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A. CLASSIFICATION

☒ Meeting Material
☐ Trips
☒ Speeches

☐ Annual Meetings
☐ Corporate Management
☐ Communications with Staff

☐ Phone Logs
☐ Calendar
☐ Press Clippings/Photos

☐ JDW Transcripts
☐ Social Events
☐ Other

B. SUBJECT: LUNCHEON MEETING // SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT:
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS // JDW TO MAKE REMARKS // (B) (N)
VENUE: RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING - ROOM 2168
CONTACT: MATT MCHUGH @ 80309 <SIDI JAMMEH @ 35006>
CONTACT: CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM JEFFERSON / ATONTÉ DIETE-SPIFF @
225-0410 // FAX: 226-3342
TO ACCOMPANY: M. MCHUGH & C. ANSTEY
ATTENDEES TO INCLUDE (APR. 60) : 25+ CAUCUS MEMBERS, 12 AFRICAN
AMBASSADORS, 4 AFRICAN EDs, US EDs OFFICE, STAFF FROM THE AFRICA
REGION, AND STAFF FROM THE BANK-FUND AFRICA CLUB
NOTES: EVENT CO-SPONSORED BY THE BANK-FUND AFRICA CLUB
5/22 - ITEM CONFIRMED BY FAX
(B) MCHUGH & EXTVP // DUE: MONDAY, JULY 14
(B) SPEAKING POINTS - CAROLINE ANSTEY
EXC: MCHUGH // ALI (5/22) (7/2)
Brief includes cover note from Caroline Anstey and tabs:
- McHugh Brief
- Talking Points
- Sub-Saharan Africa At-a-Glance
- Growth & Performance
- IDA 11 & Growth
- Portfolio
- HIPC
- U.S./G7 Initiative
- African Staff in World Bank Group
- Capacity Building
- Biographies

DATE: 07/17/97

C. VPU

Corporate

☐ CTR
☐ EXT
☐ LEG
☐ MFS
☐ OED
☐ SEC/Boa d
☐ TRE

Regional

☐ AFR
☐ EAP
☐ ECA
☐ LAC
☐ MNA
☐ SAS

Central

☐ IS
☐ NEC
☐ ESD
☐ EPD
☐ EPR
☐ EPO

Affiliates

☐ GEP
☐ ICSID
☐ IRC
☐ Inspection Panel
☐ Kennedy Center
☐ MIGA

D. EXTERNAL PARTNER

☐	IMF
☐	UN
☐	MDB/Other IO
☐	NGO
☐	Private Sector

☐	Part I
☐	Part II
☐	Other

E. COMMENTS:

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Talking Points - *OUTLINE*
(See attached for details/data)

C.Anstey
7/16/97

Africa is on the Move

- New leadership, political and economic progress - 5% GDP growth in 1996, up from 3.4% in 1994; positive economic growth in 31 out of 48 countries.

But poverty and marginalization persist - 1% of total private capital flows, 42% live on less than \$1 a day; 583 million African produce only 1% of global GDP.

The challenge is to double growth rates to 8-10%

6-pronged strategy:

- Support new African leadership
- Build consensus around a policy to accelerate sustainable and poverty-reducing growth
- Encourage trade and investment
- Strengthen Official Assistance and use it more selectively
- Promote partnerships, ownership and stakeholder participation
- Harness the information revolution to development

Africa must be developed by Africans

- Importance of capacity building, but also of leveling the playing field - HIPC
- Rural development - the next big challenge?

Importance of Scaling-up and replicability - rural extension in Benin, Malawi (from project to national strategies).

Why IDA Matters

- Unlike bilateral aid, IDA tied to policy conditions, recent research shows that in good policy conditions 1% of GDP in aid results in an increase in the growth rate of 0.4% and a decline in infant mortality of 0.8%.
- IDA leveraging and performance-based lending helps to make declining bilateral ODA more efficient and effective. \$1 in US contribution leads to more than \$15 in development assistance to Africa (\$1 is 20% of IDA donor resources, thereby \$5 total; \$1 additional from non-donor resources -- reflows and transfers, \$6 total; IDA finances usually amount to no more than 40% of total of project lending, \$15 total.) But, reverse leveraging means that, if US contributions are not met, the \$15 in development assistance to Africa is not there.

Why we all have a vested interest in making this work

- Peace/stability, prosperity: In 1995, the U.S. exported \$5.4 billion worth of goods to sub-Saharan Africa. This total supported 108,000 jobs. Between 1990 and 1995, U.S. exports to Africa grew by \$1.3 billion, a 33% increase.

- assist in preparation of several country-specific capacity building projects (e.g. South Africa, Eritrea, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Malawi)
- Bank: we need to mainstream the issue of capacity building in everything we do:
 - prepare a strategy for mainstreaming capacity building in Bank operations (July 1997)
 - retrofit existing portfolio and ESW
 - assist in preparing regional action plans to strengthen capacity in public sector, private sector, and civil society (July 1997)
 - assist in preparing regional action plans on revitalizing African Universities, establishing regional centers of excellence, and dealing with the capacity depleting impact of AIDS (Aug. 1997).
- Partnership:
 - create Trust Fund and solicit contributions from other donors (starting July 1997)
 - inaugurate Consultative Group (August 1997)
 - prepare framework--Partnership for African Capacity (PACT) (Sep. 1997)
- **HIPC** - cooperation between the Bank, IMF and all other creditors to reduce debt to sustainable levels in countries with sound economic and social policies.
 - Total debt stock for sub Sahara Africa is \$235 billion.
 - The problem: 10 African countries reached rescheduling agreements with the Paris Club in 1996, but still \$4 billion increase in arrears.....
 - 74% of long term debt in sub Sahara Africa is owed to official creditors.
 - **Uganda - major accomplishment - will reduce Uganda's debt by 20% in April 1988; this translates into savings of about \$700 million over time.**
 - Preliminary debt sustainability analyses for Burkina Faso, Bolivia, and Cote d'Ivoire; work underway on 6 more countries.

Special issues

- ***African Staffing in the Bank***
 - Bank-wide: 7.5 percent of total Bank staff are African. Africans account for 7 percent of all promotions - in line with their overall numbers
 - Africans in the Africa Region:
 - 22.5% of HQ staff are African--increasing trend under Renewal program: up from 20.2% at the end of FY96.
 - Africans in management positions in Africa Region after Renewal program: 15 out of 50 - result of transparency and competition - not affirmative action.
- ***Bank Decentralization*** - Africa Region using co-pilot concept for Country Directors/Res Reps
 - Two Country Directors already in field - Kenya & Cote d'Ivoire; and Ghana CD to field soon.
 - New "Decentralization Initiative Team" established in Africa Region
 - Bank-wide effort on "Location of Work" paper

NB

Why we all have a vested interest in making this work

- Last decade more than half of the world's low-income countries experienced conflict.
 - 2 million deaths from tuberculosis every year; 856,000 from malaria; globally 23 million infected with the AIDS virus.
 - Carbon emissions have grown by nearly 200 million tons since 1990, reaching a record high of 6.3 billion tons of carbon in 1995 - a 3% increase in 5 years.
 - Prosperity -42% of US trade now with developing countries, that translates into about 4 million US jobs. In 1995, the U.S. exported \$5.4 billion worth of goods to sub-Saharan Africa. This total supported 108,000 jobs. Between 1990 and 1995, U.S. exports to Africa grew by \$1.3 billion, a 33% increase.
-

C. Anstey
7/16/97

Sub-Saharan Africa

06/15/1997

POVERTY and SOCIAL (Most recent estimate)

	Sub-Saharan Africa	Top 10 performers	Medium performers	Low performers
Number of countries	48	10	22	13
Population mid-(millions)	583	96	248	200
Population growth (updated) (%)	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.9
Atlas GNP per capita (weighted average 1996)	512	1677	253	266
Poverty: % of pop. living with less than \$1/day (PPP)	45	35	51	37
Urban population (updated) (% of total population)	34	35	32	39
Life expectancy at birth (updated) (years)	53	58	51	52
Infant mortality (updated) (per 1,000 live births)	94	72	99	93
Child malnutrition (updated) (% of children under 5)	26	22	28	26
Access to safe water (updated) (% of population)	54	65	53	44
Illiteracy (updated) (% of population age 15+)	47	51	45	44
Gross primary enrollment (% of school-age population)	78	99	89	77
Male (updated)	84	100	76	86
Female (updated)	71	95	58	76

KEY ECONOMIC VARIABLES

1996 estimates except where noted

	4.9	6.7	4.9	2.8
GDP (average annual growth)	8.2	13.3	6.8	6.0
Exports of goods and nfs (average annual growth)	9.8	13.7	8.9	7.6
Gross domestic savings/GDP	19.0	20.9	19.4	16.7
Private investment/GDP	11.0	12.8	10.6	10.2
Fiscal balance/GDP	-8.8	-4.6	-7.3	-7.9
Current account balance/GDP	-9.6	-8.9	-10.7	-7.9
Inflation rate	12.8	6.8	15.4	13.2
Total debt service/exports (updated 1995)	14.7	12.2	14.5	16.4
Present value of debt/GDP (updated 1995)	78.7	89.7	72.4	93.5
Present value of debt/exports (updated 1995)	256.2	178.1	252.6	289.9

LONG-TERM TRENDS: SSA

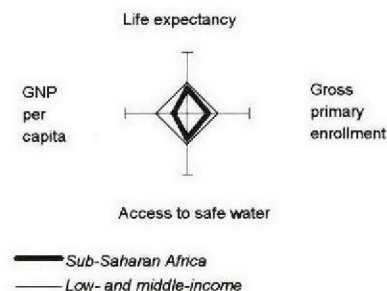
(average annual growth - updated)

	1980-90	1990-95	1995	1996
GDP	2.9	2.1	3.4	4.9
Exports of goods and nfs	3.2	2.7	5.7	8.2
Terms of trade	-1.2	-0.5	5.3	..

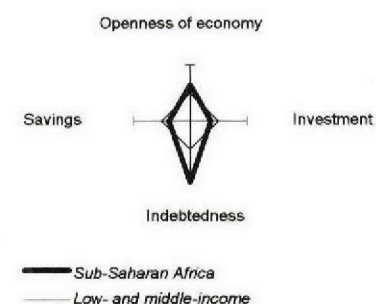
EXTERNAL DEBT and RESOURCE FLOWS: SSA

	1980	1990	1995	1996
(millions US\$)				
Composition of net resource flows				
Official grants	3,659	12,289	11,405	11,800
Official creditors	3,593	4,692	2,621	2,300
Private creditors	7,873	-679	2,103	-200
Foreign direct investment	33	876	2,187	2,600
Portfolio equity	0	0	4,868	3,600
World Bank program				
Commitments	1,456	3,895	2,471	18,122
Disbursements	824	2,850	2,669	2,900
Principal repayments	117	772	1,176	1,200
Net flows	707	2,078	1,493	1,700
Interest payments	233	748	812	800
Net transfers	474	1,330	681	900

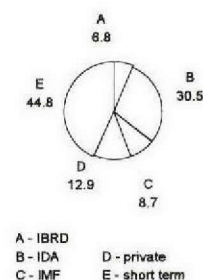
Development diamond*



Economic ratios*



Composition of SSA debt, 1996 (bil. US\$)



BULLETIN BOARD

HIPC debt initiative (prelim)

possibly stressed
unsustainable

1996	1997	1998	Decision point	1999
Ugand	CdI	Cameroon	Congo, Madag, Niger, Tanz.	
	Eth	Guinea-B.	Moz., Zambia	

Global communications pilots

Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Mozambique

Connectivity for the Poor

Ghana, Malawi, Mozambique and Senegal

Rural development focus countries

Guinea, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Uganda

National capacity assessments done

Burkina, Cdl, Com., Gabon, Ghana, Guin.-Bis., Guin., Kenya, Malawi, Tanz., Uganda, Zambia.

Bank-NGO study

Ghana, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Mali

EU-WB collaboration

CdI, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Burkina Faso (cond.)

top 10 performers

Mauritius, Botswana, South Africa, Namibia, Cote d'Ivoire, Lesotho, Malawi, Uganda, Benin, Cape Verde

medium performers

Ghana, Senegal, Mauritania, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Eritrea, Zambia, Mali, Ethiopia, Swaziland, Gambia, Mozambique, Burkina Faso, Niger, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Togo, Madagascar, Tanzania, Chad, Guinea Bissau, Guinea

low performers

Cameroon, S.Tome & Principe, Gabon, Congo, Comoros, Djibouti, Nigeria, Rwanda, Burundi, Eq. Guinea, C.A.R., Dem. Rep. of Congo, Angola

NPV: 16 African HIPC's end-1994	\$US bill.	share
total	77.1	100
multilateral	17.5	23
IMF	4.4	6
IBRD	2.8	4
IDA	4.5	6
ADB	2.5	3
ADF	1	1
Others	2.2	3
bilateral	43.6	56
private	10.7	14
short-term	5.4	7

Sub-Saharan Africa At a Glance **High, Medium, and Low Performers** **July 17, 1997**

-  Top 10 Highest Performers
-  Medium Performers
-  Low Performers
-  Not Ranked

Top 10 Performers

Mauritius
 Botswana
 South Africa
 Namibia
 Cote d'Ivoire
 Lesotho
 Malawi
 Uganda
 Benin
 Cape Verde

Economic Indicators

Population: 583.3 million
 Population growth: 2.7%
 GNP per capita (Atlas): \$512
 GDP growth: 1994: 0.9%;
 1995: 3.4%, 1996: 4.9%
 Export growth: 1990-95: 2.7%;
 1996: 8.2%

31 of 48 countries positive per
 capita GDP growth in 1996

Social Indicators

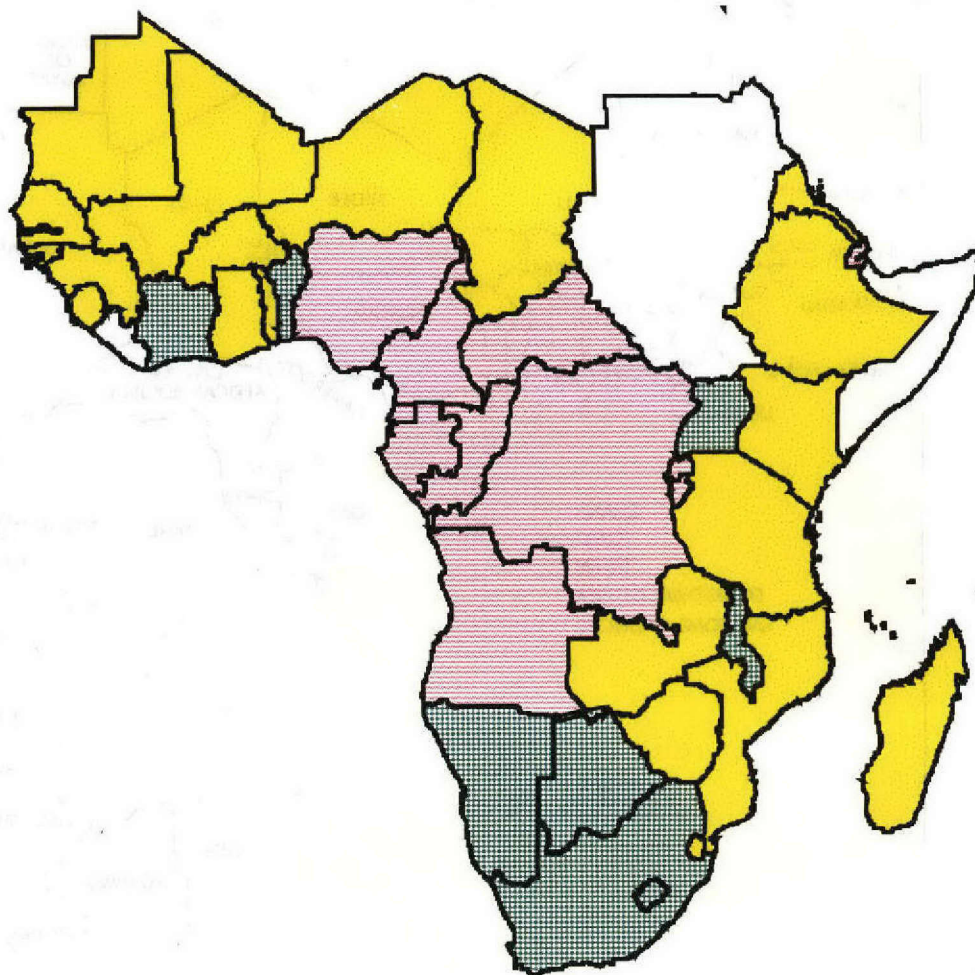
% of pop < \$1/day: 45%
 Urban pop (% total): 34%
 Life expectancy: 53 years
 Infant mortality (per 1000): 94
 Child malnutrition -
 (% < 5 years): 26%
 Access to safe water: 54%
 Illiteracy rate: 47%
 Male primary enrollment: 84%
 Female primary enrollment: 71%

Resource Flows (1996)

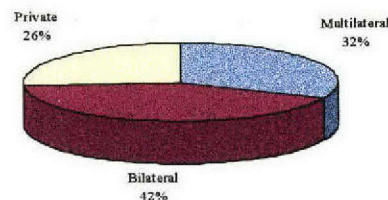
Total Net Resource Flows: \$26.1 billion
 Long term debt: \$8.1 billion
 FDI: \$2.6 billion
 Portfolio: \$3.6 billion
 Grants: \$11.8 billion
 Net Transfers: \$17.6 billion (net resource flows minus interest and
 profit remittances)

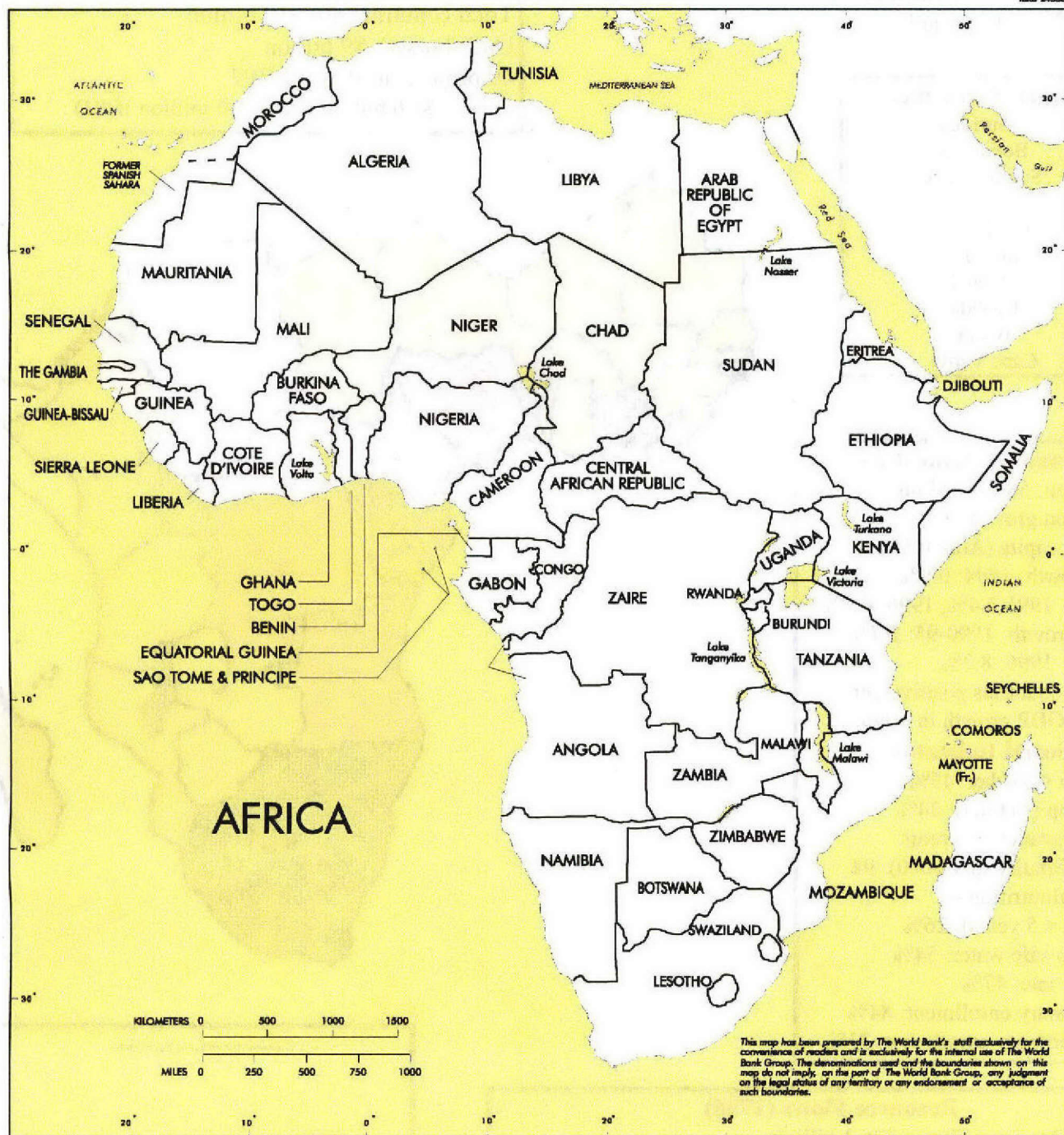
Africa Portfolio

491 projects
 Total commitment: \$18 billion
 Undisbursed: \$9 billion
 49 projects to Board FY97
 \$1.6 billion IDA; \$56 million IBRD



Composition of Long Term Debt





James D. Wolfensohn
Background for remarks to the Congressional Black Caucus
July 17 1997

Africa is on the Move

Three Reasons:

1. Growth of democracy and civil society - e.g. South Africa
2. New political leadership - Mbeki in South Africa, Museveni in Uganda, Konare in Mali - and changed political attitudes
3. Economy on the move
 - 5% GDP growth in 1996, up from 3.4% in 1995 and 0.9% in 1994
 - 31 of 48 countries in Sub Sahara Africa had positive per capital GDP growth in 1996 - some countries posting 10 percent growth.
 - Exports growing at over 8 percent - (less than 4 percent in 1994)
 - But sad footnotes - Congo, Sierra Leone, Liberia.....

But poverty and marginalization persist.....

- 9 -
- 583 million Africans (10 percent of world's population) produce only 1 percent of global GDP
 - 45 percent of Africans (262 million) live on less than \$1 per day
 - 47 percent without access to safe water
 - 35 percent without access to health services
 - 90 of every 1000 babies in Sub Sahara Africa die before their first birthday
 - Over the last three years Sub Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) received only about 1% of total private capital flows.

The Challenge is to double growth rates to 8-10% - 5% not good enough, population growth already near 3 percent.

How do we do this? - Six pillars:

- Pop growth
1. Support new African leadership
 - Africans must take the lead
 2. **Help in establishing consensus around a strategy to accelerate growth** - growth must be environmentally sustainable and geared to poverty reduction. That means:
 - • Macroeconomic stability (fiscal prudence, low inflation, realistic exchange rates)
 - • Private sector-led growth

- legal and regulatory frameworks improving in many countries
- State-owned enterprises are being privatized -- 2,700 by the end of 1996 (e.g. 10 telecoms have been privatized, yielding \$1.7 billion in revenues)
- Rural development (70% of the poor are in the rural areas). **Rural extension - Benin, Malawi**
- Health and education (especially for girls)
- Global and regional integration

3. Encourage trade and investment

- Sub 1.52 in S.S.A.*
- Exports are up: 8% in 1996; up from around 3% in from 1980 to 1995
 - Private flows are up: from less than \$1 billion in early 1990s to \$11.6 billion in 1996. (Good news, but still only 5 percent of total to all developing countries.)
 - Foreign direct investment nearly zero in 1980 and only \$0.9 billion in 1990, but \$2.6 billion in 1996 but still only 3 percent of total to all developing countries.
 - Good returns on these investments: between 1990 and 1994 rates of return on FDI in Africa averaged between 24-31 percent, compared to 16-18 percent for all developing countries.
 - Portfolio flows growing - at least 12 Africa-oriented funds established, representing more than \$1 billion (and good example of a successful IPO was the Ashanti Goldfields of Ghana)

4. Strengthen Official Assistance and use it more selectively

IDA

To attract more private investment, African governments need to invest in the human and physical infrastructure that makes private investment profitable (education, roads, ports, telecoms, energy, etc.).

- IDA most prominent single external source of public investment inflows for Africa
- In 1996 ODA to Sub Sahara Africa was \$15.3 billion, of which IDA contributed \$2.6 billion, (17 percent)
- IDA disbursements to Sub Sahara Africa increased from \$424 million in 1980 to \$2.6 billion in 1996

→ The Bank (Africa Region) is planning to selectively increase IDA commitments to accelerate growth in countries with good policies. This should result in an increase in total IDA11 (FY97, 98, 99) commitments to Africa from \$7 billion to \$9 billion. **Selectivity matters.** Recent Bank research shows that aid channeled to poor countries with poor performance has no effect. Whereas when channeled to poor countries with good economic aid, 1% of GDP in aid results in an increase in the growth rate of 0.4% and a decline in infant mortality of 0.8%. (Given that IDA has conditions it scores higher on aid effectiveness than bilateral aid).

Development

Strategy to increase IDA flows to Africa:

- Increase number of Country Assistance Strategies that target accelerated growth
- Maintain the already improved disbursement rate
- Provide supplemental loans to on-going, successful projects

- Apply greater selectivity supported by new types of adjustment lending (e.g. provide "bridge financing" to countries that want to rapidly reform their tariff and tax systems)
- Move more rapidly into new approaches to investment (e.g. social funds, sector investment programs, decentralized infrastructure operations, demand-driven extension services)
- React more rapidly to improving country situations
- Monitor carefully the progress of large lending operations
- Encourage greater pro-activity by new Bank management team

IDA and Bilateral aid - IDA leveraging and performance-based lending helps to make declining bilateral ODA more efficient and effective. \$1 in US contribution leads to more than \$15 in development assistance to Africa (\$1 is 20% of IDA donor resources, thereby \$5 total; \$1 additional from non-donor resources -- reflows and transfers, \$6 total; IDA finances usually amount to no more than 40% of total of project lending, \$15 total.) But, reverse leveraging means that, if US contributions are not met, the \$15 in development assistance to Africa is not there.

\$ 1 plus 500
\$ 15

5. Promote Partnerships, Ownership and Stakeholder Participation

- Bank can't do it alone - Need governments, NGOs, donors, and private sector.
- Need for much greater participation. Bottom up not top-down development (Bank now has 52 NGO liaison officers; completed 38 participatory poverty assessments - 25 in Africa; mandatory identification of stakeholders.

6. Harness the Information Revolution to Development

- Economists are now increasingly agreed that it is knowledge which is the major driving force behind economic progress.
- But the gap between those with access and without is enormous. In 1994, there were only 1.6 main telephone lines per 100 inhabitants in Africa compared with 45 in Europe. In Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole (excluding South Africa) there are fewer telephones than in either New York or Tokyo.
- All Resident Missions will have Internet access by May, 1998 (today 32 African countries have Internet access.
- Connectivity for the Poor Initiative - local Internet networks. Four pilots - Malawi, Mozambique, Ghana, and Senegal
- WorldLinks for Development - on-line systems for secondary school students. Eight countries
- InfoDev - public/private partnerships for technology and satellite links. Six projects operational
- African Virtual University (AVU) - degree programs in science, engineering, continuing education via satellite.
- Nine countries by January 1998

- Training started July 15
- Co-financing from Bank, Canada, EU, Japan, and Ireland

New Initiatives and Partnerships

- **G7/U.S. Africa Initiative** - Initiative would support African countries willing to deepen reforms and integrate into the world economy. G7 would offer increased market access, support increased private investment flows, work with African countries to ensure well-targeted assistance to countries with the greatest need and which carry out necessary reforms.
- Bank is fully supportive of the Initiative.
- Bank and Fund urge G7 to improve market access for poor countries (e.g. textiles); phase out the subsidization of agricultural exports which compete with their production; provide temporary and targeted financial assistance; and help reduce riskiness of private investment.
- Narrow "trade" focus should be avoided; "aid for trade and investment" instead of "trade, not aid".
- The Fund and the Bank can offer increased access to ESAF and IDA policy-based lending, maximum debt relief under HIPC initiative and support to African capacity-building to strengthen economic management. In addition, improved management will facilitate the absorption of resources provided for education, health and essential infrastructure.
- The Initiative: welcome attention to positive aspects of African development and heightened commercial interest. This is essential if the improved economic performance and management of the last three years is to be sustained.
- But it is essential that Africans lead the process and truly own any new initiatives.
- The G7 Denver meeting is therefore a useful step in a process that will lead to an Africa-led strategic initiative, supported by all partners and stakeholders.

- **Capacity building** - The Partnership for Capacity Building is an initiative of the African Governors of the Bank. It is not a Bank initiative.
- Capacity building is the missing link in Africa's development.
- Capacity building must be led by Africans.
- What has been achieved since request was made by Governors at 1995 Annual Meetings:
 - 12 National Capacity Building Assessments
 - "Mule Report" ("Partnership for Capacity Building in Africa -- Impact of Bank Policies and Operational Practices on Capacity Building in Africa", Aug. 1996)
 - African Governors: "Strategy and Program of Action", Sep. 1996
 - establishment of Capacity Building Technical Group in the Africa Region (budget \$3.2 million for FY98)
- Next steps:
 - Countries:
 - assist partner countries in undertaking National Capacity Assessments and establishing National Capacity Secretariats

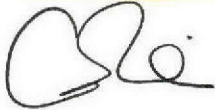
Remarks to the Congressional Black Caucus

Mr. Wolfensohn:

Matt McHugh has prepared a brief for you on the background to the meeting and the members of the Black Caucus.

I enclose talking points/background data which I put together with the Africa Region. I also enclose a brief on **IDA in Africa, Africa at a Glance, HIPC**, the **U.S./G7 initiative** and material on appointments of Africans to managerial positions in the Bank.

I asked Rogier to put a map together for you showing the low, middle and high performers. This is interesting because it challenges much of Jeff Sachs argument re the importance of access to the sea and raw materials. What it actually shows is an important "neighborhood effect" taking place.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'C. Le' or similar, with a stylized, cursive script.

Caroline
7/16/97

The World Bank
Washington, D.C. 20433
U.S.A.

Matthew F. McHugh
Counselor to the President

July 15, 1997

Mr. James D. Wolfensohn

***Luncheon with Congressional Black Caucus
Sponsored by World Bank-IMF Africa Club
July 17, 1:00-2:30 pm
2168 Rayburn House Office Building***

Jim,

This will provide some background for your forthcoming lunch with the Congressional Black Caucus, a significant constituency for us on the Hill. Of particular note and importance is the fact that either the House or Senate, or both, may well consider the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill on Thursday.

I have enclosed biographies on those members of the Black Caucus who are in the leadership of the Caucus, as well as those who have been most active in organizing this lunch. Once we have a better reading on likely attendees, we will supplement your background with their biographies as well.

The Congressional Black Caucus represents a group of Members of the House of Representatives, and Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, who should be natural supporters of IDA in the Congress. Yet, despite this, their political efforts have been almost exclusively targeted on the bilateral programs of foreign assistance that benefit Africa. With some notable exceptions, such as Rep. Floyd Flake and Senator Moseley-Braun, we have not been very successful in building an appreciation for the significant benefits which IDA brings to Africa, and to their minority business constituents in the US.

This lunch provides a key opportunity for you to make the connection between their demonstrated interest in promoting social, economic and political development and two-way trade with Africa, and the role of IDA in reaching these goals.

Rep. William Jefferson is scheduled to speak first and make brief opening remarks, with Rep. Maxine Waters, Chair of the CBC, speaking next. Rep. Donald Payne is scheduled to make brief comments on behalf of the International Relations Committee, and Rep. Floyd Flake, Ranking Democrat on our Banking Subcommittee, may also speak.

Rep. Alcee Hastings will comment on the Bank-IMF Africa Club, and Sidi Jammeh will introduce you for your remarks. Following your remarks, and Q&A, Rep. Charles Rangel will make closing remarks. The lunch is scheduled to conclude by 2:30.

With House and/or Senate consideration of the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill possible on Thursday, your appearance is both timely and relevant. Senator Moseley-Braun has indicated that she may offer an amendment on the Senate floor which would increase some of the funding levels for Africa, including IDA. There may be another amendment on the Senate floor which would be specifically designed to raise the IDA funding level to the President's request. The Treasury Department is exploring this possibility, although no sponsor has yet been identified.

No amendments affecting IDA have yet been identified in the House of Representatives.

In addition to the members of the CBC, a number of African Ambassadors have been invited to attend the lunch, as well as the US and African Executive Directors to the Bank and Fund. A full list of those invited is attached.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Matt', written in a cursive style.

Matt

Copies to: Messrs./Mmes. Sandstrom, Assaad, Anstey (EXC); Madavo, Sarbib, Van Den Brink, Jammeh, Chinje (AFR); Malloch Brown, Maguire, Donaldson (EXT)

LUNCHEON ON CAPITOL HILL
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK-CAUCUS and the
WORLDBANK-IMF AFRICA CLUB
JULY 17, 1997 1:00 - 2:30pm

Sponsors:

U.S. Representative :
Charles Rangel
Donald Payne
William Jefferson
Alcee Hastings
Earl Hilliard
Carrie Meek
Albert Wynn
Juanita Millender-McDonald
*Other members of the Congressional Black
Caucus will be present*

Guest of Honor:

James D. Wolfensohn

Ambassadors :

Benin
Botswana
Cote d'Ivoire
Ghana
Madagascar
Mali
Mauritius
Mozambique
Senegal
South Africa
Uganda
Zimbabwe
Gabon

H. E. Lucien Tonoukouin
H. E. Archibald M. Mogwe
H. E. Moise Koffi Koumoue
Hon. Nana Effah Apenteng
Hon. Biclair Andrianantoandro
H. E. Shieck Omar Diarrah
H. E. Chitmansing Jesseramsing
H. E. Marcos Namashulua
H. E. General Mamadour Mansur
H. E. Franklin Sonn
H. E. Edith G. Ssempala
H.E. Amos Bernard M. Midzi
H. E. Paul Boundoukou-Latha

Executive Directors:

Jan M. Piercy
Ali Bourhane
Joaquim Carvalho
Koffi Yao
karin Lissakers
Dinah Guti

Vice Presidents :

Callisto Madavo
Jean-Louis Sarbib

Deputy Managing Director/IMF

Alassane D. Ouattara

Chief Counsel,Africa

Paatii Ofosu-Amaah

Director, ICD

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala

Exc/External Affairs:

Mathew Mc Hugh
John Donaldson

Africa Club:

Sidi Jammeh
Eric Chinje
Demba Ba
Victoria Sancea
Margaret Kilo

CBC Luncheon for Mr. James D. Wolfensohn
Brief opening remarks
by Chair, World Bank-IMF Africa Club
Thursday July 17, 1997

Members of Congress, members of the African Diplomatic Corps, the Executive Directors of the Bank and the Fund, the Deputy Managing Director of the IMF, the Vice-presidents of the Africa Region of the World Bank, Congressional Staffers, my colleagues of the Bank and the Fund:

On behalf of the Africa Club, I would like first of all to thank Congressman William Jefferson and his colleagues for sponsoring this event. We in the Africa Club believe that the members of the CBC have credentials and sensitivities unmatched by other lawmakers to provide effective leadership for promoting mutually beneficial US-Africa exchange relationships, and for proactively informing and shaping US legislation and administration policies on Africa. The Africa Club is at your disposal--ready and willing to be of service to you and to perform any facilitating role which you may require from us to carry out your noble mission. Our ongoing effort to establish close relations with this august body aims at one important goal, namely to build a broad-based Africa Constituency at the Hill. We are very encouraged by your responsiveness and keen interest, and we are deeply thankful.

Your luncheon guest is very special to our Club. He is very special to us because, we believe, he truly cares about Africa and Africa's future. I introduce Mr. Wolfensohn to you with immense pride. He is the first Bank President to designate Africa as the World Bank's **number one priority**. He has stated that, under his leadership, the success of the World Bank Group (in the pursuit of its primary mission of poverty alleviation and as the premier development institution of the World) would be measured by its success and effectiveness in Africa. Mr. Wolfensohn is walking the talk.

In the short period of time he has been in this office, he has visited Africa twice, accompanied by his spouse. During these visits, Mr. Wolfensohn interacted freely with African Leaders, the private sector, civil society and NGOs-- listening , learning and exchanging views about the development challenges and opportunities facing the continent. Mr. Wolfensohn also used these visits to do a close reality check on Bank work in Africa.

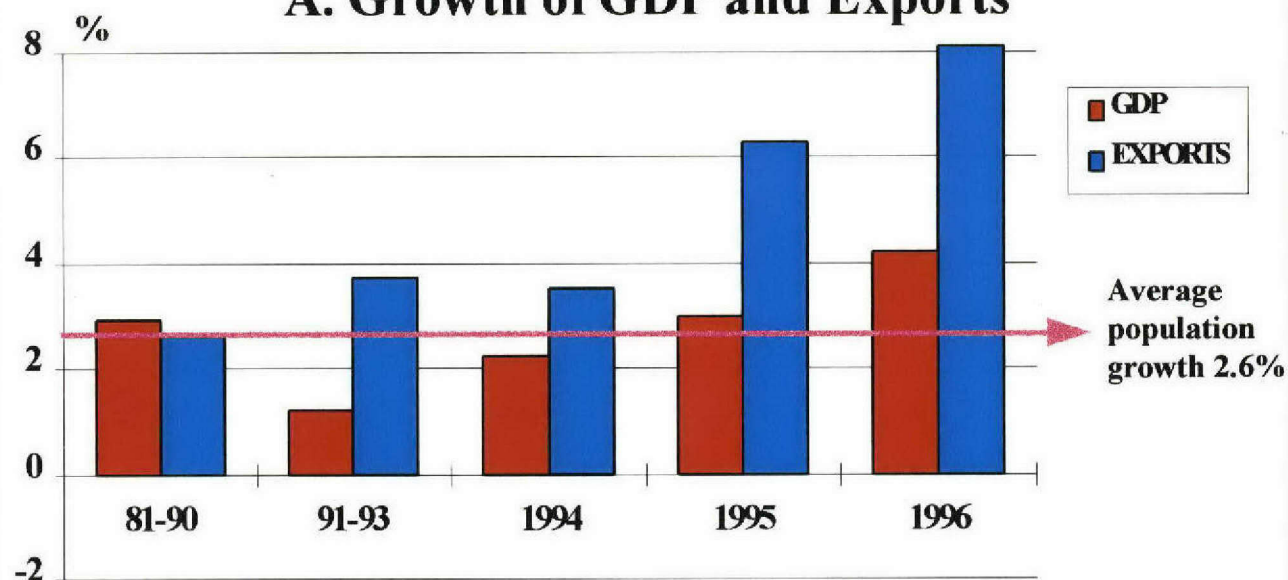
Your special guest also recognizes diversity as an important source of strength for the new Bank and has been sending the right signals to his management to treat African staffing issues strategically as a substantive business matter and to ensure a level playing field for all Bank employees, regardless of race, color or religion.

Members of Congress, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is with great honor and privilege that I introduce to you, Mr. James Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank Group.

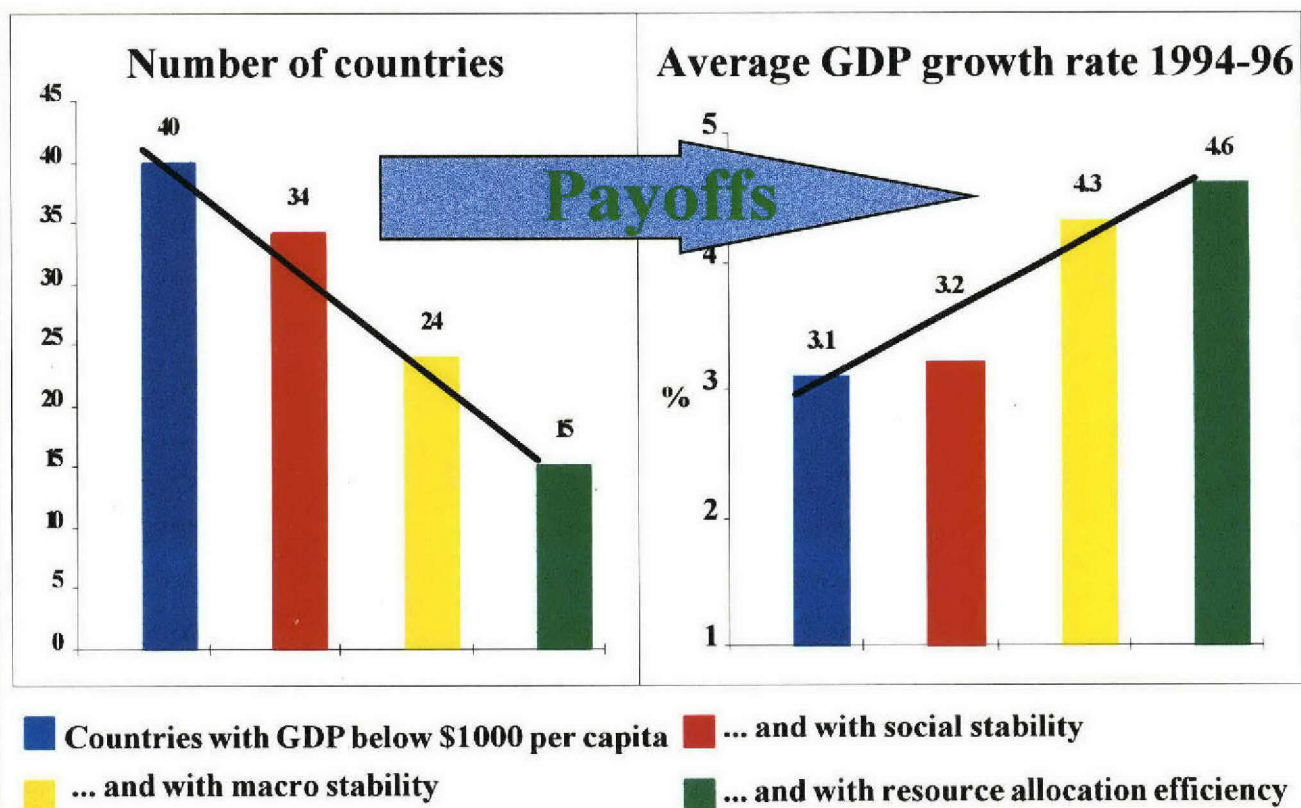
AFRICA

Growth and Performance

A. Growth of GDP and Exports



B. Accounting for Growth



ACCELERATED GROWTH FOR AFRICA: THE ROLE OF IDA 11

INTRODUCTION

In 1996, economic growth for Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) was estimated at around 5 percent, compared to 3.4 percent in 1995 and 0.9 percent in 1994. And 31 (out of a total of 48) economies grew faster than their population. This suggests that Africa's economic performance is improving. But the encouraging economic opening should be seen in the context of a continent with a population growth rate of nearly 3 percent per year and with 45% of the population of 580 million people living below \$1 a day. The challenge facing SSA is to achieve sustainable economic growth levels of 7 to 8 percent if poverty is to be reduced significantly. The strategy of the Bank is to assist African countries achieving these higher levels of growth.

Accelerated economic growth requires better use of existing resources, but also increased overall levels of investment. Doing a better job at mobilizing domestic savings is one obvious source for the additional investment required. Attracting a larger share of international private capital flows is another. But it is equally obvious that official investment flows will continue to play a vital role, in particular because higher levels of public investment in human and physical infrastructure are often a pre-condition for attracting larger flows of private capital.

IDA is the most prominent external single source of public investment flows for Africa, representing 17% of Official Development Assistance in 1996. And with bilateral aid generally declining, the importance of IDA to Africa becomes even stronger. Unfortunately, at exactly the time that Africa is showing clear signs of economic movement, and disbursement rates are up significantly, the trends in IDA allocations and commitments (new lending) to Africa are down, including for the just completed fiscal year.

This briefing note explains that this trend is temporary and a transitory phenomenon associated with:

- adverse country-specific situation in a number of countries;
- fundamental shifts in our investment strategies; and
- the internal re-organization of the Africa Region.

We then demonstrate the need for a significant increase in future IDA lending to Africa, reflecting the Region's strategy targeted at accelerated growth. During IDA11 (FY97, 98 and 99), a substantial increase of IDA flows to Africa should materialize as a result of this strategy, which consists of: (i) increasing the number of Country Assistance Strategies that target accelerated growth; (ii) maintaining the improvements in the disbursement rate; (iii) supplementing successful projects; (iv) applying greater selectivity supported by new types of adjustment lending; (v) moving more rapidly into new approaches to investment projects; (vi) rapidly reacting to the "coming on line" of at least one out of a number of large countries or regional projects; (vii) carefully monitoring the progress of large lending operations and (viii) encouraging greater pro-activity by the management team.

THE PROBLEM

First, Africa is receiving a declining share of a shrinking pie (Attachment 1), despite being often cited as the donors' top priority. IDA commitments (new lending) to Africa have been declining since FY92, with a short-lived up-turn in FY96 (Attachment 2). For instance, in FY97, the first year of the Region's Renewal Program, commitments were down nearly 30 percent from their FY95-96 average. What are the reasons for the decline in IDA commitments?

Second, the Africa Region's current business planning process projects a combined total of SDR¹ 5.1 billion over three years for FY97 (SDR 1.7 billion), FY98 (SDR 1.5 billion), and FY99 (SDR 1.9 billion). But the IDA 11 (FY97, 98, and 99) mobilization strategy assumes commitments (at the present disbursement rate) of SDR 6.5 billion in total. This implies a *shortfall of SDR 1.4 billion* needed to exhaust the IDA11 allocation to Africa. Can this shortfall be made up, reversing the downward trend in IDA flows to Africa?

REASONS FOR THE DECLINE IN IDA COMMITMENTS

There are three broad sets of reasons for the decline in IDA lending to Africa. Specific country situations, fundamental shifts in our investment strategies and the internal reorganization of the Africa Region--the Renewal Program.

Adverse country situation. Social instability or governance issues resulted in recent declines in commitments to countries such as Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo-Brazzaville, Gambia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Togo. These were only partially off-set by unforeseen extra-uptake by Niger, Tanzania, and Uganda (Attachment 3).

Changes in investment strategies. For a number of years the Region has critically reviewed its lending strategies and moved out of failed models (e.g. agricultural and industrial credit) and into new and more promising approaches (e.g. participation, decentralization). This critical review has been accompanied by greater selectivity and

¹ SDR 1 = US\$ 1.38.

more rigorous ex ante quality review. However, while the clean-up of the portfolio has resulted in improved portfolio performance ratings and higher disbursement rates, the implementation of new models of investment projects has taken longer than anticipated. The new models often require substantial institutional changes both on the borrowers' and on the Bank's side. These changes take time. Examples of these new investment strategies are increased participation in the CAS process and the project cycle, a shift to the private provision of public services, decentralized investment programs (e.g. social funds, AGETIP), sector investment programs, better preparation of new projects through environmental and social assessments, and new types of adjustment lending.

Internal reorganization of the Africa Region. A final reason for the decline in IDA commitments is linked to the organizational transition of the Africa Region. On July 1, 1996, the Africa Region undertook, as the first region in the Bank, a major re-organization. A complete overhaul of the management structure was implemented and a new management team was only fully in place by mid-September. The learning curve of the new team clearly affected the lending program.

SPECIFIC DECLINES IN IDA COMMITMENTS IN FY97

At the beginning of FY97, the Africa Region had 62 IDA projects, for a total value of SDR 1.6 billion, planned for Board Approval during the fiscal year. At the closing of FY97, the Region had brought 49 IDA projects and 10 supplemental IDA credits to the Board, for a total value of SDR 1.2 billion. For FY97, the "undelivered" IDA lending was SDR 400 million. Twenty two projects were dropped or slipped, but seven projects that were not originally planned and ten supplemental credits were added for a total of seventeen (Attachment 3).

Looking at the projects that were dropped, the following individual cases account for a major share of the decline.

- In Ethiopia, a planned Energy Sector Project (SDR 138.8 million) did not pass the regional quality review, because of environmental concerns. These concerns were, however, raised too close to the planned Board date to permit revising the project in time. A revised project will now be resubmitted in July FY98.
- In Cameroon, a planned adjustment operation (SDR 104.1 million) was put on hold, because of a deterioration in the country situation.
- In Cote d'Ivoire, a planned Transport Sector Adjustment Loan (SDR 69 million) was postponed, because of a disagreement between the Bank and the borrower over the appropriate investment strategy (increasing the role of the private sector in road maintenance operations).
- In Burkina Faso, two operations, for a combined total of SDR 55.6 million, did not go to the Board. An Agricultural Sector Adjustment (SDR 27.8 million) loan slipped

because of the absence of a task manager, and a Water Supply project (also SDR 27.8 million) because of a more rigorous ex-ante quality review.

We have tried to quantitatively assess the impact of the three broad categories on changes in the lending program during FY97 (Attachment 3). Looking at the total amount of *upward* revisions (SDR 266 million), we estimate that (i) SDR 190 million, or 72%, was attributed to unforeseen positive changes in the country situation; (ii) SDR 50 million, or 19%, could be categorized new investment approaches; and (iii) SDR 25 million, or 9%, was due to positive effects of the Renewal Program.

Turning to the downward changes, (i) SDR 260 million, or 39%, was related to country situation; (ii) SDR 317 million, or 48%, to changes in investment approaches; and (iii) SDR 86.8 million, or 13%, to the Renewal Program. The net effect of the Renewal Program was thus estimated at a negative 4%.

STRATEGY TO INCREASE IDA FLOWS TO AFRICA

The strategy of the Bank's Africa Region is to assist the continent in achieving substantially higher levels of growth, while ensuring that the type of growth pursued actually reduces poverty (i.e. is broad-based and labor-intensive) and is environmentally sustainable. To do this, we are deepening the partnership between clients, other donors and the Bank around a strategic framework consisting of action plans for capacity building and rural, private sector, infrastructure and human development; and a macro strategy which integrates these action plans and explains how poverty-reducing growth can be sustainably taken to levels of 7 to 8% per year.

Accelerated economic growth in a growing number of well-performing countries will imply increasing IDA flows to those countries. The Africa Region will achieve these higher levels by taking the following measures.

Increasing the number of Country Assistance Strategies that target accelerated growth. In situation where a track record of good performance has been established, the Country Directors will reassess the Country Assistance Strategies and explore the feasibility and investment requirements of scenarios that target higher levels of growth.

Maintaining the improvements in the disbursement rate. The efforts over the past few years at portfolio clean-up (restructuring or closing of poorly performing projects) have resulted in significant improvement in the overall disbursement rate. And project performance has also clearly improved because country economic management has improved in more countries (25 in the past 3 years) than the number in which policy has deteriorated (12). These improvements will need to be maintained in order to improve the efficiency of the use of IDA funds.

Supplementing successful projects. Instead of preparing entirely new loan operations, it is often possible to issue supplemental loans to on-going operations with a good track record. Managers will identify operations for which this is feasible.

Applying greater selectivity supported by new types of adjustment lending. Lending will increasingly be linked to policy performance. Greater selectivity and the implementation of new, more flexible types of adjustment lending are likely to combine with the improving policy environment in many countries. Examples of such operations: resources needed to absorb losses from rapid tariff and tax reform, or civil service restructuring. This should result in increased adjustment and investment lending, in particular for countries that have per capita lending that is not commensurate to their policy performance (Attachment 4). This applies most strongly to Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Burkina, Gambia, Kenya, Uganda, Benin, Lesotho, Mali and Togo. The RVPs will continue to aggressively reallocate budget resources away from slow moving countries and towards good performers.

Moving more rapidly into new approaches to investment projects. As the experience with the new approaches accumulates (e.g. social funds, sector investment programs) and the Adaptable Lending initiative is implemented, we should expect a stronger uptake of investment funds in the coming years. The increased use of pilot operations to test potentially attractive mechanisms, such as the use of education vouchers and matching grants for social infrastructure, will also increase the demand for new lending.

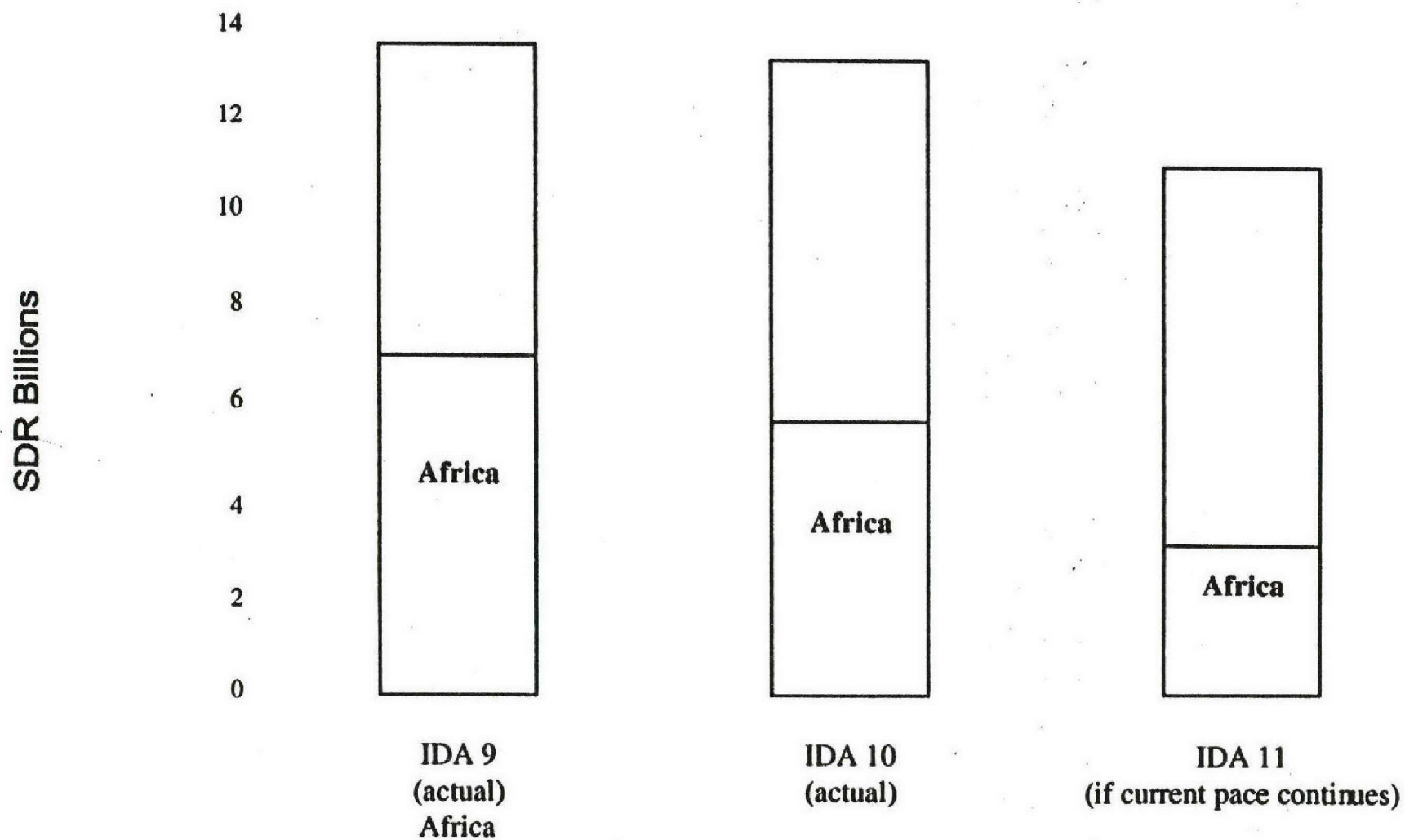
Rapidly reacting to improving country situations and the "coming on line" of at least one out of a number of large countries or regional projects. It is likely that we will experience at least one major break-through in the near future in countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo or Nigeria. And there are several large regional infrastructure projects in preparation that could be candidates for IDA funding.

Carefully monitoring the progress of large lending operations. A project watch list has been compiled, containing projects that will benefit from a focused management effort, including a monthly RVP level review (Attachment 5).

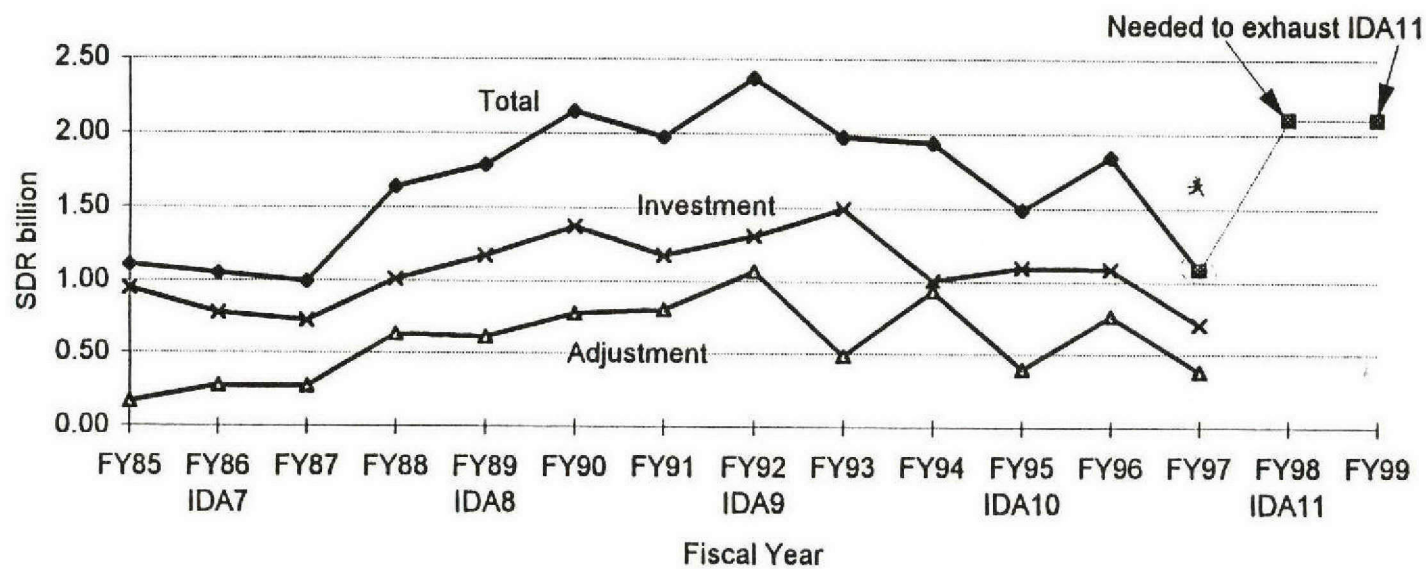
Encouraging greater pro-activity by the management team. The learning curve of the new management team should quickly level off. Already the planned lending for FY98 has seen a dramatic increase from FY97, the first year of the Renewal Program, when many managers re-assessed strategies and restructured the portfolio. Currently, managers are targeting SDR 2.4 to 2.6 billion in IDA lending, working on a population of 92 projects.

Table 1: Africa Lending

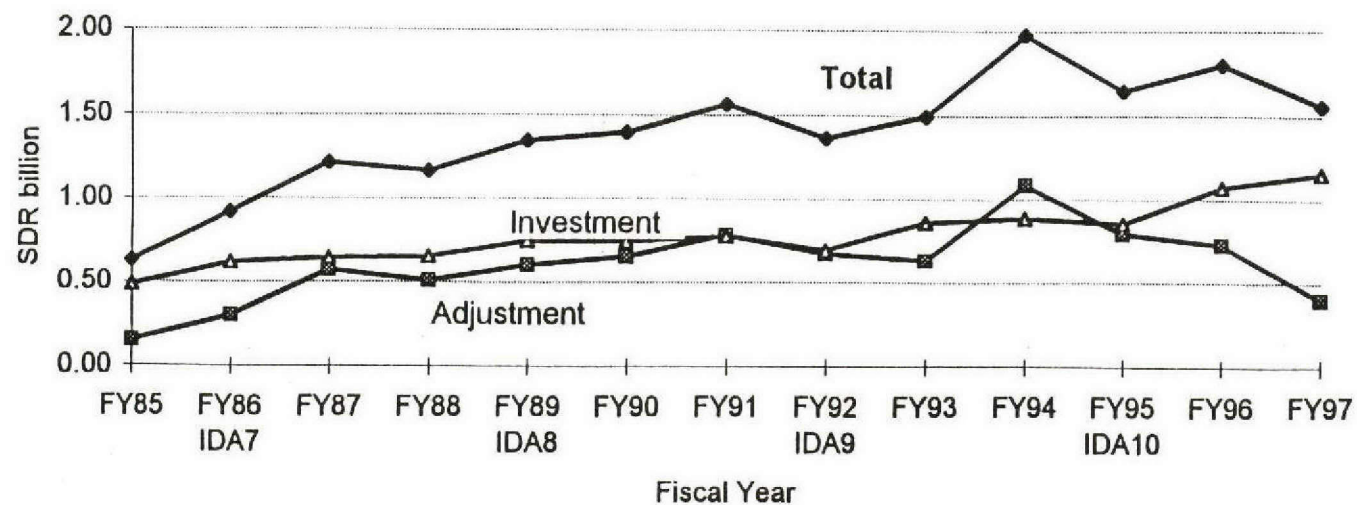
*The donors' top priority, but
a declining share of a shrinking pie?*



Africa Commitments, FY85-99



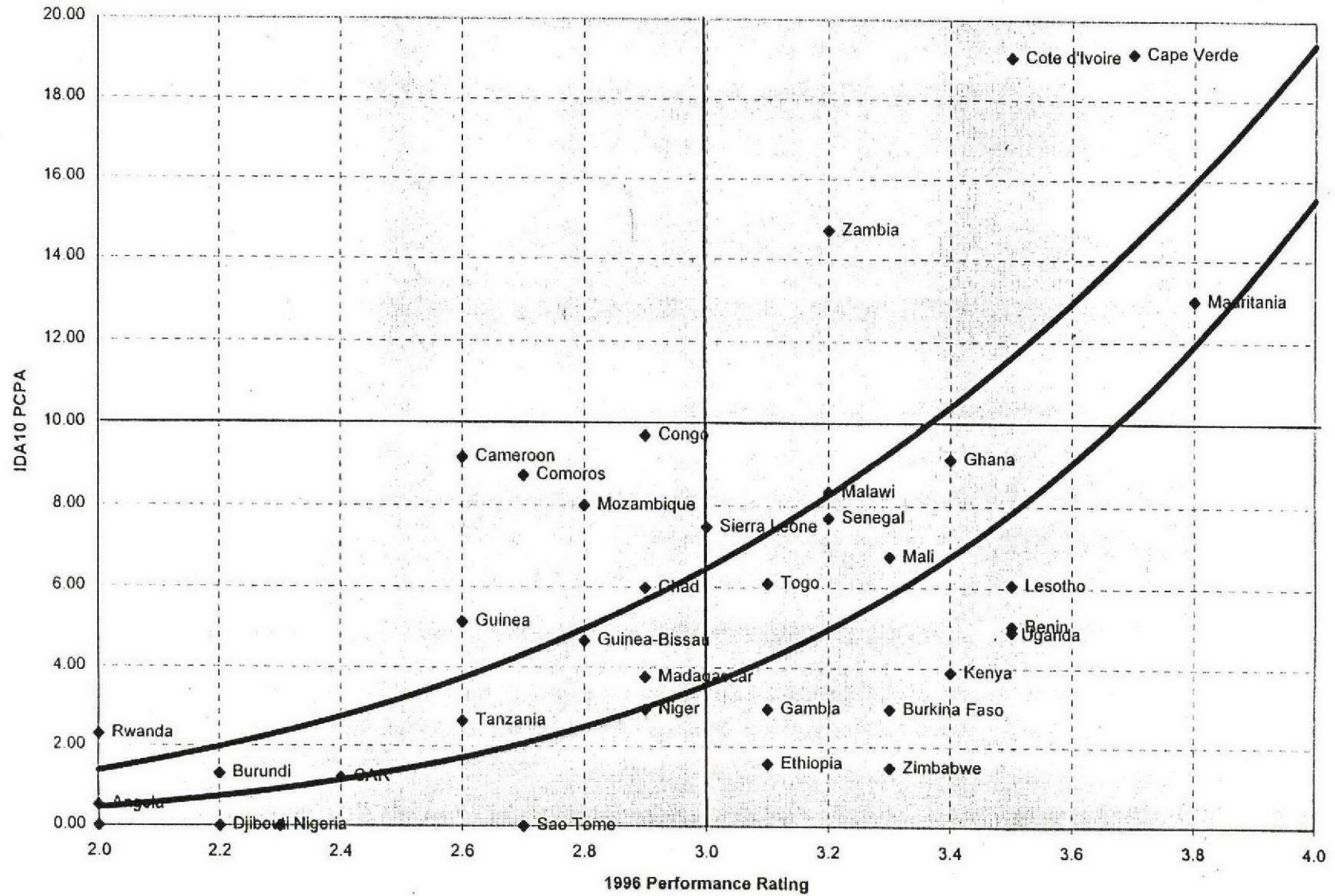
Africa Disbursements, FY85-99



AFRICA REGION
FY97 LENDING OPERATIONS

FY97 LENDING OPERATIONS													
COUNTRY	PROJECT NAME	IDA AMOUNT (\$DB)		REASONS FOR FY97 CHANGES									
		ORIGINAL	APPROVED	total		up				down			
		SEPT. 96	BY JUNE 97			subtotal	Country situation	New inv. approach	Renewal program	subtotal	Country situation	New inv. approach	Renewal program
MOZAMBIQUE	ERC III	89.4	69.1	-0.3						-0.3		-0.3	
ZAMBIA	SECOND ECON. & SOCIAL	82.4	82.4	0									
ZAMBIA	ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT	31.2	32.6	1.4	1.4	1.4							
ZAMBIA	ENVIRONMENT	13.9	9.3	-4.6						-4.6		-4.6	
ZAMBIA	SECOND ECN. & SOCIAL ADJ. /s	0.0	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4							
MALAWI	ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT	10.4	8.9	-1.5						-1.5		-1.5	
MALAWI	FIS.RESTRUC.&DEREG. /s	0.0	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4							
MALAWI	SHIRE RIVER MGMT.	13.9	0.0	-13.9						-13.9	-13.9		
ZIMBABWE	(CAS) PILOT RDC	8.5	8.9	0.4	0.4	0.4							
ANGOLA	EMERGENCY SOCIAL RECOVERY	13.9	0.0	-13.9						-13.9	-13.9		
TANZANIA	NAT EXT PROJ. PH II	21.5	21.5	0									
TANZANIA	RIVER BASIN MGMT. 3M	18.2	18.2	0									
TANZANIA	LAKE VICTORIA ENVIRONMENT	6.9	6.9	0									
TANZANIA	(CAS) SAC I	89.4	90.4	21	21	21							
TANZANIA	SAC I (IDA REFLOW) /s	0	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8							
UGANDA	LAKE VICTORIA ENVIRONMENT	8.3	8.3	0									
UGANDA	(CAS) SAC III	69.4	90.4	21	21	21							
DJIBOUTI	TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE	6.5	4.6	-1.9						-1.9	-1.9		
KENYA	LAKE VICTORIA ENVIRONMENT	8.8	8.8	0									
KENYA	NARP II	27.8	27.4	-0.4						-0.4		-0.4	
KENYA	EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT	17.3	19.3	2	2	2							
KENYA	ENERGY SECTOR REFORM	86.8	90.0	3.2	3.2	3.2							
KENYA	STRUC.ADJUST. CREDIT /s	0	18.5	18.5	18.5	18.5							
ERITREA	ROAD ENGINEERING CREDIT	20.8	4.4	-16.4						-16.4		-16.4	
ERITREA	PORTS	20.8	0.0	-20.8						-20.8	-20.8		
ETHIOPIA	ENERGY SECTOR	138.8	0.0	-138.8						-138.8		-83.28	-55.5
CHAD	HOUSEHOLD ENERGY	4.0	0.0	-4						-4	-4		
CAMEROON	SAC II - 2ND IDA REFLOW /s	0	17.5	17.5	17.5	17.5							
CHAD	SAC II	13.9	14.4	0.5	0.5	0.5							
CAMEROON	AGRIC. SERVICES	6.9	0.0	-6.9						-6.9	-6.9		
CHAD	POWER SECTOR/SEDIGI	6.9	0.0	-6.9						-6.9		-6.9	
CAMEROON	ERDC-EMT/REF & DIV.	104.1	0.0	-104.1						-104.1	-104.1		
COMOROS	AG. SERVICES PILOT	1.1	1.1	0									
COMOROS	EDUCATION III	5.8	5.0	-0.8						-0.8	-0.8		
MADAGASCAR	CAPACITY BUILDING	9.6	9.6	0									
MADAGASCAR	URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE	0.0	25.2	25.2	25.2			25.2					
MADAGASCAR	ENVIRONMENT II	20.8	20.6	-0.2						-0.2		-0.2	
MADAGASCAR	SAC I/SAC IDA REFLOW	48.6	49.0	0.4	0.4	0.4							
MADAGASCAR	PRIVATE SECTOR DEV. & CAP.BLDG	16.0	17.2	1.2	1.2	1.2							
RWANDA	EMERGENCY REINT.&RECOV. CR.	0.0	35.9	35.9	35.9	35.9							
CONGO	SAC/PUB & FIN.SEC.REF.	27.8	0.0	-27.8						-27.8	-27.8		
BURKINA FASO	MINING CAPACITY BLDG.	15.7	15.4	-0.3						-0.3	-0.3		
BURKINA FASO	POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION	19.4	18.0	-1.4						-1.4	-1.4		
BURKINA FASO	AG SECAL II (PASA II)	27.8	0.0	-27.8						-27.8		-27.8	
BURKINA FASO	WATER SUPPLY	27.8	0.0	-27.8						-27.8		-27.8	
GHANA	PUB. FIN. MGMT. TA	13.9	14.4	0.5	0.5			0.5				-27.8	
GHANA	VILLAGE INFRASTRUCTURE	34.7	20.8	-13.9						-13.9	-13.9		
GHANA	HEALTH SECTOR SUPPORT	34.7	0.0	-34.7						-34.7	-34.7		
GHANA	PRIVATE SEC. ADJUST. /s	0	2.4	2.4	2.4			2.4					
REGIONAL	UEMOA REG.SEC.EXCH	6.9	0.0	-6.9						-6.9	-6.9		
COTE D'IVOIRE	RURAL LAND (PNGTER)	31.2	29.6	-1.6						-1.6		-1.6	
COTE D'IVOIRE	PRIVATE SEC. DEV. /s	0	37.9	37.9	37.9	37.9							
COTE D'IVOIRE	TRANSPORT SECT. ADJ.	69.4	0.0	-69.4						-69.4		-69.4	
COTE D'IVOIRE	PSD TA	3.5	0.0	-3.5						-3.5	-3.5		
COTE D'IVOIRE	LAND MANAGEMENT	6.9	0.0	-6.9						-6.9	-3.45		-3.45
BENIN	TRANSPORT SECTOR	27.5	27.5	0									
NIGER	HEALTH II	27.9	27.9	0									
NIGER	PUBLIC SECTOR ADJUSTMENT	17.3	21.6	4.3	4.3	4.3							
NIGER	URBAN INFRAS. REHAB.	0.0	14.5	14.5	14.5	14.5							
TOGO	AGRIC. SERVICES	16.0	0.0	-16						-16	-16		
TOGO	WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT	13.2	0.0	-13.2						-13.2	-13.2		
GUINEA-BISSAU	(CAS) BASIC EDUCATION	0.0	10.3	10.3	10.3			10.3					
GUINEA-BISSAU	WATER/ENERGY	10.4	0.0	-10.4						-10.4		-10.4	
SENEGAL	ENDEMIC DISEASES	10.4	11.0	0.6	0.6			0.6					
SENEGAL	SUST. PART. ENERGY MGMT.	3.6	3.7	0.1	0.1			0.1					
SENEGAL	URBAN TRANS REF TA	2.1	4.7	2.6	2.6			2.6					
SENEGAL	REGIONAL POWER	0.0	7.5	7.5	7.5			7.5					
SENEGAL	AGR.SERVICES&PROD.ORGs	34.7	0.0	-34.7						-34.7		-34.7	
SENEGAL	AGR. SEC. ADJ. CREDIT /s	0	1.3	1.3	1.3			1.3					
MALI	URBAN DEV. & DECENTRALIZATION	55.5	55.5	0									
MALI	REGIONAL POWER	0.0	12.3	12.3	12.3			12.3					
MALI	IRRIGATION PROMOTION	2.6	3.0	0.2	0.2			0.2					
MALI	(CAS) GRASSROOTS	10.4	0.0	-10.4						-10.4		-10.4	
MAURITANIA	(CAS) RAINFED NAT RES MGMT	9.7	13.2	3.5	3.5			3.5					
MAURITANIA	REGIONAL POWER	0.0	8.0	8	8			8					
MAURITANIA	PUB. RES. MGMT /s	0	0.4	0.4	0.4			0.4					
GUINEA	THIRD WATER SUPPLY	17.3	18.0	0.7	0.7			0.7					
SIERRA LEONE	(CAS) SAC II	20.8	0.0	-20.8						-20.8	-20.8		
SIERRA LEONE	SAC /s	0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1		0.1					
		1581.9	1185.0	-396.9	266.0	190.4	50.4	25.2	-662.9	-259.7	-316.5	-86.8	
emnt - 10 supplemental projects = 88.7 m				%		72%	19%	9%		39%	48%	13%	

Africa: Lending & Performance



Attachment 5

Project Watch List
(The big projects to be monitored)

• Zambia PSREP	\$90 m
• Tanzania Songo songo gas dev.	\$250 m
• Kenya Highway	\$120 m
• Ethiopia Road Sector	\$300 m
• Ethiopia Education Sector	\$100 m
• Cameroon Enterprise reform	\$150 m
• Cote d'Ivoire Transport	\$150 m
• Cote d'Ivoire SAC	\$150 m
• Senegal Energy	\$100 m
• Senegal Urban	\$75 m

GDP growth										
	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
1 ANGOLA	5.6	0.4	-0.3	0.8	1.5	-24.4	7.7	12.6	8.6	4.3
2 BENIN	3.4	1.5	3.1	4.7	4.1	3.2	4.3	4.8	5.5	5.8
3 BOTSWANA	15.7	12.9	5.9	8.9	6.6	-0.3	4.1	4.5	6.1	4.8
4 BURKINA FASO	6.6	0.9	-1.5	10.0	2.5	-0.8	1.2	3.9	5.5	5.5
5 BURUNDI	5.0	1.3	3.5	5.0	2.7	-5.8	-6.7	-3.7	-13.0	1.0
6 CAMEROON	-7.8	-1.8	-6.1	-3.8	-3.1	-3.2	-2.5	3.3	5.0	5.1
7 CAPE VERDE	6.4	3.4	2.5	4.9	3.4	4.2	3.8	4.7	4.0	4.5
8 CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	1.2	3.4	-1.0	-0.6	-2.5	-2.3	7.7	2.4	-2.2	3.3
9 CHAD	15.5	4.9	-2.3	8.3	8.0	-15.7	10.2	3.6	2.7	6.3
10 COMOROS	2.7	-3.2	2.5	-3.0	7.7	3.8	-2.3	-2.3	1.0	2.0
11 CONGO	1.8	2.6	1.0	1.5	2.6	-1.0	-5.5	2.2	4.8	10.8
12 COTE D'IVOIRE	1.1	3.0	-1.1	0.0	-0.2	-0.2	1.8	6.8	6.8	6.3
13 DJIBOUTI	0.8	-2.6	-0.6	1.3	2.4	-3.9	-2.9	-4.0	-5.1	1.0
14 EQUATORIAL GUINEA	2.7	-1.2	3.3	-1.1	13.0	7.2	6.8	14.9	37.3	77.6
15 ERITREA						-2.8	10.0	3.9	5.5	6.0
16 ETHIOPIA	0.1	0.2	3.4	-6.7	-3.2	12.0	1.7	5.4	12.4	5.6
17 GABON	13.5	6.6	3.6	6.6	-3.6	4.1	-15.2	2.8	3.2	3.6
18 GAMBIA	1.1	5.2	5.8	0.5	7.0	3.5	1.3	-4.8	3.0	1.9
19 GHANA	5.6	5.1	3.3	5.3	3.9	5.0	3.8	4.5	5.2	4.0
20 GUINEA	0.5	4.0	4.2	2.4	3.0	4.7	4.0	4.4	4.5	4.8
21 GUINEA-BISSAU	6.9	4.6	3.2	3.0	2.8	2.7	3.1	4.4	5.1	5.1
22 KENYA	6.2	4.7	4.2	1.4	-0.8	0.4	2.7	4.4	4.2	3.8
23 LESOTHO	13.9	12.3	3.9	4.0	-0.3	5.5	11.7	9.0	13.1	11.0
24 LIBERIA					1.1	-1.0				
25 MADAGASCAR	3.4	4.1	3.1	-6.3	1.2	2.1	0.0	1.8	2.0	3.0
26 MALAWI	3.2	1.3	8.3	6.1	-7.3	9.7	-10.2	9.5	10.4	4.9
27 MALI	-0.2	11.8	0.4	-0.9	8.4	-2.4	2.3	6.4	4.0	5.8
28 MAURITANIA	1.7	4.8	-1.8	2.6	1.7	5.5	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.9
29 MAURITIUS	6.8	4.4	7.2	4.2	6.2	5.4	4.4	4.3	6.1	5.5
30 MOZAMBIQUE	8.2	6.5	0.9	4.9	-0.8	18.8	4.5	1.4	5.7	7.6
31 NAMIBIA	0.2	2.4	0.4	7.4	7.9	-1.9	6.5	4.1	2.0	4.8
32 NIGER	7.2	3.9	-1.3	2.5	-6.5	1.4	4.0	2.6	3.9	4.3
33 NIGERIA	9.6	7.6	8.1	4.8	2.9	2.7	1.0	2.3	2.1	3.5
34 RWANDA	4.5	0.0	-4.2	-2.2	6.6	-8.5	-49.0	24.6	13.3	12.7
35 SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE	2.0	3.1	-2.2	1.5	0.7	1.1	2.2	2.0	1.5	2.0
36 SENEGAL	5.1	-1.4	4.5	-0.7	2.8	2.1	2.0	4.8	5.6	4.7
37 SEYCHELLES	4.2	10.3	7.5	2.7	6.9	5.8	-1.6	-1.8	1.7	2.3
38 SIERRA LEONE	2.1	5.0	1.6	-8.0	-9.6	0.1	3.5	-10.0	5.0	10.2
39 SOMALIA	-0.6	-0.2	-1.5					2.0		
40 SOUTH AFRICA	4.2	2.5	-0.5	-1.0	-2.6	1.3	2.7	3.4	3.1	2.9
41 SUDAN	-4.3	7.4	-1.5	0.7	11.3	7.6	5.5			
42 SWAZILAND	3.7	3.6	3.5	-1.0	2.2	2.5	2.6	3.0	3.0	2.0
43 TANZANIA	4.4	3.7	4.2	5.7	3.8	3.9	3.5	4.5	4.4	4.0
44 TOGO	6.6	4.1	-0.2	-0.7	-4.0	-18.7	13.6	7.2	6.0	5.8
45 UGANDA	8.3	6.4	6.5	5.6	3.4	8.3	6.3	11.5	9.8	7.0
46 ZAIRE	0.6	-2.0	-2.3	-7.2	-10.6	-13.5	-3.9	-0.6	1.3	
47 ZAMBIA	6.3	-1.0	-0.5	0.0	-2.5	6.5	-3.1	-3.9	5.0	5.0
48 ZIMBABWE	9.7	6.3	1.9	2.4	-5.3	4.0	4.4	-1.8	8.1	5.0
SSA: Median value	4.2	3.7	2.2	1.5	2.4	2.1	2.9	3.9	4.8	4.9
	Simple averages									
SSA	4.5	3.5	1.8	1.7	1.6	0.8	1.2	3.7	5.2	6.6
SSA (excl. Nig.-S. Afr.)	4.4	3.5	1.7	1.7	1.7	0.8	1.2	3.7	5.3	6.8
SSA (excl. Lib, Som, Sud, Eq. Gui & Rwa)	4.8	3.7	2.1	1.9	1.0	0.8	2.2	3.0	4.2	4.8
SSA (excl. Eq. Gui & Rwa)	4.5	3.7	1.9	1.9	1.3	0.9	2.2	3.0	4.2	4.8

SY, 6/10/97(updated using data collected during performance rating in June 1997).

Africa Region Portfolio: Number of Projects and Commitments (End FY97)

Projects	Number of Projects	Commitment (million \$)
Agriculture	100	2,538
Education	49	1,462
Electric Power/Energy	27	1,380
Environment	16	307
Finance	21	941
Industry	9	306
Mining	7	125
Multisector	36	2,002
Oil & Gas	9	263
Pop/Health/Nutrition	47	1,451
Public Sector Mgt.	43	1,266
Social Sector	18	522
Telecommunications	2	87
Transportation	49	2,730
Urban Development	35	1,369
Water Supply/Sanitation	24	1,367
TOTAL	492	18,122

HIPC Initiative

I. Summary of the Initiative

Objective:

- The principal objective of the Debt Initiative for the heavily indebted poor countries (HIPCs) is to bring the country's debt burden to sustainable levels, subject to satisfactory policy performance, so as to ensure that adjustment and reform efforts are not put at risk by continued high debt and debt service burdens.
- The HIPC Debt Initiative is designed to facilitate a comprehensive resolution to the debt problem, i.e. the Initiative requires participation by all relevant creditors. Hence, debt relief efforts will have to be closely coordinated.
- This joint Bank and IMF Initiative was endorsed by the Development Committee in September 1996 and is now being implemented.

Key Features:

- *Eligibility.* The Initiative is open to all HIPCs that adopt Bank/Fund supported adjustment programs. To qualify for HIPC debt relief, countries would have to be IDA-only and face an unsustainable debt situation after the full application of current debt relief mechanisms, and would have to demonstrate an appropriate track record of adjustment and reform.
- *Debt Sustainability Targets.* Debt sustainability targets would be defined on a case-by-case basis in the range of 200-250 percent net present value (NPV) debt-exports-ratio and 20-25 percent of the debt service-to-exports ratio with the debt determined in light of country specific vulnerability factors such as the concentration and variability of exports and taking account of fiscal indicators of the burden of debt service.

Regarding the new guidelines for very open economies where the exclusive reliance on external indicators may not adequately reflect the fiscal burden of external debt: an NPV debt-to-export target below 200 percent at the completion point can be recommended, provided that the country concerned meets two criteria at the decision point: an export-to-GDP ratio of at least 40 percent and a minimum threshold of fiscal revenue in relation to GDP of 20 percent. For countries meeting these thresholds, the NPV debt-to-export target will be set at a level which achieves a 280 percent ratio of the NPV of debt-to-revenue at the completion point. Likely beneficiaries: Côte d'Ivoire, Congo, and Guyana.

- *Track Record.* At the end of the initial three years of good performance under IMF and Bank-supported programs, the international community would grant debt relief, if needed, to achieve debt sustainability over the next three years, provided this good

performance is sustained. The required six-year performance period would be implemented flexibly on a case-by-case basis, with countries receiving credit towards the decision point stage for programs that are already underway; exceptionally, the second stage of three years might be shortened for countries with sustained records of strong performance. Countries which have interrupted their adjustment program during the first stage also could receive some credit for implementing the program before going off track.

- *Action at Completion Point.* Assistance provided to a country at the end of the second stage would be based on actual outcomes. If the committed debt relief were to bring the actual debt-to-export or debt service-to-export ratios at the completion point to the established sustainability target ratios, creditors would deliver the assistance as promised at the decision point. If the actual ratios fell outside the target, creditors would be asked to adjust their assistance so as to achieve sustainability.

II. Participation of Multilateral Creditors

- *World Bank.* The Bank established the HIPC Trust Fund in November, 1996, and subsequently transferred US\$500 million from its IBRD surplus to this Trust Fund as an initial contribution. The World Bank remains committed to meet its share of the agreed debt relief out of its own resources: thus, Bank management intends to recommend a further IBRD contribution of US\$250 million from its FY97 net income to the HIPC Trust Fund.
- *IMF.* IMF established the ESAF-HIPC Trust for financing special ESAF operations under the Initiative, and decided that an amount of up to SDR 180 million can be transferred from the ESAF Trust Reserve Account and used for special ESAF operations.
- *Other Multilaterals.* Most MDBs have either obtained or are well advanced in obtaining the appropriate institutional approvals to enable them to participate. The African Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have obtained the necessary formal approvals, in principle, for them to participate. The *African Development Bank* has decided to use the HIPC Trust Fund to provide assistance under the Initiative, and to allocate the equivalent of about US\$260 to US\$330 million to it during the years 1997 to 2003.
- *Coordination among Multilaterals.* Multilateral creditors of the HIPCs met under the chairmanship of the World Bank in November 1996 and March 1997 to discuss the implementation of the Initiative, as well as the status of their participation in it. They are tentatively scheduled to meet again in early September in Washington.
- *Contributions to HIPC Trust Fund as of 6/6/97:*
Actual contributions: US\$ 23.5 million from Switzerland (\$14 m.), Norway (\$4 m.), Denmark (\$4 m.), Greece (\$1 m.), and Luxembourg (\$0.5 m.)

Contributions expected soon: US\$ 82 million from Netherlands (\$54 m.), Denmark (\$18 m. for AfDB component), and UK (\$10 m. for AfDB component).

III. Cost of the HIPC Debt Initiative

- The latest (July 1997) estimated cost is **US\$7.4 billion**, expressed in 1996 net present value terms. Board discussion of the new costing and burden sharing paper is scheduled for July 24, 1997.
- The cost estimates are highly sensitive to assumptions used. If the export growth rate were to be 2 percent lower than the baseline, cost would increase to US\$8.5 billion. A higher NPV of debt-to-export target of 220 percent instead of 200 percent assumed in the baseline would reduce the cost to US\$6.3 billion in 1996 present value terms.
- The main reasons leading to:
possible increases in costs are (i) the use of three-year export averages, (ii) updated country debt sustainability analyses, and (iii) the decision to allow for a lower NPV of the debt-to-exports target for open countries with a heavy burden of debt in relation to fiscal revenues, and
possible reductions in costs are (i) higher NPV debt-to-export targets, compared with the baseline assumption of 200 percent, and (ii) the possibility that debt relief may be delayed or lower as a result of slippages in country performance, or that some countries may not take up assistance under the Initiative.
- *Annual time profile of potential cost to be committed at the "decision" points:*

	1997	1998	1999	2000	20001	TOTAL
In US\$ bil.	3.3	0.5	2.2	0.3	1.2	7.4
In % of Total	45%	6%	29%	4%	16%	100%

- Depending on the burden sharing approach, *cost to the World Bank* would range between *US\$1.5 billion and US\$1.8 billion.*

IV. Debt Relief for Uganda

- In April, 1997, the Bank/Fund Boards decided that
 - (i) that Uganda had reached the "*decision point*";
 - (ii) *to shorten the interim period to one year* in light of Uganda's exceptional record of sustained and strong record of adjustment and reform, and the program of economic reforms and social development to be pursued with support of the IMF and the Bank, ("*completion point*" would therefore be *April 1998*), and

(iii) *to provided debt relief totaling about US\$ 340 million in net present value terms.*

- Of the total assistance, IDA will provide (in net present value terms) US\$160 million in debt relief. This relief will reduce nominal debt service to the Bank by around US\$430 million over the lifespan of the IDA credits concerned. During the next 12 months, IDA has agreed to advance a portion of this relief through the provision of US\$75 million in the form of IDA grants.
- The IMF will be providing in net present value terms the equivalent of US\$70 million in assistance which will reduce nominal debt-service to the Fund by about US\$90 million (around 30 percent of current debt-service due to the Fund) over the next nine years.

V. Status of Potential Debt Relief for Other HIPC

- *Burkina Faso, Bolivia, and Côte d'Ivoire* Bank and Fund staff have prepared debt sustainability analyses for these three countries that, on the basis of their record of performance, are approaching the decision point. The Boards have discussed their preliminary HIPC documents. Based on the guidance of the Boards, consultations are underway and, depending on progress in negotiations of Bank and Fund supported programs, decisions could be made for these countries this summer. Currently expected "decision points" for:
Burkina Faso: September 1997
Bolivia: September 1997
Côte d'Ivoire: September 1997.
- *Guyana and Mozambique:* Bank and Fund staff are preparing the preliminary HIPC documents for both countries, with a view of having them discussed by the Boards during the second half of August.
- *Benin:* A debt sustainability analysis was undertaken by the authorities, the Bank, and the Fund. The results of this exercise show that Benin has a sustainable debt burden and, therefore, would not qualify for debt relief under the HIPC Initiative. For those countries where the authorities agree that the debt burden is sustainable, we will not prepare a detailed HIPC document but rather provide a brief summary of the debt sustainability analysis that is being circulated to our Board on an informational basis.
- We will prepare in the fall of 1997 debt sustainability analyses with the governments of several other countries, including *Ethiopia, Mali, and Senegal*.

VI. Supplemental Tables

This brief complements the following EXCEL tables which are available:

- Tentative Program for 1997
- Potential Debt Relief for Uganda, Burkina Faso, and Côte d'Ivoire
- Updated Cost Estimate for the entire HIPC Initiative
- Timing of the HIPC Initiative: Likely Decision Points and Potential Eligibility.

HIPC Debt Initiative

Tentative Program for 1997

Possible Countries	Debt Sustainability Analysis	Board Meetings		
		Preliminary HIPC Document	Decision Point (earliest possible)	Completion Point
1st Group of HIPCs:				
Uganda	1st Q. 1997	Discussed in March	Approved in April	Apr-98
Bolivia	1st Q. 1997	Discussed in April	Sept.-1997 1/	mid-1998 *
Burkina Faso	1st Q. 1997	Discussed in April	Sept.-1997 2/	mid-1999 *
Cote d'Ivoire	1st Q. 1997	Discussed in April	Sept.-1997 3/	mid-2000 *
2nd Group of HIPCs:				
Guyana	2nd Q. 1997	Aug. 1997	4th Q. 1997	
Mozambique	2nd Q. 1997	Aug. 1997	4th Q. 1997	
Ethiopia	4th Q. 1997	4th Q. 1997	1st Q. 1998	
3rd Group of HIPCs:				
Benin	Jun-97	Sustainable; No need for preliminary HIPC document		
Mali	3rd Q. 1997	**		
Senegal	3rd/4th Q. 1997	**		
Togo	4th Q. 1997	**		

* To be confirmed by the Boards at the decision point.

** Countries that were classified "sustainable" in the preliminary assessments in early 1996. If these classifications were to be confirmed, no HIPC document would need to be prepared.

- 1/ Presidential elections were held on June 1st and new President will be inaugurated on Aug. 6th. Presentation of the final HIPC Document will depend on (i) how quickly a new cabinet can be formed and (ii) whether the new economic team will agree with the program negotiated with the Fund.
- 2/ Parliamentary elections were held in May, with the current Government coalition winning of 90% of the seats in the National Assembly. For this reason, the PFP mission was postponed to mid-June. During that mission, agreement was reached on new program. Final DSA will be completed by end-July.
- 3/ A joint Bank/Fund mission was in Abidjan in May to (i) negotiate the PFP, (ii) negotiate a new ESAF arrangement, and (iii) complete the DSA for the final HIPC Document. While progress was made, negotiations were not completed. It is expected that full agreement will be reached during first half of August.

HIPC Debt Initiative

World Bank Debt Relief To be Committed in 1997 (In millions of US\$, in NPV Terms at the completion point)

	TOTAL	To be delivered through			Memorandum: CAS Lending (FY98-2000)
		HIPC Trust Fund	IDA Grant		
			NPV terms	Nominal terms	
Uganda *	160	138	22	75	675
Bolivia **	55	47	8	25	222
Burkina Faso **	49	21	28	89	399
Cote d'Ivoire **	131 1/	-	131	394	800
Ethiopia ***	126	93	33	100	300
Guyana ***	32	30	2	6	54
Mozambique ***	292	231	61	183	366
TOTAL	845	560	285	871	2,816

Source: Joint IMF and World Bank costing paper, July 1997. Preliminary estimates subject to changes.

* Decision point reached in April 1997.

** Decision point expected by September 1997.

*** Decision point expected during 4th quarter of 1997. (Ethiopia may slip into 1st Q. 1998).

1/ Since the latest cost estimates for Cote d'Ivoire are more in line with those included in the Guideline paper, we have taken the earlier estimate rather than the one included in the costing paper.

HIPC Initiative--Updated Cost Estimates 1/
(In billions of U.S. dollars, in 1996 net present value terms)

	NPV of Debt-to-Exports Target of 200 Percent 2/	NPV of Debt-to-Exports Target of 220 Percent 2/
All HIPCs Assumed to Require Assistance Based on NPV of of debt-to-exports targets in the range of 200-250 percent 3/	8.4	6.9
of which:		
Bolivia, Burkina Faso, and Uganda 2/	0.9	0.9
Cote d'Ivoire, Guyana, Congo (i.e. HIPCs benefitting from new Guidelines) 4/	0.7	0.7
Excluding countries without current Fund/Bank-supported programs 5/	6.6	5.5

1/ All cost estimates are expressed as of end-1996 applying a uniform discount rate of 7 percent, consistent with the June 1996 cost estimates (see SM/96/127 or IDA/SecM96-572 (6/4/96)). They do not include the projected cost implications of the current proposal to allow for NPV of debt-to-exports ratio below 200 percent under certain conditions.

2/ For the three early cases expected to qualify for assistance under the current framework of the Initiative, the estimate assumes the lowest NPV of debt-to-exports target in the proposed range that is still consistent with multilaterals' preferred creditor status after an 80 percent reduction in the NPV of eligible bilateral debt (i.e. 202 percent for Uganda, 205 percent for Burkina Faso, and 225 percent for Bolivia).

3/ Includes all HIPC with NPV of debt-to-exports ratios (based on three-year export averages) of more than 200 percent at the earliest possible completion point. This group consists of the same 13 countries that were included in the June-1996 cost estimates (see SM/96/127 or IDA/SecM96-572, 6/4/96, Table 3), plus Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Mauritania, and Tanzania.

4/ Refers to the guidelines approved in April 1997 for very open economies, where the exclusive reliance on external indicators may not adequately reflect the fiscal burden of external debt. For HIPCs meeting the two thresholds (i.e. export-to-GDP of at least 40% and fiscal revenues-to-GDP of at least 20%), the NPV debt-to-export target will be set below 200% and at a level which achieves a 280% ratio of the NPV debt-to-revenue at the completion point.

5/ Countries without current Bank-/Fund-supported adjustment programs are Burundi, Myanmar, Rwanda, and Zaire.

W:\AFRVPBRF\HIPC\COST976.XLS\totalcost

HIPC Debt Initiative

Likely Decision Points and Potential Eligibility

	Likely Decision Point	Likely Assistance Under the HIPC Initiative 1/	Comments
Benin	1997	--	
Bolivia	1997	√	
Burkina Faso	1997	√	
Cote d'Ivoire	1997	√	Likely to benefit under the new guidelines.
Ethiopia	1997	√	
Guyana	1997	√	Likely to benefit under the new guidelines
Mali	1997	--	
Mozambique	1997	√	
Senegal	1997	--	
Uganda	1997	√	Decision point reached in April 1997.
Chad	1998	--	
Guinea-Bissau	1998	√	
Mauritania	1998	√	Likely to benefit under the new guidelines.
Sierra Leone	1998	--	
Togo	1998	--	
Vietnam	1998	--	
Congo	1999	--	
Guinea	1998	--	
Madagascar	1999	√	
Nicaragua	1999	√	
Niger	1999	√	
Tanzania	1999	--	
Yemen	1999	--	
Zambia	1999	√	
Cameroon	2000	--	
Central African Republic	2000	--	
Honduras	2000	--	
Rwanda	2000	√	
Sao Tome and Principe	2001	√	No Bank and Fund supported program.
Zaire	2001	√	No Bank and Fund supported program.
Burundi	Not yet determined	√	No Bank and Fund supported program.
Eq. Guinea	Not yet determined		No Bank and Fund supported program.
Liberia	Not yet determined		No Bank and Fund supported program.
Myanmar	Not yet determined	√	No Bank and Fund supported program.

1/ This assessment is based on latest available DSAs and will be subject to changes.

Eligibility would only be determined after a tripartite debt sustainability analysis and need to be approved by the Boards of the Bank and Fund. This assessment should NOT be shared with external audiences.

HIPC Debt Initiati

Likely Decision Points and Pote

	Likely Decision Point	Likely Assistance Under the HIPC Initiative 1/
Benin	1997	--
Bolivia	1997	√
Burkina Faso	1997	√
Cote d'Ivoire	1997	√
Ethiopia	1997	√
Guyana	1997	√
Mali	1997	--
Mozambique	1997	√
Senegal	1997	--
Uganda	1997	√
Chad	1998	--
Guinea-Bissau	1998	√
Mauritania	1998	√
Sierra Leone	1998	--
Togo	1998	--
Vietnam	1998	--
Congo	1999	--
Guinea	1998	--
Madagascar	1999	√
Nicaragua	1999	√
Niger	1999	√
Tanzania	1999	--
Yemen	1999	--
Zambia	1999	√
Cameroon	2000	--
Central African Republic	2000	--
Honduras	2000	--
Rwanda	2000	√
Sao Tome and Principe	2001	√
Zaire	2001	√
Burundi	Not yet determined	√
Eq. Guinea	Not yet determined	
Liberia	Not yet determined	
Myanmar	Not yet determined	√

1/ This assessment is based on latest available DSAs and will be su
Eligibility would only be determined after a tripartite debt sustain
the Boards of the Bank and Fund. This assessment should NOT b

U.S./G7 Africa Initiative

Summary

- Initiative would support African countries willing to deepen reforms and integrate into the world economy. G7 would review their programs to offer increased market access, support increased private investment flows, work with African countries to ensure well-targeted assistance to countries with the greatest need and which carry out necessary reforms.
- Bank is fully supportive of the Initiative. Its thrust is consistent with the direction of policy reforms we encourage, in Africa and elsewhere. Recent news from Africa has been encouraging, with income/head rising over the last three years. But deepening reform is essential. Without raising efficiency and sustaining growth at over 6 percent, Africa cannot hope to make a major dent in poverty. Evidence from Africa shows that, as elsewhere, sound economic policies are reflected in better performance.
- Bank and Fund urge G7 to improve market access for poor countries; phase out the subsidization of agricultural exports which compete with their production; provide temporary and targeted financial assistance; and help reduce riskiness of private investment.
- We also agree that a narrow "trade" focus should be avoided; "aid for trade and investment" not "trade in place of aid". Foreign assistance will need to play a key role in facilitating reforms and supporting basic services including education and health, which are vital for both poverty alleviation and long-term growth.
- The G-7 Communique recognises the important role of the IFIs in supporting reform in SSA. Bank/Fund program are central both to supply complementary resources and encourage reform. The IFIs can offer increased access to ESAF and IDA policy-based lending, maximum debt relief under HIPC initiative and support to African capacity-building to strengthen economic management. In addition, improved management will facilitate the absorption of resources provided for education, health and essential infrastructure.
- The Initiative has already brought welcome attention to positive aspects of African development and heightened commercial interest. This is essential if the improved economic performance and management of the last three years is to be sustained.

- But it is essential that Africans lead the process and truly own any new initiatives. There are encouraging signs of a new emerging leadership, ready to take responsibility for economic management.
- The G7 Denver meeting is therefore a useful step in a process that will lead to an Africa-led strategic initiative, supported by all partners and stakeholders. In the follow-up to Denver, the Bank is willing to help this emerge by playing a central facilitating role.

I. Description

- Africa was on the agenda of G7 (June 20 and 21, Denver, Colorado).
- Initiative notes recent progress in Africa on economic and political fronts. It would support African countries which would be willing to commit to comprehensive reform efforts, including improved trade regimes and environments for private sector activity, effective public expenditure programs including human resource development, and good governance.
- G7 undertakes to increase market access, encourage investment flows and work with African countries to ensure adequate and well-targeted assistance to those with the greatest need and which are also undertaking essential reforms.
- Bank/Fund program are seen as central both to supply competing resources and encourage reform.

II. Key messages

- Bank is fully supportive. The Initiative has already brought welcome attention to positive aspects of African development and heightened commercial interest.
- But Africans need to lead the process and truly own any new initiatives.
- A narrow "trade" focus should be avoided; "aid for trade and investment" not "trade in place of aid"
- G7 Denver meeting can be the starting point for a process that will lead to an Africa-led strategic initiative, supported by all partners and stakeholders.

III. Next Steps

- At Addis Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) meetings AFRVPs informally contacted a group of African economists to provide intellectual leadership to Africa initiative.
- Following G7 meeting, Bank will need to work with African clients to help further develop the general recommendations towards concrete actions.

IV. Issues Likely to be Raised and Suggested Responses

- Should Bank support a G7 initiative that could cause trade diversion from other members? Partnerships should be made available to all developing countries.
- Is the proposal compatible with sub-regional trading arrangements in Africa? Unilateral reforms by a subset of African countries could conflict with sub-regional trading arrangements.
- Is a proposal involving selective trade policy concessions acceptable under WTO trading rules? Are likely to be objections, but WTO rules are likely flexible enough to argue consistency of such arrangements.
- Will potential African partners participate? Risks should be mitigated by up-front consultation with African governments and effective followup.
- Could initiative dilute support for other initiatives (HIPC)? Possibly. But the project must be seen in perspective and total grant components must be taken into account.

V. Background.

- The Initiative builds on the New Partnership for Development initiated in Lyon. It also follows increasing domestic bi-partisan momentum in the US to support Africa with a 1990s "Marshall plan". There are at present two initiatives:
 - Congressmen McDermott, Rangel and Crane have introduced The End of Dependency Act to that effect. Main US "offer" is to open up its currently highly protectionist, quota-regulated textile market, and allow increased imports, aiming towards a free trade area between the US and at least some African countries by 2020. Bank staff provided background analysis to assess US job loss effect of textile import liberalization. Effect was deemed negligible, but degree of opening in this area uncertain.
 - US Administration Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa. (Treasury Dept. Sec. Lawrence Summers. April 29, 1997), outline of proposal presented May 27 to African Development Bank. Main elements: 1) expanded access to US markets, 2) support for FDI through OPIC funds of \$150 million for equity and \$500 million for infrastructure, 3) sharpening focus of existing programs to support trade and investment, 4) additional TA, 5) targeted commodity assistance to reformers, 6) support for HIPC and also calls for extinction of bilateral concessional debts owed by reformers, 7) high-level dialog with African counterparts including annual ministerial-level meetings. IFI involvement is seen as essential for such a program.
- US Treasury requested and obtained a think-piece from Jeffrey Sachs (Harvard Institute for International Development). On behalf of G-7, US

Sec. Treasury, Robert Rubin, requested Bank inputs regarding how Bank and IMF could contribute. Joint response/strategy note sent to Rubin from JDW and MC.

- Joint IMF/BANK strategy note: "Towards Sustainable Growth in Africa: A Note Prepared by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund":
 - Fund and Bank have welcome these initiatives, but stressed African leadership and ownership. Basic elements of an initiative involving Fund and Bank to include: speed up liberalization; increase private sector role; redefine government role.
 - Fund and Bank offered increased access to ESAF and IDA policy-based lending; maximum debt relief under HIPC; support to African capacity-building in macroeconomic policy and management.
 - Fund and Bank urged US and G7 to improve market access; phase out the subsidization of agricultural exports; provide temporary and targeted financial assistance; and help reduce riskiness of private investment.
- Germany, France and Japan are also preparing new Africa initiatives. Prospective renegotiation of the Lome Convention offers the prospect of a reappraisal of the Ecs policies on aid and trade.

VI. Special Issues (to know, not to raise)

- Some G7 members have been irritated because they see the US as trying to move debate away from its low aid levels.
- Some are also skeptical and suspect that the thrust is backed by US business interests. In general, the stance of the Europeans appears to have been skeptical.

PARTNERSHIP FOR CAPACITY BUILDING IN AFRICA

I. Description:

- The *Partnership for Capacity Building* is an initiative of the African Governors of the World Bank.
- Following a request made by African Governors to JDW at the 1995 Annual Meetings, African EDs were delegated to initiate the Partnership for Capacity Building. They received the support of the Africa Region in the Bank.
- The Partnership for Capacity Building recommends a course of actions that includes:
 - articulating demand-driven solutions founded on national capacity needs;
 - involving African leadership and ownership; and
 - developing participatory consultation with a range of local stakeholders and a true partnership with Africa's international development partners.

II. Lessons from the Past

- *National Capacity Building Assessments (NCBAs)*. After a series of regional consultations and conferences, 12 NCBAs were carried out. Results confirmed that:
 - the capacity-building record of donors/African countries is poor; and
 - the capacity problem diminishes performance in the entire range of sectors that apply to national development.
- Assessment of Situation: Mule Report: *Partnership for Capacity Building in Africa - Impact of Bank Policies and Operational Practices on Capacity Building in Africa, August 1996*:
 - insufficient attention and poor performance by both African governments and international donors in fostering effective institutions and sustainable transfer of skills;
 - most Bank projects do not enhance capacity;
 - Bank's efforts are lacking in relation to its potentially high-impact contribution.
 - Bank and other donors have contributed to capacity erosion, especially through excessive use of long-term technical assistance.

III. Proposed Action Plan

- Main elements of Bank's Response *Strategy and Program of Action*, Sept. 1996, include:
 - mainstreaming capacity building in Bank operations;
 - enhancing the capacity of the private sector-led development;
 - fostering leadership for development management, education, and training; and
 - promoting capacity building in the civil society. (For further details see attachment.)

- Report by the African Governors presented to JDW at the 1996 Annual Meetings. Proposals to create:
 - National capacity building secretariats
 - Consultative Group for Capacity Building in Africa
 - Trust fund for capacity building in Africa.
 - Bank's side:
 - need for changes in Bank policies and procedures
 - create focal point: Capacity Building Technical Group, Africa Region.

IV. Mission Statement of the Capacity Building Technical Group

- Help African partners to implement the Strategy and Program of Action;
- Foster collaboration among African and development partners to translate capacity building into results on the ground;
- Facilitate the improvement of instruments and processes in the Bank for capacity building, and propose appropriate incentives;
- Identify, promote, and disseminate best practices.

V. Key Messages

- Capacity building is the missing link in Africa's development;
- Capacity building lacks in all sectors of African economies;
- Capacity problem diminishes performance in the entire range of sectors that apply to national development from policy analysis to implementation of basic social services;
- Capacity building must be led by Africans. Ownership must be strong;
- Capacity building needs to be re-assessed and mainstreamed within all lending and non-lending activities of the Bank and other donors.

VI. Next Steps

- Present Trust Fund proposal to the Board (August, 1997); solicit contributions from other donors and private sector (starting July, 1997).
- Hold inaugural meeting of Partnership Group (August, 1997).
- Prepare meeting between JDW, Mugabe (Chairman OAU) and other Heads of State.
- Develop Bank staff training modules with the Learning and Leadership Center.
- Continue support to National Capacity Building Assessments (Benin, Chad, Ethiopia, Namibia, Rwanda and Zimbabwe).
- Assist in establishing National Capacity Building Secretariats (Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Madagascar, Malawi, Seychelles, Senegal, Uganda, Tanzania and Zimbabwe).
- Assist in formulating National Capacity Development Strategies (Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Uganda)

- Carry out portfolio reviews, retrofit as necessary.
- Assist Governments in developing strategy and action plans to build capacity in:
 - Regional centers of excellence
 - African universities
 - Public service delivery
 - Private sector-led development
 - Civil society.
- Organized two regional workshops (Senegal and Uganda).
- High-level seminar in Hong Kong on Capacity Building in Africa
- South Africa:
 - Executive Development Programs with ESKOM (South African electricity company); Government to send individuals to the Bank's Harvard EDP; Government to organize EDP on a larger scale using local resources.
 - Exploring technology-enhanced learning in Southern Africa.
 - Expanding Bank South African intern program to other countries.

VII. Issues Likely to be Raised and Suggested Responses

- How are the other donors being consulted?
 - The African EDs have held a series of meetings with other donors (specifics:....).
 - An international Partnership Group on Capacity Building will hold its inaugural meeting in August, 1997.
- How does this initiative relate to the African Capacity Building Facility (ACBF)?
 1. ACBF specializes in building capacity for economic policy analysis and will be an instrument under the Partnership for Capacity Building in Africa.
- How does this relate to the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) capacity building program?
 - Specialized program to meet needs of HIPCs for independent advisory services and coordinate activities of donors/tech assistance. To be managed by steering committee of donors, NGOs. Switzerland, Austria, Denmark, Sweden pledged support - total funding of \$3 million from 1997-1998.

VIII. Progress to Date

- Request to tackle capacity issue to JDW by African Governors at the 1995 Annual Meetings.
- February 16, 1996, JDW met with African Ministers of Finance (Burkina Faso, Gabon, Kenya, and Uganda) to discuss progress made on capacity building initiative. Agreed on set of actions (series of sub regional meetings; arranging pilot national capacity assessments; review impact of Bank on capacity building).
- April - May 1996, sub-regional consultations held in Nairobi, Addis Ababa, Abidjan, Libreville and Johannesburg. Workshop held in Mauritius.
- *"Partnership for Capacity Building in Africa"* summary of consultations published.
- April 30, 1996 - Bank and UNDP issued agreement on aid coordination - address capacity development (p. 4). Increase use of national institutions/consultants and increase involvement in implementing aid.
- Various dates: NCBAs carried out for Burkina Faso, CAR, Cote d'Ivoire, Comoros, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.
- August 1996 - *"Partnership for Capacity Building in Africa - Impact of Bank Policies and Operational Practices on Capacity Building in Africa"* working party conclusions and recommendations published.
- January 15-17, 1997. Paris meeting of African ministers and bilateral/multilateral donors, convened by African Governors of the Bank. Presented *"Strategy and Program of Action"* (see attached) to donor community. Gained full support of AfDB, UNDP, OAU, and IMF, with Bank taking lead role.
- February 1997 - Africa Region announces creation of Capacity Building Technical Group to ensure capacity building is mainstreamed with all lending/non-lending activities; to facilitate capacity building in Africa; and to coordinate with the African Executive Directors for fostering the Partnership for Capacity Building in Africa.
- May 1997 meeting with Nordic officials in Iceland by Mr. Ali Bourhane on the Partnership for Capacity Building in Africa.
- Meeting at the Hague with Government officials and academics, businessmen on the Initiative.

IX. Special Issues

- Mule report concludes that structural adjustment programs had negative impact on local capacity - public administration, budget process, overload local policy agenda.



Record Removal Notice

File Title President Wolfensohn - Briefing Materials for President's Speeches - Luncheon - Speaking Engagement - Congressional Black Caucus - July 17, 1997		Barcode No. 30488319		
Document Date July 1997	Document Type Report			
Correspondents / Participants				
Subject / Title Summary of Observations, Conclusions and Recommendations of Report of the Dewey Ballantine Audit Team An Analysis of Allegations of Discrimination Within the CTR Vice Presidency in the Hiring, Career Development and Compensation of Managers and Professional and Support Staff Who are Black African Nationals or are of African Origin				
Exception(s) Corporate Administrative Matters				
Additional Comments		The item(s) identified above has/have been removed in accordance with The World Bank Policy on Access to Information or other disclosure policies of the World Bank Group. <table border="1"><tr><td>Withdrawn by Diego Hernández</td><td>Date June 18, 2025</td></tr></table>	Withdrawn by Diego Hernández	Date June 18, 2025
Withdrawn by Diego Hernández	Date June 18, 2025			

Carol Moseley-Braun (D)

Of Chicago — Elected 1992, 1st term

Biographical Information

Born: Aug. 16, 1947, Chicago, Ill.

Education: U. of Illinois, Chicago Circle, B.A. 1967; U. of Chicago, J.D. 1972.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Divorced; one child.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Ill. House, 1979-88, assistant majority leader, 1983; Cook County recorder of deeds, 1988-92.

Capitol Office: 324 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-2854.

Committees

Special Aging

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

Financial Institutions & Regulatory Relief; International Finance (ranking); Housing Opportunity & Community Development

Finance

Health Care; International Trade; Social Security & Family Policy



In Washington: Carol Moseley-Braun will go down in history as the first African American woman elected to the Senate. But still unanswered, as she finishes her first term and sets out to win a second in 1998, is the question of how well she upheld the soaring hopes of her advocates and admirers.

After four years in office, Moseley-Braun has been both an eloquent spokeswoman for minorities and women and a bitter disappointment to many of her supporters, who swept her into office in 1992 in a wave of anger over the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

Her political vulnerability was heightened after Moseley-Braun took an unscheduled "private" trip in August 1996 to Nigeria and met with its dictator, Gen. Sani Abacha.

Since Abacha seized power in a November 1993 military coup, he has jailed the country's elected president and persecuted political dissidents. Abacha drew international condemnation after his regime hanged playwright Ken Saro-Wiwa and nine environmental activists.

The State Department chided Moseley-Braun for failing to seek a briefing with the Clinton administration before taking the trip. Human rights organizations, including TransAfrica, expressed deep disappointment over her actions.

Moseley-Braun dismissed the criticisms, saying it was her responsibility as a senator to maintain contacts with world leaders.

The trip revived political problems that plagued her first term: her relationship with a former senior campaign staffer who faced allegations of sexual harassment, high turnover among her staff and charges of financial mismanagement in the handling of her campaign funds.

The senator's woes have overshadowed a legislative record in which she has pushed for pension reform for women and funds to repair crumbling schools and shepherded an amendment for home-state soybean growers onto a bill revamping the nation's agriculture policy.

In keeping with her image as a champion for women and minorities, Moseley-Braun introduced the Women's Pension Equity Act of 1996, and three of the proposal's six provisions were folded into two unrelated bills. During the Republicans' first big attempt to reduce spending in 1995, she joined with Sen. Paul Wellstone, D-Minn., to object to cuts in low income energy assistance, job training and senior citizen consumer counseling on medical insurance. The pair forced Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., to allow them two floor amendments for education and job training and energy assistance — both of which failed. They also forced the Clinton administration to find a way to restore funds to the counseling program.

Moseley-Braun was also one of five women senators in 1995 who turned up the pressure on the Ethics Committee to hold public hearings on charges of sexual misconduct against Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore. And for Illinois' more than 52,000 soybean farmers, Moseley-Braun has been a keen advocate. She sponsored an amendment to the omnibus farm bill overhauling a formula setting loan rates on soybean bushels from a fixed amount to a moving average, a change that benefits farmers. In addition, Moseley-Braun was one of four lawmakers who petitioned the Energy Department to declare biodiesel — a fuel made from soybean and other vegetable oils — an alternative fuel.

But a bill that extended a tax deduction for health insurance for the self-employed led Moseley-Braun into trouble in 1995. An exemption she inserted in the conference report helped a partnership of the Tribune Co., which is in her home state, and music producer Quincy Jones complete a contract to buy two television stations. One of the stations was owned by Rupert Murdoch. When it became clear that Murdoch would benefit — to the tune of tens of millions of dollars — more than 150 Democrats wrote to Clinton, urging him to veto the bill.

The Nigeria trip upset her supporters not only because of her contact with a brutal dictator, but because it highlighted her persistent staff troubles. When she went to Nigeria in August 1996, her third chief of staff, Edith Wilson, left, saying she resigned because she had not been told about the trip. The

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senator disputes this and says she fired Wilson.

Supporters were also dismayed to learn that Kgosie Matthews, who served as Moseley-Braun's campaign manager and is her former fiancé, joined the senator on the Nigeria trip. Matthews had worked as a lobbyist for Nigeria from May to July 1994. Matthews remains a source of controversy from the 1992 campaign, when several staff members anonymously accused him of sexual harassment. A lawyer hired by the senator investigated the harassment charges and declared them unfounded.

Moseley-Braun's political survival may come down to money. Despite serving more than two years on one of Congress' powerful money panels, the Senate Finance Committee, the senator still has a campaign debt of more than \$500,000 left over from 1992. That has prompted even her friends to question in private her chances of winning a second term.

She is also still embroiled in a legal dispute with her campaign's former treasurer and chief financial officer, Earl W. Hopewell, who has filed suit seeking \$196,000 he says he is owed.

At Home: The daughter of a police officer and a medical technician, Moseley-Braun grew up in Chicago's neighborhoods and had direct exposure to urban poverty. In 1978, voters elected her to the state Legislature where, for more than a decade, she worked as a legislative floor leader for the city and its first black mayor, Harold Washington. She rose to become the first woman assistant majority leader.

But it was outrage over the Senate's handling of Hill in the Thomas hearings that propelled Moseley-Braun into the Senate race in 1992 and helped her

upset two-term Democratic incumbent Alan J. Dixon in a three-way primary. Then voter disgust with the economy cinched a win over GOP challenger Richard S. Williamson, despite some serious flaws in her campaign that election.

Moseley-Braun found a perfect foil in Williamson, a wealthy, conservative lawyer who had held appointive jobs in the Reagan and Bush administrations. Money poured into her campaign and summer polls placed her seemingly out of Williamson's reach. But there were missteps. Her campaign suffered from disorganization and infighting, while the candidate at times appeared ill-versed about certain national issues. Moseley-Braun's performance as recorder of deeds came under fire.

Then, in late September 1992, Moseley-Braun was stung by strong criticism of her handling of her mother's finances. Moseley-Braun accepted, with her siblings, a \$28,750 inheritance from her mother even though her mother was being supported by Medicaid and state law might have required that the income be applied to her mother's expenses. After a state investigation was completed just before the election, Moseley-Braun paid the state roughly \$15,000 in back medical expenses for her mother. There was no criminal investigation, and a state official described the payment as voluntary.

These problems were not enough to blunt Moseley-Braun's overall appeal as a personable and energetic politician. And in the end, she ran strongly in Chicago and the southern part of the state, offsetting Williamson's strength in the Chicago suburbs. She won with 53 percent of the vote, spending nearly \$6.6 million.

SENATE ELECTIONS

1992 General

Carol Moseley-Braun (D)	2,631,229	(53%)
Richard S. Williamson (R)	2,126,833	(43%)
Chad Koppie (CIL)	100,422	(2%)

1992 Primary

Carol Moseley-Braun (D)	557,694	(38%)
Alan J. Dixon (D)	504,077	(35%)
Albert F. Hofeld (D)	394,497	(27%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

1992

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
Moseley-Braun (D)	\$6,628,567	\$646,746 (10%)	\$6,594,570
Williamson (R)	\$2,320,713	\$472,839 (20%)	\$2,300,924
Koppie (CIL)	\$263,470	0	\$262,121

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	90	n/a	46	5
1995	100	83	32	9
1994	85	75	33	4
1993	85	73	36	0

KEY VOTES

1997

Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	Y
Approve chemical weapons treaty	Y

1996

Approve farm bill	Y
Limit punitive damages in product liability cases	Y
Exempt small businesses from higher minimum wage	N
Approve welfare overhaul	N
Bar job discrimination based on sexual orientation	Y
Override veto of ban on "partial birth" abortions	N

1995

Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N
Approve constitutional amendment barring flag desecration	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	83	15	88	10	24	76
1995	83	15	86	13	18	81
1994	82	13	86	9	13	84
1993	99	1	95	5	17	83

35 Maxine Waters (D)

Of Los Angeles — Elected 1990, 4th term

Biographical Information

Born: Aug. 15, 1938, St. Louis, Mo.

Education: California State U., Los Angeles, B.A. 1970.

Occupation: Head Start official.

Family: Husband, Sidney Williams; two children.

Religion: Christian.

Political Career: Calif. Assembly, 1977-91.

Capitol Office: 2344 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-2201.

Committees

Banking & Financial Services

Capital Markets, Securities & Government Sponsored Enterprises; General Oversight & Investigations (ranking)

Judiciary

Constitution



In Washington: Waters is a forceful and provocative liberal who has made a career out of vigorously challenging her ideological opponents. With Republicans running the House, Waters has difficulty finding a sympathetic audience for her pleas for assistance to the inner cities, but she is

at her rhetorical best as an insurgent. And she has a bigger megaphone in the 105th Congress as chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

From the first day of the 104th Congress, Waters made plain her displeasure with the ascension of Newt Gingrich and his conservative legion. When Gingrich was escorted down the House aisle to be sworn in as Speaker in January 1995, Waters remained seated. "From time to time I give myself permission to exercise some integrity with respect to my feelings," she reported. She told the Los Angeles Times in May 1995, "This new group and Newt kind of disgust me." At the start of the 105th, she was one of five members to vote "present" when the House reprimanded Gingrich for ethical failings, finding the punishment insufficiently severe.

Waters is not one to worry too much about the niceties of the House or heed the mournful cries for civility. When quarreling with a colleague, she has been known to tell her adversary to "shut up," and she once suggested in a news conference that a conservative member of the California delegation seek psychiatric treatment.

No one doubts the integrity of Waters' feelings, but many members of Congress — in both parties — find her unrelenting sense of the rightness of her opinions unappealing. Her in-your-face tactics led San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown to comment, "She'd cut out your heart and then do your eulogy — in tears."

When Brown was the Speaker of the California Assembly and Waters his majority whip, the two were an effective pair, and Brown gave her free rein to pursue projects of personal interest such as divesting state assets from South

Africa. To say that Waters enjoys no such powerful patron in the House is an understatement. Waters proved in backroom bargaining sessions in Sacramento that she could compromise as well as the most pragmatic pol, but in Washington she has had to scratch and claw her way without a formal seat at the table.

One telling incident has been recounted in both a lengthy Waters profile contained in "War Without Bloodshed," a 1996 book about Washington politics by Eleanor Clift and Tom Brazaitis, and "Twilight," Anna Deavere Smith's play about the 1992 Los Angeles riots. Much of the worst rioting (which Waters calls a rebellion) happened in her House district, and she was miffed when the White House convened a meeting without inviting her or any other members representing inner-city districts. She showed up at the White House gate and waited until Democratic Speaker Thomas S. Foley persuaded President George Bush they would be better off inviting her in. The president's advisers reportedly agreed that her summation about disengaged youth being the root of the problem was correct.

With the help of the Democratic leadership, which often found her frustrating and uncontrollable, Waters in the 103rd Congress secured funding for a program to provide job training and pocket money to at-risk young people. It was one of the first programs axed by the new Republican majority in a 1995 rescissions bill.

She carries her advocacy for the poor into the Banking and Financial Services Committee, where she has worked to stop banks from charging transaction fees to small depositors. Waters serves as ranking member of the General Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee, and in the 105th she picked up a seat on Judiciary.

When the banking panel was marking up a plan to provide \$50 million for groups that develop low-income housing, Waters objected to the reference to the Georgia-based Habitat for Humanity, the only group mentioned. When Gingrich appeared before the committee to plead for the special allocation, Waters tore into him. But Gingrich reminded Waters and the panel that she had attached her job training program to an

This very poor, very heavily minority district contains what many consider the flash point of April 1992's rioting, the intersection of Normandie and Florence avenues. That is where a white truck driver, Reginald Denny, was dragged from his vehicle and beaten by a group of blacks.

The incident serves to emphasize the home-grown nature of the riots: All of those arrested in the beating case lived within six blocks of the intersection. The rioters tended to torch their own neighborhoods, which in the 35th includes part of south-central Los Angeles and three independent cities: Inglewood, Hawthorne and Gardena.

The eastern edge of the district is the most desperately poor. As one heads west toward Inglewood, relative affluence increases. The commercial districts in this area along Vermont and Manchester (and to a lesser extent Western) avenues were devastated by looting and burning.

To the west of south-central is Inglewood, whose police force was able to keep much of the rioting there under control. Inglewood suffered some damage but was spared the wholesale destruction found in south-central. Inglewood is a historically white city that has changed dramatically; now, more than half its 110,000 residents are black.

The city is home to the Hollywood Park race-track and the Los Angeles Lakers, who play in the Great Western Forum. Several shipping companies have set up shop here to take advantage of the location due east of Los Angeles International Airport.

Hawthorne, with 71,000 residents, is about 10 percent Asian, with the rest split almost equally among Hispanics, whites and blacks. Its political power, however, is largely concentrated

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among its whites because they tend to register to vote at higher levels than the other groups.

Hawthorne was the birthplace of Northrop Corp., a major defense contractor that in 1994 merged with another company in the field, Grumman, forming the Northrop Grumman Corp. The city is alone in the district in having allowed large apartment buildings to be built.

For years, Gardena (population 50,000) received a strong revenue stream from being the only city in Los Angeles County that allowed poker parlors. Their contributions made up about 15 percent of the city's budget. The extra money allowed the city to save a substantial sum, part of which it used to start a municipal insurance company to keep its costs down.

The southern part of the city is heavily Japanese. They represent about a quarter of the city's total population and have been politically influential for some time: The city elected its first Japanese mayor in 1972. Honda has its U.S. headquarters here.

Overall, the district is 43 percent black (the highest proportion of blacks in the state), 43 percent Hispanic and 6 percent Asian — a full 90 percent minority.

Politically, the 35th is the most Democratic district in California. Bill Clinton won 84 percent here in 1996.

1990 Population: 570,882. White 121,505 (21%), Black 243,848 (43%), Other 205,529 (36%). Hispanic origin 246,201 (43%). 18 and over 389,470 (68%), 62 and over 51,632 (9%). Median age: 27.

unrelated flood relief bill, and her amendment to strike references to the group was rejected, 10-12.

In July 1994, when Republicans on the banking panel were grilling Clinton staffers on the Whitewater matter, Waters told Peter T. King, R-N.Y., to "shut up" after she objected to his pointed questioning of Margaret Williams, Hillary Rodham Clinton's chief of staff. The next day on the House floor, King said Waters' remark, "even for the gentlelady from California, went to a new low." Waters rose to respond that "the day is over when men can intimidate and badger women." Republicans objected to her use of the word badger, and then a parliamentary uproar ensued as Waters continued speaking after the chair ordered her to halt.

Waters is also willing to spar with leaders of her own party, as she demonstrated when President Clinton spent much of 1995 taking a long look at updating affirmative action. Waters was an early supporter of Clinton and served as

national co-chairman of his 1992 campaign. She said she understood his need to placate centrists and conservatives on occasion, but when push came to shove on this issue Waters threatened to bolt the party. "No party is so important that we will belong to it if it undermines us on this issue," she said in a widely quoted remark. "No president is so important that we will belong to him if he undermines us on this issue." Clinton decided that he would look to "mend, not end" affirmative action programs.

Waters maintains that if she yields her stance and engages in the give and take typical to Washington politics, her constituents will feel burned, seeing her as just another politician willing to sell them out. On their behalf, she bristles with anger at the Republican notion that volunteer programs and self-reliance are suitable substitutes for massive government assistance. "Volunteers are great. But volunteers cannot be relied on. Anybody who wants to run a real busi-

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ness does not say: I'm going to run this business with volunteers."

Crack cocaine was the subject of perhaps Waters' most high-profile effort during the 104th, which was to determine the validity of news reports and rumors that the Central Intelligence Agency had been complicit in inner-city crack dealing, with the cash proceeds going to the Nicaraguan contras. Waters pressed for congressional hearings and when one took place under the auspices of the Senate Intelligence Committee, she was in the front row.

With the largely black audience expressing skepticism about official denials of CIA misdeeds, Intelligence Chairman Arlen Specter, R-Pa., allowed Waters — who told Specter he was not asking the "right questions" — to grill the witnesses herself. Waters joined the senators and asked a prepared list of questions, which elicited testimony from contra leaders that they had in fact met several of the drug dealers named in San Jose Mercury News articles.

At Home: The 35th, built on Watts and other black and Hispanic neighborhoods in south-central L.A., resembles at its heart the Assembly district Waters represented for 14 years in Sacramento. Waters got her chance to move up in 1990, with the retirement of 28-year Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins. For years she had been preparing for the move. During legislative debates over redistricting in 1982, Waters maneuvered to remove from Hawkins' district a blue-collar, mainly white suburb she saw as unfriendly territory.

Waters comes from modest circumstances.

She was born in St. Louis as one of 13 children in a welfare family and was raised in public housing projects. As a teenager, she bused tables in a segregated restaurant. Married just after high school, Waters moved in 1961 with her first husband and two children to Los Angeles, where she worked in a clothing factory and for the telephone company.

Waters' public career began in 1966, when she volunteered as an assistant teacher in the new Head Start program while pursuing a college degree. From Head Start she got into community-organizing activities and then into politics. After working as a volunteer and a consultant to several candidates, Waters won an upset state Assembly victory in 1976.

Making her presence felt immediately, Waters pushed on her first day to have the gender-neutral term "assembly member" replace the official title of "assemblyman." Despite the derision of some male colleagues, Waters argued her case and won, although the vote was quickly overturned.

Waters sponsored much successful legislation, including measures requiring state agencies to set minimum goals for awarding contracts to minority- and women-owned businesses; barring strip searches for those accused of non-violent misdemeanors; and creating a state child abuse prevention training program. During her House campaign, Waters touted her sponsorship of the Imperial Courts Learning Center, California's first public school within a public housing project.

Waters' 1990 election to the House was never in doubt; she won 79 percent. She survived 1992 redistricting unscathed and has won handily since.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Maxine Waters (D)	92,762	(86%)	
Eric Carlson (R)	13,116	(12%)	
Gordon Michael Mego (AMI)	2,610	(2%)	
1994 General			
Maxine Waters (D)	65,688	(78%)	
Nate Truman (R)	18,390	(22%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (83%) 1990 (79%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Waters (D)	\$191,620	\$58,695 (31%)	\$235,851
Carlson (R)	\$2,440	\$16 (1%)	\$2,428
1994			
Waters (D)	\$210,667	\$100,502 (48%)	\$177,791
Truman (R)	\$9,142	0	\$9,580

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

	1996		1992
D	92,773 (84%)	D	100,432 (78%)
R	12,063 (11%)	R	16,685 (13%)
I	4,129 (4%)	I	11,950 (9%)

KEY VOTES

1997		
Ban "partial birth" abortions		N
1996		
Approve farm bill		N
Deny public education to illegal immigrants		-
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons		-
Increase minimum wage		Y
Freeze defense spending		Y
Approve welfare overhaul		N
1995		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations		-
Oppose limits on environmental regulations		Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending		N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	67	24	86	5	12	80
1995	82	12	91	4	11	89
1994	72	24	92	3	6	92
1993	77	22	92	4	14	86
1992	11	77	82	4	10	88
1991	23	70	85	3	5	84

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	85	n/a	19	0
1995	95	100	0	9
1994	100	89	25	10
1993	100	100	9	4
1992	95	92	13	0
1991	90	100	11	0

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2 William J. Jefferson (D)

Of New Orleans — Elected 1990, 4th term

Biographical Information

Born: March 14, 1947, Lake Providence, La.

Education: Southern U. and A&M College, B.A. 1969; Harvard U., J.D. 1972; Georgetown U., LL.M. 1996.

Military Service: Army, 1969-75.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Andrea Green; five children.

Religion: Baptist.

Political Career: La. Senate, 1980-91; candidate for mayor of New Orleans, 1982, 1986.

Capitol Office: 240 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-6636.

Committees

Ways & Means

Social Security; Trade



In Washington: In the 103rd Congress, Jefferson — just in his second term — already had a seat on the Ways and Means Committee and was on a fast track to being a key inside player for Democrats.

But Jefferson reassessed his political future when Republicans seized control of the House in the 1994 election. He lost his place on Ways and Means as Democrats' allotment of committee seats was cut, and he looked into not one but two bids for statewide office — for governor in 1995 and senator in 1996. Ultimately he rejected both, and in 1996 he ran unopposed for a 4th term in the 2nd District. Although his Democrats are still the House minority in the 105th, there was some good news for Jefferson in 1997: He got back onto Ways and Means.

Jefferson first entered the 1995 Louisiana gubernatorial election along with 4th District black Democratic Rep. Cleo Fields and a host of other contenders, all of them white. But just two weeks after the September filing deadline, Jefferson dropped out in favor of Fields for fear of splitting the black primary vote.

"We know for a fact that we don't have a chance if both of us are in the race," Jefferson said at a news conference attended by Fields. Jefferson decided the better route would be to pursue the Senate seat being vacated in 1996 by Democrat J. Bennett Johnston. But in early 1996 Jefferson also backed out of that race.

Upon arriving in Washington in 1991, Jefferson quickly showed his party's leadership that he had skills at shaping legislation behind the scenes, and their desire to diversify the membership of key committees helped him earn a seat on Ways and Means.

After Jefferson was knocked from that perch in 1995, Democratic leaders assigned Jefferson to House Oversight — an insiders' panel that deals with institutional matters — and to the National

Security Committee, where he was the only Louisianan and thus had a special responsibility for monitoring the state's defense interests.

In almost every instance, Jefferson has been a steadfast opponent of the Republicans' legislative agenda, voting against their efforts to overhaul the welfare and Medicare systems and to cut taxes and domestic spending. The one exception, however, has been in the area of defense. Jefferson has voted for the GOP-drafted defense bills that have included spending beyond what President Clinton has requested. Jefferson also opposed an effort by House "deficit hawks" to freeze fiscal 1997 defense spending at the prior-year level.

Jefferson has a parochial interest in defense monies; his district is home to Avondale shipyards and Trinity Marine Industries. He was successful with a provision in the fiscal 1996 defense authorization bill that added \$600 million to accelerate construction of two military cargo ships originally scheduled for fiscal year 1999, plus \$974 million for construction of the first of 12 smaller amphibious landing transports, designated LPDs. Avondale Industries was expected to gain the construction bid for the LPDs. Jefferson said the authorization for accelerated ship construction at Avondale "will have a tremendous impact on the metropolitan New Orleans economy into the next century."

Jefferson is not one of the more vocal members of Congress. He rarely speaks on the House floor, but when he does it is usually to complain about some aspect of the Republicans' agenda. He argued in the 104th that the House majority was cutting child nutrition programs to pay for a tax cut for the wealthy.

"With the near elimination of the school lunch and breakfast programs and the Food Stamp Program, among others," Jefferson told the House, "our colleagues on the other side of the aisle have hit nearly 5 million of America's children, our most precious resource, where it could very well hurt them the most — in their stomachs."

Jefferson belongs to the new generation of

New Orleans' melange of temptations, sensations and attractions gives it a unique mystique in America and lures a steady stream of visitors. But the Crescent City has more on its mind than granting hedonists their fancies.

New Orleans' population declined 11 percent in the 1980s, dropping the city below 500,000 residents for the first time since the early 1940s. In recent years the city has endured budget crunches, rampant crime, teacher strikes, drug problems and racial hostility.

New Orleans' economy is rooted in service industries. A few energy, mining and construction firms have headquarters here, including McDermott International Inc., but retail and hospitality services such as hotels, restaurants and bars employ a majority of the city's workers. The French Quarter is famous for its art galleries and fine dining. Nearby, sports fans descend on the 75,000-seat Louisiana Superdome to root for pro football's Saints and watch other blue-chip sporting events, such as the Sugar Bowl and, periodically, the Super Bowl.

New Orleans is an ethnic potpourri, with blacks, Italians, Irish, Cubans and the largest Honduran population outside Central America. The city also has more than 50,000 college students; schools include the University of New Orleans, Tulane University, Loyola University and Xavier University, the nation's only Catholic college with a predominantly black student population.

The Algiers section, which sits on the west bank of the Mississippi River, is a blend of high- and low-income residents, new condominiums and well-tended historic buildings.

On the east bank, between the Mississippi and Lake Pontchartrain, is a fascinating variety of neighborhoods: comfortable Carrollton, an area

LOUISIANA 2 East — New Orleans

of middle-class whites on the city's west side; the wealthy Uptown section, with its professionals and academics; the predominantly black Lower 9th Ward; and fast-growing New Orleans East, reaching into the city's marshland and home to middle-class black and white families.

The district also includes southern parts of Kenner, a growing suburb west of New Orleans that includes the international airport.

Created by court order in 1983, the 2nd was Louisiana's first black-majority House district. Despite its demographics, the 2nd continued to elect white Democrat Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs. But when she decided not to run in 1990, Jefferson became ensconced.

After 1992 redistricting, the 2nd included 85 percent of New Orleans and had a black population of 61 percent. Subsequent remapping plans, including the court-imposed 1996 plan which barely nicked the 2nd but eliminated Louisiana's other majority-black district, preserved the 2nd as a heavily-black district anchored in New Orleans. Just under one-fourth of the district's registered voters reside in Jefferson Parish, which is split with the 1st and 3rd districts.

Republicans have little impact in the 2nd. Registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by nearly 6 to 1. Bill Clinton carried the district in 1996 with 78 percent of the vote, nearly 25 points above his next-best Louisiana district.

As of May 19, the Census Bureau had not recalculated population data, racial and ethnic breakdowns and age statistics for districts newly drawn for the 1996 elections.

black leaders who flow with ease from black communities to halls of power filled with white establishment tradition. A reliable Democratic vote, he was the only member from his state to support Clinton's 1994 crime bill. In the 104th Congress, he supported raising the minimum wage and opposed most of the GOP's efforts to restrict abortion. He has, however, voted with conservatives to ban a particular abortion technique that opponents call "partial birth" abortion. Also, he voted to ban federal recognition of same-sex marriages.

Even on the politically touchy issue of whether employers should have to pay for workers' health care, Jefferson in the 103rd Congress found a way to back the Democratic leadership. During Ways and Means negotiations in the spring of 1994, he won a promise of increased aid for small businesses in return for his support for the so-called employer mandate. His vote helped Ways and Means approve a version of Clinton's health care

plan, although the bill later died.

Jefferson now represents Louisiana's only black majority district since a three-judge panel in January 1996 struck down Louisiana's congressional district map. The judges ruled that the Louisiana map — which was drafted with two black-majority districts — was a "racial gerrymander" in violation of the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause. They said race was the main factor used in drawing the black-majority 4th District, which had been represented by Fields. In redrawing all the state's districts, the court made the 4th a white-majority district.

The judges' map was adopted by the state Legislature, and in the 1996 elections Louisiana followed the plan imposed by the judges.

At Home: Jefferson's 1990 election to succeed Democrat Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs was notable on several counts. He became Louisiana's first black congressman since Reconstruction, and his constituency was the last black-majority House

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district of the 1980s to gain black representation.

In Jefferson, it has a representative whose life has almost literally been a rags-to-riches story. Raised in poverty in rural northeast Louisiana as one of 10 children, he quickly showed brains and ambition.

He was student body president at Southern University in Baton Rouge, winner of a scholarship to Harvard Law School, a law clerk in New Orleans for veteran federal appellate court Judge Alvin Rubin and then a legislative assistant to Sen. Johnston.

In 1979, Jefferson launched his political career by winning a seat in the Louisiana Senate, ousting a white incumbent in a racially mixed New Orleans district that included much of the affluent Uptown area.

When Boggs announced her retirement in 1990,

Jefferson was well-positioned to succeed her. With the backing of Mayor Sidney Barthelemy, many of the city's white officials and the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance (the city's largest organization of black clergy), he ran first in the crowded primary, then beat attorney Marc Morial, the 32-year-old son of the city's first black mayor, Ernest N. "Dutch" Morial, in the bitter November runoff, winning by roughly 5,000 votes.

Morial mocked Jefferson's experience in the Legislature ("We don't want to take Baton Rouge shenanigans to Washington," he said) and hit hard at questions surrounding Jefferson's personal finances.

The two candidates ran virtually neck and neck in the city's black precincts. Jefferson won on the strength of his showing on the largely white, working-class West Bank.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 Primary †

William J. Jefferson (D) unopposed

1994 Primary †

William J. Jefferson (D)	60,906	(75%)
Robert "Bob" Namer (R)	15,113	(19%)
John C. Lawrence (I)	3,036	(4%)
Julius "Uncle Chip" Leahman (D)	2,513	(3%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (73%) 1990 (53%)

† In Louisiana the primary is open to candidates of all parties. If a candidate wins 50 percent or more of the vote in the primary, no general election is held. A candidate unopposed in the primary and general election is declared elected and the candidate's name does not appear on the ballot.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Jefferson (D)	\$286,711	\$168,950 (59%)	\$301,082
1994			
Jefferson (D)	\$554,568	\$311,837 (56%)	\$608,567

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	169,602 (78%)	D	153,342 (69%)
R	40,597 (19%)	R	54,555 (25%)
I	5,405 (3%)	I	13,813 (6%)

KEY VOTES

1997

Ban "partial birth" abortions Y

1996

Approve farm bill Y

Deny public education to illegal immigrants N

Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons N

Increase minimum wage Y

Freeze defense spending N

Approve welfare overhaul N

1995

Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment N

Relax Clean Water Act regulations N

Oppose limits on environmental regulations Y

Reduce projected Medicare spending N

Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	73	19	85	9	51	43
1995	65	14	73	7	33	50
1994	85	10	86	3	28	67
1993	83	13	91	4	23	73
1992	14	74	81	5	25	65
1991	26	63	82	5	19	68

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	85	n/a	31	5
1995	70	100	11	9
1994	90	78	33	15
1993	95	92	18	4
1992	85	92	29	0
1991	85	92	20	0

23 Alcee L. Hastings (D)

Of Miramar — Elected 1992, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: Sept. 5, 1936, Altamonte Springs, Fla.

Education: Fisk U., B.A. 1958; Howard U., 1958-60; Florida A&M U., J.D. 1963.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Divorced; three children.

Religion: African Methodist Episcopal.

Political Career: U.S. District Court judge, 1979-89; Democratic nominee for Fla. secretary of state, 1990.

Capitol Office: 1039 Longworth Bldg., 20515; 225-1313.

Committees

International Relations
Africa; Asia & the Pacific

Science
Space & Aeronautics



In Washington: Hastings is not the first federal judge to serve in Congress, but he is the first one to serve after the House impeached him on bribery charges and sent his case to the Senate, which convicted him and removed him from office.

With such a history, it is not surprising that Hastings was greeted in Washington by skepticism that he would be able to work effectively with members who had voted in 1988 to impeach him.

But Hastings has surprised the skeptics by bearing no apparent grudges about the past and by focusing instead on building legislative influence.

"Succeeding is the best revenge," he said after nine months in office. "My goal was to get beyond people viewing me as an impeached judge. I think I've accomplished that in grand style."

He has done that, in part, through his work on the International Relations Committee, where he is a strong supporter of aid to Africa and an equally strong defender of President Clinton. In the 104th Congress, he unsuccessfully tried in committee to beat back Republican-backed legislation aimed at reducing support for United Nations' peacekeeping efforts. Hastings' proposal essentially would have allowed the administration to continue paying its U.N. bills in the same fashion as other U.N. member states.

Hastings was a member of an International Relations select subcommittee formed to investigate Iran's arming of Bosnian Muslims. Republicans alleged that the Clinton administration knew about the arms operation, tacitly approved of it and did not inform Congress, while all the time publicly professing support of an international embargo on arming the Bosnians. Hastings and the other subcommittee Democrats portrayed Republicans as pursuing the inquiry just to score election-year political points against Clinton. "It is our belief that no laws were broken, no wrongdoing occurred, no covert actions took place, no false statements given, no U.S. interests

harmed," said a statement by Hastings, Lee H. Hamilton of Indiana and Howard L. Berman of California.

When the House took up legislation authorizing the activities of the State Department through fiscal 1997, Hastings joined his fellow Democrats in refusing to sign the conference report. "This conference report is just another example of this Congress micromanaging foreign policy and preventing the president from doing his job," he said.

And when the committee held hearings into Clinton's Haiti policy, Democrats countered Republican criticism of the administration with charges that the GOP was engaged in an election-year effort to tarnish the president's success in restoring democratic rule to Haiti. Hastings called the Republican criticisms of Clinton's Haiti policy "pure, unadulterated political posturing."

Hastings has not always been enamored of Clinton's foreign policies. Long before Clinton sent the U.S. military into Haiti in September 1994, Hastings and other black caucus members called for military intervention to restore President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. In May 1994, he was one of three lawmakers arrested for demonstrating in front of the White House against the U.S. policy of returning Haitian refugees to their country.

In July 1993, Hastings traveled to Sudan with other members of the Africa Subcommittee and saw firsthand the mass starvation there. In June 1994, he sponsored a resolution condemning the widespread killings in Rwanda and called the atrocities genocide. He said the White House had not done enough to address the problem: "This administration has been avoiding using the term genocide in connection with Rwanda for fear that if we call it genocide we will have to take steps to stop the killing," he said.

Hastings also tends to matters closer to home. He buttonholed votes on the House floor to stave off an attempt in the 1995 farm bill to phase out the sugar subsidy over five years. When the vote was announced, 208-217, and the motion was defeated, Hastings shot a thumbs-up at the galleries and the sugar lobbyists let out a cheer.

Appealing to the strong antipathy in South

One of the most unusual creatures in Florida's congressional map for the 1990s is the kitelike 23rd.

The district extends over seven counties. Most of its landmass is in western St. Lucie, Martin and Palm Beach counties, near Lake Okeechobee. But most of the people in the 23rd live inland from the Atlantic, along a narrow strip that follows Interstate 95. Half the district residents live in Broward County; one-third live in Palm Beach County.

The district is heavily Democratic and designed to help black House candidates, though the election of an African-American was not assured. Blacks account for only a bare majority of the district's total population and about 44 percent of its voting-age population.

Agriculture dominates the western part of the district. Western St. Lucie and Martin counties as well as southeast Okeechobee County are citrus territory, with vegetable and lettuce crops also attracting some migrant workers. Although the sugar industry has a strong presence near Belle Glade in western Palm Beach County, U.S. Sugar's closing of a vegetable plant in 1994 translated into a loss of 700 jobs. Although Okeechobee is mostly white, the rest of this part of the district includes a high percentage of blacks and some Hispanics. The northeastern part of the district also extends into Fort Pierce to include most of its black neighborhoods.

The long strip of the district that runs adjacent to I-95 includes many public sector workers, especially county government and public school employees. Public employee unions are strong political organizing forces, as are neighborhood associations.

The residents of Riviera Beach, an over-

FLORIDA 23

Southeast — Parts of St. Lucie, Martin, Broward and Palm Beach counties

whelmingly black city, cast an extraordinarily high percentage of their votes for Democrats. Most residents are middle-class, and some work at the nearby Pratt & Whitney plant. The portions of West Palm Beach in the district, which are also majority-black, include some neighborhoods that attract professionals. The portions that are in the 23rd from Delray Beach and Boynton Beach are about one-half black; Lake Worth is a little less so. The part of Boca Raton included is overwhelmingly white and a GOP enclave.

Heading into Broward, the parts of Deerfield Beach and especially Pompano Beach in the 23rd are majority-black. Deerfield Beach is mainly lower middle-class, with some farm workers commuting west, while Pompano is more middle-class.

The district broadens somewhat in Broward County to include mainly black neighborhoods in Fort Lauderdale and, to the west, Lauderhill and Lauderdale Lakes. But it also includes predominantly white areas of Lauderdale Lakes that are middle-class and, in some cases, retirement-oriented.

Norland, a predominantly black area, accounts for most of the district's residents in Dade County. Before Hastings won the 23rd in 1992, he had a law office there.

1990 Population: 562,519. White 251,923 (45%), Black 290,519 (52%), Other 20,077 (4%). Hispanic origin 52,706 (9%). 18 and over 407,318 (72%), 62 and over 86,056 (15%). Median age: 32.

Florida toward Cuban leader Fidel Castro, Hastings took to the House floor in February 1996, after Cuban military planes shot down two civilian aircraft being flown toward the island nation by Cuban-American opponents of Castro.

"I would hate like the dickens to feel that an unarmed airplane coming into the United States with no obvious military mission would be shot down," he said. "We have forced planes down from Cuba into Florida air space without having to shoot them down and certainly had the ability to shoot them down. On that score, there is no question but that the act itself was extremely ruthless, and appropriate action and response should be undertaken."

And in a state with a large number of retirees, Hastings spoke out on the against Republican efforts to reduce projected spending increases on Medicare. "As the Republicans in Congress move toward their goal of reducing the federal deficit at any cost, they are about to approve deep,

unprecedented cuts in the financing and delivery of health care to our nation's elderly and poor," Hastings said. "These cuts will be far deeper, and have far greater consequences than the proposed cuts in almost any other part of the budget, totaling \$270 billion over seven years, while financing a tax break for the wealthy. I am concerned that these draconian cuts will overwhelm my district, and the nation."

He called GOP efforts to restrain Medicaid costs "equally disheartening" and said the GOP plan "is soaked in demographic denial [because] it ignores Florida's status as a growth state. Under the Republican proposal, the annual Medicaid growth rate would be capped at a percentage far below what the state would need to take care of its underserved and unserved population."

Hastings was confident enough in his legislative role to run for chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus for the 104th Congress, but the caucus picked Democrat

Donald M. Payne of New Jersey, a lower-key compromiser, over Hastings by a secret ballot vote of 23-15. "I had great ideas, and he had the numbers," said Hastings, who described Payne as "extremely capable." In the 105th Congress, he did not seek the caucus chairmanship again; it went to Maxine Waters, D-Calif.

The Senate removed Hastings from the federal bench in 1989. On Sept. 17, 1992, a federal judge in Washington ruled that the Senate improperly evicted Hastings because a committee of senators, not the full Senate, heard the case. But in January 1993, the Supreme Court ruled in another case that federal courts have no constitutional authority to review the proceedings of Senate impeachment trials.

Hastings faced another legal challenge in 1993 when a Florida law student tried to have his House election nullified on grounds that he was disqualified from federal office when the Senate removed him from the bench. The suit was dismissed.

When the House in January 1997 approved sanctions against Speaker Newt Gingrich for violating House rules, Hastings was one of only five

Democrats to vote "present."

At Home: Hastings ran unsuccessfully for Florida secretary of state in 1990, but he won a majority of the votes in the areas that subsequently constituted the new 23rd District. Remappers designed the 23rd as a "minority access" district, giving it just a slight black majority — enough to offer minorities a chance, but no guarantee, of electing one of their own to the seat. Hastings tried for the seat in 1992, believing a black candidate with high name recognition could beat front-running state Rep. Lois Frankel, a progressive white Democrat.

Frankel contended that her record demonstrated a commitment to issues important to white and black constituents, but Hastings shot back that she was a white opportunist who should not run in a district that ought to be represented by a minority.

Frankel took 35 percent to Hastings' 28 percent in the primary. Hastings surged past her in the runoff to win nomination with 58 percent. In November against GOP real estate developer Ed Fielding, he won 59 percent, and his subsequent re-elections have been suspenseless.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Aicee L. Hastings (D)	102,146	(73%)	
Robert Paul Brown (R)	36,897	(27%)	
1994 General			
Aicee L. Hastings (D)	unopposed		

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Hastings (D)	\$301,424	\$119,150 (40%)	\$276,708
Brown (R)	\$13,450	\$5,000 (37%)	\$13,417
1994			
Hastings (D)	\$236,918	\$103,495 (44%)	\$217,742

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	106,540 (75%)	D	99,156 (61%)
R	26,158 (18%)	R	39,299 (24%)
I	8,987 (6%)	I	23,756 (15%)

KEY VOTES

1997	
Ban "partial birth" abortions	N
1996	
Approve farm bill	?
Deny public education to illegal immigrants	N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons	N
Increase minimum wage	Y
Freeze defense spending	N
Approve welfare overhaul	N
1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations	N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations	Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending	N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	82	14	89	7	45	51
1995	82	14	92	5	23	77
1994	64	18	77	2	17	64
1993	89	11	90	3	18	73

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	20	0
1995	95	100	8	4
1994	80	88	36	7
1993	90	92	18	4

10 Donald M. Payne (D)

Of Newark — Elected 1988, 5th term

Biographical Information

Born: July 16, 1934, Newark, N.J.

Education: Seton Hall U., B.A., 1957.

Occupation: Community development executive.

Family: Widowed; three children.

Religion: Baptist.

Political Career: Essex County Board of Chosen Freeholders, 1972-78; sought Democratic nomination for Essex County executive, 1978; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 1980; Newark Municipal Council, 1982-88; sought

Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 1986.

Capitol Office: 2244 Rayburn Bldg., 20515; 225-3436.

Committees

Education & Workforce

Early Childhood, Youth & Families; Employer-Employee Relations (ranking)

International Relations

Africa; International Operations & Human Rights



In Washington: As chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus in the 104th Congress, Payne — previously known as a low-key, behind-the-scenes lawmaker — emerged as a vocal critic of the new Republican majority across a wide spectrum of issues, including affirmative action and

welfare.

Payne's first challenge upon taking charge of the Black Caucus was dealing with its abolition as an official creature of Congress. One of the House's legislative support organizations (LSOs), it lost its taxpayer funding as House Republicans, intent on cutting congressional staff and expenses, eliminated all LSOs. House members in the Black Caucus kept the group going by contributing staff and resources, but for the first time in its 25-year history, the caucus had to battle being a minority within the House minority. "The struggle continues, which is the bad news; the good news is that we feel up to it," Payne said.

Although the CBC might not be in a position to push legislation through the House, Payne said, it would try to block enactment of bills it saw as harmful to blacks. One of the caucus' defensive successes came on affirmative action.

Early in the 104th, the caucus formed a task force to examine GOP affirmative action plans. "I am outraged by the efforts of the Republican majority to try to repeal affirmative action programs and attempt to turn the clock back on progress that had been made throughout the years," Payne said in a House floor speech.

In June 1995, CBC officials went to the White House to discuss the issue. "We wanted to communicate ... in the strongest possible terms that there can be no abandonment of affirmative action," Payne told *The Washington Times*. The caucus got a measure of credit for President Clinton's subsequent announcement that he would seek to "mend, not end" affirmative action.

However, Payne's opposition to the 104th Congress' effort to, in Clinton's words, "end wel-

fare as we know it," proved less successful. He argued passionately that unless Congress was willing to spend money to create new jobs, the GOP's welfare plan would have disastrous results.

"Without ... opportunity for employment, opportunity for day care, opportunity for an adequate salary ... taking this punitive approach to drop people from the welfare rolls will certainly do more harm," Payne said in July 1996.

Despite the Black Caucus' opposition, Congress passed and Clinton signed a welfare overhaul that ended the federal guarantee of assistance to low-income mothers and children. The law sets work requirements for welfare recipients and limits them to five years of benefits.

On the minimum wage, however, Payne backed a winner. With assistance from moderate Republicans, Democrats pressured the House GOP leadership to bring a wage-increase bill to the floor, where it passed. Payne said that raising the wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 was a "small effort to help hard-working Americans struggle to keep themselves and their families out of poverty."

In May 1996, Payne faulted the Judiciary Committee for taking too long to schedule hearings after a string of 25 arsons at predominantly black churches in the first half of the year. Payne accused the committee of foot-dragging, noting that several weeks of hearings had been held to look into law officers' actions at the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, and at Ruby Ridge, Idaho. "We should have the same effort put into church burnings," Payne told *The Boston Globe*. "There is a disparity in the way justice is being dispensed in this country."

Payne cosponsored the "Church Arson Prevention Act," which made it clear that federal officials can investigate church burnings, and removed a bar on federal intervention in cases with less than \$10,000 damage. Clinton signed the bill six days after it passed the House in June.

Payne also criticized Supreme Court rulings striking down what it saw as "racially gerrymandered" House districts in Texas and North Carolina. "The court ignored our nation's long, anguished history of racial discrimination," he said, noting a "dangerous parallel between the

At midcentury, Newark was a city of nearly a half-million people. Nine percent of the state's population lived here; it was a commercial center that held about 15 percent of all jobs in New Jersey.

As the century winds down, Newark tells a different story. Population has declined to about 275,000. The city is still the most populous in the state — and the largest employment center — but its share of New Jersey's jobs is only about 4 percent.

The decade after the riots of the late 1960s saw a steep decline in the number of jobs and an increase in the number of whites moving out of the city. As the Irish and Italians who used to vie for political power fled to the suburbs, blacks became a majority and, accordingly, grabbed the reins of power at City Hall; an African-American has held the mayoralty since 1970. Districtwide, blacks make up about 60 percent of the population.

Blacks and whites have lived an uneasy coexistence in Newark, but both communities are as one in their inurement to the political intrigue and ethical improprieties of local politics.

In political circles, Essex County Democrats have been stabbing each other in the back since the late 1970s, when the county switched to a county executive form of government, thus diminishing the influence of local party bosses.

Redistricting split the city between the 10th and 13th districts, but more than half the residents of Newark live in the 10th. The 10th District portion is made up of the primarily black central, south and west wards and the racially mixed north section of the city. The central ward was decimated in the riots of 1967 and has never fully recovered. There have been

NEW JERSEY 10 Parts of Newark and Jersey City

efforts to revitalize the area, but the desperate living conditions and deep poverty continue.

From Newark, the district extends into the Essex County suburbs that combine with the city to make up nearly 60 percent of the district's voters.

Outside the city are some racially mixed, working-class suburbs such as Irvington and Montclair (which is shared with the 8th District).

Orange and populous East Orange are majority-black. More affluent are South and liberal West Orange, although most of both places are in the 8th.

Union County adds about 30 percent of the vote. Democratic and blue-collar Elizabeth makes up one-third of this portion, even though it is divided between the 13th and the 10th. Republicans can find votes in Rahway and Roselle.

Parts of two Democratic Hudson County municipalities — Jersey City and Bayonne — round out the 10th. This section of Jersey City includes about one-fourth of New Jersey's second-largest city; the Bayonne segment consists of about 5,000 residents. Like virtually everywhere else in the district, which is far and away the most Democratic in the state, they churn out healthy Democratic margins.

1990 Population: 594,630. White 194,097 (33%), Black 357,671 (60%), Other 42,862 (7%). Hispanic origin 72,877 (12%). 18 and over 444,087 (75%), 62 and over 83,709 (14%). Median age: 32.

redistricting decisions of 1996, which threaten to disenfranchise African-Americans," and the court's 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, approving the segregation of blacks under the "separate but equal" doctrine.

From his seat on the International Relations Committee, Payne continues to speak out on foreign affairs issues of concern to many blacks, most notably regarding Haiti and Africa.

In the 103rd Congress, Payne was one of the Black Caucus' point men on Haiti, pressing the Clinton administration to restore Jean-Bertrand Aristide — ousted in a 1991 military coup — as the nation's president. Payne joined five other members of Congress in April 1994 in front of the White House to protest the administration's Haiti policy. They were arrested for civil disobedience.

After Clinton sent U.S. troops to the island in September 1994 and restored Aristide to power, Payne became a booster of the administration's policy. He visited the island in April as peace-

keeping duties were turned over to the United Nations, and later acted as an international observer overseeing the Haitian elections.

Although Payne opposed authorizing the use of force against Iraq in 1991, he has been more positive about U.S. military involvement in some other places, as the Haiti episode showed. Payne in late 1992 supported President George Bush's decision to send U.S. troops as part of a U.N. peacekeeping mission to Somalia.

"I think the question today is whether the United States of America is going to be a participant in the new international order, the new world order, where the United Nations will be the police people of the world," Payne told the House.

He criticized as "disgraceful" the Clinton administration's response to the civil war in Rwanda, and he has faulted what he sees as Clinton's failure to develop a coherent foreign policy toward Africa. In 1994, when the administration hastily planned a White House conference on

Africa, Black Caucus members boycotted the event, complaining that the guests were only invited a few days before it was held.

"During the Cold War, the United States stayed engaged in Africa to fight off the threat of communism," Payne said. "Now we have a chance to help Africa eradicate the problems of health care, eradicate illiteracy, eradicate AIDS, fight disease and continue to move to democratization."

Payne also serves on the Education and the Workforce Committee, where he is ranking Democrat on the Employer-Employee Relations Subcommittee. Payne's district is centered on Newark, which, like many cities, is struggling with high rates of poverty and unemployment.

Concern about a dearth of job opportunities helped persuade Payne to vote against NAFTA in 1993. He said more than 50 industries in New Jersey were identified as being at risk under NAFTA, potentially affecting more than 250,000 workers. "Considering the bleak condition of our urban economy, the prospect of losing a single American job is unacceptable," Payne said.

At Home: Perseverance enabled Payne to pull himself up from poverty and become a successful businessman and community and political leader in his hometown of Newark. It took the same kind of perseverance -- three campaigns -- to win election in the black-majority 10th: His path was blocked by the legendary Democratic Rep. Peter W. Rodino Jr., who held the seat for 40 years. Rodino, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, achieved national fame during the 1974 Watergate hearings, but it was Rodino's steadfast advocacy of civil rights legislation that earned him the loyalty -- and

votes -- of many black residents in the 10th.

Insisting that the time had come for Newark-area blacks to be represented by one of their own, Payne challenged Rodino in the 1980 Democratic primary and again in the 1986 primary. However, black good will toward Rodino, combined with his base in Newark's mainly Italian North Ward, enabled the incumbent to win easily. Payne got 23 percent of the vote in 1980 and 36 percent in 1986.

But when Rodino said the 1986 contest would be his last, local Democrats got behind Payne, a longtime party insider who had served on the Essex County Board and was in his second term on the Newark Municipal Council. Payne's only opposition came in the Democratic primary from City Council colleague Ralph T. Grant Jr. But Payne's advantages -- party support, a sizable campaign treasury and recognition earned in his earlier campaigns -- easily brought him the nomination. Payne's November victory was a formality in the overwhelmingly Democratic district.

A high school history teacher and football coach after college, Payne moved into business in 1963 as community affairs director for the Newark-based Prudential Insurance Co. Later, he was vice president of a computer forms company founded by his brother.

The head of a "storefront YMCA" in inner-city Newark in the late 1950s, Payne became the first black president of the National Council of YMCAs in 1970 and later served two four-year terms as chairman of the YMCA's International Committee on refugees. While participating in all these activities, the widowed Payne was raising two children and building his political career.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Donald M. Payne (D)	127,126	(84%)	
Vanessa Williams (R)	22,086	(15%)	
1996 Primary			
Donald M. Payne (D)	35,002	(82%)	
Brian Connors (D)	4,421	(10%)	
Cecil J. Banks (D)	3,062	(7%)	
1994 General			
Donald M. Payne (D)	74,622	(76%)	
Jim Ford (R)	21,524	(22%)	
Rose Monyek (IFH)	1,598	(2%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (78%) 1990 (81%)
1988 (77%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Payne (D)	\$388,323	\$224,567 (58%)	\$404,017
Williams (R)	\$20,933	\$100 (0%)	\$20,902
1994			
Payne (D)	\$269,445	\$139,739 (52%)	\$309,623
Ford (R)	\$21,545	\$14 (0%)	\$18,180

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	135,825 (82%)	D	125,922 (71%)
R	21,849 (13%)	R	35,930 (20%)
I	5,704 (3%)	I	14,854 (8%)

KEY VOTES

1997	
Ban "partial birth" abortions	N
1996	
Approve farm bill	N
Deny public education to illegal immigrants	N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons	N
Increase minimum wage	Y
Freeze defense spending	Y
Approve welfare overhaul	N
1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations	N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations	Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending	N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	78	22	96	2	6	94
1995	88	9	96	1	4	95
1994	73	26	94	2	3	94
1993	78	19	95	1	5	89
1992	10	85	92	3	4	92
1991	24	72	95	2	0	97

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	19	0
1995	100	100	8	4
1994	95	100	18	5
1993	100	100	10	0
1992	95	91	13	0
1991	95	100	20	0

6 Floyd H. Flake (D)

Of Queens — Elected 1986, 6th term

Biographical Information

Born: Jan. 30, 1945, Los Angeles, Calif.

Education: Wilberforce U., B.A. 1967; Payne Theological Seminary, 1968-70; Northeastern U., 1974-75; St. John's U., 1982-85; United Theological Seminary, D.M. 1995.

Occupation: Minister.

Family: Wife, M. Elaine McCollins; four children.

Religion: African Methodist Episcopal.

Political Career: No previous office.

Capitol Office: 1035 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-3461.

Committees

Banking & Financial Services

Capital Markets, Securities & Government Sponsored Enterprises; Domestic & International Monetary Policy (ranking)

Small Business

Empowerment



In Washington: A handsome and elegantly dressed minister who speaks in the captivating cadences of the black church, Flake's major contribution to the legislative process is his frequent oratory on the House floor, preaching that old-time liberal Democratic religion.

"I find it the height of hypocrisy," Flake thundered to his colleagues during an April 1996 debate on raising the minimum wage 90 cents, "when members of this body stand before the United States of America and proclaim that persons who are making \$4.25 an hour, if we move it beyond \$5, that will cause inflation in America. Let me tell my colleagues what causes inflation in America. The hundreds of people who are CEOs of major corporations collecting millions of dollars, getting their golden parachutes and moving out to their various places, moving jobs outside this country so that they can benefit by low wages from persons who are not Americans and yet shipping back to America the products they produce and selling them at the highest possible price."

Flake sometimes refers to his own experiences as he defends federal programs against proposed Republican budget cuts. As the GOP sought in the 104th to cut back on the student loan program and eliminate the Department of Education, Flake said such reductions could have prevented him from going to college.

"I am one of 13 children born to parents of fifth and sixth grade educations," Flake said in May 1995. "Without the National Defense Student Loan Program, I would not have even had the opportunity to go to college in the first place. It was a loan. I paid it back. Others will do the same thing if given the opportunity."

And in April 1996, as he again urged Congress to raise the minimum wage, he argued that students, too, needed the higher pay. "I stand here as a product of the family of 13 children, parents who could not afford to send me to college, and the only way I could get through was to work,"

Flake said. "I do not see anything wrong with trying to provide a wage that allows a student to be able to work their way through school. . . . Pay them a good enough salary so that . . . if we reduce the scholarships, they will know they can work their way through."

Flake is a senior member of the Banking and Financial Services Committee and ranking Democrat on the Domestic and International Monetary Policy Subcommittee. He also sits on the Small Business Committee.

On Banking, Flake tried to soften efforts by House Republicans in the 104th Congress to overhaul the nation's housing programs. In November 1995, the Banking panel gave voice vote approval to an amendment he sponsored with Joseph P. Kennedy II, D-Mass., to retain a Housing and Urban Development program giving local authorities funds to demolish, replace or restore uninhabitable public housing projects.

When Republicans held the White House, Flake was critical of administration efforts to bail out the failed savings and loan industry, portraying the rescue operation as a handout to wealthy financial interests. But just as he became chairman of the General Oversight Subcommittee in the 103rd Congress, Democrats moved into the White House, and Flake became responsible for helping advance President Clinton's effort to finish the cleanup.

A vocal advocate for minorities and the poor, Flake at the same time works to promote the interests of New York's big banking and financial interests, which provide jobs in his district. He teamed with then-ranking Republican Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa to persuade the Banking Committee to modify a Clinton program designed to encourage lending in distressed communities. Flake and Leach shifted one-third of the funds from community development banks to mainstream lending institutions.

In September 1996, he introduced legislation with Bob Franks, R-N.J., to mint a coin commemorating the 50th anniversary of Jackie Robinson becoming the first black to play major league baseball. "He was the first of many Negro League stars to play in the big leagues, and he suffered

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The southeast portion of Queens has sent an African-American to the House only since 1986; up until then, the white-run Democratic machine had dominated Queens politics. But a challenge to black representation here appears unlikely: Redistricting for the 1990s boosted the black population from 50 percent to 56 percent. Hispanics (about 17 percent) contribute to the minority-group voting bloc.

The 6th provides a dependable partisan base for Flake and other Democrats. In 1996, Bill Clinton dominated the 6th, winning 85 percent of the votes. Any political action here is going to be in the Democratic primaries.

With an eastern border that follows the line between the New York City borough of Queens and suburban Nassau County, the 6th is one of the most economically sound minority-majority districts. Its poverty rate is less than the rate for New York state as a whole; the poverty rates for blacks and Hispanics are about half the figures for those groups statewide.

More than a generation ago, such communities as Springfield Gardens and St. Albans were settled by a burgeoning Roman Catholic middle class. Today, the economic profile of these areas is not much different: Its brick homes house many civil servants, teachers and small-business owners. But the demographics are completely different. Instead of Irish- and Italian-Americans, most of the residents now are blacks.

John F. Kennedy International Airport, by far the district's largest employer, provides a steady job base. It is also the district's most prominent

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Southeast Queens — Jamaica; St. Albans

geographical feature: Originally named Idlewild for the marshlands on which it was built, Kennedy Airport occupies a huge swath of the 6th along the north shore of Jamaica Bay.

Despite its overall middle-class veneer, the 6th does have some areas that are much less well off. South Jamaica, where such urban problems as low high school graduation rates, welfare dependency, crime and drugs are rife, is the focus of efforts by economic development advocates (including Flake). The 6th's portion of the Rockaway peninsula — across Jamaica Bay from the airport with no direct land link to the rest of the district — has several public housing projects.

Much of the district's mainly middle-class white population is in its northeast end, in such communities as Bellerose and Queens Village, and near its western border, in Ozone Park. These areas are mainly Irish and Italian, with a scattering of Jewish residents. They lean Democratic, though the Republican vote is heavier than in the rest of the 6th. The Aqueduct horse track is in South Ozone Park.

1990 Population: 580,337. White 170,071 (29%), Black 326,335 (56%), Other 83,931 (14%). Hispanic origin 98,209 (17%). 18 and over 432,187 (74%), 62 and over 79,944 (14%). Median age: 32.

the strains of racism throughout major league ballparks," Flake said. "By successfully bearing this burden, he in fact became a symbol of victory for African Americans, and he carried the torch of equality that lit the flame of equality in America."

Flake has inspired comparisons to another black clergyman elected to Congress from New York — the late Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. For a time, the parallel with Powell, who faced legal and ethical problems during much of his early House career, seemed to be getting uncomfortably close.

In April 1991, the government's case against Flake — which consisted of charges that he embezzled funds from a housing project run by his church and evaded taxes — was dismissed after a federal judge barred prosecutors from presenting what one called "the heart" of the case to the jury.

Despite that victory, the entire episode made Flake "damaged goods" in the eyes of many Democrats, hurting his prospects for advancement in Washington. When two New York Democrats left the Appropriations Committee prior to the 103rd Congress, Flake made a bid for

the panel. Instead, two more junior New Yorkers — Nita M. Lowey and Jose E. Serrano — were tapped for the vacancies.

At Home: Flake has a diverse background in corporate marketing and in education. He was an administrator at Lincoln University and Boston College. But it was his long tenure as pastor of the Allen African Methodist Episcopal Church — and the economic and social programs that he sponsored in that role — that gave Flake a base for a political career.

Black leaders had targeted the 6th after 1982 redistricting gave it a black majority. But the opportunity to cash in on that demographic edge did not occur until 1986, after the death of white Democratic Rep. Joseph P. Addabbo.

The special election that June occurred at a time of chaos within the white-run Queens Democratic machine, brought on by a corruption scandal and the suicide of county Democratic leader Donald M. Manes. Black state Assemblyman Alton R. Waldon Jr. had support from surviving fragments of the Democratic organization enabling him to edge out Flake, who was making his political debut.

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But Waldon was aided by a filing technicality that prevented Flake from appearing on absentee ballots. Flake's followers, angered by the absentee ballot flap, believed the election was stolen by a corrupt Queens machine.

That sentiment gave Flake momentum going into the September primary to choose a nominee for a full term in the 100th Congress. Fusing his support in the black church with elements of black organized labor, Flake defeated Waldon and went on to an easy general election win.

In 1988, Flake drew no significant opposition. His only difficulty was of a personal nature. In May, a woman who had worked for Flake at his Queens church accused Flake of harassing her to quit after she broke off a sexual affair with him. Flake denied the accusations.

In 1990, Flake carried his tax-evasion indict-

ment into the campaign, but it proved no hindrance, as he won re-election with 73 percent of the vote.

Even after surviving his legal battles, Flake had other problems in 1992. First, he continued a feud with the Queens Democrats by organizing a slate of primary candidates to challenge party regulars for elective and party positions, after they endorsed his opponent in the Democratic primary. The party organization retaliated by challenging the ballot status of Flake and the slated challengers. An out-of-court compromise was reached under which most of the challengers withdrew and Flake stayed on the ballot.

His primary challenger, black businessman Simeon Golar, campaigned vigorously, but managed only 25 percent of the vote. Flake won big in November and has not been pressed since.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Floyd H. Flake (D)	102,799	(85%)	
Jorawar Misir (R,C,INDC,FDM)	18,348	(15%)	
1994 General			
Floyd H. Flake (D)	68,596	(80%)	
Denny D. Bhagwandin (R,C)	16,675	(20%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (81%) 1990 (73%)
1988 (86%) 1986 (68%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Flake (D)	\$160,853	\$107,658 (67%)	\$165,311
Misir (R)	\$12,043	0	\$7,689
1994			
Flake (D)	\$279,248	\$167,240 (60%)	\$227,256

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	128,071 (85%)	D	115,253 (75%)
R	15,946 (11%)	R	27,855 (18%)
I	4,380 (3%)	I	9,335 (6%)

KEY VOTES

1997	
Ban "partial birth" abortions	Y
1996	
Approve farm bill	N
Deny public education to illegal immigrants	N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons	N
Increase minimum wage	Y
Freeze defense spending	Y
Approve welfare overhaul	?
1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations	N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations	Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending	N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	70	11	80	5	22	61
1995	80	12	85	5	18	77
1994	74	14	86	1	14	72
1993	72	21	91	3	11	77
1992	10	76	87	3	10	83
1991	23	65	87	4	0	95

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	80	n/a	8	6
1995	85	100	21	4
1994	95	78	45	0
1993	90	92	22	5
1992	90	92	13	0
1991	100	100	20	0

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15 Charles B. Rangel (D)

Of Manhattan — Elected 1970, 14th term

Biographical Information

Born: June 11, 1930, New York, N.Y.

Education: New York U., B.S. 1957; St. John's U., LL.B. 1960.

Military Service: Army, 1948-52.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Alma Carter; two children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: N.Y. Assembly, 1967-71; sought Democratic nomination for N.Y. City Council president, 1969.

Capitol Office: 2354 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-4365.

Committees

Ways & Means (ranking)

Trade

Joint Taxation



In Washington: At the start of the 105th Congress, Rangel finally got something he had wanted for a long time: the top Democratic seat on the House Ways and Means Committee. He had, however, hoped for more — that as the panel's No. 1 Democrat, he would be chairman, not just the ranking

minority member.

It was not for lack of Rangel's trying that Democrats failed to win back control of the House in the 1996 election.

He identified 30 House districts with a black population of at least 20 percent and offered to help Democratic candidates campaign in black communities and conduct get-out-the-vote campaigns. He was on the road for much of the fall, visiting candidates whose districts fit the profile and others who requested his help.

With the 1996 retirement of Florida's Sam M. Gibbons (ranking Democrat on Ways and Means in the 104th), Rangel knew that he was next in line for the Ways and Means gavel if his party could topple the GOP majority. As he stumped in districts around the country, "I was campaigning to be chairman of the Ways and Means Committee," Rangel said. "I don't know how well I would have done if I was campaigning to become the ranking member." He raised more than \$1.35 million, much of it from the same PACs that gave to the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC). "I would call right behind them and say, 'I see you donated to the NRCC. I know in the interests of good government, you would like to donate to the DCCC [Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee], too.'"

With his raspy voice and partisan bite, Rangel made a memorable impression in his numerous media appearances, and Republicans sought to cast him as a sort of menacing poster boy in arguing for continued GOP control of the House. Speaker Newt Gingrich, addressing the American International Automobile Dealers Association in May 1996, cited the contrast between Rangel and

Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer, R-Texas. "The difference in those two people — the difference in philosophy, difference in tax level, difference in attitude towards job creation, difference in attitude towards small business — is literally as wide as you can get in Washington, D.C.," Gingrich said.

And in September 1996, Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas, warned that if Democrats again took control of the chamber, "they will reverse the great progress we have made over the last two years." Singling out Rangel and John D. Dingell, D-Mich., the ranking Democrat of the Commerce Committee, DeLay said, "If Democrats regain control of the Congress, you can forget about tax relief for working families."

Despite Rangel's campaign efforts and President Clinton's re-election victory, the Democrats remained in the minority and Rangel had to settle for the ranking member slot. He also is the top Democrat on the Joint Committee on Taxation and a member of the Democratic Steering Committee.

The outcome of the 1996 election was just the latest in a string of disappointments for Rangel. In 1987, he was defeated in his bid for the majority whip's job. Then he was subjected to one of the longer investigations of the House bank scandal. At the start of the 103rd, he was denied the committee platform from which he had battled vigorously against illegal drugs — the chairmanship of the Select Committee on Narcotics — when the House voted against reauthorizing the non-legislative committee. And in 1995, when the GOP took control of the House, Rangel lost his chairmanship of a Ways and Means subcommittee.

Still, Rangel looked forward with relish to his work in the 105th. "This is going to be exciting as hell for me," he said after the 1996 election.

At times in the 104th, Rangel's relationship with Archer was less than positive. They engaged in a testy exchange in February 1995, when the House passed legislation allowing self-employed Americans to deduct 25 percent of the cost of health care premiums. The benefit was funded by eliminating a tax break for companies that sell

One of the original seats of black political power, the Upper Manhattan area centered on Harlem has been transformed in recent decades: There has been a major influx of Hispanics, mainly from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, with a large sampling of other Latin American ethnicities.

Hispanics make up a large plurality (46 percent) of the population in the 15th, which blankets Upper Manhattan from 96th Street to its northern tip. But in part because of low Hispanic voter participation rates, the non-Hispanic blacks who make up about 37 percent of the population continue to have the political upper hand.

Since first sending an African-American to Congress, the Harlem-based district has had just two House members, both Democrats: the flamboyant Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who won a landmark election in 1944, and the low-key Rangel, who unseated the ailing and scandal-plagued Powell in 1970. Rangel has held the seat since.

Democrats have a lock on the constituency covered by the 15th. Throughout his career, Rangel has often received the endorsement not only of the local Democrats, but of the minuscule Republican organization as well.

At the turn of the 20th century, Harlem, about 10 miles north of New York City's original hub, was an upscale suburb with a nearly all-white population. But in 1904, blacks — steered by a black real estate agent named Philip A. Payton Jr. — began to move in. By the 1920s, the height of its cultural "renaissance," Harlem was mainly black and upscale. By the 1940s, the trickle of low-income blacks arriving there became a flood, turning much of Harlem into the economically troubled area it remains.

The largest concentration of blacks in the

NEW YORK 15 Northern Manhattan — Harlem; Washington Heights

15th is in west-central Harlem. Puerto Ricans dominate in East Harlem; West Harlem and Washington Heights farther north have large Dominican communities. Most of the 15th's non-Hispanic whites live in three areas: its south end in the Upper East and West sides; the Inwood section at the north end; and a longtime Italian-American community in East Harlem.

Large parts of the 15th have the array of social problems plaguing low-income minority communities. More than a third of its residents live in poverty. Harlem has some relatively affluent areas, such as Strivers' Row and Lenox Terrace. There has been some reversal of the outflow of upwardly mobile blacks in such areas as Mount Morris Park, where once-grand brownstones are being restored.

On the west side of the 15th are the campuses of Columbia University and the City College of New York. The district contains such historic sites as the massive Cathedral of St. John the Divine and the tomb of Ulysses S. Grant. The George Washington Bridge connects Upper Manhattan with New Jersey.

An incongruous appendage to the 15th is Rikers Island, located off Manhattan in the East River. A New York City prison complex occupies the island.

1990 Population: 580,337. White 160,127 (28%). Black 272,063 (47%). Other 148,147 (26%). Hispanic origin 269,051 (46%). 18 and over 437,484 (75%). 62 and over 81,239 (14%). Median age: 32.

broadcast stations to minorities.

"How dare anyone say it is a good idea to tie up this bill with this vicious act," Rangel said. He told Archer there were hundreds of corporate tax preferences that could have been terminated instead. An angry Ways and Means session led to a sharply worded written exchange. Rangel charged that "a wave of scapegoating is sweeping the country... Just like under Hitler, people say they don't mean to blame any particular individuals or groups... but in the U.S., those groups always turned out to be minorities and immigrants."

Archer replied with a letter, saying he was "appalled" by Rangel's accusation and adding that "invoking the name of Hitler injects an utterly invalid and totally uncalled-for extremism into a legitimate congressional debate."

In October 1995, Rangel criticized proposed cuts in the projected growth of Medicare by saying, "What the Republicans are saying is that if you are sick, if you are poor or if you are old, you are not entitled to anything."

He said he will work on compromises with Republicans, but only if congressional Democrats are allowed a hand in writing the legislation. "What is there for me to say if the Republicans say, 'We've worked it out with the president?'" Rangel said. "That's not bipartisanship, that's being a potted plant."

Rangel, who supported Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin for president in 1992, has had his differences with Clinton. He made it very clear early in the 105th Congress that he would not support efforts to sharply reduce the projected growth of Medicare. "\$100 billion in cuts and no blood on the floor? How do you do it?" he asked Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna E. Shalala in February 1997.

And Rangel, who in the 104th tried repeatedly without success to amend the welfare overhaul bill as it moved through the House, criticized Clinton's decision in July 1996 to sign the final version. "The truth is, the Republicans would throw 2 million people into poverty and my president

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would only throw 1 million people into poverty," he said.

And while he fights for traditional Democratic constituencies such as the poor, cities and organized labor, Rangel also is sensitive to the needs of business, especially New York City's financial community. With an eye on the large number of Puerto Ricans who live in New York, Rangel in May 1996 unsuccessfully opposed legislation that paid for a package of tax breaks by curbing the tax credit for U.S. manufacturing firms that do business in Puerto Rico or other U.S. territories. "We pay for this bill by going to the poorest people with the weakest political posture," Rangel said.

At Home: Rangel's 1970 primary victory over flamboyant Democratic Rep. Adam Clayton Powell was big news. It was not until 1994 that Rangel had another race of note: the Democratic primary challenge by Powell's son, City Council member Adam Clayton Powell IV.

In name and appearance, Powell reminded many voters of his late father. Rangel took the challenge seriously, aggressively rebutting Powell's claims that he was out of touch with the district. Rangel retorted that the only things Powell had in common with his father were his name and his poor attendance record, citing criticism of Powell's City Council service. Rangel ended up winning renomination by 28 percentage points.

A high school dropout, Rangel joined the Army

and fought in the Korean War. He then returned to Manhattan and entered college in his mid-20s. He got his law degree in 1960 and the next year was appointed assistant U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York.

In 1966 Rangel won a seat in the New York Assembly. Three years later, he made a quixotic bid for citywide office by running for City Council president in the Democratic primary on a ticket headed by U.S. Rep. James H. Scheuer. Rangel ran last in a field of six but received publicity in black areas as the only citywide black candidate.

Rangel bounced back the next year, applying the coup de grâce to Powell's fading political career. The veteran Democrat had been "excluded" from the 90th Congress on charges that he had misused committee funds for parties and travel to the Caribbean. The Supreme Court ruled the exclusion unconstitutional, and Powell was seen as a martyr by constituents. But when he took a seat in the 91st Congress and then spent most of the following year out of the country, that view changed.

Rangel had the backing of a coalition of younger black politicians who were tired of Powell's behavior and wanted someone who would work harder for blacks and for New York: He portrayed Powell as an absentee representative and promised to work full time for his constituents. Although the anti-Powell vote was split four ways, Rangel's coalition of younger blacks and liberal whites prevailed.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Charles B. Rangel (D,L)	113,898	(91%)	
Edward R. Adams (R)	5,951	(5%)	
Ruben Dario Vargas (C,INDC)	3,896	(3%)	
1994 General			
Charles B. Rangel (D,L)	77,830	(97%)	
Jose Suero (RTL,IF)	2,812	(3%)	
Previous Winning Percentages:			
1992 (95%)	1990 (97%)		
1988 (97%)	1986 (96%)	1984 (97%)	1982 (97%)
1980 (96%)	1978 (96%)	1976 (97%)	1974 (97%)
1972 (96%)	1970 (87%)		

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Rangel (D)	\$1,285,828	\$711,089 (55%)	\$1,086,065
1994			
Rangel (D)	\$1,350,357	\$763,025 (57%)	\$1,437,297
Suero (R)	\$2,860	0	\$2,782

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	135,845 (89%)	D	124,594 (86%)
R	7,658 (5%)	R	15,589 (11%)
I	2,377 (2%)	I	4,726 (3%)

KEY VOTES

1997	
Ban "partial birth" abortions	N
1996	
Approve farm bill	N
Deny public education to illegal immigrants	N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons	N
Increase minimum wage	Y
Freeze defense spending	Y
Approve welfare overhaul	N
1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations	N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations	Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending	N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	77	16	92	3	8	90
1995	83	9	89	2	5	80
1994	72	18	82	2	8	64
1993	76	22	90	3	5	91
1992	12	84	90	4	15	81
1991	25	71	92	2	0	97

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	95	n/a	13	0
1995	85	100	14	8
1994	95	100	18	5
1993	95	100	0	0
1992	95	92	25	0
1991	95	100	20	0

ALABAMA

7 Earl F. Hilliard (D)

Of Birmingham — Elected 1992, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: April 9, 1942, Birmingham, Ala.

Education: Morehouse College, B.A. 1964; Howard U., J.D. 1967; Atlanta U., M.B.A. 1970.

Occupation: Lawyer; insurance broker.

Family: Wife, Mary Franklin; two children.

Religion: Baptist.

Political Career: Ala. House, 1975-81; Ala. Senate, 1981-93.

Capitol Office: 1314 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-2665.

Committees

Agriculture

Forestry, Resource Conservation & Research; Livestock, Dairy & Poultry

International Relations

International Economic Policy & Trade; International Operations & Human Rights



In Washington: The first black to serve in Congress from Alabama since Reconstruction, Hilliard busied himself in the 104th with rhetorical flame-throwing at the Republican majority, deriding what he said were GOP assaults on Medicare, education and affirmative action. For the

105th, his colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus elected him first vice chairman.

In June 1995, Hilliard compared House Speaker Newt Gingrich to Adolf Hitler. "There is a similarity between Newt and Hitler," he told the *New York Times*. "Hitler started out getting rid of the poor and those he said were a drag on a society, and Newt is starting out the same way. I want to see how far Americans will let him and his young Republican cohorts take them up that ladder." When the House in January 1997 adopted a resolution to reprimand Gingrich for violations of House ethics rules and to fine him \$300,000, Hilliard was one of two Democrats to vote against the reprimand. He felt it was not severe enough.

Commenting on Republican efforts to restrain the rate of growth in Medicare spending, Hilliard told the House in November 1995 that "just like the wolf that hid in a sheepskin to kill his prey, so have the Republicans attempted to act as though they were trying to save Medicare." Hilliard said the GOP was willing to strangle the government-backed health care program for the elderly in order to make room in the budget to deliver "to the rich of America the obscene and bloated Republican-sponsored tax break."

He portrayed Republicans as a threat to a variety of education programs, from Head Start to loans and grants to college students. "We know the Republicans do not care about the nation's children, and we also know they do not care about public education," Hilliard said. "After all, most of their kids are in private schools anyway." Defending federal affirmative action programs against attack by conservatives, Hilliard said, "We must not let the Republican angry-white-male syn-

drome keep others from full participation in the American dream."

Hilliard had a personal run-in with the Republican majority in June 1995, when he complained that he was denied the opportunity to participate in a House floor vote on a GOP proposal to eliminate the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA). As Hilliard and Pennsylvania Democrat Thomas M. Foglietta approached the rostrum intending to vote to preserve the office, the Republican in the chair ended the tally before they could weigh in, and the proposal to kill the office narrowly prevailed.

Furious Democrats threatened to protest by disrupting House floor action. "Yesterday on the floor of this House the voice of freedom was stilled by the forces of repression," Hilliard railed. "The strong arms of the Republican army flexed their mighty parliamentary weight and refused two duly elected members of this body the opportunity to vote before this Congress. In doing so, the Republicans crushed the very voice of democracy," he said. Republican leaders agreed to allow a second vote on the OTA, and that second roll call produced a 220-204 verdict to salvage the office. (Eventually, though, OTA critics succeeded in shutting it down.)

Hilliard's verbal bombardment of the GOP made him a more visible figure in the 104th and played well in his solidly Democratic, black-majority district. But he also earned a dose of unflattering attention when media reports highlighted the number of overseas trips he took at taxpayer expense. Hilliard was declared the No. 1 congressional traveler in a 1995 NBC News report, part of a series titled, "The Fleecing of America." The television program found that he spent 38 days overseas in a single year on six government trips.

Hilliard, who won a seat on the International Relations Committee during the 104th, made no apologies. Campaigning for re-election in his district in 1996, he told *The New York Times* that his constituents were more anxious about federal budget cuts promised by the Republicans than about his overseas trips. "Honest to goodness, I haven't been apologetic about any of those trips," he said. "Leaders got to be strong. They got to be able to

The majority-black 7th is the product of the Voting Rights Act's mandate to increase minority-group representation in the House. In Hilliard, Alabama has its first black member of Congress since Reconstruction.

The district sprawls over all or part of 14 counties, but it is anchored by two population centers: Birmingham and Montgomery. In between are the rural counties of the Black Belt, one of the most economically deprived regions in the nation.

While the term Black Belt is said to refer not to the racial composition but to the rich, cotton-growing soil in rural, west-central Alabama, all but one of the rural counties in the Black Belt portion of the district have black-majority populations. This area is in a perpetual state of poverty; it has not known prosperity since before the Civil War, when cotton plantation owners made fortunes from slave labor.

Seven of the eight counties with the highest poverty rates in Alabama are in the Black Belt portion of the 7th. The poverty rate in Greene, Wilcox and Perry counties was more than 40 percent, according to the 1990 census; the others had rates above 30 percent.

The 7th extends a finger into southwestern Jefferson County (Birmingham), scooping out downtown Birmingham and the majority-black cities of Bessemer and Fairfield. Half the district's black population — and 45 percent of its total population — is in Jefferson County. Reminders of the civil rights struggle that led to the 7th's creation dot the district; it is chronicled at Birmingham's Civil Rights Institute, which opened in 1992.

ALABAMA 7 West Central — Parts of Birmingham, Montgomery and Tuscaloosa

Four black girls died on Sept. 15, 1963, when the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in downtown Birmingham was bombed. In March 1965, Selma (Dallas County) was the site of a bloody confrontation between civil rights demonstrators and police when the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. led marchers across the Edmund Pettus Bridge. The Civil Rights Memorial in Montgomery commemorates the 40 Americans who died while fighting for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s.

In an ironic twist, the portion of Montgomery within the black-majority 7th contains the state Capitol, which doubled as the Confederate Capitol from February 1861 to July 1861.

Politically, the 7th is every bit as Democratic as the 6th is Republican. It is far and away the most solidly Democratic district in Alabama, routinely running up two-thirds of the vote or better for the Democratic presidential candidate. In 1996, Bill Clinton won the district by 49 percentage points and carried every county. Hilliard did almost as well, winning by 44 percentage points and losing only one county, Tuscaloosa.

1990 Population: 577,227. White 185,454 (32%), Black 389,796 (68%), Other 1,977 (<1%), Hispanic origin 1,909 (<1%), 18 and over 407,367 (71%), 62 and over 96,220 (17%). Median age: 32.

justify the positions they take."

The 7th District includes some of the poorest rural counties in the country, and Hilliard has used his seat on the Agriculture Committee to speak for struggling farmers. In October 1995 he lashed out at Republican attempts to overhaul federal farm policy when the House considered a budget-reconciliation bill. "The Republicans are treating our farmers like a bunch of ruined chickens, throwing them into the equivalent of the legislative compost heap, to slowly decompose, to rot, to wither and then to simply waste away," he said. In the end, however, he was one of 54 Democrats who voted in February 1996 for the GOP-backed Freedom to Farm bill, which brought federal farm policy more in line with free-market principles. He also voted for a failed Democratic alternative that would have authorized \$3.5 billion for rural development, conservation, research, education and extension services and retained existing agriculture supports.

Hilliard is a reliable vote for his party's line on most economic and social issues. But he did buck President Clinton on NAFTA and GATT, and he was one of 56 Democrats voting in March 1996 to

repeal the ban on certain semiautomatic assault-style weapons.

A staunch defender of earlier judicial rulings aimed at increasing minority-group representation in the House through redistricting, Hilliard spoke out strongly against the Supreme Court's July 1993 decision in *Shaw v. Reno*, which deemed race-conscious redistricting constitutionally suspect if the districts created had no common interest other than race. Calling into question the majority opinion in the case, Hilliard said, "It is ridiculous, but Justice [Sandra Day] O'Connor wrote, 'Our political system today is a system in which race no longer matters.' She is wrong. Racial problems still confront many of us."

At Home: Years of steady political maneuvering preceded Hilliard's 1993 arrival in Washington. Before running for the House, he served 18 years in the Alabama Legislature, earning a reputation as a player of political hardball willing to try tactics such as seeking a vote on a bill when its opponents were absent from the chamber.

Hilliard won a hard-fought 1992 Democratic contest in the 7th, overcoming accusations of

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unethical conduct. The Birmingham News endorsed black activist and lawyer Hank Sanders in the Democratic primary and runoff and Republican Kervin Jones in the general election. The paper faulted Hilliard for what it termed ethical lapses, including his use of more than \$50,000 in state Senate campaign funds for his business in 1990.

Hilliard had the backing of longtime Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington, one of the state's most powerful black politicians. Arrington's support was crucial in the fight against Sanders, who through his long work as a civil rights activist had built up a large following of his own in the black community. Arrington's organization, the Jefferson

County Citizens' Coalition, helped Hilliard carry the 7th's most populous county by nearly 9,800 votes in the runoff. With that advantage, Hilliard withstood Sanders' near sweep of the district's other counties, and he won nomination by 670 votes. From there, Hilliard fairly breezed into office, trouncing Jones in November with 69 percent of the vote. Hilliard won even more resoundingly in 1994.

In 1996, there was some speculation that superstar Charles Barkley of the NBA's Phoenix Suns might run against Hilliard, but Barkley told Alabama Republicans that he was more interested in running for governor. Hilliard won a third term with more than 70 percent of the vote.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Earl F. Hilliard (D)	136,651	(71%)	
Joe Powell (R)	52,142	(27%)	
Ken Hager (LIBERT)	3,157	(2%)	
1994 General			
Earl F. Hilliard (D)	116,150	(77%)	
Alfred J. Middleton Sr. (R)	34,814	(23%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (69%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Hilliard (D)	\$218,582	\$170,350 (78%)	\$223,582
Powell (R)	\$224,413	\$6,152 (3%)	\$224,029
1994			
Hilliard (D)	\$334,130	\$257,424 (77%)	\$337,772

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	145,845 (73%)	D	137,518 (72%)
R	47,269 (24%)	R	46,205 (24%)
I	4,738 (2%)	I	8,691 (5%)

KEY VOTES

1997	
Ban "partial birth" abortions	N
1996	
Approve farm bill	Y
Deny public education to illegal immigrants	N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons	Y
Increase minimum wage	Y
Freeze defense spending	Y
Approve welfare overhaul	N
1995	
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment	N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations	Y
Oppose limits on environmental regulations	N
Reduce projected Medicare spending	N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts	-

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	80	20	93	7	39	61
1995	77	15	86	9	33	59
1994	69	23	81	6	33	53
1993	75	21	90	6	30	68

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	85	n/a	31	15
1995	80	100	23	12
1994	80	100	25	29
1993	90	100	9	4

FLORIDA

17 Carrie P. Meek (D)

Of Miami — Elected 1992, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: April 29, 1926, Tallahassee, Fla.

Education: Florida A&M U., B.S. 1946; U. of Michigan, M.S. 1948; Florida Atlantic U., 1979.

Occupation: Educational administrator; teacher.

Family: Divorced; three children.

Religion: Baptist.

Political Career: Fla. House, 1979-82; Fla. Senate, 1982-93.

Capitol Office: 401 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-4506.

Committees

Appropriations

Treasury, Postal Service & General Government; VA, HUD & Independent Agencies



In Washington: Meek returns to the Appropriations Committee for the 105th Congress after a one-term enforced absence: A junior member of the panel in the 103rd, she lost her place when the GOP's 1994 House takeover reduced the number of Democratic slots on Appropriations. With the

exit of several committee Democrats in 1996, there was again room for Meek in 1997.

After her first House election in 1992, Meek landed the Appropriations assignment by painstakingly introducing herself to all the members of the Democratic leadership and the Steering and Policy Committee, which decides committee assignments, and working with Florida delegation colleagues. She succeeded in part because Democrats wanted diversity on Appropriations, traditionally a white male preserve.

The Appropriations post gives her an "insider" venue from which to challenge the GOP majority's proposed cuts in spending on social programs. In the 104th, Meek's attacks on the GOP were mainly launched from the House floor. In August 1995, she criticized Republican efforts to cut Head Start. "It is one of the few programs, federal programs, which has succeeded over the years," she said. "But now to cut it is a dangerous thing, because what we are doing on one hand is giving a big tax cut to the rich and we are cutting off at the pass these poor children who need Head Start."

In June 1995, she criticized the Republicans' proposal to scale back Medicaid's projected growth. "They show little concern about the impact of these proposals on children, the elderly, and the severely disabled," Meek said. "They are concerned about management and about how they can use this money to make their coffers stronger. They like to cut dollars, but they do not like to create alternatives. I have heard no alternatives to Medicaid since I have been here."

Meek voted against efforts to end sugar price supports — sugar is a major Florida commodity — and, with a number of her Congressional Black

Caucus colleagues, she voted in June 1995 to buy more B-2 stealth bombers. Fifteen of the 36 black Democrats who are voting members of the caucus joined 58 other Democrats to support buying additional B-2s. Meek, old enough to remember World War II, said she found the argument raised by Norm Dicks, D-Wash., about military preparedness persuasive. She also noted that Dicks made his case to her early enough for her to think it over, whereas B-2 foes solicited her vote late in the game — after she had given her word. "People don't realize that personal contact makes a difference," Meek said.

Representing a district that was the scene of a major riot in 1980 and has seen more than its share of violence, Meek is a strong supporter of gun control. In April 1996, toward the end of the House floor debate on repealing the ban on certain semi-automatic assault-style weapons, Meek delivered a brief and angry speech denouncing proponents of repeal. Shouting to be heard over catcalls, Meek said that retaining the assault weapons ban was the very least Congress should do to deter gun violence. "I want to see every gun controlled because some of these people do not even need to have a gun in their hands," she said. "They are already bad enough without that."

Her district also includes large numbers of Haitian refugees — their neighborhood in Miami is known as Little Haiti — and she has been a strong supporter of efforts to bring democracy to that island nation. In June 1995, during House debate on the fiscal 1996 foreign operations appropriations bill, she strongly opposed an amendment by Porter J. Goss, R-Fla., barring aid to Haiti unless it held free presidential balloting later that year. Republicans rallied behind the amendment, charging that the recent parliamentary election in Haiti had been marred by widespread irregularities.

In response, Meek delivered an emotional speech in which she said it was "wrong morally" for Goss to imply that the government of Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was not committed to holding free elections. She argued that the amendment would only undercut the pro-democracy movement in Haiti. "Let us encourage them in the right direction," she said. "Let us not threaten them."

After five hours of debate and procedural wran-

The 17th has the state's highest percentage of black residents and is Florida's most staunchly Democratic district. Democrats account for more than 75 percent of the registered voters, and they routinely deliver the highest percentage of votes for Democrats running statewide.

It is a district that has seen widespread devastation. Starting at the Broward County line, the district runs through such northern Miami suburbs as Carol City and Opa-Locka, then picks up the impoverished Miami neighborhoods of Liberty City and Overtown. It follows U.S. 1 heading southwest to include predominantly black neighborhoods in Richmond Heights, Perrine, Homestead and Florida City. Some of these areas were leveled by Hurricane Andrew in 1992.

Unincorporated Carol City is predominantly black and Hispanic. (Hispanics account for about one-quarter of the district's population.) Most residents are blue-collar workers who commute south to Miami. The area has a mix of single-family homes, apartments and housing projects. Opa-Locka, which suffers from high unemployment and high crime rates, is overwhelmingly black. As in the rest of the district, local political organizations usually center on churches. Opa-Locka is also noted for its Arabian theme and its large private airport.

Unincorporated Rolling Oaks is an affluent black neighborhood near Pro Player Stadium (home of football's Dolphins and baseball's Marlins). The North Miami Beach area, which is partially in the 17th, has some of the largest numbers of whites in the district, many of whom are Jewish retirees on fixed incomes. They are politically well-organized, Democratic and interested in health care and crime. The

FLORIDA 17

Southeast — Parts of North Dade County; parts of Miami, Carol City

west side of North Miami, in the district, is a mix of blacks, whites and Hispanics, and somewhat less Democratic.

The Miami neighborhoods in the 17th include Little Haiti, which has a growing core of recent immigrants from the Caribbean. They tend to be Democrats but are not yet a political force.

The black neighborhoods of Liberty City — where Meek lives — and Overtown have been plagued by economic despair and violence. A 1980 riot left 18 dead after an all-white jury acquitted four white Miami police officers in the beating death of a black insurance executive. Riots erupted again in 1989 after a Latino officer shot a black motorcyclist.

Some improvements have been made. There are new apartment complexes and stores in Liberty City. The Miami Arena (home of pro basketball's Miami Heat and hockey's Florida Panthers, both of whom are planning to move) and new housing developments are reinvigorating part of Overtown. But progress is slow.

The district takes in the ethnically mixed areas of South Miami, then delves into the more rural communities near U.S. 1 that Andrew pummeled. Perrine, Richmond Heights and Florida City are heavily black; Homestead is mixed. Some residents were homeless or living in trailers for months after Hurricane Andrew.

1990 Population: 562,519. White 205,611 (37%), Black 328,316 (58%), Other 28,592 (5%). Hispanic origin 129,628 (23%). 18 and over 391,015 (70%), 62 and over 67,772 (12%). Median age: 30.

gling, the House finally voted on Meek's substitute to weaken the conditions on aid for Haiti. It rejected that proposal, 189-231, and adopted Goss' amendment, 252-164.

And as befits a representative from South Florida, Meek strongly backed legislation by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and Rep. Dan Burton, R-Ind., to tighten the U.S. economic embargo of Cuba. She talked about the refugees who have fled Cuba and settled in Miami. "The brutality of the situation in Cuba is something we live with every day," Meek said on the House floor in February 1996. "We see what happens with the Cuban people when atrocities are perpetrated against their families who are in Cuba. So many of our constituents have fled from Castro's prisons. So many of our constituents still have relatives, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters. So many of my constituents have left everything they worked for. Whatever they had in Cuba, they do not have anymore. Just as we helped the people of South Africa and the people of Haiti, we

must now help the people of Cuba in the time of their greatest need and in the hour of their greatest hope."

Early in the 104th Congress, Meek instigated a brouhaha when she took to the House floor in January 1995 to criticize Speaker Newt Gingrich's book deal with media mogul Rupert Murdoch's HarperCollins subsidiary. Meek used her one-minute address at the start of the day to question the deal. "While the Speaker may have given up the \$4.5 million advance, he stands to gain that amount and much more," Meek said. "That is a whole lot of dust where I come from. If anything now, how much the Speaker earns has grown much more dependent on how hard his publishing house hawks his book."

Gingrich ally Robert S. Walker, R-Pa., moved to strike Meek's comments from the record. The presiding officer, Cliff Stearns, R-Fla., agreed. "Innuendo and personal references to the Speaker's personal conduct are not in order," Stearns said.

The Democrats howled in outrage and chal-

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lenged the ruling. The Republicans voted to table the appeal, 214-169, and then deleted Meek's words by a vote of 217-178. When the Congressional Record was published, Stearns' comments had been altered. Democrats again took to the floor, this time to complain that the Republicans were changing the record despite a new rule prohibiting changes except for technical, typographical or grammatical corrections. Gingrich finally announced that Stearns' original language would be part of the permanent record.

Meek later distributed the draft of her speech, which included this final line: "Who does this Speaker really work for? Is it the American people or his New York publishing house?"

As a former domestic worker, Meek brought a unique perspective to the "nannygate" debate, which led Congress to try to raise the \$50-a-quarter threshold for paying Social Security taxes for domestic workers. During the 103rd Congress, several Clinton administration nominees and appointees were faulted for failing to pay taxes for their workers.

Meek agreed the threshold was too low but did not want it raised so high that employers would not be required to pay into Social Security at all. She worried that domestics who worked for a number of families would never reach the threshold and would have nothing to draw on when they retired.

On the House floor, Meek said she, her mother, her sister and many neighbors had done domestic work. In her experience, she said, "families that employed [domestics] would express much affec-

tion and gratitude towards them, but they did nothing for their employees' future economic security."

She argued against a House provision to raise the earnings threshold to \$1,800 a year, saying it was too high. She said a Senate Finance Committee bill to boost the threshold to \$610 a year was "very reasonable," even though she had introduced her own bill raising it to only \$300 a year. Congress ultimately cleared a bill in 1994 increasing it to \$1,000 a year.

At Home: Meek grew up in a poor Tallahassee neighborhood referred to as Black Bottom when segregation was the norm. The daughter of sharecroppers and the granddaughter of slaves, Meek has been a domestic worker, a teacher and a college administrator. She served 14 years in the Florida legislature before running for the House in what is the most heavily black and reliably Democratic of Florida's 23 House districts.

In 1992, Meek heard some criticism that at age 66, she would not be able to provide the district with vigorous, long-term representation. One of her two primary opponents, Darryl Reaves, said he was challenging Meek so the new black-majority 17th would not "crown somebody queen."

But the age issue did not resonate with voters, and Meek's campaign was indeed a coronation. She won the primary with 83 percent of the vote and was unopposed in the general election. The GOP again did not field an opponent in 1994.

Republicans nominated marketing consultant Wellington Rolle in 1996, but he was never a factor. Meek won with 89 percent.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Carrie P. Meek (D)	114,590	(89%)	
Wellington Rolle (R)	14,502	(11%)	
1994 General			
Carrie P. Meek (D)		unopposed	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (100%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Meek (D)	\$400,916	\$134,650 (34%)	\$257,039
1994			
Meek (D)	\$347,207	\$155,825 (45%)	\$166,452

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	115,764 (85%)	D	99,455 (73%)
R	16,827 (12%)	R	27,638 (20%)
I	3,944 (3%)	I	9,959 (7%)

KEY VOTES

1997		
Ban "partial birth" abortions		N
1996		
Approve farm bill		Y
Deny public education to illegal immigrants		N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons		N
Increase minimum wage		Y
Freeze defense spending		N
Approve welfare overhaul		N
1995		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations		N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations		Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending		N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	76	18	88	9	45	53
1995	82	14	86	6	26	64
1994	83	14	92	3	31	64
1993	91	7	90	6	43	57

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	85	n/a	33	5
1995	95	100	13	8
1994	95	78	50	10
1993	75	92	18	9

MARYLAND

4 Albert R. Wynn (D)

Of Largo — Elected 1992, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: Sept. 10, 1951, Philadelphia, Pa.

Education: U. of Pittsburgh, B.S. 1973; Howard U., 1973-74; Georgetown U., J.D. 1977.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Jessie Tianaya Jackson; one child.

Religion: Baptist.

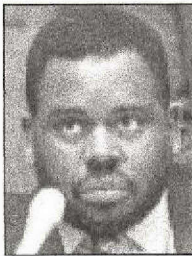
Political Career: Md. House, 1983-87; Md. Senate, 1987-93.

Capitol Office: 407 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-8699.

Committees

Commerce

Energy & Power; Telecommunications, Trade & Consumer Protection



In Washington: As a liberal-voting member of the Congressional Black Caucus and a believer in a "safety net" for the underprivileged, Wynn not surprisingly was skeptical of GOP efforts in the 104th Congress to overhaul the nation's welfare laws.

When Republicans came forward twice with plans to pass much of the control of the welfare system from the federal government to states, Wynn said the Republican approach "hurts innocent children." He said he favored work requirements for welfare recipients and time limits on benefits — both included in the GOP bills. However, he faulted the measures for lacking common-sense approaches and adequate funding to provide child care and job training to people being moved off the welfare rolls.

Still, Wynn was frustrated with the welfare status quo, like many of the middle-class black suburbanites in his Prince George's County, Md.-based district. A lot of them had left adjacent Washington, D.C., minority neighborhoods plagued by drugs, crime and unemployment.

In the end, Wynn — like President Clinton — decided that reforming welfare, even in a way that catered to GOP priorities, was preferable to the status quo. In July 1996 he voted for the welfare overhaul that cleared Congress and was signed by the president.

Wynn got good news shortly after his 1996 reelection, when he was awarded a seat on the influential Commerce Committee, which has broad legislative responsibilities. The assignment could help Wynn make contacts with businesses that might be interested in locating in the 4th, such as the biotechnology firms that have blossomed in nearby Montgomery County, Md.

Wynn is the first black to represent the Washington suburbs in Congress. His election in 1992 bespoke both the growing clout of black voters in Prince George's and Wynn's skill at appealing across racial lines.

During the 104th, Wynn spent much time serving as a foot soldier in the Democratic campaign to discredit GOP attempts to scale back or eliminate federal government services. Wynn's work in this area is good politics in the 4th, where the GOP's anti-Washington rhetoric rings hollow with the district's many federal employees and government contractors. Wynn rallied against the Republicans' budget proposals, which included plans to reduce the rate of spending growth on Medicare and Medicaid and other programs for the poor.

"They want to eliminate the guarantees that we have for the sick, the elderly, the poor, the blind, and the disabled," Wynn fumed. "They want to take 3.8 million children off the Medicaid rolls and deny them the safety net guarantee that we have now. We have a problem with that. We do not think it is necessary. The reason it is not necessary is because they have hidden in their budget a little poison pill in the form of a \$245 billion tax break for the wealthy."

When congressional Republicans failed to reach an agreement with President Clinton over budget priorities, leading to a partial shutdown of the federal government that kept many federal employees home from work, Wynn laid the blame squarely on Republicans.

"My constituents who are federal employees are watching more C-SPAN now than ever," Wynn said on the House floor. "And they are being treated to a sorry spectacle — a bunch of opinionated stuffed shirts sitting around bickering while they are getting paid, while peoples' lives are being disrupted, and while federal employees are losing their paychecks."

In other budget and spending battles of the 104th, Wynn fought to preserve the federal presence in his district. He spoke out against a spending bill that contained cuts in various federal housing programs, calling it a "political meat axe." He opposed a Republican foreign aid bill because it required the president to eliminate one of the government's three foreign policy agencies.

Wynn was particularly critical of a Republican bill that provided a \$500-per-child tax credit, pri-

The emergence of Prince George's County as one of the nation's few suburban counties with a black majority sparked the creation of the 4th in redistricting for the 1990s. Blacks are about three-fifths of the district's population; most of them live in Prince George's. Taking into account the district's Hispanics, whose numbers have steadily grown in recent years, more than two-thirds of the 4th's residents can be counted as minority group members.

Still, there is a substantial white population, particularly in the southeast section of Montgomery County that contributes more than a quarter of the district's residents. When the first House primary was held in 1992, black Democratic activists worried that a white candidate might maneuver through a large crowd of black contenders. But Wynn used a biracial appeal in both counties to take the nomination.

The Democratic primary is the deciding contest in this district. In the 1992 general election, Wynn got 84 percent of the vote in Prince George's County and 59 percent in Montgomery. In 1996, Wynn secured 90 percent of the vote in Prince George's, and 75 percent in Montgomery. Bill Clinton's showing in the presidential race trailed Wynn only slightly.

Prince George's is in many ways a success story of black upward mobility. For blacks, it is among the nation's leading jurisdictions in business formation, home ownership and education. Many residents work in Washington, D.C., or at a complex in Suitland (which includes the Census Bureau and the National Weather Service) or at Andrews Air Force Base. There are large private employers in Landover, such as the Giant supermarket chain, and in the New Carrollton business center.

The USAir sports arena also is in Landover, home of a pro basketball and hockey franchise

MARYLAND 4 Inner Prince George's County; Silver Spring

until they moved to a new arena in downtown Washington beginning with the 1997-98 season. But the pro football Washington Redskins have relocated from downtown to the new Jack Kent Cooke Stadium near Landover.

For some residents, however, there has been no escaping the drugs and guns that they hoped to leave behind when they moved from the District of Columbia. Drug trafficking and attendant violence plague a number of the 4th's low-income communities, which are mostly inside the Capital Beltway that rings Washington.

The largest concentrations of Hispanics are in working-class and low-income communities in western Prince George's County and in the Silver Spring area of eastern Montgomery County. Takoma Park has a bohemian image: Activists declared it a "nuclear free zone" in the 1980s.

Silver Spring, one of Washington's first suburbs, saw its once-bustling downtown grow seedy as the retail trade moved to regional malls. Developers claimed they would rejuvenate the city with a giant new mall. But local officials pulled the plug on the project when developers failed to attract private investors.

North of Silver Spring, the 4th follows the Route 29 business corridor. The middle- and upper-middle-income communities in this area have a larger white population and are more conservative than the rest of the district.

1990 Population: 597,690. White 200,081 (33%), Black 349,499 (58%), Other 48,110 (8%). Hispanic origin 37,962 (6%). 18 and over 447,123 (75%), 62 and over 54,791 (9%). Median age: 31.

marily because it also contained an increase in the federal employee retirement plan contribution. Wynn tried to put a human face on the often-maligned bureaucrats who staff federal agencies, pointing out that they are "FBI agents, cancer researchers, people that help move our Social Security checks, people who work very hard, who have experienced downsizing . . ."

In claiming a seat on Commerce, Wynn had to give up seats on the Banking and Financial Services Committee and on the International Relations Committee. On International Relations in the 104th, Wynn fought Republican cuts in foreign policy programs and in the State Department bureaucracy. Like many House Democrats, his foreign policy positions were not always exactly in line with Clinton's. He opposed granting most-favored nation trading status to China, and favored lifting the Bosnian arms embargo to allow the Bosnian Muslims to defend themselves

against the Serbs.

At Home: Wynn is an intense, high-energy politician, a style that helped him gain prominence in the state legislature and has carried him to easy House re-election victories.

Wynn's popularity in the 4th drove his 1996 GOP challenger, John B. Kimble, to desperate measures to gain recognition. Kimble offered to pose nude in Playgirl magazine if outspoken New York radio host Howard Stern would help raise \$1 million for his campaign. Neither Stern nor Playgirl took him up on the offer, leaving voters to decide the election exclusively on the candidates' political positions. Wynn won with 85 percent.

A loyal Democrat in the state legislature for 10 years, Wynn compiled a record friendly to organized labor and supportive of abortion rights. He developed a close friendship with the man who then represented Prince George's County in Congress, Steny H. Hoyer. (Hoyer still has part of

MARYLAND

the county in his current 5th District.)

When redistricting for the 1990s created a constituency anchored in Prince George that was designed to elect a black candidate, Wynn moved to take it.

Wynn was not well known in the district's other county, Montgomery, where about one-quarter of the 4th's people live and where there are fewer minority voters. So he plunged into Montgomery with his intensely personal campaign style, hoping that a win there, coupled with sufficient support from his Prince George's base, would be enough to nominate him.

Wynn's principal primary opponent was popular Prince George's State's Attorney Alexander

Williams Jr., who had proven his ability to win white votes in past countywide elections but who concentrated his House campaign at home. Williams edged Wynn by a thin 400 votes in Prince George's, and Wynn outpolled Williams in Montgomery by 1,700 votes to take the nomination.

The general election was a foregone conclusion. Republican Michele Dyson, a black business owner from Montgomery County, had the endorsement of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. But the district's overwhelming Democratic registration and Wynn's name recognition left Dyson in the dust.

He won with 75 percent of the vote and beat her again in 1994 with the same percentage.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Albert R. Wynn (D)	142,094	(85%)	
John B. Kimble (R)	24,700	(15%)	
1996 Primary			
Albert R. Wynn (D)	22,270	(85%)	
Maria Turner (D)	4,044	(15%)	
1994 General			
Albert R. Wynn (D)	93,148	(75%)	
Michele Dyson (R)	30,999	(25%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (75%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Wynn (D)	\$411,225	\$192,635 (47%)	\$343,875
1994			
Wynn (D)	\$379,024	\$226,450 (60%)	\$358,607
Dyson (R)	\$118,223	\$4,014 (3%)	\$119,749

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	151,951 (80%)	D	149,262 (74%)
R	30,598 (16%)	R	37,716 (19%)
I	5,619 (3%)	I	14,160 (7%)

KEY VOTES

1997		
Ban "partial-birth" abortions		N
1996		
Approve farm bill		Y
Deny public education to illegal immigrants		N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons		N
Increase minimum wage		Y
Freeze defense spending		Y
Approve welfare overhaul		Y
1995		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations		N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations		Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending		N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	84	16	90	9	37	63
1995	83	17	92	6	25	73
1994	82	18	95	3	25	72
1993	80	20	97	2	14	86

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	90	n/a	31	0
1995	95	100	21	12
1994	95	89	42	0
1993	100	100	9	4

CALIFORNIA

37 Juanita Millender-McDonald (D)

Of Carson — Elected 1996; 1st full term

Biographical Information

Born: Sept. 7, 1938, Birmingham, Ala.

Education: U. of Redlands, B.S.; California State U., Los Angeles, M.A.; U. of Southern California, Ph.D.

Occupation: Teacher.

Family: Husband, James McDonald Jr.; five children.

Religion: Baptist.

Political Career: Carson City Council, 1990-92, mayor pro tempore, 1991-92; Calif. Assembly, 1992-96.

Capitol Office: 419 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-7924.

Committees

Small Business

Regulatory Reform & Paperwork Reduction; Tax & Exports

Transportation & Infrastructure

Aviation; Surface Transportation



In Washington: Millender-McDonald, who first won the 37th in a March 1996 special election, has shown in her brief House career that she has no fondness for proposals by the Republican majority to rein in spending on social programs. Her district is one of the poorest in California

and she argues for allocating resources to help the underprivileged.

Millender-McDonald's electoral good fortune came after the fall of Democratic Rep. Walter R. Tucker III, who resigned from Congress Dec. 15, 1995, a week after a federal jury convicted him on felony charges of extortion and tax evasion. The charges stemmed from actions he took as mayor of Compton, prior to his election to Congress.

Millender-McDonald has made a priority of large-scale infrastructure projects in and around her territory, and she is in a position to advance them from her seat on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee. The panel will be marking up legislation in 1997 to authorize perhaps \$175 billion in new highway and mass transit spending, and Millender-McDonald is certain to continue her quest for more federal dollars supporting the Alameda Corridor project. This continuing project, which runs the length of her district, would link Los Angeles railyards with the ports of that city and Long Beach. It received \$400 million in direct loans as part of the fiscal 1997 transportation spending law.

Millender-McDonald was also pleased to trumpet a \$20 million authorization to bring three Veterans Administration buildings in Long Beach up to code. In her maiden floor remarks, she made it clear that one of her top priorities is to ensure her earthquake-prone district receives federal protection.

Millender-McDonald took the lead on an issue that helps illustrate the continuing racial divide in the country. Concerned by articles in the San Jose Mercury News that said the Central Intelligence Agency had been involved in cocaine trafficking

in inner-city neighborhoods, she has introduced legislation to establish a select congressional committee to investigate. Millender-McDonald sponsored a hearing into the matter in her district in October 1996. A month later, she hosted CIA Director John M. Deutch as he took questions from her constituents in Watts about the allegations.

A regional whip, Millender-McDonald is a reliable vote for her party's liberal wing, consistently supporting abortion rights and other progressive causes. Since coming to Congress she has backed organized labor's point of view in voting to raise the minimum wage, block employers from offering compensatory time off in lieu of overtime pay, and voting against a successful effort to make it harder for Federal Express workers to unionize.

Millender-McDonald opposed a law that blocked federal recognition of same-sex marriages and voted to prohibit funding for certain tobacco programs. She opposed turning off the cash spigot funding the space station.

A former teacher, she is a vocal supporter of the Goals 2000 national educational standards initiative and favors more spending on bilingual education. (She voted against a bill to prohibit illegal immigrants from receiving a public education.) Millender-McDonald spoke against effectively raising the rent for public housing residents and voted against the welfare overhaul bill. "Welfare reform is not true reform unless it contains job training, child care and job location assistance," she declared.

The 37th is a majority-minority district, with Hispanics and blacks representing three-fourths of the population. Millender-McDonald sometimes takes to the floor to commemorate such events as Black History Month, and she spoke out strongly in favor of federalizing the crime of church burning after a rash of black churches in the South were torched. (Her father had been a minister in Alabama.)

At Home: At the same time Millender-McDonald won the right to complete Tucker's unexpired House term, Democratic voters also chose her to be their nominee for election to a full term in November 1996. She prevailed easily over

The 37th includes some of Los Angeles' poorest and most overwhelmingly Democratic communities, taking in the Carson, Compton and Lynwood areas of the city.

Residents of the 37th have quite a stake in efforts aimed at post-Cold War adjustments to the nation's defense industries. The closing of the Long Beach shipyard and planned closing of the naval station just south of the district are likely to squeeze the area anew.

Long Beach's port area draws many of its blue-collar workers from the district (the naval station alone employs more than 10,000 civilian and military personnel), and many others in the 37th work in small businesses that support the port. Military contractors concentrated in the southern end of the district also are suffering.

Carson, just north of the port, is a blue-collar city of 84,000, with its population split almost evenly among Hispanics, blacks, whites and Asians. This area was largely spared in the rioting of the spring of 1992, even though it is sandwiched between Long Beach and Compton, which both suffered fairly heavy damage.

Scores of Compton's businesses went up in the smoke of 135 separate fires. California's recession had been hurting the already-poor area, and many of the surviving jobs were lost as businesses damaged in the riot closed. The lots with burned buildings and debris have been cleared, leaving them vacant. Although there's been some renewal, it is hard to distinguish much of the land from the many vacant lots the city had before the riots.

Compton's Hispanic community has grown tremendously in the past decade. Forty-four percent of the city's 90,000 residents are

CALIFORNIA 37 Southern Los Angeles County; Compton; Carson

Hispanic and 53 percent are black.

At the north end of the district is Lynwood, 70 percent of whose 62,000 residents are Hispanic and 21 percent of whom are black. The area sustained some damage during the riots, with more than 60 fires reported and 138 arrests.

One potential ray of light for the district is the Alameda Corridor project, an attempt to create a smooth conduit for goods to enter California through Long Beach without the traffic hassles of the Long Beach Freeway. The project runs the length of the district up Alameda Street and includes rail and road transportation improvements.

Another addition to the district is the 105 Freeway, known for years as the Century Freeway. The name gave rise to a local joke that the road, planned since the middle part of this century, would not be completed until the next. But it bears a new name — that of Democratic Rep. Glenn M. Anderson, who died in 1994. And it was recently completed. Now the area has finally been connected to the metropolitan area's freeway grid.

Bill Clinton carried the 37th in 1996 with 82 percent of the vote, his second best district in the state.

1990 Population: 572,049. White 149,689 (26%), Black 192,420 (34%), Other 229,940 (40%). Hispanic origin 258,278 (45%). 18 and over 375,216 (66%), 62 and over 49,338 (9%). Median age: 26.

Republican businessman Michael Voetee, a self-described "sacrificial lamb."

McDonald waited until Tucker's conviction to announce her candidacy for the 37th, and then she overtook fellow state Rep. Willard H. Murray Jr., who had begun campaigning nine months earlier, and a crowd of other Democrats. Among the also-rans were Compton Mayor Omar Bradley, Lynwood Mayor Paul H. Richards, Compton City Clerk Charles Davis, and Robin Tucker, the wife of the disgraced congressman, who had his endorsement.

Murray had the backing of Democratic Rep. Maxine Waters, a power in Los Angeles County politics for a generation. Millender-McDonald's campaign was handled by a consultant with ties to Willie Brown, the mayor of San Francisco and former longtime Speaker of the state Assembly.

Millender-McDonald, who held local office in Carson prior to her service in Sacramento, outpaced Murray in fund-raising, in part with the help of EMILY's List, a fundraising organization for

Democratic women candidates. She weathered criticism from her foes for accepting contributions from political action committees.

She scored points against Murray by criticizing his support for the state's placement of the troubled Compton Unified School District in receivership. The state took control of the school district under the terms of a bailout deal Murray sponsored in 1993. Millender-McDonald sponsored a bill in the Assembly in 1996 to return non-fiscal control to the school district. She also gained publicity in 1995 by supporting a state move to take over Lincoln Park Cemetery in Carson amid accusations of mismanagement and embezzlement. In response to problems at the cemetery, Millender-McDonald sponsored bills to outlaw necrophilia and require annual state inspections of cemeteries.

In a sparse turnout, Millender-McDonald won the special election with nearly 14,000 (27 percent); Murray had 20 percent. Robin Tucker ran sixth with 7 percent. In the concurrent

CALIFORNIA

Democratic primary voting for nomination to the 105th Congress, Millender-McDonald beat Murray by just over 1,000 votes, 24 to 21 percent.

The only sour note in Millender-McDonald's victory was the defeat of her son, Keith, in his bid to replace her in the Assembly. He lost in the

Democratic primary to former state Rep. Dick Floyd. In 1992, Floyd, who is white, lost to Juanita McDonald when redistricting that year forced him into the same district with another white assemblyman. They split the white vote, sending McDonald to Sacramento.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General

Juanita Millender-McDonald (D)	87,247	(85%)
Michael E. Voetee (R)	15,399	(15%)

1996 Special Election

Juanita Millender-McDonald (D)	13,868	(27%)
Willard H. Murray Jr. (D)	10,396	(20%)
Omar Bradley (D)	6,975	(14%)
Paul H. Richards (D)	6,035	(12%)
Robert M. Sausedo (D)	4,495	(9%)
Robin Tucker (D)	3,661	(7%)
Charles Davis (D)	2,555	(5%)
Murry J. Carter (D)	1,574	(3%)
Joyce Harris (D)	1,322	(3%)

1996 Primary

Juanita Millender-McDonald (D)	10,213	(24%)
Willard H. Murray Jr. (D)	8,999	(21%)
M. Susan Carrillo (D)	6,681	(15%)
Omar Bradley (D)	5,746	(13%)
Paul H. Richards (D)	5,523	(13%)
Robin Tucker (D)	2,632	(6%)
Charles Davis (D)	2,131	(5%)
Joyce Harris (D)	660	(2%)
Dale C. Tatum (D)	580	(1%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expend- itures
1996			
Millender-McDonald (D)	\$337,030	\$94,500 (28%)	\$327,257
Voetee (R)	\$43,806	\$16 (0%)	\$42,972

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	88,877 (82%)	D	90,523 (74%)
R	13,874 (13%)	R	19,299 (16%)
I	4,798 (4%)	I	12,905 (11%)

KEY VOTES

1997		
Ban "partial birth" abortions		N
1996		
Increase minimum wage		Y
Freeze defense spending		Y
Approve welfare overhaul		N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	84	16	92	7	27	71

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	83	n/a	20	0

ILLINOIS

2 Jesse L. Jackson Jr. (D)

Of Chicago — Elected 1995; 1st full term

Biographical Information

Born: March 11, 1965, Greenville, S.C.

Education: North Carolina A&T U., Greensboro, B.S. 1987; Chicago Theological Seminary, M.A. 1990; U. of Illinois, J.D. 1993.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Sandra.

Religion: Baptist.

Political Career: No previous office.

Capitol Office: 313 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-0773.

Committees

Banking & Financial Services

Domestic & International Monetary Policy; Housing & Community Opportunity

Small Business

Empowerment; Government Programs & Oversight



In Washington: Projecting an energetic personality and benefiting from his universally known name, Jackson in December 1995 won a special House election to succeed Democratic Rep. Mel Reynolds, who had resigned from Congress after an August conviction on charges of

sexual misconduct.

The name was Jackson's trump card in the short special election campaign. Chicago has been the home base for Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity) and the National Rainbow Coalition, the activist organizations founded by Jesse Jackson Sr., the preacher, civil rights crusader and two-time Democratic presidential contender.

The younger Jackson followed in his father's footsteps, serving as vice president at-large of Operation PUSH and as national field director for the Rainbow Coalition. But unlike his father, Jesse Jr. parlayed those activities into an inside role in the national Democratic Party organization (he is secretary of the Democratic National Committee's Black Caucus). He introduced his father at the August 1996 Democratic National Convention in Chicago and shared the podium with him.

In the House, Jackson has a couple of committee assignments that are particularly relevant to the needs of his urban constituency. He serves on the Housing and Community Opportunity Subcommittee of the Banking and Financial Services Committee, and on the Empowerment Subcommittee at Small Business.

Jackson does not have his father's looming physical presence nor the pulpit cadences of his oratory. But he is a forceful speaker in his own right. He showed his adeptness at floor debate during House consideration in May 1997 of a sweeping bill to overhaul the public housing system. Jackson and other liberal Democrats objected to a provision in the bill that would require unemployed, able-bodied public housing tenants

who are not on welfare to perform eight hours a month of community service.

Jackson argued that the provision would discriminate against the poor by mandating that public housing residents work without pay. But Republicans countered that the community service requirement was reasonable because housing is part of the compensation.

Jackson offered an amendment that sought to eliminate a provision requiring housing authorities to evict tenants who failed to meet the community service requirement, but it was rejected, 160-251. He then tried to exempt from the community service requirement single parents, grandparents or spouses who are the primary caregivers for children ages 6 or younger, senior citizens or the disabled. It was also rejected, 181-216.

Jackson's record on House floor votes is predictably liberal, showing strong support for labor unions, abortion rights and environmental protections. He voted against the GOP-backed proposal to deny public education to illegal immigrants, and he was one of 98 Democrats who refused to support the compromise welfare-overhaul bill that President Clinton signed into law in 1996. He opposed repealing the ban on certain semiautomatic assault-style weapons.

Jackson frequently takes to the House floor to talk about civil rights and other topics. In February 1997, for example, he began a series of three special orders on Black History Month. "I was born, as a matter of African-American history, on March 11, 1965," he said. "On March 7, 1965, in our history it is known as bloody Sunday. It is the Sunday that the gentleman from Georgia [Rep. John Lewis], Martin Luther King Jr., and Jesse Jackson and many others in our history walked across the Edmund Pettus Bridge [in Selma, Ala.] for the right to vote. Because of the struggle that they engaged in in 1965, I now stand here as the 91st African-American to ever have the privilege of serving in the U.S. Congress."

In September 1996, he talked about the need to improve education. "My father always says that it is a real sad day in our country when jails are becoming a step up," Jackson said. "After all, in

More than two-thirds of the residents of the 2nd are black, and Democrats dominate in contests from the presidency right down the ballot. But redistricting changed the makeup of the district, adding suburban turf. Under the map for the 1990s, only slightly more than half the district's residents live within the Chicago city limits.

The new suburbanites are slightly less Democratic than those who live in the city of Chicago. Bill Clinton took 96 percent of the vote in the portion of the district within Chicago and 74 percent of the votes from the suburban portion.

Jackson polled 99 percent of the vote within the Chicago section of the district and 88 percent from the suburbs.

Jackson had won a special election to succeed Mel Reynolds, who resigned after being convicted of charges stemming from having sexual relations with an underage campaign worker. Reynolds had benefited from the more moderate suburbanites who had been added to the district.

Reynolds' predecessor, Gus Savage, had been a polarizing figure. Savage appealed to a mainly urban constituency, using hard-edged rhetoric that blamed white racism for the problems of his district's many low-income black residents; he had increasingly targeted Jews for criticism.

Reynolds earlier had lost two primary challenges to Savage but was able to capitalize on the demographic shift in the district. He made a strong appeal to suburban voters, including Jews, conservative white ethnic groups and blacks with more moderate views. Reynolds steamrolled the incumbent in the suburbs and edged him in the city.

ILLINOIS 2

Chicago — Far South Side; south suburbs; Chicago Heights

Within the city, the 2nd is roughly U-shaped. Much of the western arm, which runs north to 63rd Street, is low-income.

There are middle-class pockets, though, in such far South Side sections as Morgan Park and Pullman. The eastern arm begins at 71st Street in the South Shore area. In neighboring South Chicago, belching factories once employed thousands.

South of the city are working-class suburbs. Several, including Harvey, Markham and Robbins, are nearly all black. Some, including Ford Heights and parts of urbanized Chicago Heights, are poor, while others, such as Country Club Hills, are more affluent.

The district's southernmost reaches have most of its white population. Jewish residents are numerous in such well-to-do suburbs as Homewood, Flossmoor and Olympia Fields. Bloom Township has a longstanding Italian-American community; this is the most Republican area in the 2nd.

Thanks to the suburban influence, the 2nd has the highest median family income of Chicago's four predominantly minority districts. It also has fewer families in poverty than either the 1st, 4th or 7th districts. Still, 15 percent of its families live below the poverty level.

1990 Population: 571,530. White 154,902 (27%), Black 391,425 (68%), Other 25,203 (4%). Hispanic origin 37,860 (7%). 18 and over 402,216 (70%), 62 and over 69,334 (12%). Median age: 31.

jails they have heat in the wintertime and they have air conditioning in the summertime. They have three square meals a day. They have organized recreation. They have health care and medical attention while they are in jail. They have library facilities. They have organized religion. . . . You can get your high school diploma while you are in jail. You can get a GED. For many people in my district, certainly in the city of Chicago and around the country, many young men are now joining their fathers for the first time in jails. This is the first time we are looking at two and three generations of young men and in many cases young women who are part of our penal system."

And he weighed in on the environment in April 1996, blasting the Republican record. "The majority leadership in this body has attempted to roll back years of environmental progress to provide favors for its special interest friends," Jackson said. "Because of budget cuts by the majority in this Congress, the Environmental

Protection Agency has missed thousands of inspections and enforcement actions. This same majority has shifted costs from polluters to taxpayers, while cleanups have been slowed at 400 toxic waste sites and stopped at 60 superfund sites. Because funds to implement six administrative rules have been cut, hundreds of millions of pounds of pollution entered our water supply that could have been prevented. It is time for the majority in the 104th Congress to clean up its environmental act."

At Home: In the November 1995 Democratic special primary campaign — the decisive election in the majority-black 2nd District — state Senate Democratic leader Emil Jones Jr. tried to turn Jackson's greatest asset into a liability. Jones contended that Jackson Sr. was attempting to use his enormous clout to boost his politically inexperienced son to high office. "I'm running against both Jacksons, junior and senior," Jones said.

But the younger Jackson was able to fend off

ILLINOIS

the attack, in a manner similar to that of the scions of the Kennedy political dynasty who have won office. A lawyer who graduated from Washington's elite St. Alban's Episcopal High School, he presented himself as a vibrant member of a new generation of black leadership, yet because of his father's fame he also enjoyed a degree of name recognition that none of his rivals for the nomination could hope to match.

To counter criticism that he was too young for the job of congressman, Jackson argued that being the son of Jesse Jackson Sr. amounted to a lifetime of political experience. When he was born in 1965, his father was an associate of the Rev. King. The younger Jackson's campaign biography said that he rallied support in 1981 for striking air traffic controllers who had been fired by President Ronald Reagan; he was 16 years old at the time. He was old enough to vote in 1984, when his father staged his first presidential bid. In his House campaign, he proudly noted that he spent his 21st birthday in a Washington jail after a protest against apartheid.

In the Democratic primary, Jackson appeared charismatic next to Jones, who is twice Jackson's

age, and state Sen. Alice Palmer, 56, a former Northwestern University student affairs director. Jackson won not quite half of the primary ballots, with Jones finishing under 40 percent and Palmer and two other candidates far back.

Jackson presented the contrast between himself and his opponents as one of opportunity, not age. "The only way one grows into leadership in Congress is to get elected young enough that you become Speaker of the House or chairman of the Ways and Means Committee," he said.

Jackson presented voters with a 10-point agenda, including development of economic incentives to draw businesses to the economically struggling 2nd and the creation of a "single payer" national health care plan. He also took a stand on a hot local issue, backing a plan to build a third Chicago-area airport in rural environs just south of the 2nd District line.

The general-election outcome was a foregone conclusion. Jackson rolled up more than 75 percent of the vote against Republican Thomas Joseph "T.J." Somer, a white lawyer and former police officer. The following November, he polled 94 percent of the vote to win a full term.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Jesse Jackson Jr. (D)	172,648	(94%)	
Frank H. Stratman (LIBERT)	10,880	(6%)	
1995 Special			
Jesse Jackson Jr. (D)	48,145	(76%)	
Thomas Joseph "T.J." Somer (R)	15,171	(24%)	

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Jackson (D)	\$815,231	\$225,094 (28%)	\$729,699
1995 Special			
Jackson (D)	\$348,997	\$41,500 (12%)	\$310,776
Somer (R)	\$35,790	0	\$30,857

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	170,821 (85%)	D	194,796 (80%)
R	22,204 (11%)	R	31,730 (13%)
I	6,395 (3%)	I	16,968 (7%)

KEY VOTES

1997		
Ban "partial birth" abortions		N
1996		
Approve farm bill		N
Deny public education to illegal immigrants		N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons		N
Increase minimum wage		Y
Freeze defense spending		Y
Approve welfare overhaul		N
1995		
Relax Clean Water Act regulations		I
Oppose limits on environmental regulations		I
Reduce projected Medicare spending		I
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		I

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	85	15	96	4	12	88
1995	67†	33†	94†	6†	50†	50†

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	100	n/a	19	0
1995	0	100	0	0

32 Julian C. Dixon (D)

Of Los Angeles — Elected 1978, 10th term

Biographical Information

Born: Aug. 8, 1934, Washington, D.C.

Education: California State U., Los Angeles, B.S. 1962; Southwestern U., LL.B. 1967.

Military Service: Army, 1957-60.

Occupation: Legislative aide; lawyer.

Family: Wife, Betty Lee; one child.

Religion: Episcopalian.

Political Career: Calif. Assembly, 1973-79.

Capitol Office: 2252 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-7084.

Committees

Appropriations

Commerce, Justice, State & Judiciary; District of Columbia; National Security

Select Intelligence

Human Intelligence, Analysis & Counterintelligence (ranking)



In Washington: After years of defending the District of Columbia and championing home rule for its residents, Dixon found himself on the outs in 1995 as the new Republican majority imposed a financial control board and new budgetary restrictions on the District. Particularly

galling for Dixon was that many of the District's financial difficulties developed when he was chairman of the Appropriations Committee's District of Columbia Subcommittee.

It is no wonder then that Dixon's anger at District officials and at the two accounting firms that had audited the city's books was that of a man betrayed. "I have personally come to the conclusion that the District government has not acted in good faith with the Congress," he said at the start of a February 1995 D.C. subcommittee hearing on the city's financial crisis.

Also no wonder that when Dixon's office supplied a three-page list of his accomplishments in the 104th Congress, it was silent as to his work on the D.C. subcommittee.

For the 105th Congress, Dixon has left his post as ranking Democrat of the subcommittee, but he remains a panel member.

Home rule, which Congress granted in 1973, allows the city to elect a mayor and city council and to manage its own budget, although the budget must be approved by Congress. The city receives an annual federal payment to compensate it for tax revenue lost from hosting the federal government, which pays no property taxes.

Dixon had been a loyal supporter of the District when he chaired the subcommittee. Hence, it was a mark of how desperate the city's financial situation appeared in late 1994 and early 1995 that even Dixon began to criticize city officials for shortcomings in fiscal management. During House consideration of the fiscal 1995 D.C. budget, Dixon acknowledged that the city had a financial crisis and needed spending reductions. He denounced suggestions, however, that

Congress should scale back its federal payment to the city, which some Republican panel members had suggested. "To hold back funding ... is not going to help the District at this point; it's going to put it further in the hole," he said.

But when faced with the prospect that the D.C. spending bill would not be approved by the House because of concerns about the city's fiscal problems, Dixon agreed to compromise. He worked with the panel's ranking Republican, James T. Walsh of New York — who served as the panel's chairman in the 104th Congress — and with Virginia Republican Thomas J. Bliley Jr. to draft a compromise amendment aimed at reining in the District's spending. The compromise required the city to specify to Congress how it planned to make \$150 million in cuts in fiscal 1995, and it required that the city incur no deficit in fiscal 1995.

"The District government is in a precarious financial situation and has lost its credibility with this Congress, so I feel it necessary, in order to get sufficient support for this bill, to enter into an agreement," said Dixon, who had resisted attempts by members to cut the city's \$720 million federal payment. In the end, the federal payment was cut to \$712 million, the figure ultimately agreed to by House and Senate conferees. Conferees also required the city to cut its budget by \$140 million.

In the fiscal 1996 budget, Dixon fought efforts to force the District to use tax dollars to pay tuitions at private schools, and in the fiscal 1997 budget, he unsuccessfully tried to allow the city to spend local money on abortions, as the city was able to do when Democrats controlled Congress. The Republican majority voted to prohibit public funding for abortions except in cases of rape, incest or a health threat to the woman.

Dixon is a well-liked House insider, known for his hard work and diplomacy, but he generally keeps a low profile. Born and reared in a black, middle-class D.C. neighborhood, he has stuck with the D.C. Subcommittee, a job with little prestige and no benefits to his district, because he cares about his hometown.

He also cares about California. He was a key

CALIFORNIA

This compact, diverse district begins about a mile inland from Venice Beach, runs east through Culver City and ends up in south-central Los Angeles. Sandwiched between these areas are dozens of distinct ethnic neighborhoods.

Economically, the 32nd runs the gamut, taking in very wealthy neighborhoods such as Rancho Park in the north, middle- and upper-middle-income suburbs in the west and very poor sections of south-central Los Angeles in the east.

This area is undergoing its second demographic sea change in 30 years. A generation ago, its Jewish population migrated toward the district's northwest end, and the center of the district became predominantly black.

Now there is a new wave of immigrants: Hispanics. Blacks are still the district's largest racial group, but their dominance is slipping as more blacks migrate toward Los Angeles' suburbs. Forty percent of the district's residents are black, 30 percent are Hispanic and 8 percent are Asian.

Despite vast differences between the district's neighborhoods — the Baldwin Hills area actually features operating oil wells — a huge majority of the people in the 32nd vote Democratic. About three-fourths of the district's registered voters are Democrats.

The district's strong Democratic outlook was evident in 1996, when both Bill Clinton and Dixon received more than 80 percent of the vote.

The eastern end of the 32nd is a black working-class area; moving north, the concentration of Hispanics increases. The northeast, near Pico Union, has considerable multifamily housing; to

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West Los Angeles; Culver City

the southeast there are more single-family homes and higher levels of home ownership.

While south-central Los Angeles could be described as "blighted," it is not the type of blight typically found in the very poor areas of Chicago or New York. South-central's blight shows itself in its commercial districts rather than in its residential areas; its residents actually live in fairly well-maintained, older single-family homes.

South-central's commercial areas suffered some of the worst violence during the city's 1992 riots. Many of the stores targeted were owned by Koreans who had been attracted to the area's low property costs. The epicenters of the riot were elsewhere, but substantial violence traveled up Crenshaw Boulevard from Inglewood and down Western Avenue from Koreatown.

Curiously, none of this area used to be known as south-central Los Angeles. South-central traditionally has been thought of as being farther east, but post-riot media coverage has widened the term's scope.

On the issues, people living on the 32nd's eastern side tend to have crime and economic concerns uppermost in mind, while residents on the western side of the district tend to mirror the coast's high level of environmental concern.

1990 Population: 572,595. White 184,266 (32%), Black 230,872 (40%), Other 157,457 (27%). Hispanic origin 173,076 (30%). 18 and over 435,038 (76%), 62 and over 78,322 (14%). Median age: 32.

player behind a 1994 supplemental spending bill to provide federal aid to victims of the January 1994 Northridge earthquake in Southern California. In the 104th, he fought for increased spending for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in order to boost the number of border patrol agents, and he supported additional funds for states that bear the cost of jailing illegal aliens convicted of crimes.

Dixon also has served on Appropriations' Defense Subcommittee, now called National Security, where he has helped direct defense conversion funds back to his home state to compensate for defense industry cutbacks.

From his Appropriations post, Dixon has helped secure federal funds for Los Angeles' Metro Rail subway. He also has pushed for greater access to the subway system for inner-city residents. And in the fiscal 1997 omnibus appropriations bill, he helped secure a \$400 million loan for the Alameda Corridor, a 20-mile route connecting the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach with the

national railroad system.

And as a member of the House Intelligence Committee, he said he would push for an investigation into published allegations that the CIA helped fuel the crack cocaine trade in Los Angeles in an attempt to raise money for the contras in Nicaragua. Dixon participated in community forums about the allegations. "It is clear that a thorough airing of the matter is essential," he said.

Dixon's reputation as a reliable, low-key Democratic loyalist earned him six years as chairman of the House ethics committee. When he joined the committee in 1983 and became its chairman in 1985, Dixon expected to serve the usual two-term rotation. However, he was asked by the Democratic leadership to stay on for a third term to handle an investigation of the Democratic leadership.

His judicious conduct of the case involving former Speaker Jim Wright's financial transactions gave no one cause to fault his impartiality. When the turning point came, Dixon voted to pursue

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most of the charges. Wright resigned from the House in May 1989, obviating any need for a final judgment from the ethics committee.

Dixon's handling of the Wright case made him an oft-quoted figure as the ethics committee in 1996 and 1997 feuded internally over investigating charges against Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga. The committee's ability to work in a bipartisan fashion under Dixon was contrasted with its problems under chairwoman Nancy L. Johnson, R-Conn., and ranking Democrat Jim McDermott of Washington. For example, Dixon said, he used to meet daily with former Rep. John T. Myers, R-Ind., the committee's ranking minority member, to discuss the Wright case. He said the procedure was for the chairman and the ranking member to work out a deal before going to the full committee. Johnson and McDermott, by contrast, had a stormy relationship.

"The regular procedure has broken down, and the procedure of the chairman and ranking member negotiating has been . . . violated," Dixon said.

He also criticized Steven H. Schiff, R-N.M., an ethics committee member who publicly announced that he believed Gingrich should be re-elected as Speaker. "I think that it's appropriate that we can tell members how we intend to vote," Schiff said.

But Dixon said, "I'm unaware of a member of the ethics committee heretofore communicating to the leadership of either party their predisposition to vote a certain way on a sanction. . . . It's

my recollection during my tenure that members were exceptionally cautious on making public utterances on issues pending before them."

At Home: Dixon followed a political path blazed by Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, a prominent black official of the 1960s and '70s. When Burke first ran for the House in 1972, Dixon resigned as an aide to state Sen. Mervyn M. Dymally (who later served in Congress) and captured Burke's open Assembly seat. In 1978, when Burke left to run what would be an unsuccessful bid for state attorney general, Dixon beat eight Democratic primary foes to win Burke's House seat.

The primary was a power struggle among political brokers in Los Angeles' black community. Dixon's closest competitor, state Sen. Nate Holden, was backed by Kenneth Hahn, a white Los Angeles County supervisor with considerable popularity in the black areas of South Los Angeles. Another rival, City Councilman David S. Cunningham, was supported by Mayor Tom Bradley. Dixon was the choice of Rep. Henry A. Waxman and then-state Rep. Howard L. Berman (now a House member).

The Waxman-Berman machine helped Dixon win the primary. Dixon ran unopposed that November and regularly collected more than three-fourths of the district vote in each re-election bid thereafter until 1990, when he "slipped" to 73 percent. Redistricting in 1992 did little to alter his situation, and he has won his last three terms with ease.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Julian C. Dixon (D)	124,712	(82%)	
Larry Ardito (R)	18,768	(12%)	
Neal Donner (LIBERT)	6,390	(4%)	
Rashied Jibri (NL)	1,557	(1%)	
1994 General			
Julian C. Dixon (D)	98,017	(78%)	
Ernie A. Farhat (R)	22,190	(18%)	
John Honigsfeld (PFP)	6,099	(5%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (87%) 1990 (73%)
 1988 (76%) 1986 (76%) 1984 (76%) 1982 (79%)
 1980 (79%) 1978 (100%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Dixon (D)	\$93,520	\$64,850 (69%)	\$97,495
1994			
Dixon (D)	\$181,245	\$115,145 (64%)	\$141,941
Farhat (R)	\$43,914	\$614 (1%)	\$43,910

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	130,394 (81%)	D	147,623 (78%)
R	19,348 (12%)	R	23,956 (13%)
I	5,764 (4%)	I	17,561 (9%)

KEY VOTES

1997		
Ban "partial birth" abortions		N
1996		
Approve farm bill		N
Deny public education to illegal immigrants		N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons		N
Increase minimum wage		Y
Freeze defense spending		Y
Approve welfare overhaul		N
1995		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations		N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations		Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending		N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	82	15	89	9	39	59
1995	85	13	91	6	24	74
1994	87	9	93	1	14	78
1993	94	6	93	4	36	64
1992	18	77	85	6	23	71
1991	26	66	88	4	14	84

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	90	n/a	19	0
1995	95	100	17	4
1994	75	88	33	10
1993	80	100	18	8
1992	80	75	13	4
1991	85	100	20	0

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11 Louis Stokes (D)

Of Shaker Heights — Elected 1968, 15th term

Biographical Information

Born: Feb. 23, 1925, Cleveland, Ohio.

Education: Case Western Reserve U., 1946-48; Cleveland-Marshall College of Law, J.D. 1953.

Military Service: Army, 1943-46.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Jeannette Francis; four children.

Religion: African Methodist Episcopal Zion.

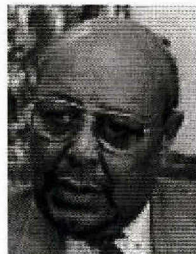
Political Career: No previous office.

Capitol Office: 2365 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-7032.

Committees

Appropriations

Labor, Health & Human Services, Education & Related Agencies; VA, HUD & Independent Agencies (ranking)



In Washington: For Stokes, like many senior Democrats, the 104th Congress was a period of adjustment. A courtly fellow, Stokes had grown quite used to life in the majority, having Republicans address him respectfully as he chaired several different panels. But suddenly he was on the outs, and as ranking minority member of the VA-HUD Appropriations Subcommittee he watched the GOP majority tear into the budgets of housing programs he had helped create.

During the 103rd Congress, Stokes chaired the subcommittee, which doles out funds for a grab-bag of agencies including the Veterans Administration, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, NASA and the Environmental Protection Agency. He enjoyed good relations with Jerry Lewis of California, the panel's senior Republican. But when Lewis assumed the gavel, he was operating under a mandate to slash spending, which piqued Stokes and soured their relations, at least temporarily.

A typical frustrating moment for Stokes came in 1995, as he was defending public housing, which was subject to deep cuts under the GOP's spending bill. Stokes noted that he and his brother Carl, a former Cleveland mayor and then ambassador to Seychelles before his death in 1996, had grown up in public housing. Were it not for such assistance, Stokes said, he and his brother "would be either in jail or dead, we'd be some kind of statistic." To which Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert L. Livingston replied, "We can play this compassion game all day but it won't cut it."

The VA-HUD bill is one of the two largest pots of domestic discretionary spending, and it carried more than its fair share of weight as GOP budget-cutters sought savings. The cuts began early in the 104th with a package of rescissions in spending programs approved when Democrats controlled Congress. The suddenly outgunned

Democrats could do little but complain. Stokes called the cuts "unconscionable," "reprehensible," "appalling," and a "prescription for disaster." But all six amendments he offered at the committee level were turned back on party-line votes. "You have to try," Stokes reasoned.

As the fiscal 1996 spending season began, Stokes led the way in trying to restore funding for programs covered by the VA-HUD bill and he also offered several amendments to the Labor-HHS-Education spending package (he also sits on Appropriations' Labor-HHS Subcommittee). He sought several times to change the GOP legislation to restore funding for housing and social services and overturn limits but, predictably, these efforts bore no fruit.

Stokes' new role led to friction with Lewis, who had genially referred to Stokes as "my chairman" during the 103rd and grew disappointed with Stokes' attacks on his legislation. Stokes felt he had been shut out and voted against Lewis' position on almost every floor amendment considered to the fiscal 1996 VA-HUD bill.

But Stokes got his revenge. He joined with New York Republican Sherwood Boehlert to offer an amendment to strike 17 policy riders on the bill that would have blocked the EPA from enforcing major portions of such laws as the Clean Air and clean water acts. Boehlert was one of 51 Republicans to vote to strip the riders, enough to provide Stokes and the Democrats with a heartening 212-206 victory.

That victory proved short-lived, though, as the following week Lewis called the amendment up for a revote. Several Democratic supporters missed the vote and the Stokes amendment died on a tie, 210-210 vote. Stokes warned members: "This vote will never go away. This vote will stay with all of us for a very long time."

His words proved prophetic; his move succeeded on a third vote (a motion to instruct House members to strip it during conference with the Senate), but the bill and its riders died anyway under a presidential veto, and the affected programs had to be funded under an omnibus spending bill. But perhaps more importantly, the EPA riders proved to be a public relations flop, and the

One of the axioms of Ohio politics is that to win statewide, a Democratic candidate must build a 100,000-vote edge in Cuyahoga County. Most of that lead has to be built in the 11th, which is anchored in Cleveland's heavily black East Side. Bill Clinton amassed a 125,500-vote margin over Bob Dole here in 1996, helping him walk away with Ohio's 21 electoral votes.

This compact district — one of the smallest in the state — includes poor inner-city areas as well as upper middle-class territory farther from the downtown area. Nineteen percent of the 11th's families — and almost a third of those in its section of Cleveland — live below the poverty line. Conditions improve out toward the city's eastern suburbs, where blue- and white-collar occupations are more common in the diverse black population.

Devastated by the riots of the 1960s, inner-city neighborhoods of Hough and Glenville can claim some new residential and commercial development, but they still bear the scars of poverty.

Out toward the lake, this area includes the middle-class, white ethnic neighborhoods of Collinwood and St. Clare, inhabited by Italians, and Poles, Yugoslavs and other Eastern Europeans.

Overall, the 11th is 59 percent black and heavily Democratic. During the past decade, it has been one of the most Democratic districts in the state.

Any hopes that Stokes would be made vulnerable when his district was extended east to take in some white working-class areas — his old 21st District was 62 percent black — were dashed in 1992 when he pulled down 69 percent of the vote in a field of four, com-

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Cleveland — East Side and suburbs

pared with 80 percent against a single opponent in 1990.

New to Stokes' territory is Euclid, a white, ethnic, working-class city of 55,000 east of Cleveland. Euclid was described by a local observer as "Democratic, but hardly comfortable with the black part of this district." A Democrat from Euclid running against Stokes as an independent in 1992 hoped — in vain — to capitalize on this sentiment.

Some of the 11th's other major suburbs are Cleveland Heights, Shaker Heights and University Heights (populations, 54,000, 31,000 and 15,000, respectively).

With a large proportion of Jews and young professionals, these are among Ohio's most liberal communities. North of Shaker Heights is Cleveland Heights, many of whose integrated neighborhoods are a short walk from University Circle, home of Case Western Reserve University and Cleveland's cultural hub.

From the circle area, commuters drive along historic Euclid Avenue to their jobs downtown. While the avenue now bears the marks of poverty, it was known as "Millionaires' Row" at the turn of the century. Few of the old mansions remain. The one belonging to John D. Rockefeller, founder of Standard Oil, was razed after his death in 1937.

1990 Population: 570,901. White 226,986 (40%), Black 334,348 (59%), Other 9,567 (2%). Hispanic origin 6,402 (1%). 18 and over 424,718 (74%), 62 and over 102,401 (18%). Median age: 34.

GOP retreated from its efforts to radically overhaul environmental enforcement laws.

In 1996, Lewis bent over backwards to placate Stokes, spending hours in meetings with him in search of mutually acceptable legislation. Stokes termed it "a 360 degree difference" from the previous year. Such moves led to enmity among Republicans who thought Lewis had grown too accommodating toward the Democrats.

Like some other veteran appropriators, Stokes opposed the initiative that granted the president a version of line-item veto authority. He refused to applaud as Clinton praised the idea in an address to Congress and he found the statutory approach to such a major shift in power depressing.

Stokes also joined with Martin R. Hoke, a Republican from Cleveland, in seeking legislative avenues of redress as the town's professional football team made plans to move to Baltimore. The Browns moved anyway; Cleveland hopes to secure a new franchise for the city.

For the 105th, Stokes was appointed to a task force empowered to look into revising the methods by which the House polices ethics infringements among its members; the impetus for establishing the task force was the politicized investigation of Speaker Newt Gingrich.

It is a familiar role for Stokes, a former ethics committee chairman. In 1989, Stokes was picked by the Democratic leadership to a similar task force reviewing ethics — a panel established in the wake of the House investigation of Speaker Jim Wright of Texas. Stokes had first established an image as a troubleshooter as chairman in 1977 of the committee investigating the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

In 1981, with the case of the last figure in the Abscam bribery scandal, valued leadership lieutenant John P. Murtha, D-Pa., pending before the ethics committee, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts replaced Chairman Charles E. Bennett of Florida with Stokes, a committee

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member who had often expressed concern for the accused in House ethics cases. The committee ultimately recommended no action against Murtha, provoking its counsel to resign. Stokes continued as ethics chairman until 1985.

In 1991, with Congress searching to define its ethical standards in the wake of several financial and personal scandals, Stokes was asked again to chair the ethics committee. But as the House bank scandal unfolded that fall, Stokes recused himself. In a letter to Speaker Thomas S. Foley of Washington, Stokes wrote, "I have admitted that on occasions... my account was overdrawn." Not until the panel released its report in April 1992 was it known that Stokes had 551 overdrafts.

Stokes served on the Intelligence Committee between 1983 and 1989, rising to the chairmanship during the 100th Congress. He was a strong critic of the Reagan administration's actions in the Iran-contra affair.

At Home: While the House bank uproar swirled about his colleagues in 1992, Stokes had remained mum about his overdrafts. By the time the ethics committee report revealed that he had 551, the Ohio filing deadline for candidates had passed, leaving him unopposed in the primary in his heavily Democratic district.

Stokes faced three foes that November, including Republican Beryl E. Rothschild, the mayor of University Heights, and Edmund Gudenas, a Euclid City Council member. They combined to hold Stokes to a career-low 69 percent in his redrawn district. In 1994, he rebounded to 77 percent, and he topped 80 percent in 1996.

Stokes is feeling some pressure from a new generation of black leaders emerging in Cleveland, symbolized by the 1989 election of Michael White as mayor. But the Stokes family name still carries great weight in city politics, thanks to the long record of civic involvement by Stokes and his younger brother Carl. Carl grabbed the spotlight in the mid-1960s when he first ran for mayor of Cleveland. He served two terms as mayor (1967-71), later was elected to the Cleveland Municipal Court and went on to ambassadorial work before his death in 1996.

Louis Stokes' first victory was won as much in court as on Cleveland's East Side. Representing a black Republican, he charged in a 1967 suit that the Ohio legislature had gerrymandered the state's congressional districts, dividing the minority vote and preventing the election of a black candidate. Stokes won an appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court, forcing the lines to be redrawn.

Stokes had plenty of company in the 1968 contest for the open 21st: 13 other candidates filed to run in the Democratic primary. The outcome was little in doubt, though. Aided by his brother in City Hall and by his reputation as a civil rights lawyer, Stokes won with 41 percent of the primary vote. That November, he became the first black congressman from Ohio by defeating Charles P. Lucas — the Republican he had represented in court the previous year.

Stokes is now past 70, and he gave serious thought to retiring in the 104th Congress. But he announced he would "stay and fight" the GOP majority and easily won a 15th term in 1996.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Louis Stokes (D)	153,546	(81%)	
James J. Sykora (R)	28,821	(15%)	
Sonja Glavina (NL)	6,665	(4%)	
1994 General			
Louis Stokes (D)	114,220	(77%)	
James J. Sykora (R)	33,705	(23%)	
Previous Winning Percentages:			
1992 (69%)	1990 (80%)		
1988 (86%)	1986 (82%)	1984 (82%)	1982 (86%)
1980 (88%)	1978 (86%)	1976 (84%)	1974 (82%)
1972 (81%)	1970 (78%)	1968 (75%)	

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
Stokes (D)	\$318,954	\$115,186 (36%)	\$361,175
1994			
Stokes (D)	\$437,673	\$165,800 (38%)	\$382,332

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	65	16	75	4	12	71
1995	86	6	91	1	3	93
1994	71	27	91	2	8	89
1993	82	12	91	3	14	73
1992	10	87	92	2	6	92
1991	24	74	90	4	0	100

KEY VOTES

1997		
Ban "partial birth" abortions		N
1996		
Approve farm bill		X
Deny public education to illegal immigrants		?
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons		?
Increase minimum wage		Y
Freeze defense spending		Y
Approve welfare overhaul		N
1995		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations		N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations		Y
Reduce projected Medicare spending		N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		N

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	154,612 (79%)	D	169,877 (73%)
R	29,060 (15%)	R	37,880 (16%)
I	9,536 (5%)	I	23,423 (10%)

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	65	n/a	17	0
1995	90	100	17	9
1994	100	100	18	10
1993	90	100	0	4
1992	95	92	14	0
1991	100	100	22	0

DELEGATES / RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

Puerto Rico sends a "resident commissioner" to the House for a four-year term, while the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands, Guam and American Samoa elect delegates who serve two-year terms.

The gains the five non-voting representatives made in the 103rd Congress, when they were first allowed to vote on the House floor, were stripped away at the beginning of the 104th Congress by the new Republican majority. The GOP had vehemently objected to the House Democratic Caucus' granting the five (at the time exclusively Democratic) delegates floor voting powers.

The rule change had allowed the five to vote when the House was acting as the Committee of the Whole, a parliamentary device that expedites the amendment process. But the privilege was

largely symbolic; a modification to the rule stated that if the participation of the delegates and resident commissioner made the difference between winning and losing, the House automatically would vote again on the proposal outside the Committee of the Whole.

The only newcomer to the group in the 105th Congress is Democrat Donna M. Christian-Green of the Virgin Islands. She defeated one-term incumbent Victor O. Frazer, an independent, in a runoff election in 1996.

Because the Resources Committee (formerly Natural Resources) has jurisdiction over U.S. territorial affairs, all of the overseas representatives serve there.

Following are the capsule profiles of those who serve in the House on a non-voting basis.

DELEGATE — AMERICAN SAMOA

Eni F.H. Faleomavaega (D)

Of Pago Pago — Elected 1988, 5th term



Biographical Information

Born: Aug. 15, 1943, Vailoatai, Am. Samoa
Education: Brigham Young U., A.A. 1964, B.A. 1966; Texas Southern U., 1969; U. of Houston, J.D. 1972; U. of California, Berkeley, LL.M. 1973.
Military Service: Army, 1966-69; Army Reserve, 1983-present.
Occupation: Lawyer; congressional aide.
Family: Wife, Hinanui Bambridge Cave; five children.
Religion: Mormon.

Political Career: Am. Samoa deputy attorney general, 1981-84; Democratic candidate for U.S. House, 1984; lieutenant governor, 1985-89.

Capitol Office: 2422 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-8577.

Committees

International Relations

Asia & the Pacific; International Operations & Human Rights

Resources

National Parks & Public Lands (ranking)

DELEGATE — DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Eleanor Holmes Norton (D)

Of Washington — Elected 1990, 4th term



Biographical Information

Born: June 13, 1937, Washington, D.C.
Education: Antioch College, B.A. 1960; Yale U., M.A. 1963, LL.B. 1964.
Occupation: Professor; lawyer.
Family: Divorced; two children.
Religion: Episcopalian.
Political Career: New York City Human Rights Commission, 1971-77; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission chairman, 1977-81.
Capitol Office: 1424 Longworth Bldg. 20515;

225-8050.

Committees

Government Reform & Oversight

Civil Service; District of Columbia (ranking)

Transportation & Infrastructure

Public Buildings & Economic Development; Surface Transportation

4 Cynthia A. McKinney (D)

Of Lithonia — Elected 1992, 3rd term

Biographical Information

Born: March 17, 1955, Atlanta, Ga.

Education: U. of Southern California, B.A. 1978.

Occupation: Professor.

Family: Divorced; one child.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Democratic nominee for Ga. House, 1986; Ga. House, 1989-93.

Capitol Office: 124 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-1605.

Committees

Banking & Financial Services

Financial Institutions & Consumer Credit; General Oversight & Investigations

International Relations

International Operations & Human Rights; Western Hemisphere



In Washington: McKinney fought for political survival on two fronts during the 104th Congress: in the U.S. Supreme Court and on the campaign trail. She lost her battle in the Supreme Court, which in 1995 invalidated Georgia's congressional district map as a "racial gerrymander" that

violated the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection under the law, citing McKinney's then-11th District as the offending black-majority seat.

But at the polls, McKinney scored a surprisingly comfortable victory in the newly drawn, white-majority 4th District. Only one-third of the district's voting-age population is black, compared with 64 percent in her old 11th, yet in both the primary and general elections, McKinney dispatched her opponents by double-digit margins. (The home of GOP Rep. John Linder also was in the new 4th, but in 1996 he ran and won re-election in the new 11th, where blacks are only 11 percent of the voting-age population.)

McKinney's House district gained national notice after the June 1995 Supreme Court ruling. The 5-4 decision in *Miller v. Johnson* firmed up the court's 1993 ruling in a North Carolina case, *Shaw v. Reno*, also involving the issue of race-based redistricting. In that case, the court majority questioned the propriety of creating "bizarrely shaped" districts to aggregate minority voters. In the Georgia case, the court more explicitly rejected the use of race as the "predominant factor" in redistricting.

McKinney called the ruling "a setback for democracy." She said, "It is a shame that we are even here arguing whether or not we have gone overboard on perfecting democracy."

Her criticism went beyond rhetorical jabs, however. When the Georgia Legislature undertook the task of drawing new lines and its Senate was considering a plan that had just one black-majority district, McKinney hinted that black Democrats might form a third party based on the Rev. Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. She said

that Senate plan would have used "traditional Democratic black voters as spare parts to bolster the prospects of certain favorite sons who are white Democrats."

And nearly two months later, she introduced legislation in the U.S. House that would have allowed states to experiment with new forms of electing lawmakers. Her proposal would have allowed states to draw multimember districts and allowed voters to cast several votes and fill numerous seats. She said the existing system of winner-take-all, single-member districts works to the disadvantage of blacks and that her plan would "help heal the racial divisions created by current legal battles over districts drawn to ensure minorities comprise a majority."

The state's congressional lines ultimately were drawn by a three-judge federal panel, which in a 2-1 ruling in December 1995 issued a map that dismantled two of the state's three black-majority districts — McKinney's 11th and the 2nd, represented by black Democrat Sanford D. Bishop Jr. Under the new map, Georgia's only black-majority constituency is the Atlanta-based 5th, home of black Democratic Rep. John Lewis.

"I suppose they couldn't wait to toss us out of our districts, even before our constituents had a say in the matter," McKinney said after the judges' decision. A group of black voters, joined by the Justice Department, appealed that decision to the Supreme Court to have the lines redrawn again, and McKinney again defended the concept of majority-minority districts the day the justices heard oral arguments in December 1996. "Minority districts work," she insisted.

Because of her youthful face, trademark braids and bright stylish attire (often including gold tennis shoes), McKinney in her early days on Capitol Hill was sometimes mistaken for a staffer. "I got up here in Congress by being myself," she told *The Boston Globe* in 1994. "What's frustrating is that people are so accustomed to seeing white men in suits on the Hill that I still have to defend my presence here."

The first black woman elected to the House from Georgia, McKinney can be outspoken and reluctant to compromise — traits prone to inhib-

When McKinney decided to run in the DeKalb-based 4th District after a federal court ruled in 1995 that her majority-black, Atlanta-to-Savannah 11th district was an unconstitutional racial gerrymander, Republicans targeted her for defeat. She was liberal, black and a scathing critic of Speaker Newt Gingrich, who represents the adjacent 6th.

But while much of the new district's terrain was unfamiliar to McKinney, the strong Democratic tendencies were not. In the 1996 presidential race, Bill Clinton captured 64 percent of the district's votes, similar to his 65 percent showing in the 11th District four years earlier.

DeKalb County, just east of Atlanta, accounts for 87 percent of the district's population. As Atlanta blossomed into the South's financial capital during the 1960s and 1970s, De Kalb was the pacesetter of suburban growth. With more than a half-million people, De Kalb is now Georgia's second most populous county. But growth here has slowed as development has spread into outlying jurisdictions. Lately, the hot spots have been farther east, in Gwinnett and Rockdale counties. Still, DeKalb has the state's highest population density — 2,100 people per square mile.

Democratic candidates get a warm reception in the central and western parts of De Kalb. Decatur, the county seat, was a 19th century commercial hub until it lost out as a railroad center to Atlanta; it still has some industry and a Democratic complexion. Emory University is one of the district's largest employers. The university and the communities around it — many of them with substantial Jewish or black populations — give local politics a liberal slant. Chamblee, a blue-collar community in northern De Kalb, has a large

GEORGIA 4

Atlanta suburbs — Parts of De Kalb and Gwinnett counties

immigrant community of both Asians and Hispanics, and they bolster the Democratic vote. Republicans run well in northern DeKalb, home to many affluent whites, and in fast-growing Gwinnett County, but these areas are Republican dents in the district's strongly Democratic armor.

Health care is one of the district's economic linchpins. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention is near Emory University. DeKalb Medical Center, Emory University Hospital, and the Veterans Administration Medical Center also are among the county's largest employers.

A popular attraction is Stone Mountain Park in the eastern part of the county. The park features a mammoth granite outcropping into which a sculpture of Robert E. Lee and other Confederate heroes are carved.

In the past 30 years, DeKalb has undergone a political metamorphosis. In 1968, Democratic presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey received barely one-fourth of DeKalb's votes, and Jimmy Carter in 1976 had one of his lowest percentages here. But DeKalb opted narrowly for Michael S. Dukakis in 1988, and Bill Clinton in 1996 garnered 67 percent of the county's votes, more than 20 points above his statewide showing.

As of May 19, the Census Bureau had not recalculated population data, racial and ethnic breakdowns, and age statistics for districts newly drawn for the 1996 election.

it legislative accomplishment. Her four years in the Georgia House did not produce a broad legislative record, and her legislative achievements in Congress also have been few.

In the 104th Congress, she failed in her bid to curb U.S. arms sales to dictators, human-rights abusers and other global thugs. She offered her proposal, which the Clinton administration opposed, to foreign aid legislation, but the House defeated it on a 157-262 vote. McKinney serves on the International Relations Committee, as well as the Banking and Financial Services Committee.

McKinney's views are firmly anchored on the left side of the Democratic spectrum, and she has not been hesitant about sharing her dislike for the philosophy of the GOP majority. In the 104th, she attacked Republicans for what she called their "blitzkrieg against the poor" who are on welfare, and she accused fellow Georgian Newt Gingrich of engendering hate. To bolster her case, she read on the House floor a racist letter she had received

that referred to blacks as "monkeys in the jungle" and concluded by saying, "Mr. Speaker, the spirit of GOP welfare lives in these words."

In February 1995, McKinney joined Democrats Patricia Schroeder of Colorado and Harry A. Johnston of Florida in filing an ethics complaint against Gingrich, one of a number of such filings. In January 1997, she voted with an overwhelming House majority to reprimand Gingrich and assess him a \$300,000 penalty for ethics violations.

McKinney also has carried her battles to partisan rivals on the other side of the Capitol building. In January 1996, she and Schroeder sent a caustic letter to Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, R-N.Y., berating him for his Whitewater investigation of President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. They called the probe "a political witch hunt designed to distract President Clinton," and urged D'Amato to stop "tormenting the first lady" and "leave the television spectacles to daytime talk shows."

At Home: Although McKinney had the advantage of incumbency in her 1996 bid for a third term, few Georgia pols expected her to win reelection after the Supreme Court dismantled her black-majority district.

But in the four-candidate Democratic primary in July, she rolled up 67 percent of the vote, easily outdistancing her closest rival, lawyer Comer Yates. He had waged a respectable 1994 campaign in the old 4th District as the Democratic challenger to GOP Rep. Linder, taking 42 percent of the vote.

Then, in November, McKinney registered a 58 percent to 42 percent victory over Republican businessman-attorney John Mitnick.

Both contests were racially charged. McKinney lashed out at Yates for conducting what she called a racially tinged "push-poll" on her 1994 vote against a resolution that condemned a roundly criticized speech by Khalid Abdul Muhammad, then a top aide to Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. And she blasted Mitnick, a Jew, when he raised the same issue and accused McKinney of "buddying up" with Louis Farrakhan on many occasions.

McKinney forced her father and longtime campaign adviser, state Rep. Billy McKinney, to resign soon after he called Mitnick "a racist Jew" at a church forum, but neither Cynthia McKinney's ties to Farrakhan nor her own campaign's missteps lent any significant momentum to Mitnick. "I continue to be the candidate nobody wants but the people," McKinney said after her victory.

McKinney first won election to the House in 1992 by moving into the new black-majority 11th, running an aggressive, if low-budget, primary campaign and beating two better-financed, better-connected black legislators. That November, she was elected with 73 percent of the vote over Republican farmer Woodrow Lovett. She faced Lovett again in November 1994, winning a second term with 66 percent of the vote.

In the 1992 primary, McKinney went after state Sen. Eugene Walker, a De Kalb County resident and the presumptive favorite for the Democratic nomination when the campaign began, and state Rep. Michael Thurmond, the chairman of the state House black caucus and the recipient of The Atlanta Constitution's endorsement. She said both were too closely connected to the state's dominant white Democratic power structure and unresponsive to Georgia's black voters.

McKinney won the endorsement of a prominent black politician, former Atlanta Mayor and Rep. Andrew Young, whose 1990 gubernatorial bid she had actively supported. She led the primary field with 31 percent of the vote and landed in a runoff with George L. DeLoach, the only white candidate of five contenders. He was a surprise second in the primary, winning the support of white voters from a core of rural counties in the otherwise largely suburban and urban district. McKinney took 56 percent to DeLoach's 44 percent in the runoff, then coasted in November.

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1996 General			
Cynthia A. McKinney (D)	127,157	(58%)	
John Mitnick (R)	92,985	(42%)	
1996 Primary			
Cynthia A. McKinney (D)	42,508	(67%)	
Comer Yates (D)	15,126	(24%)	
Ron Slotin (D)	3,993	(6%)	
David Hughes (D)	1,370	(2%)	
1994 General			
Cynthia A. McKinney (D)	71,560	(66%)	
Woodrow Lovett (R)	37,533	(34%)	

Previous Winning Percentages: 1992 (73%)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1996			
McKinney (D)	\$1,063,250	\$364,959 (34%)	\$1,015,197
Mitnick (R)	\$655,053	\$119,274 (18%)	\$654,287
1994			
McKinney (D)	\$306,775	\$189,181 (62%)	\$274,232
Lovett (R)	\$11,083	\$1,514 (14%)	\$12,019

DISTRICT VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

1996		1992	
D	141,017 (64%)	D	124,625 (55%)
R	69,824 (32%)	R	80,578 (35%)
I	8,006 (4%)	I	22,824 (10%)

KEY VOTES

1997		
Ban "partial birth" abortions		N
1996		
Approve farm bill		?
Deny public education to illegal immigrants		N
Repeal ban on certain assault-style weapons		N
Increase minimum wage		Y
Freeze defense spending		Y
Approve welfare overhaul		N
1995		
Approve balanced-budget constitutional amendment		N
Relax Clean Water Act regulations		N
Oppose limits on environmental regulations		?
Reduce projected Medicare spending		N
Approve GOP budget with tax and spending cuts		N

VOTING STUDIES

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1996	80	20	94	2	4	94
1995	79	14	90	2	8	74
1994	77	23	98	1	3	97
1993	76	23	93	2	7	91

INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

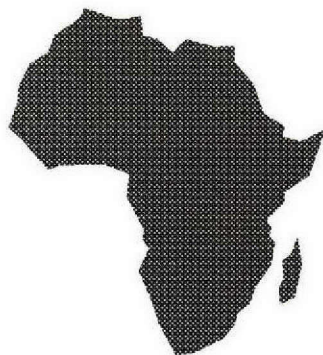
Year	ADA	AFL-CIO	CCUS	ACU
1996	100	n/a	20	0
1995	85	100	4	13
1994	100	100	33	0
1993	100	100	9	0

A F R I C A



A F R I Q U E

Á F R I C A



THE WORLD BANK IN AFRICA

The World Bank has provided over US\$50 billion in IBRD and IDA loans to Africa since it began lending to the continent in 1951. Most of that has gone to agriculture, human development and infrastructure. Average annual commitments have risen from US\$ 160 million in the late 1960s to nearly US\$3 billion in the 1990s. Virtually all new commitments have been on soft, highly concessional (IDA) terms.¹

The Bank's involvement in Africa has spanned nearly four decades and been wide-ranging. It has included direct lending in support of production, economic and social infrastructure, and policy reforms; research and studies that have helped define priorities and policies; aid coordination and mobilization of resources; and technical assistance and capacity building.

Most countries in Africa became independent around 1960. The region's development record over the past thirty to forty years is mixed. Social indicators, especially education and health, have generally improved: illiteracy and infant mortality are down, and average life expectancy has increased by over ten years in most countries. New physical infrastructure facilities have been built in the majority of countries although maintenance has not always been adequate.

The 1960s were a period of calm and tranquility for most African countries so far as economic policies were concerned. Since then there have been wide variations. Botswana and Mauritius have performed well steadily. Three star performers of the 1970s - Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Malawi - had serious difficulties in the 1980s, while the poor performers of the earlier period such as Ghana, Uganda, and Mali turned around to make significant progress.

There has been appreciable political progress. Over 40 sub-Saharan African countries are at various stages of political liberalization, going from narrow, one-party authoritarian regimes to more participatory, broad-based multi-party systems

The Role of the WORLD BANK

The World Bank's role in Africa has evolved over time and been shaped by changing regional and global circumstances. As new African governments worked to define themselves and their

¹ Forty-year repayment, ten-year grace period, and a 0.75 percent service charge

policies, opting for the most part for a state-led model of economic development, Bank lending in the 1960s was generally limited to capital investment in economic infrastructure. The Bank's philosophy at the time was that investment in infrastructure was a pre-condition for development. Between 1961 and 1965, for example, three quarters of all Bank lending was for electric power and transportation; only 6 percent went to agriculture and 1 percent to social services.

The oil price shocks of the 1970s, coupled with the broadening of the Bank's internal agenda², prompted increased inflows of resources for a variety of activities in diverse sectors such as agriculture, education, health, and rural development, together with lending for public enterprises. Infrastructure lending declined from nearly 66 percent to 39 percent by 1980. Net flows to Africa from the Bank (IBRD and IDA) had risen to US\$707 million by 1980, about 12 percent of the institution's overall net flows. Most countries, however, began heading toward economic decline due, in part, to the expansion of state enterprises, close regulation of economic activities, poor resource allocation, increased rent-seeking by the privileged few, and the virtual elimination of the private sector as a force for development. It was not yet realized that the growing economic and financial crisis faced by most countries was not a result of adverse external shocks but stemmed from underlying structural weaknesses in the economy.

In the early 1980s, with Africa's economic crisis expanding, the Bank introduced a new lending instrument: the structural adjustment credit. Under structural adjustment lending, the financing of imports was provided in support of policy reforms aimed at addressing both short-term stabilization requirements and structural policy reforms. By the late 1980s, it was recognized that reform efforts needed to be accompanied by long-term policies that support direct poverty reduction and investments in people, institutions, and infrastructure to ensure adequate outcomes.

LENDING TO BORROWERS IN AFRICA, BY SECTOR, 1951-96

(Millions of dollars; fiscal years)

Sector	1987-91	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Agriculture	671.1	707.4	318.3	152.6	415.1	328.0
Education	197.6	402.9	417.4	325.5	201.2	131.6
Electric power	145.1	130.0	356.0	90.0	255.3	73.3
Environment	—	—	—	2.6	—	11.8
Finance	283.3	619.9	279.6	400.1	7.2	59.2
Industry	122.0	200.0	20.9	16.8	—	11.4
Mining	16.2	6.0	—	—	24.8	—
Multisector	604.2	895.0	451.2	724.1	470.9	407.8
Oil & Gas	66.5	—	2.4	186.2	—	—
Population	179.8	110.3	131.2	161.6	311.5	158.7
Public Sector	103.3	128.1	139.8	61.0	117.3	654.4
Social Sector	5.8	59.0	12.0	—	—	257.5
Telecom.	73.8	—	89.1	—	—	—
Transport	389.4	233.0	483.0	501.9	74.8	420.7
Urban dev.	225.9	184.6	49.2	111.4	158.0	190.0
Water	167.3	297.4	67.2	74.1	248.2	35.7
Total	3,255.7	3,973.6	2,817.3	2,807.9	2,284.3	2,740.1
of which IBRD	992.3	738.4	47.0	127.7	80.7	—
IDA	2,263.4	3,235.2	2,770.3	2,680.2	2,203.6	2,740.1
N# of Operations	80	77	75	60	58	53

² The Bank's role changed under then President, Robert McNamara, from a traditional bank to the world's largest lender for development in low-income countries.

The 1990s saw the introduction of new modes of operating as poverty alleviation and environment moved to center stage; governance issues were incorporated into aid coordination, and sectoral modes of operation were introduced. A 1995 report, *A Continent In Transition: Sub-Saharan Africa in the Mid-1990s*, outlined what should constitute elements of Africa's development agenda in this decade and beyond: education and health, gender-responsive gender development, agriculture and the environment, private sector development, infrastructure services, and capacity building.

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