, which is practically a closed system," says Wilcox. "We are preparing them to enter that system through our seminars, community service projects, and of course the overseas study programs."

Each fall, new fellows are recruited through contacts with high school guidance counselors, principals, and community organizations. "We concentrate on recruiting ninth graders so that we will have four years to work with them," says Webb. "What we look for is young people who care about their communities, who are eager to explore the African aspect of their heritage, and who have an interest in current events."

Seminars and Service

The biweekly seminars that year-round participants attend are held on the campus of Teachers College at Columbia University. Focusing on how history, culture, geography, and environment shape the "news" stories reported in the media, the seminars enable students to analyze the information they receive from newspapers, radio, and television. Guest seminar leaders include specialists in fields such as international business, development, politics, communications, and regional studies.

The topics of the seminar discussions have been as varied as the speakers. Presentations have focused on the economic emergence of the Asian countries on the Pacific rim, the AIDS epidemic, the internal conflict in Rwanda, 20th century slavery in Africa, the unification of Germany, the murder of homeless children in Brazil by death squads, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Current and former fellows are also expected to use what they have learned to improve some aspect of their own communities through a wide range of service projects in hospitals, schools, churches, and community centers or through other nonprofit organizations or city agencies. Fellows have tutored younger children, escorted visitors at the United Nations, organized book clubs to encourage younger students to read, and formed global studies clubs in their own schools.

Starting in September, fellows who commit from five to 10 hours a week working on these service projects will be eligible for scholarships of $500 to help defray the cost of

Continued on page 6

Mr. Baker is director of the Western Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities at Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development in San Francisco and is a board member of the International Youth Leadership Fund. The International Youth Leadership Institute is located at 10 East 87th Street, New York, New York, 10128.

Youth Program

Continued from page 5

their summer study program in an African country. The funding for these scholarships comes from Echoing Green, a Boston-based foundation, which has committed $15,000 for this purpose. The scholarship concept was initiated by Jason Warwin, an Institute alumnus and a graduating senior at Brown University.

"I am a living testament to the idea that engaging young people in community service early provides them with the background in leadership and community responsibility which will remain with them throughout their lives," says Jason. "The International Youth Leadership Institute has certainly fueled my desire to pursue a career in community development and social service, and helping to establish the internships is my way of giving something back."

More Than 30 Seconds of War

The heart of the Institute's work is its overseas study program. Each summer, 20 to 25 students travel to an African country for an intensive four weeks highlighted by visits to American international agencies and a two-week stay in a rural village where they learn about the daily lives of the people of that country. So far, groups have gone to Egypt, Senegal, and Ghana.

"Visiting Goree Island, off the coast of Senegal, that millions of slaves passed through on their way to this country, established a connection for me with Africa," says Candace Cardwell. Candace has been to Senegal, Egypt, Israel, and Ghana during the last four summers and to the Dominican Republic during the winter study program.

Susan Wilcox believes learning foreign languages is the key to breaking down misconceptions and stereotypes about other cultures and peoples. So fellows begin to study the language of the host country prior to departure and continue with intensive lessons once they arrive. "People in the United States shouldn't be so ethnocentric in thinking they don't have to learn other languages," says Rasheeda Abdush-Shaheed, a senior at Lincoln University. "I've learned through the summer study program that the world is smaller than we tend to think it is and people in other countries are neighbors."

"During my years as a fellow, I went to Egypt and Senegal and began to learn Arabic, French and Wolof [one of the languages spoken in Senegal]. Through those overseas experiences and the seminars, I developed a greater understanding of other cultures and societies, and a clearer conception of the world and its problems," says Jason Warwin. Language training is most useful during the two-week visits to rural villages where fellows observe the political, economic, social, and cultural make-up of the society. Says Chiniqua Milligan, also a senior at the Columbia Grammar and Preparatory School, "I plan to be a medical doctor, and after seeing the problems of rural Africa I think I will work in an international setting, perhaps the Red Cross."

While overseas, fellows network with professionals working for international organizations during U.S. embassy briefings and meetings with officials from the U.S. Agency for International Development, U.S. Information Service, and Peace Corps. In addition to exposure to overseas employment opportunities, students participate in daily discussions with in-country professionals and experts who discuss topics such as the role of women in development, traditional housing, tourism and economic development, and Islam in Africa.

During the winter break, the Institute conducts a two-week program in the Caribbean or Latin America where the curriculum and most activities are conducted entirely in Spanish. A special feature of the program is its emphasis on building ties between African American and Latino fellows.

The overseas programs are also open to students who are not participants in the year-round seminar program. This summer, black and Latino high school students from five states will participate in the study program in Egypt. Most of the cost of this overseas experience, about $2,700 per student, will be paid by the students and their families as well as individual donors and community sponsors. This year, Candace Cardwell and a friend have held a fundraising dinner and sold candy and T-shirts to raise the money. But family income is not a criterion for participation. "Lack of funds has never been a reason for a student not to participate in an overseas study program," says Webb. "Somehow we've always been able to find enough money to ensure that students who have worked hard to prepare for a foreign study experience get to go."

Beyond Graduation

Institute fellows have established an impressive academic record. Every high school senior in the program has graduated and 90 percent of the fellows have gone on to college. All fellows are encouraged to visit college campuses while in high school to help them make informed decisions about their postsecondary education. The program has sponsored trips to Morehouse College and to Brown, Georgetown, Howard, and Lincoln universities. Institute staff help students maneuver through the complicated college application and financial aid process. Almost all of the students receive scholarship assistance.

Fellows who "graduate" from the program and enter college are encouraged to take advantage of internships with organizations and agencies involved in international affairs and overseas exchange programs offered by their college or university. Many do. Earl Hadley, a junior and honors student at Vassar College, is pursuing a major combining public policy, the social sciences, and international affairs. During the fall semester he was an exchange student at the University of Ghana. Other Institute alumni have participated in exchange programs in Egypt and London.

As the young people who have participated in the Institute's program become adults, they will not only be good citizens in their own communities, but good citizens of the world. As the problems of our shrinking world become more complex and daunting, having a few more good citizens around is a good thing. ■

Preparing Our Youth for the Information Age

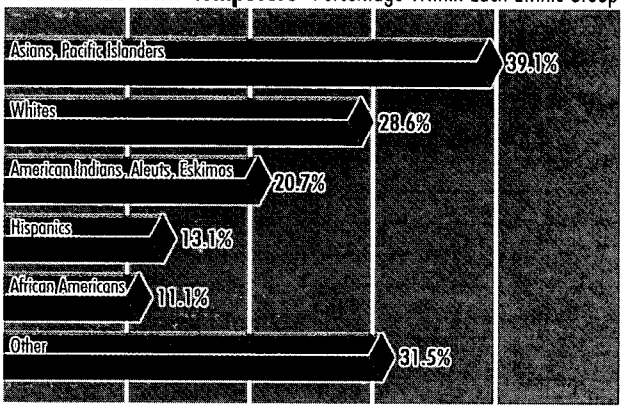
Schools Should Provide the Computer Skills Black Youth Will Need to Exploit the Interactive Telecommunication Systems of the Future

by Frank C. Weaver

I recently visited a beautiful new high school in Las Cruces, New Mexico, and found that every student there had his or her own computer work station. There was a reason for this. Located near the White Sands Missile Range, the school serves many children of scientists and engineers. I reflected that if America's rocket scientists can expect and receive that kind of technical support for their children, it is incumbent upon the nation to do much more than we are doing to ensure that other children—no less brilliant, no less capable—have access to the technologies that will dictate how we conduct our lives in the future. Among other things, that will mean access to the information superhighway. As our students grow into adults, this superhighway will enable them to learn, work, shop, and be entertained in their own homes—or any place else for that matter.

The gap between today's information haves and have-nots will widen unless equal access to new interactive telecommunication systems is extended to all. Based on the assumption that a degree of computer literacy is needed to gain access to important features of the information highway, minorities are already starting out behind. Census data indicate that almost half of white youths ages three to 17 use a computer at school, while only 35 percent of black youths do (see chart).

Households with Computers—Percentage Within Each Ethnic Group



Source: Bureau of the Census, 1994

Another factor that may impede the access of black families to the information superhighway is cost. Most databases and interactive communication services, like Prodigy, America Online, and Genie, charge for their services at levels that few low-income Americans can afford.

Although America's public libraries remain repositories of vast stores of knowledge that is generally available free of charge, access to information is increasingly becoming privatized and fee-based. According to the latest figures, only about 20 percent of U.S. libraries are now hooked into the Internet, with most using the service to answer reference questions or secure government information. The economics of telephone hookups and for-fee services would likely prohibit most public libraries from making their volumes on the sciences, social sciences, and literature available to the public electronically.

Perhaps the best opportunity to connect the information have-nots with the opportunities represented by the information superhighway is through the schools. Most schools are finding it difficult to afford the equipment that makes this access possible, but some schools are getting help. Recently, the Cellular Telephone Industry Association donated nearly $100,000 worth of high-tech equipment to the J.O. Wilson Elementary School in Washington, D.C., to enable the school to gain access to interactive information services and provide teachers with new instruction tools.

Bell Atlantic and Tele-Communications, Inc., announced in 1994 that they would provide free linkage to the information superhighway for 26,000 elementary and secondary schools in areas served by the two companies. Under the plan, known as the Basic Education Connection (BEC), the schools would receive free educational cable television programming and free access to certain data and online services, including access to the Internet.

Another project, the Hughes Galaxy Classroom, is enabling 51,000 elementary school children around the country to access more of the educational resources on television available via satellite. Under the auspices of the Galaxy Classroom Foundation, which provides antenna dishes and related equipment to schools, the project offers a science and English curriculum beamed into classrooms through satellite transmissions. Student feedback and questions are faxed to the producers of the program for inclusion in subsequent shows. Particular attention is paid to inner-city and minority schools. There are 480 schools participating this year, and the goal for next year is 1,500 schools with 150,000 to 200,000 students.

Since so few schools as yet have this kind of support, perhaps community-based organizations, such as churches, community centers, and civic clubs can be enlisted to provide young people with computer competency training. Indeed, all possible resources must be employed to empower the next generation with the skills that will enable it to ply the information superhighway and succeed in this increasingly technical society. ■

Mr. Weaver is director of the Office of Commercial Space Transportation at the U.S. Department of Transportation.

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