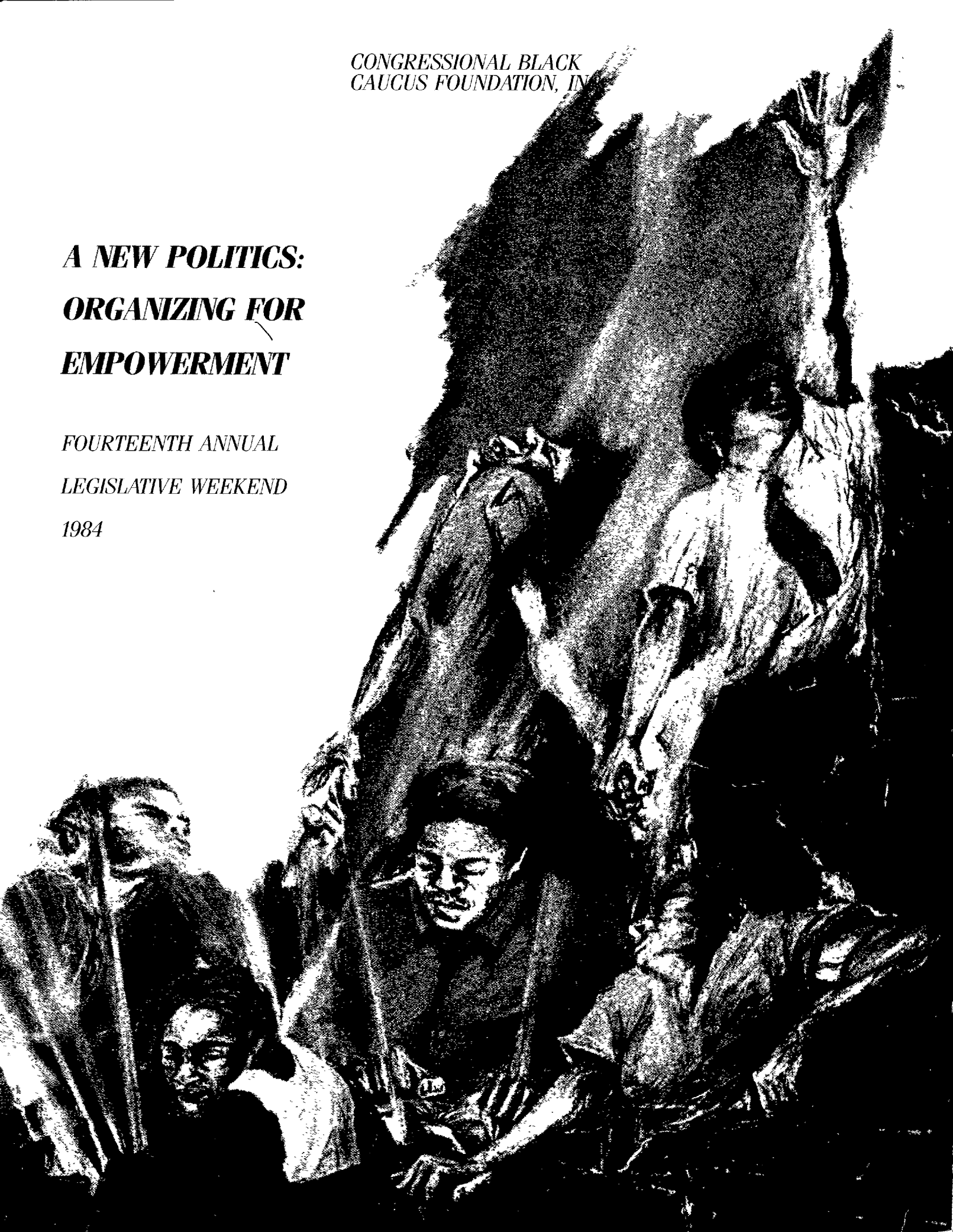


CONGRESSIONAL BLACK  
CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

***A NEW POLITICS:  
ORGANIZING FOR  
EMPOWERMENT***

*FOURTEENTH ANNUAL  
LEGISLATIVE WEEKEND*

*1984*



# MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT



Dear Friends:

Thank you for joining us for the Annual Awards Dinner which is the culmination of the 14th Annual Legislative Weekend. On behalf of the Board of Directors of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, I welcome you tonight.

1984 is a year of significant political challenges for Black Americans. Not only is this an election year, but also perhaps the first year that Black Americans have completely begun to realize their full political potential.

With that in mind, I think that you will agree that 1984 is a pivotal year in terms of Black political awareness, clout, and involvement in the affairs and policies of our nation. The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation is mindful of that fact. Through the issue forums and workshops during our 14th Annual Legislative Weekend, together we have taken a major step towards harnessing the potentially powerful political strength of Black America.

Nineteen years ago, with the passage of the first Voting Rights Act of 1965, the road towards increased Black voter par-

ticipation, political power, and economic freedom was paved. The goals of the Civil Rights Movement which you and I share provided the framework for the achievements which we can point to today. But, the struggle continues.

The marches, the legislative victories, and the court decisions will be in vain if Black America sits back in 1984 and merely points to the superficial signs of increased political clout. We must learn more about our potential and set forth concrete strategies to maximize our clout. Through education and research analysis, the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation is doing just that.

Through your presence this evening and throughout the activities this week, you have helped us to refine strategies for improving and enhancing the use of Black political power in America. For that assistance and support, on behalf of the Foundation Board, I thank you.

We look forward to working actively with you as we do the kind of research, education and planning which will aid Black Americans in harnessing the real political power which is now within our reach.

Sincerely,

LOUIS STOKES  
President

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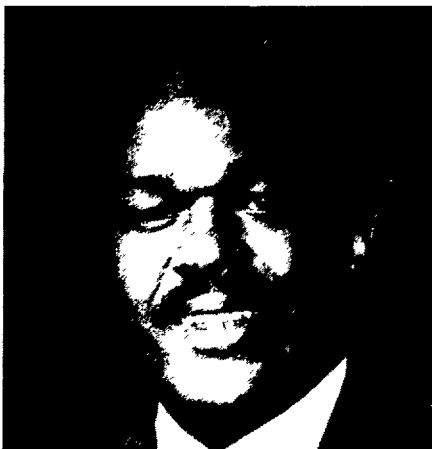
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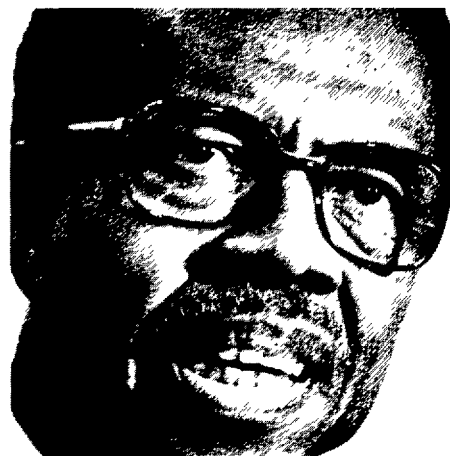
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Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity, Inc



**Honorable Clarence L. Mitchell, III**  
President  
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Frank L. Morris, Ph.D.





## ALBERT L. NELLUM

Albert L. Nellum is President and Chief Executive Officer of A. L. Nellum and Associates, a management consulting firm headquartered in Washington, D.C., with offices in urban areas throughout the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa. A founding member of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, who conceived and organized this organization's inaugural fundraising dinner, he is currently the Vice President of its Board of Directors and a member of its Executive Committee.

Active in numerous organizations and civic groups that have enabled Black people to achieve self-reliance in American society, he is the recipient of many awards and honors for his contributions.



## NIRA HARDON LONG

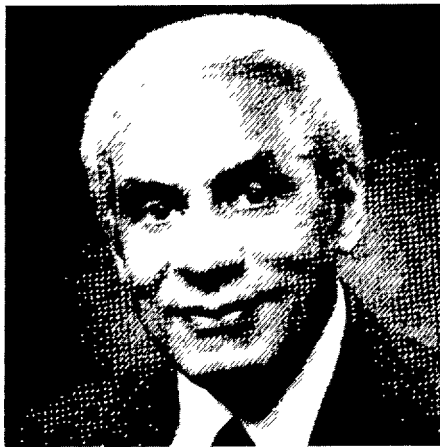
Nira Hardon Long, an attorney with Long, Peterson & Zimmerman, serves as Chairperson of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land

Agency, where her primary responsibility includes determining the disposition of all city-owned property identified for private development.

Prior to her current position, Ms. Long served as consultant for the Carter-Mondale Transition Staff on Appointments, the Coordinator of Women in Development, and the Director of Equal Opportunity Programs for the Agency for International Development in the Department of State.

In 1975, Ms. Long was selected by the Department of State to be a member of the U.S. Delegation to the U.N. International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City. In 1976, she was selected by the Department of State to be the U.S. Delegate to the Conference of Development Assistant Countries (DAC) in Paris, France.

She holds a Juris Doctor from the University of California School of Law in Los Angeles, California and a Master of Arts degree in International Relations from the University of Southern California. In addition, she serves as Chairperson of the Small Business Administration Advisory Committee—Region III, is a member of the Board of Directors for the International Center on Research on Women, and the Federal Bar Association.



## LAWRENCE P. DOSS

Lawrence P. Doss, a partner in the firm of Coopers and Lybrand and its National Industry Chairman for State and Local Government, provides leadership and coordination for all services rendered to cities, states, school systems, counties, and regional authorities. His responsibilities include identifying pertinent public

policy and legislative, regulatory, and technical issues that may affect this segment of the firm's practice.

Prior to joining Coopers and Lybrand, Mr. Doss served as President of New Detroit, the nation's first urban coalition, and held management positions with the Internal Revenue Service. He was Executive Coordinator of the school decentralization effort for Detroit Public Schools in Michigan.



## OFIELD DUKES

A native of Detroit, Ofield Dukes, as a journalist, won three National Newspaper Publishers Association awards in 1964. He came to Washington the same year to join the Johnson-Humphrey administration and was appointed to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey's staff in 1965. He opened his own public relations firm in 1969 and won the "oscar" of public relations awards, the Silver Anvil, in 1975. He also taught public relations at Howard University for twelve years.

Active with the Congressional Black Caucus from its inception, Mr. Dukes was National Coordinator of the first Stevie Wonder march in Washington to make Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday. He serves on the board of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Non-violent Social Change and Operation Big Vote.

*Featured later in the book: Members of the Congressional Black Caucus, the Congressional Black Caucus Sponsors and the Executive Director*



## ERNEST R. FRAZIER

Ernest R. Frazier, Colonel, U.S.A. (Ret.), served in the United States Army for twenty-eight years, where his assignments included tours of duty in Korea and Vietnam. Upon his retirement, he was appointed Director of Equal Opportunity—Field Operations for International Telephone and Telegraph and later was promoted to Director of Equal Opportunity Operations—Western Region Office located in California.

Colonel Frazier received his bachelors and masters degrees from the University of Maryland where he concentrated in Government, Politics, and English.



## BERNARD R. GIFFORD

Bernard R. Gifford is Dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of California at Berkeley. He has been Professor of Political Science and Vice President of the

University of Rochester in New York, resident scholar and Program Officer at the Russell Sage Foundation, Deputy Chancellor for the New York City Public School System, and President of the New York City RAND Institute. He has also served as an adjunct professor at Columbia Teachers College, Harvard University, Hunter College, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Dr. Gifford is a member of the Advisory Committee of the John F. Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the Academic Board of the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, a trustee of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Economic Advisory Council.

He holds a Ph.D. in Radiation Biology and Biophysics from the University of Rochester in New York.



## W. MITCHELL HINES

W. Mitchell Hines is Chief Executive Officer of the Jacksonville, Florida firm that bears his name. The firm's specialties include real estate management and new business ventures. Formerly President and Chief Executive Officer of Jacksonville's Century National Bank, he has served as Chief Executive Officer and Executive Vice President of Independence Bank in Chicago, Illinois.

A native of Hampton, Virginia, Mr. Hines is a graduate of Hampton Institute in that city, and the Stonier Graduate School of Banking of Rutgers University in Newark, New Jersey. He has studied at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., the Wharton School of Finance in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the New York Institute of Finance in New York City.



## JOAN B. JOHNSON

Joan B. Johnson is Treasurer of Johnson Products, Inc., a Chicago, Illinois, based manufacturer of hair care products and facial cosmetics. The founding President of the Ancillary Group of the Chicago State University Foundation, she is a member of the Women's Board of the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, the Museum of Science and Industry, the Black Women's Agenda, the Lyric Opera Center for American Artists Board, the Women's Board of the Lambs, Inc., and the Board of Trustees of Spelman College.

A native of Chicago, Illinois, Mrs. Johnson studied at Northwestern and Roosevelt Universities in her hometown.



## ADDISON BARRY RAND

Addison Barry Rand is Vice President of Field Operations for Xerox Corporation's Business System Group, headquartered in Rochester, New York. Mr. Rand is responsible for the

management of sales, service and administrative support for five of the ten regions in the Business System Group.

Mr. Rand joined Xerox in 1968. His most recent positions with the company include Region Manager of Branch Operations, Corporate Director of Major Account Marketing, and Vice President of Major Account Marketing Operations.

He holds masters degrees in Business Administration and in Management Sciences, from Stanford University in Palo Alto, California.

Mr. Rand is a member of the Board of Directors for the Association of Black Corporate Professionals and the Board of Trustees for the Marketing Science Institute.



## **BARBARA WILLIAMS-SKINNER**

Barbara Williams-Skinner, Director of Leadership Development at Thomas Skinner Associates, Inc., an interdenominational service and leadership development ministry, served as Director of the Congressional Black Caucus for seven years.

Mrs. Williams-Skinner, a native of California, graduated from California State University in San Francisco and received a law degree from the University of California in Los Angeles. She serves as Managing Editor of the TSA Newsletter, "News in Black and White".

A former Administrative Assistant to California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums, Mrs. Williams-Skinner is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change and serves on the Board of Directors of the Center for Community Change.



## **SHERYL WEBBER**

Sheryl Webber, a former Program Director for the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation and presently an Ex-Officio member of its Board of Directors, is currently Special Assistant to the Director of Consumer Affairs of the District of Columbia Public Service Commission.

A member of the American Society of Public Administration, the National Urban League, and Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Ms. Webber was formerly a legislative assistant in the office of Senator Ernest F. Hollings and was a research assistant in the office of the Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia.

Ms. Webber earned her baccalaureate degree from Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia, and a masters in Public Administration from the University of Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania.



## **LE BARON TAYLOR**

In early 1980, LeBaron Taylor was appointed to his current policy-making role as Liaison for CBS Records in Governmental and Public Affairs and is primarily responsible for a broad-based overview of Black artists signed to and marketed by the company, that include the Jacksons, Teddy Pendergrass, the O'Jays, and Earth, Wind and Fire. Thereafter, he was appointed Vice President, Black Music Market, with the added responsibility of overseeing the Jazz/Progressive Marketing Department.

Mr. Taylor is the recipient of numerous awards for public service and is active in civic and professional organizations throughout the country.





## **WILLIAM L. CLAY**

**C**ongressman William "Bill" Clay, now in his eighth term as the Representative of the 1st Congressional District of Missouri, is Exhibit Program Chairman for the Fourteenth Annual Legislative Week-end.

He serves on three standing committees in the United States House of Representatives: the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, where he is the second ranking member; the Committee on Education and Labor, where he is the third ranking member; and the Democratic Policy and Steering Committee. He is also Chairman of the Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee.

During his tenure in Congress, Congressman Clay has sponsored over six hundred pieces of legislation including the Hatch Act Reform Bill, the City Earning Tax Bill, the Internal Revenue Service Reform Bill, the Pension Equity Act, several bills to reform the labor laws, as well as several bills concerning pension reform.

Congressman Clay began his political career in 1959 by unseating a veteran politician for the position of Alderman in the 26th Ward of St. Louis. As Alderman, he sponsored the St. Louis Fair Employment Bill, which increased employment opportunities for Blacks in bakeries, breweries, the construction industry and banks. He resigned from the office of Alderman in 1964 to become Committeeman for the 26th Ward, a position he continues to hold.

The recipient of numerous awards for his political leadership and contributions, Congressman Clay is the 1984 recipient of the CBC Foundation's William L. Dawson Award.

Congressman Clay is a native of St. Louis, Missouri. He is a graduate of St. Louis University with a Bachelor of Science degree in History and Political Science. He and his wife, Carol, have three children.



## CARDISS COLLINS

**N**ow serving her fifth term, Congresswoman Cardiss Collins has served the people of the 7th Congressional District of Illinois for over ten years. She was first elected in June of 1973 in a special election to fill the vacancy left by the death of her husband, George W. Collins. One of only two Black women serving in Congress today, Congresswoman Collins, a strong supporter of civil rights and an activist government, has been re-elected on her record of providing services to her constituents.

Congresswoman Collins presently serves on the very powerful House Energy and Commerce Committee and is a member of its Subcommittee on Telecommunications, Consumer Protection and Finance. She introduced the "Minority Telecommunications Development Act of 1983." This comprehensive legislation codifies and protects gains made by Blacks and other minorities and offers industry incentives for greater participation of minorities and women in all phases of telecommunications. A member of the Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Fossil and Synthetic Fuels, it was Congresswoman Collins who authored the amendment to the natural gas bill which would greatly reduce high consumer utility bills by rolling back the price of natural gas to 1977 levels and keeping controls on all gas prices until 1987.

A member of the Government Operations Committee and Chairperson of its Government Activities and Transportation Subcommittee, which oversees such important federal agencies as NASA, AMTRAK, and the Smithsonian Institution, Congresswoman Collins has been instrumental in initiating changes in the General Services Administration to encourage support and assistance to small and disadvantaged businesses.

Under her leadership as Chairperson, the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment issued a report calling for more stringent regulations on the transporting of hazardous wastes in November, 1983. At her request, this Subcommittee held Clean Air hearings in Chicago, Illinois, on the effect of auto emissions. Congresswoman Collins is the author of the successful amendment to the Hazardous Waste Control and Enforcement Act of 1983, to study the handling of wastes of small quantity generators.

During her tenure in Congress, Congresswoman Collins has been honored by her colleagues with a number of firsts. She was the first woman ever elected to Chair the Congressional Black Caucus, the first woman and first Black ever to be elected to Chair the House Government Operations Subcommittee on Manpower and Housing, and was appointed Whip-at-Large, by Thomas P. O'Neill, becoming the first Black and first woman ever to hold office within the leadership structure of the United States House of Representatives.

A member of the Board of Directors of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Congresswoman Collins was recently elected Treasurer of the Congressional Black Caucus and chairs its Communications Braintrust. She serves on the Executive Committee of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues and is a member of

First Baptist Church of Chicago, Illinois, the NAACP, the Chicago Urban League, the Links, Inc., the National Council of Negro Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., and Alpha Gamma Phi.

The recipient of dozens of awards for her outstanding accomplishments, Congresswoman Collins has also received honorary degrees from Spelman College, in Atlanta, Georgia, and Winston-Salem State University, in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Congresswoman Collins was born in St. Louis, Missouri, and moved to Detroit, Michigan at the age of ten. After graduating from the Detroit High School of Commerce, she moved to Chicago where she attended Northwestern University.

She is Committeewoman of Chicago's 24th Ward Regular Democratic Organization and was deeply involved in the campaigns of her late husband for Alderman, Committeeman and his successful campaigns for Congress.



## **JOHN CONYERS, JR.**

**C**ongressman John Conyers, Jr. is serving his tenth term as the representative from the First Congressional District of Michigan. A senior member of the Judiciary Committee, he chairs the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, which has jurisdiction over the criminal codes. He serves on the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights as well as on the Government Operation's Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs.

Social justice and economic opportunity are the focus of the Congressman's work. Congressman Conyers authored and spearheaded the drive for passage of the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Holiday Bill, which was signed into law in November, 1983. One of the founding members of

the Congressional Black Caucus, he is one of the architects of the Congressional Black Caucus Alternative Budget, an effort which has won national attention over the past three years for giving priority to human needs and economic revitalization at home and to a lessening of tensions and reversal of the nuclear arms race abroad.

During the action on the federal budget for FY 1983, Congressman Conyers offered the first nuclear freeze budget amendment that would have deleted funds for the further testing, production and employment of new nuclear warheads and missiles while freezing existing stockpiles. He was a principal sponsor of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act which was enacted in 1978. Congressman Conyers has authored legislation to create additional jobs through a shorter work week and an end to compulsory overtime, a bill to establish regional development banks to finance new job-creating investments, and a bill to control interest rates and reform the Federal Reserve System. In addition, he has introduced legislation to prevent utilities from shutting off gas and electric service in households where the health of individuals would be endangered during the winter months. Congressman Conyers is a leading advocate of community-based economic planning and stepped up assistance to the small business sector.

In his Judiciary Committee role, Congressman Conyers has conducted hearings in several cities on police violence. He has introduced bills to improve the criminal justice system including legislation on compensation procedures for dealing with the mentally ill, grand jury reform and on

white collar crime. His legislation to provide literacy and vocational training in correctional institutions has been incorporated in two major education bills that are up for reauthorization in 1984.

Congressman Conyers served in the U.S. Army as a second lieutenant in the Army Corps of Engineers, and earned combat and merit citations in the Korean War. He was educated in the Detroit public schools and received his undergraduate education and a Doctor of Laws degree at Wayne State University in Detroit. He was former General Counsel to the Detroit Trade Union Leadership Council, Director of Education in the United Auto Workers Local 900, referee in Michigan's Workman's Compensation Department, senior partner in the law firm of Conyers, Bell and Townsend and worked as Legislative Assistant to Congressman John D. Dingell. Congressman Conyers serves on the boards of a number of organizations including the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.



## **GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR.**

**C**ongressman George W. Crockett, Jr. is serving his second term as the representative from the 13th Congressional District in Michigan. Sworn in on November 12, 1980 to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Congressman Crockett serves on the Committees on Foreign Affairs (Africa and International Operations Subcommittees); Committee on Judiciary (Subcommittees

on Monopolies and Commercial Law and Immigration, Refugees and International Law); the Select Committee on Aging, and the Housing and Consumer Interest Subcommittee.

Congressman Crockett played a key role in the reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act and has been a leader in efforts to reshape the Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Reform Act.

Congressman Crockett has had a long and distinguished career as an attorney and jurist. After receiving his Juris Doctor degree in 1934, he was the first Black lawyer to be appointed at the Department of Labor, and in 1943, with the creation of the nation's first Fair Employment Practices Commission, President Roosevelt appointed Congressman Crockett as one of its first Hearing Examiners. In 1944, he founded and was the first Director of the International United Auto Workers Fair Employment Practices Department.

In 1966 and again in 1972, Congressman Crockett was elected judge of the Recorder's Court in Detroit, Michigan. Following his retirement, he served as visiting judge for the Michigan Court of Appeals and in 1980, as Acting Corporation Counsel for the City of Detroit.

Congressman Crockett has received honorary LL.D.'s from his alma mater, Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, and from Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. In 1981, he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Congressman Crockett and his late wife, Dr. Ethelene Jones Crockett, have three children. In 1980, Congressman Crockett married the former Dr. Harriette Clark, a practicing pediatrician in Washington, D.C.





## RONALD V. DELLUMS

**C**ongressman Ronald V. Dellums, now serving his sixth term, represents the 8th Congressional District of California, which includes parts of Alameda and Contra Costa counties in the East Bay area. He is Chair of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities, a senior Member of its Research and Development Subcommittee, and Chair of the House Committee on the District of Columbia. As such, he is the first member of the House Class of 1970 to be elected chair of a full Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Congressman Dellums, the former Vice-Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, heads the CBC Task Force on National Security and Foreign Policy. A former member of the Democratic National Committee, he is currently one of three Associate National Chairs of the New Democratic Coalition, an organization of progressive groups and individuals within the Democratic Party who are committed to substantive party reform and promoting progressive programs for the nation. He also served as the chair of the task force on national security and foreign policy issues for the Jesse Jackson for President campaign.

His first priority upon entering Congress in 1971 was ending the U.S. military involvement in Indochina, which he characterized as "illegal, immoral and insane adventurism." His major goal still remains the termination of America's over reliance on military force to resolve international problems that are essentially political, economic and social in nature. Congressman Dellums believes that militarism, the mentality that is so afraid of life that it seeks to control it through death and destruction, is the fundamental cause of our economic and social failures at home and abroad.

In the United States House of Representatives, Congressman Dellums is the principal leader in the continuing effort to curb military spending and nuclear weapons escalation. He was the first to introduce

Congressional legislation prohibiting the funding for MX and Pershing II missile programs, and he was an original co-sponsor of the Nuclear Freeze resolution. He has consistently argued that these nuclear weapons programs are "economically disastrous, diplomatically dangerous, militarily unnecessary, and environmentally hazardous." It is Congressman Dellums' judgement that: "Nuclear disarmament is our best guarantee for peace and national security. Conversely, nuclear arms escalation will only intensify our nation's insecurity."

The first Member of Congress ever to introduce a comprehensive alternative military budget to that proposed by the President or the Armed Services Committee, this landmark legislation was based on extensive *ad hoc* hearings on the Full Implication of the Military Budget which he conducted in March and April of 1982. The highlights of those hearings and his critical analysis are contained in the book, *Defense Sense: The Search for a Rational Military Policy*.

In addition to the hearings on the implications of the military budget, Congressman Dellums conducted investigations into U.S. war crimes in Indochina and the impact of Agent Orange and other toxic substances on the men and women who served in Southeast Asia. In conjunction with the Congressional Black Caucus, he conducted hearings on the extent of racism in the military that produced bills to reform, among other matters, the system of military justice and to end discrimination based on discharge status. From hearings on government lawlessness came the Bureaucratic Accountability Act which strengthens Congressional oversight capability and provides to ordinary citizens the legal tools needed to force the federal bureaucracy to adhere to the law. Congressman Dellums has also gone to court under the provision of the Ethics in Government Act to demand a Justice Department investigation of C.I.A. conduct in funding, training and supplying the Contras who are being used by the C.I.A. in an effort to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

In the 97th Congress, Congressman Dellums was the principal initiator of the Congressional Black Caucus Budget. First introduced in 1981, and updated in subsequent years, it is still considered the most progressive alternative to the budget and tax proposal of the Reagan Administration. He also re-introduced H.R. 3884, the National Health Service Act, which is the most comprehensive health care legislation ever introduced in Congress. Other legislation sponsored by Congressman Dellums includes the World Peace Tax Fund, the Adequate Income Act, the Omnibus Penal Reform Act, the Omnibus Intelligence Community Reorganization and Reform Act, and the extension of the Voting Rights Act.

Born in Oakland, California, Congressman Dellums spent two years in the U.S. Marine Corps before earning a B.A. degree from California State University in San Francisco and an M.S.W. degree from the University of California at Berkeley. Prior to his arrival in Congress he served on the Berkeley City Council. He also served as a manpower specialist and psychiatric social worker, and was a lecturer in the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of California at Berkeley.

Congressman Dellums is married to the former Leola (Roscoe) Higgs, a graduate of Georgetown University Law Center. They are the parents of three children: Brandy, Erik and Piper.



## ***JULIAN C. DIXON***

**C**ongressman Julian C. Dixon, Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, was elected in 1978 as the representative from California's 28th Congressional District. This Congressional District includes portions of Los Angeles and the cities of Inglewood and Culver City.

Appointed by the Speaker of the House, Congressman Dixon is a member of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct and a House Representative to the West Point Board of Supervisors. He serves on the powerful Appropriations Committee where he is Chairman of the Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, the first Black member in the history of Congress to Chair an Appropriations Subcommittee. Congressman Dixon is also an active member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, particularly in areas affecting Africa and the Caribbean.

Congressman Dixon is a leading opponent of the Reagan Administration's domestic and foreign policy. He is a principal author of the Congressional Black Caucus Budget Alternative, has authored

legislation that enacts economic sanctions against South Africa's practice of apartheid, and has worked actively against the nomination of Edwin Meese for Attorney General and the Reagan Administration's dismantling of the Civil Rights Commission.

An original co-sponsor of the Equal Rights Amendment, Congressman Dixon is recognized as a leader in Congress on matters regarding U.S. policy in Africa and the Caribbean. He is an acknowledged supporter of human rights and in 1982, successfully blocked deportation of Ethiopian refugees by the Department of State because of continued human rights violations by the Ethiopian government. A bill he introduced last year became the foundation for legislation passed by Congress that requires the U.S. representative to the International Monetary Fund to oppose loans to South Africa. Congressman Dixon also introduced a resolution calling on the United States to adopt a firmer stance towards South Africa because of its refusal to remove its troops from Namibia.

Congressman Dixon has used his position on the Appropriations Committee to work for passage of the Emergency Jobs bill, other employment and job training legislation and funding for an array of health, human service and community development programs. In matters of particular importance to his California constituents, Congressman Dixon is a strong proponent of mass transit and is working diligently with the Appropriations Committee on behalf of the Los Angeles Metrorail project. He is actively petitioning for reforms in regulations affecting the price of natural gas that will ensure the availability of affordable gas for consumers.

Named Chairman of the 1984 Democratic National Convention Rules Committee by DNC Chairman Charles Manatt, Congressman Dixon has been instrumental in forging working coalitions between the

Congressional Black Caucus and other Members of Congress—particularly with the Democratic Leadership, in developing a 1984 Budget Alternative that restored significant cuts proposed in domestic spending. He also developed working relationships with the Hispanic Caucus and the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues on several civil rights matters before the Congress.

Congressman Dixon authored resolutions passed by the House that called for the awarding of the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Dr. Benjamin Mays and the declaration of September, 1983 as "Sickle Cell Anemia Awareness Month."

Born in Washington, D.C., Congressman Dixon graduated from high school in Los Angeles. He received a B.S. degree in Political Science from California State University in Los Angeles and was awarded an LL.B. from Southwestern University. He is married to the former Betty Lee and is the father of one son, Carey Gordon.



## **MERVYN M. DYMALLY**

**S**ince 1980, Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally has represented the 31st Congressional District of California, which includes several communities in the southern portion of Los Angeles County. Before his election to Congress, Congressman Dymally served from 1975-1979 as the Lieutenant Governor of California where he headed the State Commission for Economic Development and the Commission of the Californians, served on the Board of Regents of the University of California and the Board of Trustees of the

State College and University system. He was responsible for organizing the Council on Intergroup Relations, the California Advisory Commission on Youth, and the Commission on Food and Nutrition.

Congressman Dymally currently is a member of the Committees on Foreign Affairs, Science and Technology, and the District of Columbia, where he is Chairman of the Judiciary and Education Subcommittee. He is also Chairman of the Congressional Caucus for Science and Technology.

As a Member of Congress, Congressman Dymally has been a leading force in revamping and advocating legislation important to the Caribbean. He is Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus Task Force on the Caribbean and organized the Caribbean Action Lobby of which he is National Chairman. In his first term, he organized the Compton-OIG-Technological Training Institute to train the unemployed for jobs in the aerospace industry. An active member of the Congressional Black Caucus, he is Vice-Chairman of the CBC Political Action Committee, and is coordinator of the CBC Braintrust on Science and Technology. He was also responsible for setting up a CBC Archives to preserve the history of the Congressional Black Caucus at Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University.

Congressman Dymally originally came to this country from Trinidad, West Indies, as a nineteen year-old student to attend

Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri. He received a B.A. degree in Education from California State University in Los Angeles, an M.A. in Government from California State University in Sacramento and a Ph.D. in Human Behavior from the United States International University in San Diego. He has received four honorary degrees and serves on the Board of Trustees of the Shaw University, the Boards of Directors of the Joint Center for Political Studies and the National Black United Fund.

Congressman Dymally, married to the former Alice Gueno of New Orleans who is a teacher by profession, is the father of two children—Mark and Lynn.



## WALTER E. FAUNTROY

**C**ongressman Walter E. Fauntroy, delegate from the District of Columbia, is now serving his seventh term as a Member of Congress. He was the first elected Congressional representative for the District of Columbia in 100 years, and is the immediate past Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. He is also a member of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Board of Directors.

Congressman Fauntroy serves on the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, where he is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Domestic Monetary Policy which has oversight over the Federal Reserve Bank, and the Committee on the District of Columbia, where he is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Fiscal Affairs and Health.

He led the effort that culminated in 1973, in the enactment of the Home Rule Charter that permitted election of the District's own Mayor and City Council. In 1978, he engineered Congressional passage, by two-thirds majority in both chambers, of a proposed constitutional amendment, now ratified by 13 states, to require full Congressional representation for District of Columbia citizens in the U.S. Congress. In his capacity as Chairman of the CBC for the 97th Congress, he intro-

duced the comprehensive alternative budgets known as the Fauntroy Substitute for FY '82 and the Fauntroy Amendment for FY '83.

Congressman Fauntroy has a rich background as a civil rights activist and Christian minister. He began his public career in 1959 as Pastor of the church of his childhood, New Bethel Baptist Church, where he continues to serve as Pastor. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., appointed him Director of the Washington Bureau of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference where he performed many valuable services for the movement in the '60s. He was the D.C. Coordinator for the historic March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963. He was also coordinator of the Selma-to-Montgomery March in 1965, Vice Chairman of the D.C. City Council from 1967-1969 and the National Director of the Poor Peoples' Campaign in 1969.

Congressman Fauntroy is also coordinator of the National Black Leadership Roundtable, composed of the heads of over 150 national Black organizations. Under his leadership, the NBLR developed and issued the *Black Leadership Family Plan for the Unity, Survival and Progress of Black People*. He is also Chairman of the Board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Vice President for Government Affairs of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Non-Violent Social Change.

In the 98th Congress, Congressman Fauntroy has worked to forge a "New Coalition of Conscience" made up of Blacks, women, Hispanics, church, labor, peace activists and whites of good will. He was National Director of the "20th Anniversary March on Washington for Jobs, Peace and Freedom" which was mobilized by the Coalition and brought 500,000 people to Washington, D.C. on August 27, 1983. He now serves as Chairman of the Planning Council of the "New Coalition" as

it pursues the legislative package of 14 bills which are the goals of the March, in the 98th Congress.

A native of Washington, D.C., Congressman Fauntroy attended Virginia Union University and Yale University Divinity School, where he earned a Bachelor of Divinity Degree in 1958. He is a recipient of numerous awards, among them are Honorary Doctor of Divinity degrees conferred by both his alma maters, and an Honorary Doctor of Law degree, conferred by Georgetown University Law Center, for his political leadership in bringing voting rights to the citizens of the Nation's capital.

He is married to the former Dorothy Simms of Petersburg, Virginia. They are the proud parents of a son, Marvin Keith.





## **HAROLD E. FORD**

**C**ongressman Harold Eugene Ford represents Tennessee's 9th Congressional District. Comprised solely of the city of Memphis, he has served this district since 1974 and is currently serving his fifth term in the Congress of the United States. He is the first and only Black Tennessean ever to be elected to Congress.

A ranking member of the powerful and prestigious House Committee on Ways and Means which has jurisdiction over all tax and revenue-raising legislation, as well as the Social Security and Medicare Programs, Congressman Ford is also a ranking member of the Ways and Means Sub-

committee on Health and the House Select Committee on Aging. Congressman Ford is the youngest member of Congress ever to be selected as a Ways and Means Subcommittee Chairperson. Since 1981, he has served as Chairman of the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation. His Subcommittee has jurisdiction over approximately \$38 billion in programs including Aid to Families With Dependent Children, Title XX and Supplemental Security Income under the Social Security Act, Child Welfare and Foster Care, Low Income Energy Assistance, and Unemployment Compensation Insurance.

Along with his committee responsibilities, Congressman Ford holds membership on the Arts Caucus, the Democratic Study Group, and the Environmental and Energy Study Conference.

Prior to his election to the Congress, he served two terms in the Tennessee Legislature. He was elected to this office at the age of 25, and represented the same geographic area of Memphis in which his great grandfather served as a squire during the Post-Reconstruction Era.

Congressman Ford is active in social and community activities in Memphis and throughout the country. He is a member of the National Advisory Board of St. Jude Children's Research Hospital, the Metropolitan Memphis YMCA Board, and is a

trustee at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, and Rust College in Holly Springs, Mississippi. He is also affiliated with Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.

He has received numerous awards and honorary degrees for his outstanding work as a Member of Congress including being named as the recipient of the Memphis Jaycees' "Outstanding Young Man of the Year" award, and the Tennessee Jaycees' "Outstanding Young Man of the Year" award.

Congressman Ford was born in Memphis, Tennessee, and is the eighth of fifteen children of N.J. and Vera Ford. He received an Associate of Arts degree in Mortuary Science from John Gupton College in Nashville, Tennessee, a Bachelor of Science degree in Business Administration from Tennessee State University, and an M.B.A. from Howard University in Washington, D.C. He is married to the former Dorothy Bowles of Memphis. They are the proud parents of three sons: Harold, Jr., Jake, and Sir Isaac. He and his family are members of Mt. Moriah Baptist Church in Memphis.



## **WILLIAM H. GRAY, III**

**R**ep. William H. Gray, III, from the Second Congressional District of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), is serving his third term in the House of Representatives. He is Vice-Chairman for Legislation of the Congressional Black Caucus, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Braintrust, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's Board of Directors and Chairman of the 1984 Black Caucus Weekend.

Gray is the only member of the Congressional Black Caucus sitting on the House Budget Committee. During deliberations on the budget resolution for fiscal year 1985, Gray secured a 3.5 percent increase in federal health, nutrition, education, housing and other services for low-income and unemployed people. Through Gray's efforts, the budget resolution in fiscal year 1984 contained 75 percent of Congressional Black Caucus funding recommendations.

The Congressman has become a leading spokesman on African policy. In his first term in Congress, he served on the Africa Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He now serves on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee which funds all foreign economic and military assistance.

A leading voice against apartheid, Gray was the author of an historic amendment to the Export Administration Act which prohibits any new investment by American companies in South Africa. This amendment was the first such sanction against the apartheid regime in South Africa ever passed by either chamber of Congress. It received broad, bipartisan support and passed the House of Representatives on Oct. 27, 1983.

As co-chairman of the Democratic Platform Committee, Gray's amendment for economic sanctions against South Africa became part of the party's platform for the 1984 presidential campaign.

In the District of Columbia Committee, where he chairs the Government Operations and Metropolitan Affairs Subcommittee, Gray actively opposed an attempt to override the District of Columbia City Council's decision to remove all municipal pension funds from investment in South Africa. The attempt was defeated.

Gray also authored legislation which provides at least 10 percent of the Agency for International Development's development assistance funds be set-aside for minority businesses, private voluntary organizations and historically Black colleges and universities. This legislation was enacted in Nov. 1983 and makes available an additional \$90 million in fiscal year 1984 from the Agency for International Development for minority participation in international development. Potentially \$1 billion would be made available over the next six years.

The Philadelphia Democrat was one of the first to raise concerns about a drought that was the most severe to strike Africa in recent history and guided legislation that resulted in an emergency supplemental appropriation of \$150 million for food aid to Africa and an additional \$90 million in commodity credit.

In the foreign operations appropriations bill for fiscal year 1985, Gray increased the amount of health assistance the United States sends to Africa by \$15 million, guaranteeing a minimum of \$42 million for Africa in fiscal year 1985.

Also in that bill, the Congressman included an amendment which directs the Agency for International Development to investigate its policies for hiring minorities and women.

In the 96th Congress, he became the only freshman member in this century to pass legislation creating a new government agency, the African Development Foundation, which began operating in February 1984. The African Development Foundation operates independently by financing small-scale development projects in African villages.

Gray also serves on the Transportation Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. In that subcommittee, Gray initiated a new program for minority businesses and expanded two others. He increased the Urban Mass Transit Administration's (UMTA) demonstration bonding program for minority businesses from \$3 million to \$5 million.

Gray initiated a second program, which will be patterned after the UMTA program, to be administered by the Federal Highway Administration. This program will provide

\$10 million in bonding for minority businesses contracting with the Federal Highway Administration on transportation projects.

Pennsylvania, New York, and Florida are the three states targeted for this initiative. A total of \$200 million in bonding for economically disadvantaged businesses will be made available in the three demonstration states.

In addition, Gray authored an amendment which was passed by the Transportation Subcommittee and provides \$1 million for historically black colleges and universities and economically disadvantaged businesses to do transportation research. In fiscal year 1984, these groups received only \$650,000 for such research.

Because of Gray's work in the Subcommittee on Transportation and the full Appropriations Committee, the Committee Report on the 1984 Transportation Appropriations Bill directs the Reagan Administration to immediately develop regulations to carry out the Mitchell Amendment to the Surface Transportation Act of 1983. This amendment sets aside at least 10% of certain Department of Transportation contracts for minority contractors.

He received a bachelor of arts degree from Franklin and Marshall College in 1963, earned his masters in divinity from Drew Theological School in 1966 and his masters in theology from Princeton Theological School in 1970. He completed graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University and Mansfield College at Oxford University, England.

He has been the pastor at Bright Hope Baptist Church in North Philadelphia since 1972 and was the pastor at Union Baptist Church in Montclair, N.J. from 1964 to 1972.

He is the founder and past president of five non-profit housing corporations, which have constructed more than \$20 million in low and moderate income housing, and helped design the Philadelphia Mortgage Plan which has produced more than \$84 million in residential mortgages for Philadelphia's inner-city neighborhoods.

He is married to Andrea Dash of New Jersey. They are the parents of three sons, William II., Justin Yates and Andrew Dash.



## KATIE HALL

**C**ongresswoman Katie Hall of Gary, Indiana, is serving her first full term as the representative from the 1st Congressional District of Indiana. On November 1, 1982, she won a special election to fill out the term of the late Congressman Adam Benjamin. Simultaneously, she won election to a full term. In winning the two elections, Congresswoman Hall became the first Black woman to serve in the Indiana congressional delegation.

Congresswoman Hall serves on two very important committees, Public Works and Transportation, and Post Office and Civil

Service. In April, 1983, she was elected the Chairperson of the Census and Population Subcommittee of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, a rare distinction for a freshman Member. Along with her regular full-time duties, Congresswoman Hall is an active member of the Congressional Steel Caucus, the Northeast/Midwest Coalition, and the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues.

Prior to her election to Congress, Congresswoman Hall served as an Indiana State Representative for one term, and as a State Senator from 1976 to 1982. During her terms in the Indiana General Assembly, she sponsored some of Indiana's milestone legislation on compensation for victims of crime and rape victim assistance. She has held the positions of Vice Chairperson of the Lake County Democratic Organization, Secretary of the Indiana State Democratic Central Committee, Chairperson of the 1980 Indiana Convention and Vice Chairperson for the Gary Housing Authority's Board of Commissioners.

A former educator in the Gary Public School System, Congresswoman Hall is active in several professional organizations including the Indiana State Teachers Association, the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers (Local #4), the Gary Classroom Teacher Association, the Gary Council for Social Studies, and the Phi Delta Kappa Educational Sorority. Additionally, she is a

member of the NAACP, the American Association of University Women, the National Council of Negro Women and the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc.

Born in Mound Bayou, Mississippi, Congresswoman Hall received her B.S. degree from Mississippi Valley State University and an M.S. degree from Indiana University. She has also undertaken advanced educational studies at Indiana University Northwest. She is the recipient of numerous awards for her contributions to the political arena and community life and is listed in *Who's Who in the Midwest* and *Who's Who in Black America*. A member of Van Buren Baptist Church, she and her husband, John Hall, who is a principal in the Gary Public School System and an instructor at Indiana University Northwest, are the parents of two daughters, Jacqueline and Junifer, and the guardians of one niece, Michelle.



## AUGUSTUS (GUS) F. HAWKINS

**C**ongressman Gus Hawkins, now in his eleventh term, represents the 29th Congressional District of California which includes a portion of Los Angeles and the cities of South Gate, Huntington Park and Downey. He is the dean among the members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Congressman Hawkins has had a distinguished and extraordinarily productive tenure as a Member of Congress. He currently serves as the Chairman of the prestigious House Administration Committee which has jurisdiction over U.S. House personnel and operations and over federal election laws. He also serves as Acting Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, where he is Chairman of its Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities. This Committee has authority over employment and training programs and equal employment opportunity laws. He also serves on the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education. In the last session of Congress,

Congressman Hawkins became a member of the Joint Economic Committee which studies and makes recommendations on economic policy, including fiscal policy, and maintains data related to aggregate economic activity.

From the beginning of his congressional career, he has introduced and secured the passage of several vital pieces of legislation. In the 93rd Congress, Congressman Hawkins authored three landmark pieces of legislation that were enacted: The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act; The Community Services Act; and the Civil Rights Act of 1974 that amended Title VII.

During the 94th Congress, he introduced an amendment to the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973 that extended the operation of certain programs by the ACTION Agency. In the 95th Congress, Congressman Hawkins authored the CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) Amendments of 1978; the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act; and the Pregnancy Disability Act (which overturned the Supreme Court's *Gilbert* decision and prohibited discrimination based on pregnancy under Title VII).

During the second session of the 95th Congress, the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act was signed into law. This legislative initiative—introduced in the Senate by the late Hubert H. Humphrey—is designed to reactivate our national economic policy apparatus to encourage the reduction of unemployment and inflation. It mandates the orchestration of federal economic policy-making in order to achieve full employment and price stability, and includes strong anti-discrimination and labor standards provisions.

In the 97th Congress, his Job Training Partnership Act was signed into law, and in the 98th Congress he has introduced the

Community Renewal Employment Act—a bill which would put nearly a million long-term unemployed persons to work in jobs that would repair the nation's deteriorating public facilities. In addition, Congressman Hawkins also used his position on the Joint Committee on the Library to pass a resolution authorizing a statutory memorial of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to be placed in the Capitol.

Before his election to the Congress, Congressman Hawkins served for 28 consecutive years in the California State Assembly. While in the Assembly, he compiled an impressive legislative record, authoring over 100 laws. He also assumed the powerful position of Chairman of the Rules Committee, and served as Chairman of the State Assembly Joint Legislative Organization Committee, the highest Committee position in the State Assembly.

Congressman Hawkins was born in Shreveport, Louisiana. At age 11, his family moved to Los Angeles. He earned a degree in Economics from the University of California, Los Angeles, and attended graduate classes at the University of Southern California's Institute of Government. He also received an honorary Doctor of Law degree from Lincoln University.

He is married to the former Mrs. Elsie Taylor.





## CHARLES A. HAYES

**C**ongressman Charles A. Hayes is serving his first term in the United States House of Representatives, having been elected in August, 1983 to fill the seat left vacant by Mayor Harold Washington. He represents the 1st Congressional District of Illinois, an area including most of South Central Chicago. Congressman Hayes has been appointed to the Education and Labor and Small Business Committees.

Congressman Hayes is the first elected representative of rank and file trade union-

ists to serve in Congress after retiring recently as the International Vice President and Director of Region 12 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union; the largest union within the AFL-CIO.

As an active and progressive trade unionist, Congressman Hayes opened many doors for Black Americans in the labor movement. He has been the leader in the successful fight for women in labor (equal pay for equal work); for representation of Blacks and women on all levels of union leadership; and for increased fringe benefits and better conditions for all workers. In response to the need for more job opportunities and union training programs, Congressman Hayes organized the Black Labor Leaders of Chicago which addressed the need to prepare Black workers for skilled and semi-skilled positions. This organization later became known as the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, a national organization of which Congressman Hayes is Executive Vice President, and which continues to provide increased access to executive decision-making positions for Blacks within the AFL-CIO.

Congressman Hayes has been consistently involved in electoral politics and in 1974, was the first major Chicago leader to call for the establishment of a coalition to push for the election of a Black mayor. He chaired labor committees for the late Congressman Ralph Metcalfe and for Mayor Harold Washington's successful 1980 campaign. He was also part of the successful fight to retain three predominantly Black Congressional districts

in Chicago. More recently, he served as one of the initial members of the Washington for Mayor Steering Committee and as Chairman of the Washington for Mayor Labor Committee.

As a Member of the House of Representatives, Congressman Hayes continues to support the working class. He introduced the Income and Jobs Action Act of 1984 (H.R.5814), a bill which affirms that every American citizen is entitled to a good job at decent wages or an income adequate to ensure a decent standard of living. This much needed legislation would act as a call-to-action to prepare a full package of local, state, and national measures—private and public—to provide employment and income for everyone in our society.

Congressman Hayes was born in Cairo, Illinois and was educated in the public school system there. He is married to the former Edna Miller and has two daughters, two step-sons and four grandchildren.



## **GEORGE ‘‘MICKEY’’ LELAND**

**C**ongressman Mickey Leland represents the 18th Congressional District of Texas (Houston). Now in his third term, he was first elected to Congress in 1978. He is First Vice-Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Congressman Leland is a member of the Energy and Commerce Committee, the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the House Committee on the District of Columbia. He is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Postal Personnel and Modernization and serves on several subcommittees including Telecommunications, Consumer

Protection and Finance, Health and Environment, and Census and Population. Congressman Leland was elected Freshman Majority Whip in the 96th Congress and is the Chairman of the newly created House Select Committee on Hunger.

Congressman Leland and other Members of the Energy and Commerce Committee held special hearings on the underutilization of Blacks and other minorities in both the performing and technical aspects of the motion picture industry in Hollywood, California. He also has been vitally interested in U.S. immigration policy and U.S. foreign policy toward the Caribbean and Central America.

Congressman Leland is a member of the Democratic National Committee and was a delegate to both the 1976 and 1980 Democratic National Conventions. He served as the Chairman of the DNC's Commission on Low and Moderate Income Participation (known as the "Leland Commission"), was co-founder and co-chair of the DNC's Black-Hispanic Caucus, and is Chairman of the DNC's Black Caucus.

Before his election to Congress, Congressman Leland served three terms in the Texas House of Representatives. Born in Lubbock, Texas, he is a graduate of Texas Southern University, where he received a B.S. degree in Pharmacy. In 1982, he was conferred an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree from his alma mater. In 1983, Congressman Leland married the former Alison Walton, a third-year law student at the Georgetown University Law Center.



## PARREN J. MITCHELL

**C**ongressman Parren J. Mitchell is serving his seventh term as the representative of the 7th Congressional District of Maryland. He was elected as Maryland's first Black Congressman in 1970 and served as a past Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation.

In September, 1983, at the time of the Thirteenth Annual Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Awards Dinner, Congressman Mitchell was introduced as "the conscience of the Congressional Black Caucus." He conceived the creation of the "Braintrusts" to support the work of the Caucus. Although heralded for his advocacy for minority and small business

enterprise, Congressman Mitchell has had much of his legislation on housing, employment, health, and education enacted into law. It has been said of him: "Parren J. Mitchell is more than a Congressman, he's an humanitarian."

During his fourteen years in Congress, Congressman Mitchell has served with distinction as a Member of the House Budget Committee and Vice Chairman of the Joint Committee on Defense Production. Presently, he serves as Chairman of the Small Business Committee, a Whip-At-Large, a senior Member of the House Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs Committee, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Housing, Minority Enterprise, and Economic Development of the Congressional Black Caucus, and a member of the Joint Economic Committee.

In 1976, Congressman Mitchell attached to then President Carter's \$4 billion Public Works bill, an amendment that compelled state, county, and municipal governments seeking federal grants, to set aside 10% of each grant to retain minority firms as contractors, subcontractors, or suppliers. This single amendment resulted in more than \$625 million (15%) going to legitimate minority firms. After numerous court challenges, "The Mitchell Amendment" was upheld as constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in July, 1980.

Congressman Mitchell authorized a similar provision in the Surface Transportation Assistance Act of 1983. As a result, approximately \$7 billion will be set aside over the next four years for minority businesses. He also introduced legislation which, in 1978, became Public Law 95-507. This law requires proposals from federal contractors to set specific goals for

awarding contracts to minority subcontractors, potentially providing access to billions of dollars for minority businesses.

A native of Baltimore, Maryland, Congressman Mitchell was a professor at Morgan State University. He holds seven honorary degrees, including four Doctor of Humane Letters, two Doctor of Laws and one Doctor of Social Sciences. He has received over 400 awards from numerous national and local consumer, civil rights, business, and economic organizations. The awards are from such diverse groups as the National Alliance of Black Educators, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Morehouse Alumni, the Joint Center for Political Studies, the Greater New Haven (Connecticut) Business and Professional Association, the Minority Contractors of Dayton, Ohio, the Alaska Black Caucus, and the Consumer Federation of America.

It has been said of him: "Parren Mitchell obeys no paymaster—he is his own man and owes no allegiance to anyone except his people; not only those of his 7th Congressional District of Maryland, but those across the nation."



## MAJOR R. OWENS

**C**ongressman Major R. Owens, now in his first term, represents the newly-created 12th Congressional District of New York. Congressman Owens' district includes some neighborhoods formerly represented by now-retired Congresswoman Shirley A. Chisholm.

A member of the House Education and Labor Committee (and its Subcommittees on Employment Opportunities; Human Resources; Post-Secondary Education; and Labor Standards) and the Committee on Government Operations (and its Subcommittees on Government Activities and

Transportation and Manpower and Housing), Congressman Owens also co-chairs the House Freshman Caucus Task Force on Employment. He has made a federal full employment-based economic recovery policy his main legislative priority.

His legislative career began with his 1974 election to the New York State Senate from the Brownsville and East New York sections of Brooklyn. In the Senate, he chaired the Senate Day Care Task Force, and served on its Finance and Social Services Committees, among others.

Congressman Owens' governmental experience also included six years of distinguished service as Commissioner of New York City's Community Development Agency—an agency that controlled all of the city's anti-poverty programs. He was appointed to this post by then Mayor John Lindsay on the basis of his record at the Brownsville Community Council where, in the mid-sixties, he won plaudits for his leadership and management of this neighborhood-based anti-poverty program.

A librarian by profession, Congressman Owens also is involved in several issues affecting libraries. He has been a leader in the fight against the Reagan Administration's efforts to place library services in the same category as dry cleaning and janitorial services, so that they can be more easily contracted out instead of being performed by employees of federal agencies.

Congressman Owens is a graduate of Morehouse College, and received a Masters degree in Library Science from Atlanta University. He also was an Adjunct Professor of Library Science and Director

of the Community Media Program at Columbia University, and was Community Coordinator at the Brooklyn Public Library, one of the largest systems in the country. He combined these professional endeavors with a record of vigorous activism on behalf of social and economic justice. He chaired the Brooklyn Congress on Racial Equality; was Vice President of the Metropolitan Council on Housing, a city-wide tenants rights group, and was a member of the International Commission on Ways of Implementing Social Policy to Ensure Maximum Public Participation and Social Justice for Minorities, at The Hague, Netherlands, in 1972.

Born in Memphis Tennessee, he has made his home in Brooklyn for more than twenty-five years. He is the father of three sons.





## **CHARLES B. RANGEL**

**C**ongressman Charles B. Rangel represents New York's 16th Congressional District, an area covering the neighborhoods of East and Central Harlem, the Upper Westside and Roosevelt Island. He is now serving his seventh term in the House of Representatives, having first been elected in November, 1970.

In the present 98th Congress, Congressman Rangel serves as the Chairman of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Oversight. He is the third ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee. The Congressman is also the Chairman of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. In addition to his Chairman responsibilities, Congressman Rangel is also a Deputy Whip for the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives.

In his initial term, Congressman Rangel was appointed by the Speaker to the Select Committee on Crime. He was influential in

passing the 1971 amendment to the federal drug law which authorized the President to cut off all military and economic aid to any country that refused to cooperate with the United States in stopping the international traffic in drugs. In 1976, he was appointed by the Speaker to the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. He is regarded as one of the leading congressional experts on this subject.

He served as Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus in 1974-75, and was also a member of the Judiciary Committee when it voted its historic articles of impeachment against former President Nixon. In 1975, he moved to the Ways and Means Committee, becoming the first Black to serve on this Committee. Two years later, his colleagues in the New York Congressional delegation voted him the Majority Regional Whip for New York State.

Congressman Rangel was born in Harlem in 1930. He attended the old P.S. 89, the Frederick Douglass Junior High School and DeWitt Clinton High School. He enlisted in the U.S. Army and was on active duty from 1948-1952, served with the U.S. Seventh Infantry Division in Korea, and was awarded the Purple Heart and the Bronze Star for valor.

Upon completion of his military service, Congressman Rangel attended New York University where he graduated in 1957 as a Dean's List student with a B.S. degree. Three years later, he graduated from St. John's University School of Law, where he was on the Law Review. He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1960.

In 1961, the Congressman was appointed Assistant U.S. Attorney in the Southern District of New York by then U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy. He was appointed by President Johnson to the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service in 1966, and was elected to the first of two terms in the New York State Assembly the same year.

Congressman Rangel is married to the former Alma Carter. They are the parents of a son, Steven and a daughter, Alicia.



## GUS SAVAGE

**C**ongressman Gus Savage, now in his second term, represents the 2nd Congressional District of Illinois. From his position in Congress, he continues to reflect a life-long commitment to jobs, justice, and economic leverage for Blacks and other minorities.

Congressman Savage serves on the Public Works and Transportation Committee (and on the Public Buildings and Grounds, Water Resources and Surface Transportation Subcommittees); the Small Business Committee, and the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

During the 97th Congress, Congressman Savage was an active co-sponsor of the Voting Rights Act. He successfully persuaded the Department of Housing and

Urban Development to provide funds for and implement a law designed to curb foreclosures in areas of high unemployment. He authored an affirmative action amendment to the Coal Slurry legislation and sponsored several other pieces of legislation, including a bill that requires the federal government to make interest payments on overdue amounts to business and legislation to honor the memory of the late Joe Louis.

A political activist since 1946, he has achieved a number of notable victories on behalf of Black people. He successfully led fights for veterans' housing, the hiring of Blacks in Chicago department stores and integration of Chicago restaurants. He was also instrumental in helping Blacks to obtain and rent previously segregated housing; led the push for Black representation on the Chicago City Council, and was the impetus behind the first Black candidate being placed on the ballot for Mayor of Chicago.

After completing his graduate studies, Congressman Savage commenced a 25-year career in publishing, and in 1970 founded the Chicago Black Publishers Association. He served as its first chairman. Congressman Savage maintains a weekly column in over 50 newspapers nationally, and broadcasts a weekly public affairs radio program, "Gus Savage Reports," on several Chicago radio stations.

Born in Detroit, Michigan, Congressman Savage has lived in Chicago since 1930. He holds a bachelor's degree in philosophy from Roosevelt University, Chicago. He has also done graduate work in political science and history at Roosevelt University, and has attended Chicago-Kent College of Law. Congressman Savage also has received numerous awards, including "Freshman Congressman of the Year" from the State Conference of the NAACP and the "Presidential Award" from the Cook County Bar Association. He is the father of a son, Thomas, and a daughter, Emma.



## LOUIS STOKES



n November 5, 1968, Louis Stokes was elected Congressman of the 21st Congressional District of Ohio on his

first try for public office. By virtue of his election, he became the first Black member of Congress from the state of Ohio. On November 2, 1982, he was re-elected to his eighth term in Congress. During his first term in Congress, he served as a member of the Education and Labor Committee and the House Un-American Activities Committee, which was renamed the House Internal Security Committee.

In his second term of office, he was appointed the first Black member ever to sit on the Appropriations Committee of the House. On February 8, 1972, Louis Stokes was elected as Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. He served two consecutive terms in this office. In addition to his seat on the powerful Appropriations Committee, he was elected by the Democratic Caucus to serve on the newly-formed Budget Committee of the House. He was re-elected to the Budget Committee twice, serving a total of six years. He is also Co-

Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus Health Braintrust and President of the Board of Directors of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation.

On September 21, 1976, Congressman Stokes was appointed by Speaker Carl Albert to serve on the Select Committee to Conduct an Investigation and Study of the Circumstances Surrounding the Death of President John F. Kennedy and the Death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. On March 8, 1977, Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill appointed Congressman Stokes Chairman of this Committee. On December 31, 1978, Congressman Stokes completed these historic investigations and filed with the House of Representatives 27 volumes of hearings, a Final Report and Recommendations for Administrative and Legislative Reform.

In February, 1980, Congressman Stokes was appointed by Speaker O'Neill to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (Ethics Committee). On January 28, 1981, the Congressman was elected Chairman of this Committee. He was re-elected to serve as the Ethics Committee Chairman at the beginning of the 98th Congress.

In January, 1981, Congressman Stokes became the Senior Democratic Representative from Ohio and he serves as the Dean of the Ohio Democratic Congressional Delegation. Congressman Louis Stokes was appointed by the Speaker of the House to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence in the 98th Congress. The Committee has legislative, authorization and oversight jurisdiction over the intelligence agencies and intelligence-related activities of federal agencies.

In 1979, he was nominated by *Ebony* Magazine in three categories for the Sec-

ond Annual American Black Achievement Awards. His nomination was based upon his becoming the first Black to head a major congressional investigation and to preside over nationally televised hearings which revealed new facts on the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and President Kennedy.

On September 27, 1980, at the Congressional Black Caucus Weekend Awards Program, Congressman Stokes was presented the William L. Dawson Award by his colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus. This coveted and prestigious award was made to him in recognition of his "unique leadership in the development of legislation." The Congressman is also the recipient of eight honorary doctorate degrees and numerous other awards for his legislative achievements and his service to the Black community.

Prior to his election, Congressman Stokes practiced law for 14 years in Cleveland, Ohio and was chief trial counsel for the law firm of Stokes, Character, Perry, Whitehead, Young and Davidson. As a practicing lawyer, he participated in several cases in the United States Supreme Court. In 1968, he personally argued the landmark "stop and frisk" case of *Terry vs. Ohio* in that court. Congressman Stokes is a native of Cleveland. His wife Jeanette (Jay) is also a member of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's Board of Directors. They are the parents of four children: Shelly, Louis C., Angela, and Lorene.



## ED TOWNS

**C**ongressman Ed Towns is serving his first term as representative from the newly created 11th District of New York (Brooklyn). He was elected with 90% of the vote.

Congressman Towns serves on the House Public Works and Transportation Committee, Subcommittees on Economic Development and Aviation; the House Government Operations Committee, and the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations and Government Information. He was appointed by the Speaker to serve on the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control.

Secretary of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressman Towns is a member of the Hispanic Caucus, Poor Caucus, Arts

& Humanities Caucus, Export Task Force, Shipyard Coalition, Northeast-Midwest Coalition, Steel Caucus, Caucus on Women's Issues, Space Caucus, Footwear Caucus and the Congressional Black Caucus Task Force on Haitian Refugees.

Congressman Towns' varied career includes work in health care, youth programs, minority education programs for the elderly, and community advocacy. He has taught in the New York City Public School system, has served as a director at the Metropolitan Hospital and was the Assistant Administrator at Beth Israel Hospital. He is a former professor at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn and a lecturer on Urban Issues at Fordham University. Congressman Towns has served as Democratic State Committeeman from Brooklyn's 40th Assembly District for the past ten years.

Congressman Towns was the first Black to serve as Deputy Borough President in Brooklyn. The recipient of several awards including the Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Award, Congressman Towns serves on the Board of Directors of the American Red Cross and Kings County Boy Scouts. He is on the Advisory Board of the Medgar Evers College, the former President of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, and a member of the Adelphi University Alumni Association Academy of Distinction.

A native of Chadbourn, North Carolina, Congressman Towns received his B.A. from North Carolina A&T University in Greensboro and a masters degree in Social Work from Adelphi University in Garden City, New York. A member of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, he served in the United States Army from 1956-1958. He is married to the former Gwendolyn Forbes and they have two children—Darryl and Deidra. The Towns' are active members of the Forbes Temple Church.





## **ALAN WHEAT**

**C**ongressman Alan Wheat is serving his first term as the representative of the 5th Congressional District of Missouri. His District includes all of Kansas City within Jackson County, the western two-thirds of Independence, part of Sugar Creek and Lee's Summit and the communities of Raytown, Grandview, Greenwood and Unity Village.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives appointed Congressman Wheat to

serve on the powerful House Committee on Rules. He is only the third freshman in history to be appointed to the Rules Committee. He also serves on the newly-created Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families. In addition to an active legislative calendar and membership in the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressman Wheat also serves on the Executive Committee of the Democratic Study Group, the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, the Environmental and Energy Study Conference, and the Task Force on Economic Security of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families.

Congressman Wheat was born in San Antonio, Texas. He received his secondary education in the Midwest and Seville Spain, and graduated from high school in Bossier City, Louisiana. In 1972, he received his B.A. degree in Economics from Grinnell College in Grinnell, Iowa.

After graduation, Congressman Wheat served as an economist with the Department of Housing and Urban Development with the Mid-American Regional Council. In 1976, at the age of 25, he was elected to the Missouri General Assembly, where he was named "Best Freshman Legislator" in Missouri. He served three two-year terms in the Legislature and was Chairman of the Urban Affairs Committee.

# SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

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## WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26

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7:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m.

**Registration-Concourse Level**

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7:15 a.m.-8:30 a.m.

**D.C. Chamber of Commerce  
Women in Business—Breakfast**

Opening Session

Speaker: *Honorable Charlene Drew Jarvis*

"Toward Economic Empowerment"

**Jefferson Room**

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9:30 a.m.-11:50 a.m.

**D.C. Chamber of Commerce  
Women in Business**

"The Self Esteem of Black Women"

*Ms Tom Luck*, President, Luck Enterprises

**Jefferson Room**

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9:30 a.m.

**CBCF Issue Forum**

**Black Family Conference**

Opening Session

**Georgetown Room**

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9:45 a.m.-10:30 a.m.

**CBCF Issue Forum**

**Black Family Conference**

**Plenary Address**

"The Societal and Historical Context of  
Black Family Adaptation"

*Dr John Ogbu*, Department of Anthropology  
University of California

**Georgetown Room**

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10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

**CBCF Issue Forum**

**Black Family Conference**

**Developing Competence in Black  
Children**

"Measuring Competence in Black Newborns:  
The First Two Months"

*Dr Pearl Rosser, M.D.*

Department of Pediatrics and Child Health  
Howard University

"The Toddler and Infant Experience"  
(w/Videotape)

*Dr Grace Massey*, Clinical Psychologist  
Institute for Development Studies  
Oakland, California

"Resilience and Vulnerability: Black  
Children's Evolving Self and Society"

*Dr. Margaret Spencer,*

Department of Educational Psychology  
Emory University

**Georgetown Room**

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12:00 p.m.-2:00 p.m.

**CBCF Issue Forum**

"Strategies for Black Political and Economic  
Empowerment"

**Lincoln East Room**

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12:00 p.m.-2:30 p.m.

**D.C. Chamber of Commerce  
Women In Business**

**Working Luncheon**

"Let's Make A Deal"—Procurement to the  
Public/Private Sector

Securing and Negotiating Contracts

**Jefferson Room**

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1:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m.

**CBCF Issue Forum**

**International Affairs Seminar**

**Foreign Policy and Southern Africa**

*Dr Marsha Coleman*, CBCF Senior Research  
Analyst

Moderator

*Congressman William H Gray, III,*  
Pennsylvania

"United States Investments in Southern  
Africa"

*Dr Willard Johnson*, MIT—Professor,  
Political Science

"Public Actions to Influence U.S. Foreign  
Relations"

*Mr. Edmond O. Z. Chipumaungu*,  
Zimbabwean Ambassador to the United  
States

"Zimbabwean Efforts to Build Relations  
with African Americans"

*Dr Sylvia Hill*, Professor  
Department of Criminal Justice  
University of the District of Columbia

"The Role of Support Groups in Social  
Reconstruction in War Torn Southern  
Africa"

**Lincoln West Room**

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2:00 p.m.-4:30 p.m.

**CBCF Issue Forum**

**Black Family Conference**

**Black Family Roles and Economic  
Mobility**

"The Parental Role in Black Children's  
Status Attainment"

*Dr Philip Bowman*, University of Illinois  
(Formerly with the Institute for Survey  
Research, University of Michigan)

"Single Parent and Economically Mobile  
Black Family Support Strategies"

*Dr Harriette McAdoo*, School of Social Work  
Howard University

"Family Support for Pregnant Adolescents"

*Dr. Joyce Ladner*, School of Social Work  
Howard University

**Georgetown Room**

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2:45 p.m.-4:00 p.m.

**D.C. Chamber of Commerce**

**Women in Business**

**Stress, Health and the Businesswoman**

*Ms Virginia Kellogg*, President

Kellogg Stress Management Institute

**Monroe Room**

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3:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m.

**CBCF Issue Forum**

**International Affairs Seminar**

**The Caribbean—After Grenada**

*Mr Leo Edwards*, Caribbean Consultant,  
Moderator

*Dr Vincent McDonald*, Chairman  
Economics Department, Howard University  
"The Current Economic Issues in the  
Caribbean—After Grenada"

*Dr Eliot Parris*, Professor, Howard University  
"Cultural Institutions in the Caribbean—  
After Grenada"

*Ms Cathy Sunshine*, EPICA

"The Reaction of Caribbean Governments to  
Political Opposition in the Post-Bishop  
Era"

*Ambassador Dessima Williams*, Grenadian  
Ambassador to the O.A.S. under the late  
Prime Minister Maurice Bishop

"What Future for the Caribbean—After  
Grenada"

**Lincoln West Room**

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5:00 p.m.-7:00 p.m.

**CBCF Distinguished Lecture Series**

*Dr Charles Hamilton*, Sayre Professor of  
Government, Columbia University

"Political Reform and Social Policies: Impact  
Upon Minorities and the Poor"

**Monroe Room**

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## THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27

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7:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m.

### Registration

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8:30 a.m.-10:30 a.m.

### D.C. Chamber of Commerce Women in Business

Why Business?

How to Begin, Your Business Plan

What Type of Business to Select

Ms. Blanche Hite Carr, Vice President

Pryde, Roberts and Company

Monroe Room

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9:00 a.m.-10:30 a.m.

### CBC Education Braintrust

"Higher Education—Technical Assistance to  
Black Colleges and Community Organiza-  
tions"

Jefferson Room

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9:00 a.m.-12:00 p.m.

### Black Women's Agenda

Keynote Speaker

"Women's Issues in 1984"

"Black Women in Transition"

Ms. Paula Giddings, Author

*When and Where I Enter*

"Vulnerability and Responsibility"

Discussion Groups

International Ballroom East

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10:00 a.m.-12:00 p.m.

### CBCF Issue Forum Black Family Conference Work and Family

"Work and Family Responsibilities of Black  
Single Mothers"

Dr. Micheline Malson, Center for Research  
on Women

Wellesley College

"The Quality of Family Life and Provider  
Role Strain Among Black Husband-  
Fathers"

Dr. Philip Bowman, University of Illinois  
(Formerly with the Institute of Survey Re-  
search—University of Michigan)

"Dual Earner Black Families: Changing Sex  
and Occupational Roles"

Dr. Geraldine Brookins, Jackson State  
University

Georgetown Room

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10:00 a.m.-12:00 p.m.

### CBCF Issue Forum International Affairs Seminar

"Haiti: Addressing The Problems of Haitian  
Refugees—The Challenge of Human  
Rights and Economic Development"

Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy,

District of Columbia

Moderator

Congressman Julian C. Dixon, California

Mr. Bob McGuire—InterAmerica Foundation

Mr. Roy S. Bryce-LaPort—Smithsonian  
Institution

Mr. Fritz Longchamp—Haitian Refugee  
Project

Lincoln West Room

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10:45 a.m.-12:15 p.m.

### CBC Education Braintrust

"Labor and Youth Unemployment—  
Community Responses"

Jefferson Room

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10:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.

### Exhibits

Exhibit Hall

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11:45 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

### D.C. Chamber of Commerce Women In Business

"Financing for Your Business and Yourself:  
Banking, Real Estate, Stocks, Insurance"

Monroe Room

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12:30 p.m.-3:00 p.m.

### Black Women's Agenda "Black Women and Political Careers" Luncheon

Honorable Maxine Waters

California State Assemblywoman

### Wrap-Up Session

"Where Do We Go From Here?"

Ms. Maya Angelou

International Ballroom East

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12:30 p.m.-1:45 p.m.

### CBC Education Braintrust

Educational Task Force Luncheon

Military Room

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1:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m.

### CBCF and Black Leadership Forum Affirmative Action

"Layoffs and Model State Legislation"

Ms. Althea Simmons, Washington Bureau,  
NAACP

Moderator

"Affirmative Action Concepts: Some Pros  
and Cons"

Mr. Leroy Clark, Professor of Law

Catholic University Law School

(Formerly General Counsel, Equal Employ-  
ment Opportunity Commission)

"The Memphis Firefighters Case and Its  
Implications"

Mr. Peter Sherwood, NAACP

Legal Defense and Education Fund

"Worksharing Legislation As A Solution To  
The Layoff Dilemma"

Ms. Linda Ittner

Select Committee on Children, Youth and  
Families

U.S. House of Representatives

Lincoln East Room

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1:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m.

### CBCF Issue Forum International Affairs Seminar Immigration and Economic Development in the Third World

Ms. Cecilee Counts, Moderator

### Southern Africa

Dr. Bernard Magubane, Professor

University of Connecticut

Dr. Ofoatey Kodjoe, Queens College

### Central America

Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally, California

Mr. Francisco Campbell, 2nd Secretary

Nicaraguan Embassy

### United States

Congressman Robert Garcia, New York

Lincoln West Room

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1:30 p.m.-3:30 p.m.

**CBCF Issue Forum**

**Black Family Conference**

**Family School Interaction and Student Achievement**

"Why Poor Children Succeed or Fail"

*Dr. James Comer, M.D.*

Child Studies Center, Yale University

"Black Children's Behavioral Skills in the Home and at School"

*Dr. Bertha Garrett Holliday*

Department of Psychology and Human Development

Vanderbilt University

"Parental Expectations and Black Student Achievement in Private Schools"

*Dr. Diana Slaughter*, School of Education

Northwestern University

"School Achievement of Children from Single Parent Black Families"

*Dr. Diane Scott-Jones*, Department of

Psychology

North Carolina State University

**Georgetown Room**

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2:00 p.m.-2:45 p.m.

**CBC Education Braintrust**

"Education and Legislation—The role of elected officials in insuring equity and quality education in their national, state, city, and local community"

**Jefferson Room**

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2:30 p.m.-4:00 p.m.

**D.C. Chamber of Commerce**

**Women in Business**

"How to Market Your Business: Advertising, Promotions, Public Relations"

*Dr. Gaynelle Henderson*, Vice President

Henderson Travel Service, Inc.

**Monroe Room**

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2:45 p.m.-3:30 p.m.

**CBC Education Braintrust**

"Lobbying Elected Officials"

**Jefferson Room**

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3:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m.

**CBCF Issue Forum**

**International Affairs Seminar**

**The Future Of The United Nations On The Eve Of Its 40th Anniversary**

*Mr. Randall Robinson*, Executive Director

TransAfrica, Moderator

*Dr. Archie Singham*, Professor—C.C.N.Y.

*Dr. Theo-Ben Gurirab*, SWAPO Representative to the United Nations

**Lincoln West Room**

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3:30 p.m.-4:30 p.m.

**CBCF Issue Forum**

**Black Family Conference**

**Roundtable Discussion**

*Dr. Valora Washington*, School of Human

Ecology

Howard University

*Dr. Walter Allen*

Center for Afro-American and African Studies

University of Michigan

**Georgetown Room**

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3:30 p.m.-5:30 p.m.

**CBCF and Community Video International**

"Making the Media Work for Black Candidates"

**Lincoln East Room**

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4:00 p.m.-6:00 p.m.

**Exhibits**

**Exhibit Hall**

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7:00 p.m.

**Exhibit Reception**

**Exhibit Hall**

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**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28**

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8:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

Plenary Session

**345 Cannon House Office Building**

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9:00 a.m.-12:45 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Education**

"Effective Schools: How & Why They Work"

*Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins*,

California

Chairman

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9:30 a.m.-12:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Aging**

"The Impact of the 1981-84 Budget Cuts on the Black Elderly"

*Congressman Harold E. Ford*, Tennessee

Chairman

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9:30 a.m.-12:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Criminal Justice**

*Congressman John Conyers, Jr.*, Michigan

Chairman

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9:30 a.m.-12:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Housing**

"Housing in the 1980's"

*Congressman Parren J. Mitchell*, Maryland

Chairman

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9:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Defense Policy**

"A Call for Peace"

*Congressman Ronald V. Dellums*, California

Chairman

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9:30 a.m.-1:30 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Drugs**

"The Effects of Drug Abuse on the Black Community"

*Congressman Charles B. Rangel*, New York

Chairman

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9:30 a.m.-3:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Communications**

*Congresswoman Cardiss Collins*, Illinois

Chairperson

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9:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Energy**

"Economic Empowerment in Energy Industries"

*Congressman Mickey Leland*, Texas

Chairman

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9:45 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Health**

*Congressman Louis Stokes*, Ohio

*Congressman Charles A. Hayes*, Illinois

Chairmen

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10:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Voter Participation**

"The Arithmetic of Black Political Power—1984"

*Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy*, District of Columbia

Chairman

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10:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop**

**Corporate Affairs**

"Ladder to Success"

*Congressman Julian C. Dixon*, California

Chairman

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10:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop  
Women and Politics**

“Black Women in Politics”

*Congresswoman Katie Hall, Indiana*

*Congresswoman Cardiss Collins, Illinois*

Chairpersons

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10:00 a.m. – 2:00 p.m.

**Exhibits**

Exhibit Hall

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11:00 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop  
International Affairs – Africa**

“South Africa: Sanctions or Constructive  
Engagement”

“Minority Business Opportunity in United  
States Foreign Assistance”

*Congressman William H. Gray, III,*

*Pennsylvania*

Chairman

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1:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop  
International Affairs – Caribbean**

“Trade & Business Opportunities in the  
Caribbean”

*Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally, California*

Chairman

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1:30 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop  
Minority Business**

*Congressman Parren J. Mitchell, Maryland*

Chairman

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1:45 p.m. – 3:00 p.m.

**D.C. Chamber of Commerce  
Women In Business**

“Legislative Strategies and Lobbying  
the Political Process”

*Ms. Dana Brewington Stebbins, Esq.*

*Washington Hilton Hotel*

**Monroe Room**

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2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop  
Blacks and Agriculture**

*Congressman Edolphus Towns, New York*

Chairman

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2:00 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop  
Labor**

“Problems in Organized Labor”

*Congressman Charles A. Hayes, Illinois*

Chairman

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2:30 p.m. – 4:45 p.m.

**CBC Legislative Workshop  
Education**

“Education Networking Pathway to Power”

*Congressman Major R. Owens, New York*

Chairman

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3:15 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.

**D.C. Chamber of Commerce  
Women In Business**

Coalition Building and Networking

*Washington Hilton Hotel*

**Monroe Room**

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6:00 p.m. – 10:00 p.m.

**Exhibits**

Exhibit Hall

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8:00 p.m.

**Cabaret Concert**

*Sheraton Washington Hotel*

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10:30 p.m.

**Midnight Fashion Show**

*International Ballroom*

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**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29**

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8:30 a.m.

**CBCF Prayer Breakfast**

*Crystal Ballroom*

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10:00 a.m. – 4:00 p.m.

**Exhibits**

Exhibit Hall

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10:30 a.m.

**Brunch Fashion Show**

*International Ballroom*

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11:00 a.m. – 4:00 p.m.

**National Junior Tennis League  
Tournament**

*Shoreham Hotel Tennis  
Court*

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6:00 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.

**General Reception**

*Terrace Level*

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6:00 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.

**Very Special Reception**

*Jefferson Room*

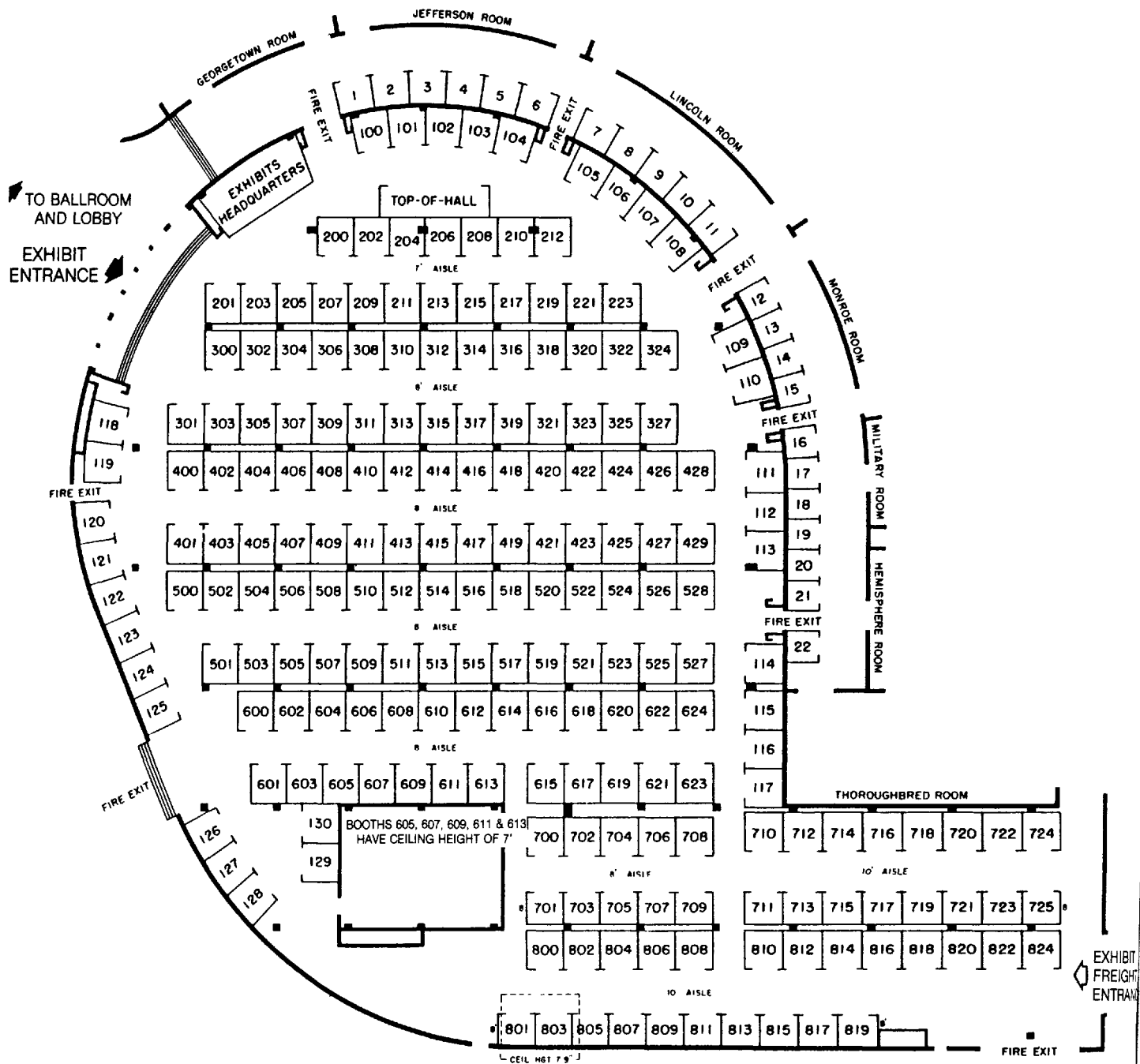
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7:30 p.m.

**CBCF Awards Dinner**

*International Ballroom*

# EXHIBIT FLOOR PLAN



## ***DISTINGUISHED LECTURE SERIES***

PRESENTS:

**CHARLES V. HAMILTON**

*POLITICAL REFORM AND SOCIAL  
POLICIES: IMPACT UPON MINORITIES  
AND THE POOR*

SEPTEMBER 26, 1984  
5:00 P.M.



Dr. Charles V. Hamilton is the opening/scholar lecturer for the 1984-85 Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's Distinguished Fellows Lecture Series. Dr. Hamilton, the Wallace S. Sayre Professor of Government at Columbia University in New York, will address "Political Reform and Social Policies: Impact Upon Minorities and the Poor."

Prior to his joining the faculty at Columbia University in 1969, Dr. Hamilton taught at Roosevelt University in Chicago, Illinois; Lincoln University in Oxford, Pennsylvania; Rutgers University in Newark, New Jersey; Tuskegee Institute, in Tuskegee, Alabama; Albany State College in Georgia; and Miles College in Fairfield, Alabama. Dr. Hamilton is a noted author. He co-authored *Black Power* in 1967 with Stokely Carmichael. His other books include *Black Experience in American Politics*, *The Bench and the Ballot*, *Southern Federal Judges*, and *American Government*.

Dr. Hamilton is the recipient of many awards, honors, and fellowships including the University of Chicago Professional Award, the Roosevelt University Alumni Award, the Lindback Distinguished Teaching Award from Lincoln University, a Guggenheim Fellowship, the Mark Van

Doren Teaching Award from Columbia College, and the honor of serving as a Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Lecturer from 1973-74.

He has written numerous articles which have appeared in such distinguished publications as the Harvard Educational Review, the Wisconsin Law Review, the Political Science Quarterly, the New York Times Magazine, Black Digest, Progressive, the Journal of International Affairs, Black Scholar, the Public Interest, and the State of Black America. National Urban League.

Dr. Hamilton's academic training includes a Bachelor of Arts degree from Roosevelt University in Chicago, Illinois, a masters degree, a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, and a Juris Doctor from Loyola University School of Law in Chicago. He is presently the Vice President of the American Political Science Association and a member of the Boards of Trustees for the Twentieth Century Fund and the New York Foundation. He serves on the Editorial Board of the Political Science Quarterly and the Board of Directors of the International Center for Ethnic Studies in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Dr. Hamilton is also a member of the Council of Foreign Relations and a consultant for the Ford Foundation.



# CONCERT

## CABARET CONCERT

Welcome

The Manhattans

Tribute to  
Congresswoman Katie Hall

The Pointer Sisters



## THE MANHATTANS

**T**he Manhattans, celebrating nineteen years in show business, began singing their smooth, resonant harmonies on the streets of New York and New Jersey in the late '50s. This unique blend of singers includes Blue Lovett, Kenny Kelley, Sonny Bivins and Gerald Alston.

The story of the Manhattans reaches back to 1961, when a Macon, Georgia, G.I. named Edward "Sonny" Bivins and a friend came to New York after an Air Force stint in Germany, to team up with three others as the Dulcets. Their one and only recording "Pork Chops" remains a mythical item among R&B collectors. In 1962, the Dulcets split up.

Sonny Bivins and his service mate, Richard Taylor got together with Blue Lovett and the late lead singer George "Smitty" Smith and formed the Manhattans. They chose the name Manhattans because they used to spend a lot of time singing around 116th Street in Harlem, and they liked the name.

The Manhattans have recorded such popular songs as "I Wanna Be (Your Everything)", "Kiss and Say Goodbye," "Here Comes the Hurt Again," "Shining Star," "Crazy" and "Forever by Your Side."

## THE POINTER SISTERS

**I**n retrospect, the Pointer Sisters' musical horizons were limited to a strict gospel sound. Reverend and Mrs. Pointer felt that this was a good way to protect the Pointer children from "the fast lived lives in the blues and jazz worlds."

Born and raised in the Bay Area, Oakland, California to be exact, the Pointer Sisters found it difficult to resist the sounds of the early 1970's. They sang backup behind such people as Dave Mason and Elvin Bishop at the Fillmore West and in 1973, the Pointers played L.A.'s Troubadour. Two gold albums, hit singles and world tours followed. They were the

first Black females ever, to appear at the Grand Ol' Opry.

In 1978, after taking a break from touring and recording, the Pointer Sisters found Richard Perry. Perry has just completed his sixth LP with the Pointers entitled, *Break Out*. The new record is indeed testimony to the success of this long standing relationship. It's getting back to the "Yes We Can Can" sound, only using synthesizers, drums and a completely modern beat. The Pointers say, "it shows how much we've really grown up."



# **FUTURE TRENDS IN AMERICAN ETHNIC RELATIONS**

**A** danger in addressing a subject as complex and abstract as ethnicity is that we may become entangled in semantics. So much has been written on the topic, from so many perspectives, that we could fill this journal merely defining concepts. But I will be more general and, I hope, more useful. I will define as briefly as possible concepts necessary to understanding ethnicity. I will then discuss societal conditions that appear interconnected with ethnic relations. Finally, I will outline ways that shifting conditions might affect ethnic relations in the future.

A brief discussion of my orientation to the future is in order. I believe that human destiny is not predetermined, that we are able collectively to affect outcomes in the human drama. I believe we can choose to be constructive rather than destructive, cooperative as well as competitive. I note, however, that often we choose the less positive options. Rather than describe only what I think is likely, I will discuss a range of the possible. We humans together will determine what ultimately transpires.

In attempting this sketch, I will borrow liberally from specialists in the study of ethnicity and from generalists in the study of the future. If occasionally I fail to acknowledge the contributions of earlier thinkers, I apologize. We all stand upon the intellectual shoulders of others.

Burkey has defined an ethnic group as "a community group based upon the ascribed status of a diffuse ancestry that is maintained by similarities of culture, language, and/or phenotype."<sup>1</sup> This brief definition touches on three important points. First, ethnic groups are subgroups within larger communities. Second, membership is ascribed, that is, determined at birth based largely on the judgments of others. Third, perceptions of ancestry and similarity are significant.

Since the human species presumably began populating the earth from a single location, we are all in a sense immigrants. As our forebears ventured forth, they did so bonded together as families, clans, tribes, and the like. Over time, genetic drift and flow combined with the laws of ecology to create physical differences among the various groups. Differences also arose among languages, religions, and cultures. Meanwhile, social organizations grew and became more complex. Groups learned to cooperate and trade with one another; they also learned conflict—violent and otherwise. Groups established states, and dramas of international relations and war ensued. Empires developed and asserted domain over progressively larger geographical areas, subjugating rival groups in the process. Migrations continued—some voluntary, others forced. Political boundaries today thus circumscribe territories occupied simultaneously by diverse groups. Some groups are dominant, others are subordinate. Ethnic relations involve the interactions among these groups.

Ethnic groups are social units. They involve individuals (some more so than others) in patterns of expectations grounded in group identity. As structures that exist both prior and subsequent to the lives of individual members, they shape formative life experiences and (to varying degrees) define individual relationships to the larger society.

The term "ethnicity" describes the degree to which and the manners in which individuals adhere to the norms of their ethnic groups. It is a variable concept: individuals potentially manifest different degrees of ethnicity at different stages in life, and the characteristics of given groups' ethnicity changes over time.

Scholars in the field disagree whether the tendency to bond with those perceived to be of like kind results from a primordial feature of human nature. Michael Novak, in *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, contends that ethnic groups represent "a manifestation of man's deep-seated incli-

nation to seek out those in whose veins he thinks flows the same blood as flows in his own." Donald L. Horowitz, among many others, however, stresses the "heavily contextual" nature of ethnicity, noting that its development, its features, and its intensity seem related to changes in the environment.<sup>2</sup>

It seems probable that the primordial and the circumstantial interact to determine the quality and extent of ethnicity. Perhaps Schermerhorn, in *Comparative Ethnic Relations*, best captured the vagaries of the term. He defined ethnicity as "a composite of shared values, beliefs, norms, tastes, consciousness of kind within the group, shared in group memories and loyalties, certain structured relationships within the group, and a trend toward continuity by preferential endogamy."

Also relevant here are two aspects of contemporary ethnic groups pointed out by Glazer and Moynihan in their 1963 landmark, *Beyond the Melting Pot*. The authors noted first that, contrary to the traditional American conception of widespread assimilation, ethnic groups in the United States had in fact failed to melt away. In addition, the authors found that many ethnic groups were asserting themselves increasingly in the manner of interest groups. As such, the groups were focusing their organizational energies increasingly on the political arena.

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***"If tolerance of diversity grows, the current trend will continue toward one of two forms of pluralism."***

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Bell has theorized that ethnic political involvement has increased in recent years because ethnic attachments fill needs—both personal and public—common in modern society. "Ethnicity has become

more salient," he wrote, "because it can combine an interest with an affective tie."<sup>3</sup> That is, in a world growing ever more abstract and impersonal, ethnicity puts individuals in touch with "a tangible set of common identifications—in language, food, music, names"—while at the same time providing an intermediary between the lone individual and increasingly overpowering social institutions.

This combined appeal makes the modern ethnic group, in the words of Glazer and Moynihan, "a new social form." Ethnicity may (or may not) be grounded in the ancient past, but reasons for ethnic involvements are as current as today—"continually recreated by new experiences in America."

Contemporary ethnic political participation arises in a context in which at least eight current social conditions seem critical. As these and other factors vary, ethnicity and ethnic relations are likely to vary as well.

First, the members of various ethnic groups occupy disproportionately some of the levels of status and privilege in American society.<sup>4</sup> Ethnic attachments and antagonisms color not only personal decisions of association, but public and quasi-public decisions of resource allocation and product distribution. From generation to generation, therefore, some ethnicities confer advantage; others, disadvantage. There is some mobility for the most fortunate in each group, but the disproportions are extreme—particularly at the very top and the very bottom. Ethnic leaders thus strike responsive chords when they utilize ethnic appeals in efforts to bring about social change.

A second feature of American society underlying current ethnic relations involves ideology. The assimilationist beliefs that for years pervaded official American policy called upon people to submerge ethnic attachments, to focus allegiance exclusively on the American nation-state. Groups were expected to forsake ethnic differences in favor of the common national culture.

Beginning with the Black civil rights movement in the 1950s, however, the realization grew that, rather than operating as a melting pot in which all groups added their distinctive flavors, American society actually required conformity to a narrow range of characteristics evolved from the original English colonists. The "Anglos" had established themselves in America solidly prior to independence, and they established the rules regulating the participation of subsequent immigrants. Newcomers willing and able to conform to the

life-style deemed appropriate by "old stock" Americans were allowed to compete fully in American life. Groups too unlike the elite—too distant in race, language, and culture, for example—were consigned to inferior positions in the social order. The elite established laws, including first slavery and later segregation, that mandated routines of interaction based upon differential status. These patterns have become ingrained as expectations and customs, and have proven difficult to break even after their legal bases have changed.

Resistance to "Anglo-conformity" spread through the racial and language minorities in the 1960s and to white ethnics in the 1970s. In its place has developed a mixed bag of perspectives and policies lumped together under the rubric of "pluralism." For our purposes here, the critical elements are that minority individuals no longer seem willing to deny their ethnic idiosyncrasies, and minority groups increasingly demand respect and recognition on their own terms.

The complex, bureaucratic nature of the modern American state provides a third critical underpinning of contemporary ethnic relations. Federal, state, and local governments are significant players in the mechanisms of production and distribution. They offer jobs, contacts, and entitlement payments, and they establish the regulatory framework within which most business is conducted. Political bureaucracies tend to respond more to the interests of organized "constituent groups" than to those of unorganized individuals. Politics and government thus provide impetus for ethnic political organization and focal points for ethnic political pressure.

A fourth relevant feature of social organization affecting ethnic relations is the current framework for the resolution of conflict. Contemporary mechanisms tend to be adversarial and usually result in clear winners and clear losers. There is little incentive for moderation. The equations determining outcomes are complex, and they involve a number of variables that are often overlooked. Among the factors are population size, cultural characteristics, physical traits, technological innovation, control and use of natural resources, willingness to use and efficacy in using violence and terror, and countless other factors not excluding luck.

The realities of bureaucratic organization and adversarial conflict resolution contribute to a fifth factor: the determination by many ethnic leaders that group problems require group solutions and that these solutions are best brought about by achieving a redistribution of the national

product to compensate for ethnic inequality. Governmental bureaucracies (often at the insistence of the courts) have yielded to this approach in recent years. Desegregation of the public schools, affirmative action programs in employment, and quotas in higher education admission are evidence.

A sixth factor determining the relations among ethnic groups (all groups, for that matter) is the mix of technology, resources, and processes constituting the global system of production and distribution. As environmental conditions require increasing consideration, as scarcities of food, energy, or other resources demand shifts in technology and output, and as new technologies replace some workers while creating new opportunities for others, the social context for ethnic relations will change. Since change inevitably affects different groups differently, inter-group relations will shift in response.

A seventh factor important to future ethnic relations also involves technological change, more specifically the increasing interconnectedness of the "global village" resulting from modern systems of transportation and communications. When groups were isolated, individuals were little inclined to compare their lives with the lives of others. As technology has brought the world closer together, however, we have become increasingly aware of the disparities. Those with little tend to want more; those with much protect their interests and devise rationalizations for their status. It seems to require forms of interaction rare in the modern world—such as the equal-status, cooperative social contact described by Gordon W. Allport—before we begin to understand the ways in which we are the same.

The eighth and final factor I want to consider is the most ephemeral, the most difficult to quantify, and, probably, the most important. This involves our personal orientations to life, the values upon which we base our decisions, the substrata of our

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behavior. If we humans change, ethnic relations will also change.

These eight factors do not constitute an exhaustive list of every variable that might contribute to changes in ethnic relations. Nor can we isolate each from the others for analysis. But it is possible to suggest ways in which events might affect these variables and in turn affect ethnic relations.

First, inequalities in the distribution of goods and services may either increase or decrease. Some proposals, such as a guaranteed income and credit reform, are designed to level opportunity and outcomes. To the extent that such programs work, ethnic tension and conflict should diminish. In contrast, some policy proposals are likely to encourage even greater concentration of economic power. Such proposals, including many corporate mergers and some kinds of "deregulation," would likely lead to greater wealth for some and less for others. To the extent that such policies increase the differentials among groups, ethnic tension and conflict will probably increase.

The second variable, the public ideology regarding ethnicity, may change either toward increased tolerance of diversity or toward increased pressure for conformity. If tolerance of diversity grows, the current trend will continue toward one of two forms of pluralism. Under "liberal pluralism," individuals and groups will receive neither hindrance nor support from government. Under "corporate pluralism," groups will institutionalize ethnic attachments through governmental recognition. Multilingual education, for example, would perpetuate group identity, and ethnic quotas in employment would encourage potential members to affiliate with their groups.

Advocates of liberal pluralism argue that the economic and political differences among ethnic groups are diminishing rapidly enough that governmental support is unnecessary. If they are right, liberal pluralism should result in a lively and fluid society in which ethnicity flourishes but ethnic antagonisms are minimized. If they are wrong, ethnic groups perceiving that progress is too slow will step up protest, and ethnic conflict will increase.

Advocates of corporate pluralism argue that, given the entrenched advantage of dominant groups, members of subordinate groups are unable to compete without governmental assistance. If their argument prevails, equality among groups should increase and tension from the lower end of

the spectrum should decrease. However, a backlash may result, leading to increased conflict originating from the middle.

If pressures demanding conformity should rise—under the banner of an authoritarian party of administration, for example—at least two outcomes are possible. Members of ethnic groups may conform to the new expectations, in which case ethnic conflict will diminish. Or they may resist, in which case ethnic conflict will increase. It seems likely that regardless of the trend toward or away from pluralism, some ethnic conflicts will diminish, and others will increase.

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*"... direct electronic voting on issues, may increase the perceived legitimacy of governmental policy and, therefore, decrease conflict."*

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The third factor, the structure of American government, may change in at least three aspects. It may become larger or smaller, more or less centralized, and more or less accessible to ethnic pressures. If governments become larger, with more jobs and benefits to distribute, it seems likely that interethnic competition in the political context will increase. This conflict will be exacerbated to the extent that governmental resources fall short of perceived needs. To the extent that benefits are sufficient to satisfy all who desire them, extrapolitical interethnic conflict should decrease.

With regard to centralization, the federal system may shift either toward or away from control at the local level. Local ethnic conflict is usually intense because it is personal, and local power distributions tend to be skewed from national norms. Groups concentrated geographically, such as Blacks in central cities and Hispanics in the Southwest, will find their positions enhanced by local control. However, decentralization may abandon dispersed minorities who have relied on the federal government to protect their political and civil rights. Ethnic conflict thus will likely increase in some areas under centralization, and in other areas under decentralization.

Proposals designed to alter the system for selecting public officials may increase or decrease the political power of ethnic groups. Some proposals, such as direct electronic voting on issues, may increase the perceived legitimacy of governmental

policy and, therefore, decrease conflict. Such a system, however, may contribute to the tyranny of the majority and thus increase tension among minorities who feel their rights are being infringed.

Other proposals, such as public financing of elections or restrictions on campaign contributions, would alter the framework of influence in the electoral process. Well-connected and well-financed groups would benefit from laws allowing maximum contributions. Those unable to marshal resources for such participation would probably turn in frustration to extra-political forms of conflict due to increased legitimacy.

The fourth factor, the means available for conflict resolution, may change in ways making ethnic conflict either more or less frequent or more or less intense. If the current adversarial system maintains, more groups may move toward the combined confrontation/negotiation tactics of the Reverend Jesse Jackson and Operation PUSH. Under threat of boycott, Jackson has negotiated with corporations to apportion contracts, dealerships, and franchises in numbers proportionate to Black percentages in the population. By establishing dialogue and forging relationships perceived as more just by minority communities, such arrangements may reduce ethnic conflict. But these interactions are themselves forms of conflict which could become rancorous.

Some policymakers have suggested mediation and arbitration as alternatives to adversarial forms of conflict resolution. To the extent that such alternatives become institutionalized in ways perceived to be legitimate, ethnic conflict should decrease.

One more point regarding conflict resolution must be addressed—violence, both as a means of protest and as a means of preempting or repressing protest. If violence is ever found to be a legitimate and successful means of gaining group objectives, conflict will likely increase. If ethnic violence erupts and is repressed by widely supported governmental violence, it is likely that a period of reduced overt conflict will follow. If, however, governmental violence is used without broad consensus, ethnic conflict of the most damaging kind will likely result. Groups will feel justified in using violence, and the government will lack a countervailing claim to the moral high ground.

The fifth variable, involving group remedies, may continue as at present, or more or fewer groups may gain officially recognized minority status. If school

desegregation, affirmative action, and the like continue, and if inequality and alienation among ethnic groups decrease as a result, it seems likely that ethnic conflict will also decrease. If these programs are abandoned or rejected and inequality and alienation increase, it seems likely that ethnic tension will intensify. To the extent that individual groups are added to or removed from these programs, they will be less or more likely to increase conflict. In any event, should a backlash develop, generalized ethnic conflict will likely increase.

The sixth variable, environmental quality and resource availability, could alter profoundly the balance of power among groups, as well as the context for inter-group relations. If geographical areas become despoiled, leading to migrations, ethnic conflict will likely result. If shortages of food or energy develop, groups likely will contend for what remains.

The seventh variable, interconnectedness, seems likely to change in only one direction. The earth is developing a global economy, with individuals and groups across the world connected by increasingly sophisticated means of transportation and communication. This phenomenon binds us together, but it also increases our opportunities for conflict.

This brings us to the eighth variable, a factor upon which—it seems to me—all the others hinge. That is the human factor. How will the global community react to all this change? Will the dominant groups in the Western world continue to exploit heedlessly both the environment and the vast majority of the planet's occupants? Or will more humanistic and ecological values come to the fore? Will many Americans continue to measure success primarily in material terms, or will other motivating factors develop that are more conducive to sustainable harmony? Will competition and exclusion continue to be the organizing principles for production and distribution, or will people choose other, more creative options based upon cooperation and mutual advantage?

It is unlikely that ethnic conflict will be eliminated in the near future. But if we desire to minimize such conflict, certain steps seem likely to help. We must decrease inequality and increase tolerance of diversity. We must work to create a political system that is just and accessible to the downtrodden as well as to the elite. We must work to develop methods of conflict resolution that encourage moderation and mutual accommodation and discourage stridency and violence. We must tend to our physical environment and devise realistic and sustainable resource policies.

Finally, elites must demonstrate flexibility and compassion in adjusting to changing conditions. They must yield gracefully and sincerely and must resist the temptation to press every advantage. The other factors discussed here will vary in ways that advantage some and disadvantage others. That seems inevitable. The crucial factor seems likely to be the human response to evolving conditions. Whatever crises befall the human community, whether in Lebanon, El Salvador, South Africa, or Detroit, our survival will likely depend upon our learning to live constructively together.

#### Notes

1 R M Burkey, *Ethnic and Racial Groups The Dynamics of Dominance* (New York: Cummings Publishing Co., 1978)

2 D L Horowitz, "Ethnic Identity," in N Glazer and D P Moynihan (eds.), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975)

3 D Bell, "Ethnicity and Social Change," in Glazer and Moynihan (eds.), *Ethnicity*

4 See, e.g., A Greeley, *Why Can't They Be More Like Us?* (New York: The American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 1969); and R M Burkey, *Ethnic and Racial Groups The Dynamics of Dominance* (New York: Cummings Publishing Co., 1978)



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## **CBC LEGISLATIVE UPDATE**



Dear Friend:

As the 98th Congress draws to a close, those of us in the Congressional Black Caucus look with pride at the modest gains which have been made in the face of an Administration which has sought to reverse three decades of progress for Black Americans.

The past two years have challenged the strength and fortitude of the 21 Black men and women serving in the United States Congress. We have continued the struggle against a president who seeks to redefine civil rights and, in the process, make victims of discrimination somehow become the wrongdoers.

The Caucus has been the cutting edge opposing these Administration policies. We were the first to speak out against the nomination of Edwin Meese as Attorney General and to question his commitment to justice for all. On the floor of Congress, in Committee hearings, before the press, and across America we have spoken out against policies which undermine the enforcement of civil rights. Whether it was the President's continued assault on the Civil Rights Commission, his proposal for a youth subminimum wage, or his efforts to weaken federal contract compliance and the 8(a) minority set-aside program, we were there to respond.

For the fourth year, the CBC introduced its Constructive Alternative Budget which again set the tone for Congressional debate on the federal budget. Our plan was acknowledged as the best in terms of reducing the deficit and restoring support for domestic programs. We strengthened coalitions with the Hispanic and Women's Caucuses in Congress as we worked together to secure overwhelming passage by the House of the Civil Rights Act of 1984 which restores strong anti-discrimination requirements for all institutions receiving federal funds. This bill is a key item on the Senate's agenda for passage before Congress adjourns this year. The Caucus also drew national attention with Congressional hearings on the growing problem of Black infant mortality and need for swift federal action to expand

prenatal care. These efforts were instrumental in securing enactment of CHAP (Child Health Assurance Program), legislation which had been needlessly delayed by this Administration's inaction.

We have been disappointed that the Senate has not taken action on our top priority: comprehensive jobs legislation, including the Community Renewal Employment Act and the Youth Incentive Employment Act. It should be noted that just recently the senior member of the CBC, Congressman Augustus Hawkins, became Chairman of the powerful Education & Labor Committee after the sudden passing of our friend, Congressman Carl Perkins. We now look for our "quiet warrior" to use this pivotal position to get jobs legislation at the top of Congress' agenda with the CBC's total support.

Yet, perhaps it is these very challenges which have helped energize the Black community to seek change through political empowerment. In the streets of our communities, on the family farms, and in small businesses and factories we have seen the damage of four years of Reagan economic policy. Black Americans were also brought to the voting rolls and primary polls by the successful candidacy of Jesse Jackson, which shaped the issues before our nation and thereby changed the face of Presidential politics. We must all now work together to ensure that this political momentum among Black voters peaks in November so that the direction of this nation can change as we restore America's commitment to fairness and justice for all.

If we have persevered through these difficult challenges, it has been because of the continued support which you have provided. Your help has always been key to our legislative successes, and we look forward to continued progress in the important days to come.

JULIAN C. DIXON  
Chairman  
Congressional Black Caucus

## ALTERNATIVE DEFENSE BUDGET

Mr. Dellums is Chairman of the Military and Installations Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee. In this capacity Mr. Dellums managed the Military Construction bill through the House, through the House-Senate conference, and into law.

Mr. Dellums was the author of the military and defense sections of the Congressional Black Caucus budget. He authored a complete alternative to the Defense Authorization Bill. He introduced amendments to delete funding for the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, and the Cruise and Pershing missiles deployed in Europe. In addition, the House approved his amendments concerning the creation of a department in DOD, in a plan for the conversion of military spending to domestic spending.

The Dellums alternative defense budget provided for a well-funded national security policy authorizing more than \$750 billion in defense spending over the next three years. Nevertheless, his proposal made significant cuts in the irrational policies of the Administration and would have saved the government some \$318 billion over the same period, savings sufficient to reduce the unprecedented Reagan budget deficits and to free resources for increases in social spending.

The major themes of his proposal were (1) to lessen the threat of nuclear war through a nuclear freeze and through arms control efforts leading to weapons reductions, (2) a non-interventionist national security policy with regard to the Third World, (3) a reduced U.S. military role in Europe and Asia, (4) a redirection of procurement policies to reduce waste, fraud, abuse, and massive cost-overruns, and (5) a stronger national security through a policy of conversion to an economy which is less dependent on military spending.

In short, the alternative called for a policy based on the defense of U.S. interests, not the arming for nuclear war or intervention around the globe. This policy would have created fewer distortions in the economy at large, and would have significantly enhanced the prospects of peace and real arms reductions.



## H.J. 453: NATIONAL HIGH-TECH WEEK

On January 26, 1984, Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally introduced H.J. Res 453, a resolution which designates the week of September 30, through October 6, 1984, as "National High-Tech Week." The purpose of "National High-Tech Week" is to educate the public on the advances in high technology.

The resolution is a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such a week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, including programs aimed at educating the Nation's youth about high technology. Schools may use this special time to focus educational activities around the theme of high technology, and its impact on American life and work. Many corporations have indicated that they plan to hold special activities during this week.

H.J. Res 453 passed unanimously in the House on August 1st and in the Senate on August 3, 1984. It now awaits Presidential approval.

## THE CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT AMENDMENTS OF 1984

A new law passed by the 98th Congress to enforce the collection of child support payments was sponsored by Congressman Harold Ford. House Resolution 4325 will require states to begin withholding child support from the paycheck of a parent who is more than 30 days delinquent. The Child Support Enforcement Amendments of 1984 will also require employers to forward withheld wages to state child support agencies, and will allow the deduction of delinquent payments from federal and state income tax refunds. Speaking to Members of the House of Representatives when the bill was being considered, Congressman Ford pointed to studies which showed that children were being cheated out of more than \$4 billion annually because of unpaid child support. Ford also said an estimated 8.4 million women are single heads of households with at least one child living at home and 30 percent of these women are living in poverty.

## H.R. 4920—THE OMNIBUS ANTI-POVERTY ACT OF 1984

The national poverty rate has increased from 11.2 percent in 1978 to 15.2 percent in 1983. More than 35 million Americans now live in poverty. Congressman Ford says that several studies have shown that one reason the poverty rate has increased is because of President Reagan's unfair economic policies which have resulted in cuts in social programs for the poor and tax breaks for the rich. The Omnibus Anti-Poverty Act will reduce poverty by creating a safety net for long term unemployed individuals and their families, improving the economic condition of senior citizens and reducing federal taxes for the working poor.

Congressman Ford believes the passage of the Anti-Poverty Act of 1984 will be a step in the right direction toward returning to a society where government realizes it has a responsibility to care for those less fortunate.

## USAID MINORITY SET ASIDE

During the second session of the 98th Congress, Congressman William H. Gray was responsible for including in the Foreign Aid Authorization and in the House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee 1985 Foreign Aid Appropriation, a provision that requires the Agency for International Development to expend 10% of its funds with minority controlled businesses and private voluntary organizations, and historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). In order to achieve the 10% goal mandated by the Gray amendment, the Agency for International Development, in partnership with Congressman Gray, has sponsored a number of regional seminars throughout the country intended to encourage minority business participation in U.S. foreign assistance programs.

## FY 1985 FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION

Congressman William H. Gray is the only member of the Congressional Black Caucus sitting on the House Budget Committee. During deliberations on the 1985 Budget Resolution, Gray secured a real 3.5 percent increase over the projected inflation rate in federal health, nutrition, education, housing and other services for low income and unemployed people. Because of Congressman Gray's efforts, the First Concurrent Budget Resolution Report stipulates that spending targets in the Resolution cannot be used by the Administration to argue against funding for public works jobs for community renewal, employment initiatives for youth, Aid for Families with Dependent Children, and other low income programs.

## **PROHIBITION ON NEW U.S. INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Congressman Gray was the author of an historic amendment to the Export Administration Act of 1983 (EAA) prohibiting new U.S. investment in South Africa. The amendment received overwhelming and bipartisan support as it passed the House of Representatives on October 27, 1983. Congressman Gray has since been named a member of the House-Senate Conference Committee on the export bill which is to consider the ban on new U.S. investment in apartheid. In the conference, on April 12, 1984, an effort to delete the sanctions from the export bill was defeated 11 to 2. The vote indicates the continuing broad level of support for this legislation. Although the many differences between the House and Senate versions of the EAA dim the prospects for completing action on the bill during this Congress, there is still hope that the Senate Conferees will agree to a meaningful compromise which recognizes the determination of the House of Representatives to prevent new American support for a system of legally mandated racial separation and oppression.

## **HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 298**

On May 3, 1984, Congressman William H. Gray, introduced House Concurrent Resolution 298, which expresses the sense of Congress that South Africa release all individuals held at the Mariental detention camp, that the United States reaffirm its policy of not recognizing South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, and that South Africa recognize and follow the basic precepts of international law.

The resolution introduced by Congressman Gray was prompted by the South African Government's suppression of an American-sponsored court application that sought the release of individuals who had been forcibly removed from Namibia and held incommunicado for six years by the South African defense forces. An international outcry prompted the South Africans to eventually release 55 of the detainees, but dozens more are still being held without charge.

## **INCREASED HEALTH ASSISTANCE AID FOR AFRICA**

In response to an amendment offered by Congressman William H. Gray during mark up of the 1985 Foreign Aid Appropriation on August 2, 1984, the Foreign Operations Subcommittee approved a transfer of funds that should result in a 55% increase over the previous year's level of spending by USAID for health programs in sub-Saharan Africa.



Congressman Gray's amendment called for an increase of \$15 million over the Administration's request of \$27 million for FY 1985. The \$42 million provided for Health programs by the Subcommittee's bill will help alleviate the extreme suffering caused by the recent drought and famine, and will also reinforce U.S. efforts to support agricultural and other sectoral development initiatives. Spending by the U.S. Agency for International Development for health care in sub-Saharan Africa fell \$16 million between FY 1982 and FY 1984.

## **FOOD AID FOR AFRICA**

Congressman William H. Gray, along with Congressman Matthew McHugh (D-NY), introduced a measure that was approved by the House Appropriations Committee on March 1, 1984, to provide \$150 million for food aid for Africa during the extended famine and drought that continues to affect two dozen countries and threatens more than 100 million people with hunger and starvation. The Reagan Administration interfered with enactment of this legislation providing emergency food aid in order to secure additional support for its unpopular policies in Central America. Through the concerted effort of several members of Congress and the enactment of several appropriations bills, however, \$175 million for famine relief was eventually enacted.

## **H.R. 5890: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. FEDERAL HOLIDAY COMMISSION**

To assist in the first observance of the Federal legal holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a bill to establish a commission, H.R. 5890, was introduced by Congresswoman Katie Hall (IN) along with seventy co-sponsors.

With the passage of H.R. 5890, on August 8, 1984, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday Commission will coordinate efforts encouraging appropriate ceremonies and activities throughout the United States. The Commission will provide advice and assistance to organizations participating in programs honoring the slain civil rights leader.

The Commission shall be composed of twelve officers appointed by the President, the Speaker of the House, and the President Pro tempore of the Senate. Fourteen other members of the Commission shall be appointed by the officers. The Commission convenes thirty days after the date of enactment of this Act and a Chairperson will be elected at that time.

The Commission may receive donations from public and private organizations and individuals to assist in carrying out its responsibilities under this act. H.R. 5890 states that all expenditures of the Commission shall be made from donated funds and the Commission shall submit a report to the President and the Congress concerning its activities under the Act no later than April 20, 1986, two months after the first observance of Dr. King's birthday.

## **H.R. 5503, THE HEALTH PROFESSIONS MINORITY TRAINING ASSISTANCE ACT**

The severe underrepresentation of minority physicians, dentists, veterinarians, pharmacists, and other minority health professionals is a critical problem that can no longer be studied, discussed, and debated. It is a problem that deserves priority national attention by Congress.

Recently, CBC member, Louis Stokes introduced, H.R. 5503, The Health Professions Minority Training Assistance Act of 1984, which seeks to address the current critical national shortage of minorities in the health professions. Specifically, the bill, if enacted, would

- Provide grants to health professions schools to establish a fund from which low-interest loans may be made to low-income students.
- Establish a low-interest, service obligated, loan forgiveness program for minority health professions students.
- Provide for federally guaranteed loans to assist minority graduates of health professions schools to set up private practices in underserved areas.
- Provide incentive grants to accredited public or nonprofit health professions schools to encourage the expansion of minority enrollment.



- Establish endowment development grants for health professions schools with predominantly minority or low-income students.
- Provide grants for health professions schools with predominantly minority or low-income students.
- Provide financial need scholarships to minorities and low-income students.
- Provide fellowship grants to encourage minorities to pursue academic and research careers and.
- Reauthorize the advanced financial distress and the disadvantaged assistance programs for an additional three years.

The development and enactment of H.R. 5503 is of utmost importance to the millions of ethnic minority groups living throughout the nation. Special and targeted federal efforts for minority training and education activities are required and well-justified to raise the level of national commitment to improving health care for all Americans. Even the Reagan Administration has admitted that we must increase opportunities in health education for the economically disadvantaged and minorities and increase the number of health care providers serving populations of minorities and underserved. Unfortunately, the administration's budget and legislative proposals do not reflect a significant commitment toward these goals.

H.R. 5503, however, would provide for a substantive and long-term commitment by providing the necessary resources for minority students to attend health professions schools and for minority health professions schools to expand training activities.

#### **H.R. 6182, THE ENTERPRISE ZONE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT ACT**

Congressman Wheat has introduced an enterprise zone bill which takes an alternative approach to that taken in legislation proposed by the Reagan Administration. While the main purpose of this Act is, like other proposals, to improve the economic condition of distressed areas through the stimulation of commercial activity, the emphasis of this measure is to provide incentives to the residents of the zones to help themselves and to the small business community to create new jobs for these disadvantaged zone residents.



Zone employees are eligible for a five percent tax credit on wages (up to \$450 per year). Disadvantaged zone employees are entitled to a refund of this credit, as well as refundable tax credits for 50 percent of medical and day-care expenses.

This bill also provides greater opportunities for small businesses than do other measures by substantially increasing the availability of venture capital to these firms. This is achieved by permitting persons who purchase stock in these firms to deduct the entire amount of their investment from their taxable income and by providing that industrial development bonds may continue to be issued to finance small enterprise zone firms even if the use of these bonds is terminated by federal law elsewhere.

Representative Wheat's proposal places great emphasis on providing incentives for homeowners in the zones to rehabilitate their own property and their neighborhoods. Additional incentives are offered to developers to rehabilitate rental property, provided that it is used as low or moderate income housing. While the bill removes developer incentives that would encourage the dislocation of zone residents, those residents who are displaced as a result of the development of the zone are provided with relocation assistance which no other proposal includes.

This Act is designed to insure the success of the enterprise zone approach by restricting the number of zones available so as to maintain their value, balancing the incentives for both the residential and business communities, encouraging the local government to provide improved police, fire and other services rather than emphasizing local tax breaks, and stressing the importance of community participation in the development and implementation of the local enterprise zone plan.

#### **TELECOMMUNICATIONS**

Representatives Cardiss Collins and Mickey Leland have worked diligently to promote the goal of information diversity. They believe in the ability of all Americans, not just a privileged few, to take advantage of the growing array of services and ownership opportunities available in the emerging media market. Their legislative efforts within the past year reflect this commitment.

Congresswoman Collins introduced H.R. 1155, the Minority Telecommunications Development Act. Through this bill, Congress makes an affirmative finding that minorities have been and continue to be deprived of full participation in common carrier, broadcasting, and cable communications services. In order to further the growth of interstate and foreign commerce, a regulatory and industry EEO program is established and designed to increase minority employment and ownership opportunities in telecommunications.

*Pending—Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Telecommunications*

Congressman Leland introduced H.R. 2331, the Minority Telecommunications Ownership Tax Act. The bill amends the Internal Revenue Code to increase the investment credit for the purchase of used telecommunications property which effectuates policies of the FCC and extends the non-recognition of gain on FCC certified sales or exchanges of radio broadcasting stations to systems of wire or radio communication.

*Pending—Committee on Ways and Means*

The Telecommunications Subcommittee, at the request of Representatives Collins and Leland, held hearings on Minority Participation in the Media. One hearing, chaired by Congressman Leland, devoted attention to the abysmal record of minority portrayals within the television and movie industries. The second hearing (a joint hearing with the CBC Communications Braintrust) focused on the deregulation of the broadcast and cable industries and the impact that such actions would have on minorities. This hearing also explored minority ownership of media properties and EEO practices within the media industry (Hearing report #98-93). As a result of these hearings, the Subcommittee agreed to incorporate minority ownership and employment proposals in the broadcast reform and cable legislation.



Representatives Leland and Collins introduced H.R. 4120. This legislation placed a moratorium on changes in the FCC's multiple-ownership rule for radio and TV broadcast stations. The rule limits ownership by any one entity to seven AM stations, seven FM stations and seven television stations. The proposed elimination of ownership limits would encourage the larger owners of broadcast facilities to expand their interests and seriously undermine the efforts of Hispanics, Blacks and other minorities to increase their ownership of broadcast facilities.

The House passed H.R. 2755, the FCC Authorization Act. Although funding bills for federal agencies are relatively non-controversial, this measure generated much concern in the Black community because of the FCC's lack of commitment to minorities and other underrepresented groups. A sheet which details specific FCC positions is available.

The House Energy and Commerce Committee reports H.R. 4103, the Cable Telecommunications Act. This bill included an EEO provision offered by Representatives Collins and Leland which required any cable system operator to establish a program to insure EEO, established certain EEO percentages which must be met by cable operators and provided an enforcement mechanism for those operators who fail to meet these requirements.

Representatives Leland and Collins introduced H.R. 5957, the Cellular Communications Minority Opportunities Act. This bill would encourage greater diversity of ownership and control of cellular systems through implementation of preferences for minority applicants in cellular radio-telephone proceedings.

Pending—Energy and Commerce Committee

Representatives Leland, John Dingell (House Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman), and Tim Wirth (Telecommunications Chairman) introduced H.R. 6122, a deregulation measure that, among other things, would establish quantified programming standards and EEO quotas. A hearing on the bill is planned by the Telecommunications Subcommittee.

Representative Leland introduced H.R. 6134. This bill addresses the proposed changes in the FCC's multiple-ownership rule and included the use of a percentage of audience reached as the ownership criterion (as opposed to the numerical approach of 7-7-7 and 12-12-12) and eliminated the sunset provision which would end ownership rules by 1990. The Telecommunications Subcommittee is expected to hold a hearing on the bill in September.

#### **MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT LEGISLATIVE ACTION DURING THE 98TH CONGRESS**

During the 98th Congress, legislative activity focusing on minority business development emerged as major agenda items.

Such legislative concerns over the period beginning January 1983 stemmed, in part, from the uniquely difficult challenges that have plagued minority business since the early years of this century when small minority-owned service and retail establishments first appeared. Today, however, these historical challenges are compounded by new institutional challenges posed by special interest policies of the Reagan Administration that have warranted decisive and immediate legislative responses to ensure the very survival of a minority business community.

Minority businesses in this country have, of course, been hardest hit by the Reagan economic plan—which combined massive tax cuts with an unprecedented buildup in military spending, producing a Federal budget deficit that has tripled over the last three years and is the largest in the history of the universe. The resultant high interest rates and capital shortfalls have contributed to unprecedented business failures that have hit minority businesses hardest.

**H.R. 4209**—Amends Section 15 of the Small Business Act, providing for increased small and minority business involvement in federal contract procurement operations. This measure passed the House on May 21, 1984. It requires the Small Business Administration to assign to each major procurement center a breakout procurement center representative with specific duties aimed at boosting competition for

federal contracts. The measure directs the director of small and disadvantaged business utilization of each agency to assign technical advisors to assist each breakout procurement center representative.

**H.R. 5096**—The Minority Investment Tax Act of 1984—was referred to the House Committee on Ways and Means, on March 8, 1984. This measure is designed to encourage the development of a viable minority business community through the deferral of capital gains taxes on proceeds from investments used to buy stock in minority business. Under this measure, stock purchase would be made through a qualified minority investment fund company, similar to a mutual fund.

**H.R. 4200**—Amends the Small Business Act to ensure that the cost to an agency awarding a government contract to a small business under the 8(a) program would not exceed the estimated current fair market price of the work to be performed. The bill includes a formula for determining fair cost.

#### **HOUSING AND THE 80s**

As a member of the Subcommittee on Housing of the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee and Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus' Housing Braintrust, Congressman Mitchell co-sponsored the last major piece of housing legislation enacted by Congress. The housing authorization was supported by other members of the Caucus.

The President signed into law on November 30, 1983, the housing authorization legislation (P.L. 98-181). The two-year authorization represented a compromise between the House and Senate. The bill extended and revised major existing housing and community development programs and established several new demonstration programs that are critical to our communities. The bill also created a new rental rehabilitation and housing development grant program and authorized a modified Section-8 housing voucher program.



The bill authorized a new emergency shelter program. There is a \$60 million funding level to assist states, local governments, Indian tribes, and non-profit organizations to provide shelter and essential services to persons subjected to life threatening situations because they lack housing.

The bill established a two-year neighborhood demonstration program to determine the feasibility of eligible neighborhood organizations on a matching fund basis. The bill provides \$2 million in both 1984 and 1985 for this demonstration. The neighborhood organizations can undertake activities such as creating permanent jobs, establishing or expanding businesses, and rehabilitating, or managing the housing stock. These awards will be made by HUD on a competitive basis, not to exceed \$50,000.

Congress approved the HUD appropriation (P.L. 98-371), which provides \$8 million in budget authority to assist 150,308 units in fiscal year 1985, a 19 percent reduction from the 1984 level of \$9.9 billion and a 68 percent reduction from the 1981 appropriation of \$25 billion. In total, approximately 100,000 newly assisted units will be provided, including 42,000 housing vouchers. The major factor in this reduction is the focus on existing housing over new construction. The bill also provides for 5,000 units of new construction for public housing, 5,000 Section-8 moderate rehabilitation units, and 12,000 Section-202 units.

Community development programs, notably the CDBG and UDAG programs, are funded at approximately the same level as in the authorization. The 312 rehabilitation program will be funded out of loan repayments, an estimated \$80 million.

## **CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS STAFF**



**VALERI A. BYRD**

Valeri A. Byrd is primarily responsible for the operational management of the Congressional Black Caucus Office including her services as media liaison with print and electronics organizations. She also contributes her considerable expertise to the vital areas of the Caucus' operations including representation of the Caucus to the public and coordination of services with various constituent units. In addition, she also produces a nationally syndicated radio show which features the Black Members of Congress.

A native Washingtonian, Valeri is an active volunteer. In addition to taking several graduate level courses, Valeri holds a Bachelor of Arts in Communications and Political Science from American University.



**SHEILA C. SENESIE**

Sheila C. Senesie is the Secretary and Case Worker at the Congressional Black Caucus. Sheila's responsibilities include handling constituent requests and coordination of meetings for the CBC Members and International Visitors. She has served the Caucus since 1977.

Prior to joining the Caucus, Sheila went to school and worked in Philadelphia before moving to the Washington area. For two years, she worked as secretary for the YMCA of Metropolitan Washington.

**SATURDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 29, 1984**

# ***PRAYER BREAKFAST***

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Opening Remarks

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Call to Worship

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Music Selection

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Opening Prayer

---

Old Testament Reading

---

Prayer for the Congressional Black Caucus

---

New Testament Reading

---

Music Selection

---

Prayer for the Nation

---

Keynote Speaker

---

Response

---

Closing Prayer

---

Benediction

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CONGRESSIONAL BLACK  
CAUCUS SPOUSES

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**MID-NIGHT CHAMPAGNE  
FASHION SHOW**

**FRIDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 28, 1984**

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PRESIDING	Mr. Melvin Lindsey, WHUR-Radio Host of the "Quiet Storm"
GREETINGS	Honorable Marion Barry Mayor, Washington, D.C.
INTRODUCTION OF CO-SPONSOR	Mrs. Betty Dixon, Chairperson Congressional Black Caucus Spouses
MESSAGE FROM AVON	Mr. Robert McMillan, Corporate Vice President Public Affairs, Avon Products
FASHION SHOW	Collage '84

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**BRUNCH FASHION SHOW**

**SATURDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 29, 1984**

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PRESIDING	Mayor Andrew and Mrs. Jean Young, Atlanta, Georgia
WELCOME	Mrs. Betty Dixon, Chairperson Congressional Black Caucus Spouses
INVOCATION	Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy Washington, D.C.
GREETINGS	Mrs. Effi Barry
INTRODUCTION OF CO-SPONSOR	Mrs. Betty Dixon
MESSAGE FROM AVON	Mr. Robert McMillan, Corporate Vice President Public Affairs, Avon Products
FASHION SHOW	Collage '84
INTRODUCTION OF PRODUCER: Mr. Dwight Byrd	Mrs. Betty Dixon

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## CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

### SPOUSES

**T**he Congressional Black Caucus Spouses was formed in 1976 at the request of the Members of the Congressional Black Caucus, for the purpose of raising funds to support a program to increase minority involvement in the legislative process. After a published House Administration report indicated that of the approximately 18,000 Congressional employees, less than 1,000 were Black and of 22 standing committees in the House of Representatives, less than 25 Blacks held professional positions, the Congressional Black Caucus inaugurated the Graduate Legislative Intern Program.

In order to meet the requisite financial requirements necessary to support the Graduate Legislative Intern Program, the Spouses have produced an annual fashion show, the proceeds solely supporting the Intern program. Since the inception of the Graduate Legislative Intern Program, which started with four graduate students, more than 70 students, recruited from colleges and universities nationwide have participated. The Graduate Legislative Intern Program was expanded in 1983 to become the Congressional Fellows Program. This new Fellows Program encompasses a greater variety of potential candidates.

The Congressional Black Caucus Spouses have dedicated their energies and resources to the development of a functional committee whose objective is to keep the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Fellows Program financially solvent and operable, so that minority graduates and professional individuals will have an opportunity to gain first-hand exposure to the legislative process.

(Not pictured)

#### **CAROL CLAY**

Wife of Congressman William "Bill" Clay of Missouri

#### **JOHN HALL**

Husband of Congresswoman Katie Hall of Indiana.



**BETTY J. DIXON**

Betty J. Dixon is the wife of Congressman Julian C. Dixon, of California. Born in Birmingham, Alabama, she moved with her parents to Los Angeles, California at an early age. She is a graduate of Pepperdine University in Los Angeles, with a Bachelor of Science degree in Home Economics and a graduate of Howard University, in Washington, D.C., with a masters degree in Food and Nutrition.

Mrs. Dixon worked for the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission as a consumer education specialist, and later as director of the Commission's Consumer Outreach programs. She promoted the Commission's information and education programs on the safe selection and use of consumer products regulated by the Consumer Product Safety Commission. Transferring to the Department of Health and Human Services, Health Care Financing Administration, Mrs. Dixon served as director of the Washington Office on Beneficiary Services. Her responsibilities included maintaining liaison with organizations representing the elderly in order to promote greater understanding of the Department's Medicare and Medicaid programs.

After ten years of Federal government service, Mrs. Dixon launched a totally new career for herself. Owner of "Much Ado About Something," a unique boutique, which opened in May of 1984, at 2000 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., Mrs. Dixon fairly radiates en-

thusiasm and excitement over her new venture.

She says, "Much Ado is an exhausting experience which doesn't leave a lot of time for too many other activities on the side, but it's a pleasure."

Serving in her first year as Chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus Spouses, Mrs. Dixon likes to play "at" tennis and describes one of her fun weekends as listening to her favorite jazz artists and sampling Julian's experimental dishes.

#### **HARRIETTE CLARK- CHAMBLIS CROCKETT**

Harriette Clark-Chamblis Crockett, a practicing Pediatrician in Washington, D.C., is the wife of Congressman George W. Crockett, Jr., of Michigan.



Known professionally as Dr. Harriette Clark, she maintains a private practice at the Clark Clinic, with her brothers Drs. Charles and John Clark.

Mrs. Crockett, a native of Charleston, West Virginia, is a graduate of Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts and Howard University College of Medicine in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Crockett, active in many professional and community organizations, holds membership in the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Medical Association, the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., the Pearls, and the Chapter Ten Literary Club.



### **LEOLA HIGGS DELLUMS**

Leola Higgs Dellums is a graduate of Georgetown University Law Center.

Roscoe, as she prefers to be called, is the wife of Congressman Ronald V. Dellums of California, and the mother of three children.

Mrs. Dellums has extensive work experience in the areas of mass media, education, research, and entertainment. This experience, coupled with her legal education creates an interesting career profile. As she says, "I am seeking to combine my legal education with my interest in human rights, communication, and the entertainment industry."

The author of a prescriptive diagnostic research paper, entitled, "Teaching English As A Second Language to Native Born," Mrs. Dellums is also a published lyricist. Some of her many organizational affiliations include the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, the American Guild of Authors and Composers, the National Music Publishers Association, the Black Entertainment Lawyers Association, and the Black Music Association.

### **ALICE GUENO DYMALLY**

Alice Gueno Dymally, the wife of Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally of California, is a native of New Orleans, Louisiana.

President of Unique Gifts, Inc., a business located in Compton, California, Mrs. Dymally's work experience includes consulting, researching, and tenure as a Commissioner of the California Commission on Equal Education.

A teacher for ten years, she has taught in the New Orleans, Louisiana, the San Bernadino and Sacramento, California school systems. Mrs. Dymally received her baccalaureate degree in Education from Xavier University in New Orleans and her masters degree in Urban Studies from Occidental College in Los Angeles.

She is affiliated with many professional and community organizations including



the California Teachers Association, the California Institute of the Arts, the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., the International Orphans, the Catholic Social Service, and the Foundation for Educational Improvement.

### **DOROTHY FAUNTROY**

Dorothy Fauntroy, honored as "Woman of the Year" in 1982 by the members of the New Bethel Baptist Church, is the wife of Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy of Washington, D.C. A native of Petersburg, Virginia and a graduate of Virginia Union University, in Richmond, Virginia, where she majored in Business Administration, Mrs. Fauntroy is very active in church affairs at New Bethel Baptist Church where her husband is the Minister.

Mrs. Fauntroy is a soloist in the Senior Choir, a member of the Dorcas Missionary Board, the Deaconess Board, the July



Birthmonth Circle, and has participated in the Annual Women's Day activities for the past twenty-five years.

The commentator of the bi-monthly radio show "Afternoon Devotions" on WUST-Radio, Mrs. Fauntroy has worked with the Boy Scouts of America, Inc., the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Committee, and the Physicians Committee for Health Care for the Aged.

### **DOROTHY BOWELS FORD**

Dorothy Bowels Ford, selected "Outstanding Democratic Woman of the Year" in 1976, is the wife of Congressman Harold Ford. A native of Memphis, Tennessee, she attended Memphis State University in Tennessee, where she received a bachelors degree in Sociology in 1971.

Mrs. Ford, active in politics, served as both manager and coordinator of her husband's reelection campaign. She was coordinator of a city-wide voter registration drive in Memphis that targeted over 25,000 registrants.

A former Legislative Assistant on minority economic development issues for the Tennessee Valley Authority, Mrs. Ford is strongly involved in community and social activities in Memphis and Washington, D.C. She is a member of a number of organizations including the Links, Inc., the Jack and Jill, Inc., the Girl Friends, Inc., the National Council of Negro Women, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Memphis, Tennessee Board of Health.



The mother of three sons, Harold, Jr., Newton Jake, and Sir Isaac, she and her family are members of Mt. Moriah Baptist Church in Memphis, Tennessee.

#### **ANDREA DASH GRAY**

Andrea Dash Gray, wife of Congressman William H. Gray, III of Pennsylvania, was born in Mount Vernon, New York. She moved with her family to Hackensack, New Jersey, at the age of three and attended the local schools there. She graduated from Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey in 1967 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology.

Mrs. Gray was a Marketing Support Representative with IBM Corporation for five years and is currently a Senior Business Development Representative for the Private Industry Council of Philadelphia.



A member of the Penn Towne Links, Inc., Mrs. Gray sits on the Boards of Directors of the Philadelphia Council of International Visitors and the Northwestern Branch of the Red Cross.

The Grays have three sons: Billy, Justin and Andrew.

#### **ELSIE HAWKINS**

Elsie Hawkins, wife of Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins of California, is a native Washingtonian. She began her employment career early, accumulating thirty years of federal service, including executive and legislative service.

Mrs. Hawkins' special interest in museum exhibitions led her to research



historical information on Black Americans. An active member of her husband's campaign committee, she has closely followed Congressman Hawkins' jobs and educational programs.

Especially proud of her family, which includes two daughters, a son and two granddaughters in college, Mrs. Hawkins enjoys the time shared with Gus and the family fishing and boating. Mrs. Hawkins also enjoys gardening, cooking, and entertaining small groups of friends.

#### **EDNA JEAN HAYES**

Edna Jean Hayes, wife of Congressman Charles A. Hayes of Illinois, is an energetic lady in her 40's, who has just completed one year of marriage and one year as a Congressional Spouse. The mother of two sons, Ronald and Phillip Miller, she has lived in the Washington, D.C. area twice before. Very fond of this area, she found



adjustment to the political arena very easy, due to her previous involvement in the labor movement—having met many political individuals before.

Mrs. Hayes maintains a hectic schedule which has always been her ritual. She is known to have worked full-time and part-time while attending Mundelein College and the University of Illinois—Circle Campus, both in Chicago. She also attended Roosevelt University College of Management in Chicago.

Mrs. Hayes has not changed. Although she is very involved as a Congressional Spouse, she is now a college senior at the George Meany Center School of Labor Studies in Silver Spring, Maryland—a college degree program fully accredited through Antioch University. Sharing a labor background with her husband, she expects to graduate in June, 1985, with a bachelors degree in Labor Studies.

A publisher/editor, she is also compiling a monthly magazine for publication through her recently established company, Ronphil Publishing. Mrs. Hayes' philosophy is "a mind is a terrible thing to waste... at any age." She categorizes herself as an eccentric academician—always thirsty for knowledge.

#### **ALISON WALTON LELAND**

Alison Walton Leland, a third-year law student at Georgetown University Law Center and wife of Congressman Mickey Leland of Texas, is fully active in a legal and political career. In the last two years she has clerked at two major Houston, Texas law





firms, Butler & Binion and Vinson & Elkins

Mrs. Leland served as the Campaign Coordinator for Councilman Rodney Ellis' successful bid to the Houston City Council, during which she coordinated fundraising activities, developed campaign strategies, compiled voter lists, conducted surveys, and worked with the media.

A member of the Barristers' Council, the Black American Law Students Association, and the Law Student Division of the American Bar Association, Mrs. Leland graduated *cum laude* from Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. Honors she has received include being listed in *Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities*, and on the National Register of Outstanding College Graduates, membership on the National Dean's List, Sigma Tau Delta National English Honor Society, Pi Sigma Alpha National Political Science Honor Society, and receiving the Spelman Academic Scholarship for 1979-80.

### **ALMA RANGEL**

A former Chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus Spouses and a member of the Board of Directors of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Mrs. Rangel is a graduate of Central State University in Wilberforce, Ohio and wife of Congressman Charles B. Rangel of New York.

Mrs. Rangel studied at the Hunter College School of Social Work and is very active in civic and community affairs. She



serves on the Board of Directors of the New York Foundation for Senior Citizens, Inc., the National Coalition of 100 Black Women, and the Bethune Museum and Archives, Inc.

Appointed by the Governor of New York to the White Commission on Aging, Mrs. Rangel is also a member of the Women's National Democratic Club, the Congressional Wives Club, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., and the National Links, Inc.

### **JAY STOKES**

Jay Stokes, wife of Congressman Louis Stokes for 24 years, is a member of the Board of Directors of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. In her four year tenure as a Board member, she has served on the Nominating, Housing and Legislative Weekend Coordinating Committees.

A native of Trenton, New Jersey, Mrs. Stokes has been deeply involved in her husband's earlier campaigns. She is the



devoted mother of four children, Shelley, an Audit Supervisor for C&P Telephone Company, Angie, a graduate of Howard University Law School, Louis Charles, an Executive Producer for ABC-TV in Detroit, and Lori, an upperclassman, majoring in Communications at Howard University. Mrs. Stokes is also the proud grandmother of Brett who is two years old and Eric who will be six weeks at the time of the Fourteenth Annual Legislative Weekend.

### **GWENDOLYN J. TOWNS**

Gwendolyn J. Towns is presently a Liaison Officer with the New York City Board of Education Impartial Hearing Office. The



wife of Congressman Edolphus Towns of New York, she has long been affiliated with the New York City Board of Education, holding positions as Elementary School Teacher, Corrective Reading Teacher, Educational Therapist and Coordinator of the Diagnostic and Remedial Learning Program.

A native of North Carolina, Mrs. Towns received a Bachelor of Science degree in Early Childhood Education from North Carolina A&T University in Greensboro, North Carolina and a masters degree in Guidance and School Counseling from Brooklyn College in New York.

Mrs. Towns is a member of many educational associations including the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association, and the United Federation of Teachers. She was named "Woman of the Year" for 1978 by the Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc., and is an active participant in the Professional Women of New York and the Concerned Women of Brooklyn.

# ***TENNIS EXHIBITION***

## ***SCHEDULE OF EVENTS***

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11:00 a.m. **Patrons Reception**

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12:00 p.m. **First Match**

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3:00 p.m. **Raffle Drawing**

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3:30 p.m. **Presentation of  
Trophies**

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## ***PARTICIPANTS***

Leslie Allen & Rodney Harmon  
*Chairpersons*

Leslie Allen  
Renee Blount  
Zina Garrison  
Rodney Harmon  
Chip Hooper  
Cheryl Jones  
Lori McNeil  
Todd Nelson  
Carol Ann Watson

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The Shoreham

Black Entertainment Television  
*Producer and taping for delayed cablecast*

# FOREIGN POLICY HELD HOSTAGE:

## **THE JACKSON RESCUE MISSION**

BY A. W. SINGHAM

**S**ince World War II, United States foreign policy has been in a hostage situation, having been hijacked by a small, elite group and turned into a private preserve. It has become increasingly difficult for the general public to rescue the debate of foreign policy from this elite and make it once more part of the public domain. The foreign policy establishment, consisting of the presidency, appointed advisors, and leaders from the bureaucratic military, economic, and communications sectors, is not only small but primarily white, male, and Eurocentric in its view of the world. In the world view of this establishment's members, the U.S. is an extension of Europe and, as the leader of the Western world, has an historic obligation to preserve, protect, and promote Western civilization. No matter how crudely, the Reagan administration reflects the conventional wisdom of the foreign policy establishment in its view of the world as being divided between the forces of good and evil, and the forces of evil must be stopped even if it means destroying the whole planet. The newer states of the Third World are regarded as the weaker species, which have to be protected from the forces of evil for their own good. Henry Kissinger summarized this when he said that he had an obligation to protect Chileans from themselves. By the way, this world view is not a new Reaganite doctrine but has long been shared by the Republicans and Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives.

In 1984, this outlook is being seriously challenged by Jesse Jackson. As expected, the Jackson challenge has produced a vitriolic reaction from the members of the foreign policy establishment, who have accused him of treason, carpetbagging, anti-semitism and every other form of villainy. But, then, the foreign policy establishment cannot grasp the idea that an individual like Jesse Jackson could perform the civilizing function and mission of the West. Nowhere is the racism that is endemic to U.S. institutions more manifest than in the reactions of the foreign policy establishment's members to black interlopers who attempt to speak on *their* subject and in *their* preserve. Readers will recall that another black leader, Andrew Young, was banished from the heights of foreign policy-making at the United Nations to the depths of "urban ghetto politics" for stepping out of bounds—that is, having conversations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

But the question remains as to how the foreign policy establishment hijacked the subject,

especially since the U.S. Constitution mandates popular participation in all areas of policy-making.

The hijacking process was accelerated by global events. The United States emerged out of World War II as a nuclear power, that is to say as a superpower. The nation's political institutions have been radically transformed to meet the new needs of this superpower. A superpower, in order to govern the world, requires a new type of presidency—a super presidency—and, since World War II, we have seen the emergence of what some call the imperial presidency. An imperial presidency cannot, after all, be constantly plagued by challenges to its authority from a semi-literate and uninformed public. It needs new institutions, created out of older institutions, as governing tools. Thus, the State Department has been gradually transformed into a giant international agency with desk officers for almost all the countries of the world. The National Security Council has become a major intelligence organization that determines the policy needs of the imperial presidency for the various regions of the world. The Pentagon has become a giant military machine standing at the ready to intervene in any corner of the globe where a government might need to be replaced, as in Grenada or Lebanon or Nicaragua. The Central Intelligence Agency is a highly automated octopus that collects detailed information on political processes throughout the world, and especially keeps tabs on the world's leaders and their health conditions, and devises techniques for terminating these leaders or the governments they head should they run afoul of our so-called national interests. The legislature, which was designed to act as a check on the power of the executive, has also become an integral part of the foreign policy establishment and the imperial presidency. The Senate, after all, is the breeding ground for presidential aspirants, who use their positions as elected officials to create new insti-

tutions that serve their foreign policy interests. Consequently, the imperial presidency has been able to conduct foreign relations without much fear of challenge from the other institutions of government. Also apparent is the gradual politicization of the entire civil service, which has made the theory of separation of powers a mere fantasy in practice.

But the consolidation of the imperial presidency has not been achieved simply within the realm of government itself. It has been facilitated, as well, by dramatic developments in the economy and society. To become a superpower, one needs quick and ready access to the natural resources of the world. In the past few years, the world economy has been radically transformed by giant economic institutions known as transnational corporations, and transnational banks. American transnational corporations, in collaboration with their European and Japanese counterparts, have penetrated all the continents and, in the name of civilization, have transformed the economies of most nations of the world. Transnational banks have similarly found that the countries of the Third World, especially, are excellent markets for loans. In providing loans to Third World countries, they have transformed the global fiscal system and made the U.S. dollar the supreme currency. The Bretton Woods Agreement consolidated the position of Western countries and, most importantly, made the unit of exchange for all countries dependent on the hard currencies of the West and Japan.

The transnational corporations and the transnational banks were aided in establishing themselves by the imperial presidency working through the legislative branch of government. Appropriate legislation was expeditiously developed to legitimize the activities of these new institutions, which, in turn, created a highly efficient, well-organized and technically well-equipped lobby that helped the legislature whenever it needed it and, most importantly, provided the necessary funds for the electoral process. Here we see the method by which the internationalization of domestic politics takes place, with the giant corporations and banks insisting that the strength of the U.S. economy is dependent upon their exploitation of global resources.

Thus, a curious thing happened on the way to the U.S. becoming a superpower: The corporations and banks, which constitute private interests, were quickly transformed into represen-

tatives of the public interests. In turn, the latter became the guardians of the entire nation's interests. Others have described this phenomenon as the emergence of the national security state to replace the nation state. Security issues have become part and parcel of domestic and foreign policy-making. The most important implication of this development is that those who attempt to resist or criticize the goals of the national security state quickly become open to the charge of treason or consorting with the enemy. Indeed, national security has become a holy cow, and the foreign policy establishment has been able to thwart any efforts to question the legitimacy of the national security state's actions. Even the Speaker of the House, Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill, Jr., recently complained through an aide that the President had come close to charging him with treason on the Lebanon issue.

There is another exceptionally important institution that has emerged in recent times. The imperial presidency has found that national bipartisan commissions perform an important role in neutralizing any public debate on controversial issues, and in creating a false national consensus. The recent Kissinger Commission, labelled a bipartisan commission on Central America, consisted mainly of conservative members of the foreign policy establishment from both the Republican and Democratic parties. The primary purpose of this commission was to make sure that the U.S. public would accept the doctrine, propagated by Kissinger and Reagan, that the only solution in Central America is to increase military aid. By involving members of both parties, the Kissinger Commission could insist that a foreign policy consensus had been forged, and that existing Reagan policy towards Central America is the best possible course of action. Through these commissions of inquiry, which it initiates, the imperial presidency is, again, able to act as the supreme body responsible for foreign policy questions and monopolize all debate.

The imperial presidency and the foreign policy establishment have a third arm that is sometimes called the "fourth estate." I prefer to call it the communications industry. The media are only one part of that industry. It is important to know that universities, foundations, think tanks, as well as professional legal, medical and scientific bodies, are important components of the new communications spectrum. Officials of this industry move with great ease from sensitive government positions to media, academic, and think tank assignments and vice versa. The foreign policy establishment draws heavily upon this industry, and it is not easy to break into the foreign policy establishment. For example, one of the most important articulators of the consensus doctrine of the foreign policy establishment is the Council on Foreign Relations, which produces the highly prestigious publication *America and the World*,

an annual review of events with suggestions for new directions. This Council, which is essentially bipartisan and predominantly white, has been able, through a myriad of agencies, to control and direct the foreign policy debate. Outsiders, or those who claim to be outsiders like Jimmy Carter when he first came to Washington, hope that they can rely on new individuals for foreign policy-making. Indeed, Jody Powell told reporters before the inauguration that the likes of Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski would not be in the new Carter administration. He quickly discovered, as had others, that the imperial presidency could not recruit from outside the foreign policy establishment, that members of this system had to be included if government was to operate smoothly.

The media play a vital role in creating the images that program the public to accept the ideology of both the imperial presidency and the foreign policy establishment. The media generally, avoid any in-depth analyses in their commentary on foreign policies, notable exceptions being the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, which are, in the final analysis, the house organs of the foreign policy establishment and, thus, tend merely to reinforce the consensus doctrine of that establishment. The electronic news media concentrate primarily on major foreign policy events and specialize in producing fast snapshots of those events. The magazine programs sponsored by the Public Broadcasting Corporation, which do sometimes proffer more in-depth analyses, have a small viewership owing to formats that tend not to elicit great public enthusiasm. The PBS shows generally consist of long monologues given by dull and pompous members of the establishment, who do not see their primary role as information providers or educators of the public. Thus, despite the incredible technological advances in communication systems, the substance of foreign policy issues still remains within the domain of a small, private, privileged group.

Since image-making is the primary task of the media as far as the imperial presidency is concerned, there is very little debate during presidential elections about policy options. In President Reagan, the media have struck gold. His genius lies not in imaginative policy-making nor in understanding the complexities of social issues, nor in the implementation of difficult programs, but as a communicator. In other words, the new cultural hero of this society is not a person of substance or understanding, but primarily one who has mastered the ability to communicate.

The Jesse Jackson campaign has created a fundamental dilemma for presidential image-makers in the communications industry. To their way of thinking, his background is repulsive. He was born out of wedlock in Greenville, South Carolina, is a Baptist minister, and is hopelessly black. But his most unforgivable sin during this campaign has been to debate the great issues of our times, especially the major questions of United States foreign policy. Like Martin Luther King, Jr., before him, Jackson

has also attempted to do the impossible—namely, to identify the domestic consequences of foreign policy mistakes. This audacity could not go unchallenged. The *New York Times*, house organ of the foreign policy establishment, has denounced Jackson as a carpetbagger who deals in gimmicks, like obtaining the release of a black marine. He is charged with publicly embracing the "terrorist," anti-Christ Arafat, an unpardonable act. Although strangely enough, it seems quite acceptable for General Haig and the State Department to have important policy discussions, through a mediator, with the same "infidel." In order to destroy a position, it is necessary to destroy the person who articulates that position. Thus, the image-makers have turned with full venom on Jesse Jackson in their effort to destroy what he stands for. In this endeavor, Jackson's past is carefully scrutinized, his phrases carefully analyzed and, most importantly, attempts are made to re-interpret the meaning of his phrases. This is understandable, for here is the first candidate for the presidency to talk in a language and form that are alien to the image-makers, who are conditioned by bureaucratic doublespeak. Black American speech styles which have profoundly influenced how English is spoken in the United States, are producing a new imagery in U.S. politics via the Jackson candidacy and, at last, are being taken seriously. Even more offensive to the communications industry is the preacher in Jackson, the preacher who, in the ministerial tradition, speaks of ethics and prophecy and introduces morality into policy discussions.

Jackson's critique, especially on the foreign policy establishment's world view, has gotten him into a great deal of difficulty. He wants a change in the Eurocentric outlook and calls for the vast body of humanity to be taken seriously. He speaks sympathetically of the Africans, of the Asians, of the Latin Americans, and argues that since they comprise the bulk of humanity, U.S. policy cannot ignore them. He challenges the realists who have dominated the foreign policy debate by calling for more idealism. He talks about the moral obligations of having military power and of being a superpower.

But Jesse Jackson's world view is not the product of some sinister force that is manipulating or paying him. Jackson represents a changing world and, most importantly, a changing United States. The U.S. of 1945, upon which the foreign policy establishment bases its policy, is qualitatively different from the U.S. of 1984. Black Americans whose views

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on foreign policy questions have often been suppressed now see reflections of those views in a voice that is challenging the legitimacy of the establishment, and being heard Jackson's foreign policy objectives are a byproduct of the work undertaken by the Congressional Black Caucus, whose members have for years been offering alternative policy objectives. (For example, the Caucus ran counter to the general adulation of the U.S. invasion and conquest of a minuscule Caribbean nation—Grenada.)

Jesse Jackson has struck a chord of harmony with Hispanics, who have also become politically active on foreign policy matters and on questions relating to immigration. He has struck a chord of harmony with Asian Americans, who are generally ignored by political leaders. He has struck a chord of harmony with white peace activists who are sick and tired of living in a state of war and are fearful of nuclear annihilation. He has struck a chord of harmony with the new majority—women. Even at the risk of alienating his conservative church followers, he has addressed the rights of the much-harassed gay population. Jesse Jackson is articulating the needs of population groups whose politics, until now, were confined to the streets. He wants to take those politics from the streets through the electoral process and up to the citadels of power. In the final analysis, Jesse Jackson is leading, not a campaign for the presidency, but a major social movement. The campaign of 1984 is nothing less than the beginning of a major debate about the future of the United States.

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### **POSTSCRIPT:**

The episode and its aftermath, involving Jesse Jackson's unfortunate characterization of Jewish Americans in general and the New York Jewish community in particular, held important lessons. First of all, the episode gave those who had been lying in wait for this candidate, with their knives sharpened and drawn, the opportunity they had been looking for. Clearly, the epithets used by Jackson, who had placed the issue of morality at the center of his campaign, undercut the moral authority he had sought to exude.

But the "victory" Jackson's enemies can be said to have won in this instance was only a small and fleeting one. Rather than being the lone crusade of an individual on whose character and conduct the crusade's meaning and ultimate value rest, the Jackson campaign indicates the existence of, and lends expression to, a movement. This movement is none other than a permanent opposition within the Democratic Party that does not accept the commercialization of the political process by the communications industry and public relations firms. As reflected in the issue-oriented design of the Jackson campaign, this movement demands that the politics of personality and image-making be replaced by the politics of policy-making and public debate. Jackson's enemies have no laurels to rest on, for this movement is sure to continue, and to become more articulate, more sophisticated and more insistent.

Another lesson arising out of Jackson's faux pas has to do with the question of leadership in the black community. Racist America has a way of deigning to notice a single charismatic leader, whom it then invests with the responsibility of speaking for the whole community, expecting in return that this leader will deliver his constituency whenever their support is required. This precarious arrangement can easily be disrupted by either physical assassination or character assassination. The Congressional Black Caucus has survived because it has developed a unique style of collective leadership which the architects of COINTELPRO have not been able to destroy, even though assaults have been mounted against individual members such as John Conyers and Ronald Dellums.

A second aspect of the leadership question pertains to the responsibility a leader has to the people he is representing. At this historical moment, Jesse Jackson is the single most visible leader of the black community and of a broad, multi-racial/ethnic coalition of forces. What does he owe this constituency? We submit that he has a responsibility to deport himself in a way that dignifies the members of that constituency and their legitimate movement for change. It is hoped that the Jackson campaign will prompt an in-depth examination of the leadership question in all of its aspects.

Having apologized for his verbal blunder, Jesse Jackson has gone on to extend his vital contributions to the 1984 presidential campaign by continuing to hammer away at the hard issues, while his fellow contenders still splash about in the waters of "personality" politics. In the televised debate that preceded the Southern primaries, Jackson alone spotlighted the salient points—unemployment, the quest for peace, the over-stuffed defense budget, U.S. adventurism in Latin America and the Middle East, etc. His performance reconfirmed that while he may have some growing to do in certain areas, when it comes to the most urgent matters confronting this nation today, Jesse Jackson's development far exceeds that of the other presidential hopefuls.

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# ***DINNER PROGRAM***

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**Invocation**

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**Welcome**

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**Dinner**

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**Greetings from the President**

*Honorable Louis Stokes*

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**Greetings from the Chairman of The Congressional Black Caucus**

*Honorable Julian C. Dixon*

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**Presentation of Awards**

***George W. Collins***

Tennessee Valley Center, Inc.

Honorable Maxine Waters

***William L. Dawson***

Honorable William L. Clay

***Humanitarian Award***

Paul Robeson (Posthumously)

**Adam Clayton Powell**

**Rev. Jesse L. Jackson**

**Entertainment**

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**Jean Carn and Arthur Prysock**

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**Closing Remarks**

*Congressman William H. Gray, III*, Chairman, Congressional Black Caucus  
Fourteenth Annual Legislative Weekend

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## **AWARDS**

### **1984 GEORGE W. COLLINS AWARD**

#### **TENNESSEE VALLEY CENTER, INC.**



Percy H. Harvey, President

**T**he Tennessee Valley Center, Inc., is a private, non-profit regional minority economic development organization. Headquartered in Memphis, Tennessee, it was established in 1979 for the purpose of enhancing the economic,

cultural and social status of minority and low-income communities, within the two hundred and one counties of the Tennessee Valley Region. To accomplish its goals, the Center has embarked on a number of programs and projects to generate new employment opportunities and to strengthen the capabilities of minority communities, businesses, and organizations in order to make them more competitive in today's market economy.

Since its inception, the Tennessee Valley Center, has made substantial progress toward achieving its mission. In five years of operation, over fifteen million dollars have been generated for Center projects and programs, as a result of which approximately fourteen hundred jobs have been either created or retained. The Tennessee Valley Center is now an integrated group of corporations specializing in elderly housing development, low and moderate income housing development, venture capital, and commercial real estate development. With an initial contract of only sixty-five thousand dollars, the Center now boasts a net worth approaching ten million dollars.

Mr. Percy H. Harvey, President, a graduate of Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut and a Harvard University trained lawyer, oversees the operation of the Tennessee Valley Center, Inc., with the assistance of a highly trained, professional, dedicated and committed staff.

#### **ASSEMBLYWOMAN MAXINE WATERS**



**A**ssemblywoman Maxine Waters, a Democrat, was first elected to the Assembly in 1976, and reelected in 1978, 1980 and 1982 to serve the 48th Assembly District of California.

At the beginning of Assemblywoman Waters' second term of office, she was elected Assembly Majority Whip by her colleagues, ranking her number four on the leadership team in the California State Assembly. In May of 1984, she was unanimously elected Democratic Caucus Chair which moved her into the number three leadership position. The first woman to hold such a powerful position in the history of the California Legislature, Assemblywoman Waters relinquished her

chairmanship of the Elections, Reapportionment and Constitutional Amendments Committee to assume the responsibilities of her new role.

Assemblywoman Waters serves on the Assembly Ways and Means Committee and Chairs Assembly Subcommittee #4 on State Government. In addition, she serves on the Assembly Rules Committee, the Assembly Judiciary Committee, the Select Committee on Olympic Oversight and the Joint Legislative Budget Committee.

Ms. Waters has numerous firsts to her credit. She is the first woman to serve on the leadership team in the state's history, the first non-lawyer to serve on the Judiciary Committee and the first Black woman to serve on the powerful Rules Committee.

Prior to her election to the Legislature's Lower House, Ms. Waters was Chief Deputy for a Los Angeles City Councilman for three years, the first Black woman to reach the rank in City Hall history. Her legislative ability and organizing skills built an outstanding reputation in Los Angeles government with such creative approaches as obtaining a \$500,000 federal grant to convert two abandoned fire stations into community centers.

Ms. Waters is distinguished in California and the United States for her refreshing, hardworking approach to politics. She played a leading role in the successful quest for the Speakership by Willie L. Brown, Jr., campaigns of United States Senator Alan Cranston, Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles, and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. Most recently, she served as the California Chairperson of the Reverend Jesse Jackson for President '84 Campaign. Prior to her own election to office, Ms. Waters also managed winning races for Los Angeles Councilmen David Cunningham and Robert Farrell.

A recognized leader in the Democratic Party, Ms. Waters was a delegate to the

1972, 1976 and 1980 Democratic National Conventions as well as the 1974 Democratic Mini-Conference in Kansas City. She also served as a member of the Arrangements Committee for the 1978 National Democratic Party Conference. She is a member of the Democratic National Committee and a member of the Center for Democratic Policy. Ms. Waters served on the Hunt Commission on Presidential Nominations. In 1984, she was selected as a member to the Rules Committee of the Democratic National Committee and was appointed to the National Voter Registration Task Force.

The *Los Angeles Times* and *Essence* magazine named Ms. Waters one of the outstanding leaders at the International Women's Year Conference in Houston, Texas, where she was elected Chair of the Women's Caucus. She now serves on many boards and advisory committees including the boards of *Essence* and Ms. Foundation as well as the Commission on the Status of Women and the National Women's Political Caucus Advisory Committee. Ms. Waters is also a member of the Women's Trusteeship. She is President and Founder of Black Women's Forum which has a membership of over 1,000 Black women in the Los Angeles area. In addition, she serves on the National TransAfrica Board of Directors.

Mrs. Waters was born in St. Louis, Missouri and came to Los Angeles in 1960. When the Federal Anti-Poverty Program began in 1965, she organized the first Head Start Program in Nickerson Gardens Housing Project in Watts, served as Head Start Teacher and then became Supervisor of Parent Education for Watts, Wilmington, and San Pedro. She still found time to raise money for non-profit organizations such as the Black Congress, the Mothers of Watts and Dollars for Scholars.

Since election to office, Assemblywoman Waters has been an outspoken voice for child care, consumer protection, small business development and equal rights for minorities and women.

Ms. Waters is married to Sidney Williams. She has a daughter, Karen and a son, Edward.

## 1984 WILLIAM L. DAWSON AWARD

**WILLIAM L. CLAY**



**T**he William L. Dawson Award is presented to Congressman William L. "Bill" Clay, for his significant research, organizational, and leadership contributions in the development of legislation critical to the needs of minorities and the poor in the United States.

Since coming to Congress in 1968, Congressman Clay has sponsored over six hundred pieces of legislation, including the Hatch Act Reform Bill, the City Earning Tax Bill, the Internal Revenue Service Reform Bill, the Pension Equity Act, bills to reform the labor laws, as well as several other bills related to Pension Reform.

He is the second ranking member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and Chairs its Subcommittee on Postal Operations and Civil Service. As third ranking member of the Education and Labor Committee, he is Chair of the Subcommittee on Labor Management Relations. Congressman Clay is also a member of the powerful Democratic Steering and Policy Committee.



## 1984 HUMANITARIAN AWARD

### PAUL ROBESON

**P**aul Robeson (April 9, 1898–January 23, 1976), the son of a runaway slave, was born in Princeton, New Jersey. The most renowned student-athlete ever to attend Rutgers University, Robeson went on to become one of the world's foremost singers and actors. He was also a great scholar, who learned more than 20 languages and produced some of the most perceptive writings of this century on the cultures of the East, the West and Africa.

One of the forerunners of the Civil Rights and Black Awareness movements, Paul Robeson challenged the cultural foun-

dations of racism in America. He was, and he remains, the symbol of the Black American who uncompromisingly insists on full equality. As he put it, "I am looking for freedom—full freedom, not an inferior brand."

A charter member of the National Theater Hall of Fame and winner of the Spingarn Medal, Paul Robeson used his immense prestige and rare talents as powerful weapons in the universal struggle against oppression. He said: "The artist must elect to fight for Freedom or for Slavery. I have made my choice. I had no alternative."

Because Robeson personified human dignity to people around the world, and because he linked the struggles of Black Americans to the struggles of the oppressed everywhere, the United States "Establishment" and its media tried for 25 years to make him a "non-person." So today many people, especially young people, know very little about this great American citizen of the world.

For the past decade the work of the Paul Robeson Archives has been devoted to filling this gap in our nation's history by assembling and cataloging a vast collection of materials documenting Robeson's life and work. The Archives Board of Directors has selected the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University in Washington, D.C. as the permanent repository for this collection, and the transfer of materials is nearing completion.

## 1984 ADAM CLAYTON POWELL AWARD

### JESSE L. JACKSON



**R**everend Jesse L. Jackson was born in Greenville, South Carolina on October 8, 1941. One of five children, Reverend Jackson began working when he was six, helping deliver stove wood from his grandfather's wood yard.

Reverend Jackson attended the all Black Sterling High School in Greenville and was a star athlete in football, baseball and basketball. After graduating in 1959, he accepted a football scholarship to North Carolina A&T College in Greensboro. He was an honor student, a football star, and president of the student body.

While a student at A&T, Reverend Jackson became involved in the Civil Rights Movement. By 1963, he was leading daily

student sit-ins and protest marches which eventually brought about the desegregation of Greensboro's theaters and restaurants. He was elected president of the newly-formed North Carolina Inter-collegiate Council on Human Rights. In 1964, Reverend Jackson graduated with a degree in Sociology and worked briefly for the then Governor of North Carolina, Terry Sanford, organizing Young Democratic Clubs. In 1965, he entered Chicago Theological Seminary and was ordained a Baptist Minister on June 30, 1968.

Reverend Jackson's involvement with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. began with the March to Selma in 1965. The following year, Dr. King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, asked Reverend Jackson and the Chicago-based Council of Community Organizations to help in a national drive to organize Black communities to boycott discriminatory businesses. Dr. King launched Operation Breadbasket in Atlanta and Reverend Jackson was named head of the Chicago branch which successfully won its fight with nine Chicago-area companies.

In August 1967, Reverend Jackson was named National Director of Operation Breadbasket. After Dr. King's death, Reverend Jackson took on key responsibilities for organizing the SCLC-sponsored Poor People's Campaign to dramatize the plight of the poor in the heart of the nation's capital.

In 1971, after four years as head of Operation Breadbasket, Reverend Jackson organized the Chicago-based Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity) and served as its National President until October 1983, when he took an indefinite leave of absence to seek the Democratic nomination for President of the United States.

Reverend Jackson's appearances at the weekly Saturday morning meetings of PUSH, heard by thousands of persons over the radio, soon made him known as one of the nation's most eloquent orators in defense of Black rights and responsibilities. He organized PUSH for Excellence, an education program that combines mass student motivation and parent-community mobilization, which has become one of the nation's most innovative programs for improving our schools. He also created the program PUSH for Economic Justice, to renegotiate the economic relationship between Black America and corporate America to achieve economic reciprocity.

Reverend Jackson has been a speaker for a wide variety of groups, including a Joint Session of the Alabama Legislature, the Democratic National Convention, the University of Notre Dame, the National Council of Churches, the United States Conference of Mayors, the National League of Cities, the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Urban League, the United Negro College Fund, the National Council of Negro Women, the National Council of Christians and Jews, the National Educational Association, the First International Conference on Human Values (in London), the International Conference on World Peace and Poverty (in Dublin), and the 20th Anniversary of the March on Washington.

In his concern for promoting world peace and human rights, Reverend Jackson has met with Pope John II, former President Jimmy Carter, former Prime Minister of West Germany, Willy Brandt, the late President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, King Hussein of Jordan, King Khalid of Saudi Arabia, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, the late President William Tolbert of Liberia, Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands and Prince Philip of Great Britain.

Reverend Jackson has been on the cover of *Time* magazine twice and *Newsweek* once since the age of 27. He has received a number of distinguished awards including the Rockefeller Public Service Award in 1978 and the Bellarmine Medal in 1979. In this year's Gallup Poll, Reverend Jackson was ranked 9th (out of a possible 10)

as the man the American people most admire. More than 35 colleges and universities have conferred honorary degrees on Reverend Jackson.

Reverend Jackson resides in Chicago with his wife, Jacqueline, and their five children—Santita, 20, Jesse Jr., 18, Jonathan, 17, Yusef, 13 and Jacqueline, 8. Reverend Jackson is Associate Pastor of Fellowship Missionary Baptist Church in Chicago.

# DINNER ENTERTAINMENT

**J**ean Carn is a dynamic songstress who has thrilled audiences around the world with her unique range and vocal quality. A native of Columbus, Georgia, Ms. Carn began singing at the age of four in the church choir. Her training includes gospel, classical, and country/western music.

Her depth of feeling comes shining through in songs such as "When I Find You Love", "Together Once Again", "Revelation/Infant Eyes", and her latest entitled "Trust Me" on Motown Records and Tapes.

Ms. Carn has performed and recorded with Earth, Wind and Fire, George Duke, Norman Connors, Michael Henderson, Archie Shepp, Duke Ellington, Rick James, the Temptations, and many more. She is undoubtedly one of the most gifted vocalists in the recording industry.

## JEAN CARN



**T**he words come out of you from radio and television—"Here's to good friends...the night is kind of special...tonight...tonight...let it be Lowenbrau". The voice belongs to Arthur Prysock, a hefty balladeer whose equally weighty voice has been a familiar commodity on the singing scene since 1945.

A native of Greensboro, North Carolina, he decided very early in life that he wanted to be a singer. His break came when the Buddy Johnson Band signed him on. Mr. Prysock recorded upward of fifteen songs with the Buddy Johnson Band—among them are "They All Say I'm the Biggest Fool," "I Wonder Where Our Love Has Gone," "Jet, My Love," and "We'd Only Start It All Over Again."

Mr. Prysock, with laurels around him from recording hits with Johnson, left the band in 1952 for a solo career. His first hit was a Sy Oliver arrangement of "Blue Velvet". It was in 1976 that the Miller people asked him to record a commercial for their beer. From that venture came the Lowenbrau commercial and a new life for Arthur Prysock. "Can you imagine?" he chortles, "Making a hit commercial".

## ARTHUR PRYSOCK



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## MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

### **CBCF—THE NEW FOUNDATIONS FOR THE FOUNDATION**

**T**he past year could be described as the rebuilding of some of the foundation of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. It was a year filled with achievements in the face of adversity. Ironically, this past year was quite likely the most successful year in the Foundation's history. The solid base of the rebuilding of the foundation of our Foundation was the decision to purchase an historic townhouse on Pennsylvania Avenue. During the past year, we have begun the process of completely restoring this building. We began this initiative at a time when we were under unprecedented legal and financial pressures. The financial pressures were generated by a frivolous legal suit which the Foundation unanimously won in court. In addition to the legal suit, the Foundation overcame other impediments such as threats to the personal belongings and the personal security of employees from a spate of fall burglaries at Foundation headquarters, and the untenable situation of the Foundation paying dearly for some capital equipment purchased in the past but currently not available for Foundation use. The Foundation overcame these impediments with effective security measures and the advice and help from the Foundation President in negotiating the Foundation to a fair settlement on the excess capital equipment.

The solid record of the Foundation's achievements in the face of adversity was considerable. The report of our major operating divisions will spell these achievements out in greater detail. Briefly, they were—

1. The successful conversion of a graduate intern program into one of the most important Fellows Programs given by a United States organization
2. The CBCF Legislative Weekend raised a record amount of funds in the most successful Dinner ever
3. The Foundation successfully (with the vital assistance of key volunteers) carried out a spring art auction fundraiser which is expected to become an annual event

4. The Foundation successfully inaugurated a nationally distinguished Lecture Series.

5. For the first time, the Foundation sought and was awarded research grants for the partial funding for our Issues Forums on the Black Family

6. This year saw the emergence of *Point of View* as a major national quarterly Foundation newsletter which features major public policy research articles

7. The Foundation initiated valuable linkages with scholars throughout the United States and with important research resources such as the Foundation Center and the Library of Congress.

The above achievements were possible because of the strong support and guidance of the President of the Foundation and the Board of Directors, and the hard work of the staff. It reflects the fact that this year, Committees of the Board of Directors were more active than ever. This was especially the case for the Executive, Finance, Housing and increasingly, the Personnel and Policy Committees.

The past year was also a year of staff transition at the Foundation. Three Foundation staffers resigned and of these three positions, only one (the Executive Director) was filled. The other positions were absorbed by other Foundation staff. In this spirit, the Senior Policy Analyst absorbed the functions of the Director of the Fellows Program and the Policy Analyst became the Editor of *Point of View*. Also, the Administrative Secretary absorbed the functions of the Executive Assistant as well as administrative functions. The result of these and other actions was a tremendous increase in overall staff productivity. Last, but not least, the Assistant for Development also handled the responsibilities for press and media relations.

As Executive Director, I am especially pleased with the management improvements over the last year. I was pleased to have benefited from some steps initiated by the previous Executive Director. The major management improvements were the development and installation of a number of new management systems for the Foundation. These system improvements included the finalization of a new personnel manual, the development of new operating and management policies, the revision of new financial management and accounting systems, the development and implementation of effective operating budgets, and distribution of costs to more specific program budget allocations. Last, but not least, the Foundation benefited by utilizing a working relationship with the Washington

Center to provide a quality experience for advanced undergraduate students. Students in this program were very active in support of our *Point of View* newsletter. The Foundation also benefited by helping to provide public policy exposure to a number of undergraduate students at the University of the District of Columbia.

These significant accomplishments signaled the end of the beginning. With your continued help, the Foundation will continue to prosper.

# CBCF—ANNUAL REPORT ON RESEARCH PROGRAMS

## DOMESTIC POLICY

**D**uring the 1983-84 fiscal year, new ground was broken in the efforts of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation to build its research program. With sufficient funding and an organizational commitment to continue these efforts, the Foundation will soon become the leading organization for research on public policy issues affecting Black Americans.

The thrust of our effort has been to develop and strengthen the Foundation's linkages with scholars working on public policy research and analysis. Through visits to academic centers in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia and numerous phone calls around the country, we are working with 75-100 scholars who have submitted material for publication in *Point of View*, who will present papers at our conferences, who have submitted research proposals, or who are interested in working with us on future projects.

We will continue to work with these scholars and to disseminate their work in *Point of View*, future CBCF seminars, conferences, monographs, and other information bulletins. In addition, we will aggressively seek funding from private foundations and the government for research projects co-sponsored by the Foundation and other research centers. Some of the research projects we have already received include, Black urban development, occupational stress among Black corporate executives, the emerging technologies and the information underclass, and the impact of tax policies on Blacks.

An additional goal for the coming year is to develop a research clearinghouse at the Foundation in order to facilitate contacts between researchers and policy makers, and to enable scholars and policy makers to look to a central source for current information on the status of research or key issues affecting Blacks.

Some of the accomplishments of the Research Program include:

- The Foundation's network of policy makers, scholars, and involved citizens interested in working on CBCF sponsored research programs was expanded

- *Point of View*, the CBCF quarterly report on research and public policy resumed publication. It provides a medium for the dissemination of information and public policy analyses to a nationwide audience. To date two issues, Spring 1984 and Summer 1984, have been published. Articles were submitted by Members of the CBC, noted scholars and researchers in the academic community, CBCF staff, CBCF Fellows, interns and volunteers.

- The Research Program developed and coordinated the Issue Forums during the Fourteenth Annual Legislative Weekend. This year, the Foundation presented a series of Issue Forums on the Black Family entitled "Negotiating a Dual Society: Adaptation Strategies in Black Family Life." The Foundation also sponsored five Issue Forums on International Affairs.

- The Black Family Issue Forum was funded in part by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Foundation for Child Development. This is the first of many such research grants the Foundation intends to seek

## INTERNATIONAL POLICY

**T**he research efforts of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc., reflects the priorities of Black America and the Black world. As a Black American research institute, we are unique in our appreciation and acknowledgement of a dual research priority for Black America which will not only focus on domestic policy but International Affairs, as well. Our research direction acknowledges the reality of an inter-dependent world in which the United States relies on other nations for invaluable natural resources and other nations depend on our resources and political leadership. Black Americans and other members of the Black world are beginning to communicate and relate to one another on an unprecedented scale. We realize that international solidarity within the Black world is necessary not only for international trade relationships, but also for mutual support in our various struggles for economic and political empowerment.

The international research efforts of the CBCF have focused on two major areas of the Black world: Southern Africa and the Caribbean. Southern Africa remains a potential or perhaps an inevitable tinderbox for international conflict. It is the area in Africa where cold war anxieties between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will play a prominent role in the final

struggle for self-determination. Because South Africa has joined the elite group of nations with nuclear capacity, it becomes imperative to understand the nature and role of African-American participation in the liberation and support of majority-rule in South Africa. The Caribbean, similar to Southern Africa, is a very important region for Black-Americans who are interested in foreign affairs, not only for its close physical proximity to the U.S., but also because of the large number of Caribbean-born people who have become citizens of the U.S.

The increasing complexity of international relations in this decade demands a sophisticated and sensitive research approach to the study of foreign policy. During the up-coming year, the CBCF will begin research projects designed to expand the level of knowledge about these areas. Clearly, knowledge about these important areas is an indispensable ingredient in successful policy-planning and policymaking.

Another aspect of our research focus is the expanded role given to International issues at the Annual Legislative Weekend. This year, the CBCF will host over twenty distinguished scholars and policymakers who will discuss U.S. foreign policy in Africa and the Caribbean. The research papers emanating from the Issues Forums will be published through the Foundation and made available to Congressional Members and the general public.

## ANNUAL REPORT ON CBCF FELLOWS PROGRAM

**I**n 1983, the CBCF instituted a Congressional Fellows Program. This program, with an innovative research focus, is designed to meet the challenges of the 1980's with its continuous demands for reliable and sophisticated information. The Fellows Program replaced the former Graduate Legislative Intern Program.

One of the primary goals of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation is to become the major research institution concerned with analyzing the future impact of various public policies upon the Black community. In line with our new research goals, the program seeks to expose the Fellows to a broad array of policy-related research which would increase the depth and breadth of their knowledge of policy issues within and beyond their major areas of expertise. We also provide a forum through the CBCF Distinguished Scholars Lecture Series, where our Fellows, the CBCF community and the policy oriented public can benefit from the knowledge of renowned Black scholars.

We provide an opportunity for our Fellows to diversify their congressional experiences by working with various congressional offices and subcommittees. The Congressional Fellows for the 1983-84 year, featured three outstanding women: Dr. Barbara Haile, Ms. V. Fay Mays

and Ms. Shirley Bryant, who experienced a tremendously diverse range of congressional positions. These settings ranged from the Committee on Rules to the Subcommittee on Labor Management Relations. Brief profiles of the 1983-84 Congressional Fellows indicate the remarkable flexibility and diversity of their experiences during their Fellowship year.

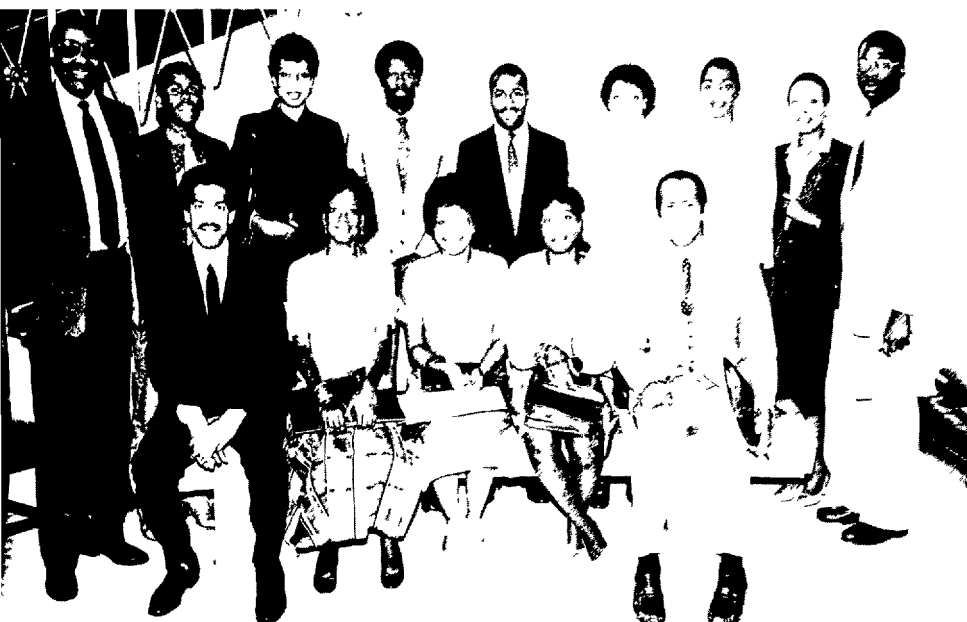
As a Congressional Fellow for 1983-84, Dr. Barbara Haile had the rare opportunity to become an integral part of many new and challenging experiences in the legislative arena. She amassed a considerable amount of knowledge about the policymaking process and the operation of particular policies. But, the greater challenge lay in combining this knowledge with her professional values, based on an ethic of social justice, and at times, the subtle but skillful application of power in bringing about solutions to problems affecting individual constituents as well as large groups. Of course, this process was greatly facilitated by working for a Member of Congress who shared her concern for social justice.

During her Fellowship year, Dr. Haile's legislative responsibilities included, preparing briefing documents for the second hearing on poverty held during the Fall of 1983, drafting *Congressional Record* statements; writing and

researching legislative issues and briefs, briefing the Congressman for hearings, legislative markups, floor debates and meetings with various constituents and trade groups; and drafting letters to major trade associations informing them of the Congressman's position on important pieces of health legislation. Also, she tracked and responded to concerns of lobbyists and constituents; answered constituent inquiries, correspondence and publications requests. Dr. Haile also communicated with various Federal and State agencies for information in mediating constituent problems. But, she considers her most significant contributions to be the drafting of a bill that would amend the Medicaid Program to provide dental benefits to the elderly poor, and assisting a constituent's agency in receiving \$175,000.00 reimbursement from its fiscal intermediary. Dr. Haile received a letter of commendation from the Director of the Howard University Hospital Transplant Center for work done on the National Organ Transplant Act. She also contributed a very important article to the CBCF publication, *Point of View*, entitled "Poverty Growing in the U.S., 34 Million Hurt."

Ms. Valencia (Fay) Mays was assigned to the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations of the House Committee on Education and Labor which is Chaired by Congressman William (Bill) Clay (D-MO). She conducted research and policy analysis in support of the subcommittee's year-long investigation into enforcement of the employer and labor relations consultant reporting requirements of the Labor-Management and Disclosure Act of 1959 (Landrum-Griffin Act) by the U.S. Department of Labor. These investigatory efforts were culminated by two days of Subcommittee hearings and the adoption of a Report which pointed out that the Department was failing to enforce important provisions of the law. In partial response to information developed by Ms. Mays and the Subcommittee recommendations, Congress refused to provide funds for additional investigatory positions requested by the Department of Labor.

In addition, Ms. Mays compiled a summary of bills and resolutions referred to the Subcom-



From left to right 1st row: Dr. Mark Mitchell, Terrie Laurie, Dr. Marsha Coleman, Jacqueline Turnipseed, Thomas C. Williams. 2nd row: Congressman Louis Stokes, Herbert Walker, Gayle Benton, Dr. Robert Cummings, Lerone Bennett III, Pearlina Chase, Dr. Lorraine Cole, Marguerite Williams, Allen Matthews.

mittee and assisted the staff in preparation of the Women's Pension Equity Act that was eventually signed into law. Ms. Mays functioned as an important staff member of the Subcommittee on Education and Labor.

Ms. Shirley Bryant was a CBCF Fellow with the Committee on Rules which provided her the unique opportunity to learn about the formal procedures, traditions and practices that undergird the operations of the House of Representatives. Her major assignment was to monitor Congressional response to the recent Supreme Court decision invalidating legislative veto provisions of federal legislation and to assist in the organization of hearings by the Committee on Rules on the legislative veto. Those hearings, which began in November, 1983, examined the impact of the Court decision *INS v. Chadha* on the authorization/appropriations process and the judicial process, as well as the impact of expedited procedures on House operations.

The 1983-84 Congressional Fellows, attended a number of professional conferences in their fields of expertise. These Fellows attended such conferences as: The Equal Opportunity and Higher Education Conference, The National Black Women's Leadership Caucus, The Grove Conference on the Family in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, The Public Administration Conference in Norfolk, Virginia, The AFL-CIO Conference on Women in the Labor Union and The National Conference of Black Political Scientists.

The Visiting Congressional Fellows (individuals who serve eight weeks at the Foundation during the summer) met seventy-five percent of the CBC Members. These Members were very gracious with their time and information. CBC Members allowed approximately one hour and a half for each appointment which gave ample time for questions and answers about the legislative process. The lengthy time allotment by CBC Members also indicates the importance CBC Members attach to our program. Many of the VCF's were able to develop strong professional relationships with CBC Members and their staffs. The VCF's also met with distin-

guished members of the academic community. During the first week of orientation for the program, the summer Fellows met with: Dr. Alvin Thornton, Political Science Professor at Howard University; Dr. William (Bill) Ellis, Senior Research Advisor, The Congressional Research Service; Dr. Lorenzo Morris, Political Science Professor at Howard University, Ms. Cecile Counts, staff member of TransAfrica, and staff members of various Congressional and Senate offices. The VCF's, within eight weeks, were assigned reserved projects by various Subcommittee Members' offices. These Fellows were integrated quickly into the work routine of their various appointments and assignments.

The Congressional and Visiting Fellows attended, through the Foundation, the Congressional Quarterly Lectures and Seminars on "The Executive Budget Process," "Congress and the Legislative Process," "Understanding Congress" and "Research Workshops on Congress." The Congressional Quarterly courses in conjunction with their personal experiences on congressional assignments combined to provide a comprehensive overview of the major aspects of the legislative process.

While at the Foundation, our Fellows are provided office space at the Library of Congress. The "in-residence" status at the Library of Congress allows our Fellows easy access to the most sophisticated and advanced collection of books and other information in the world. We are also pleased to be able to offer our Fellows the highest stipend among Black institutions that offer Fellowship programs. The CBCF is confident that we offer one of the most comprehensive and sophisticated Fellows programs in this country—a program designed to meet the challenges and demands of the Black world. The admissions criteria for the CBCF Fellows Program stipulates that:

- College faculty members, policy analysts or full-time graduate students are eligible to apply for a Fellowship.
- Fellow assignments are for forty hours per week. Placements and assignments are determined objectively and are dependent upon the candidate's educational qualifications and individual interests.
- Concurrent with the legislative assignments, Fellows meet in a regular series of seminars conducted by representatives of

labor, business, public interest or government (including the congressional, executive and judicial).

- Law Students are currently ineligible for the CBCF Fellows Program.
- We accept undergraduate students through the Washington Center. The Washington Center is an agency which coordinates and places college students with professional organizations for a ten-week period. The Washington Center interns, if chosen by the Foundation, are assigned to a CBCF staff member and enjoy many of the privileges afforded CBCF Fellows. For more information, please contact The Washington Center, 1101 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.



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## **Congressional Fellows**

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### **VALENCIA FAY MAYS**

Valencia Fay Mays, 1983-84 Congressional Fellow, served on the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations. She conducted research and policy analysis in support of the Subcommittee's investigation into the enforcement of the employer and labor relations consultant reporting requirements of the Labor-Management and Disclosure Act of 1959 by the U.S. Department of Labor.

Ms. Mays received her Bachelor of Arts degree from Knoxville College and her Masters of Public Administration from Atlanta University.

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### **BARBARA HAILE, Ph.D.**

Dr. Barbara Haile received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Kentucky, a Master of Arts degree from Indiana University, a Master of Social Work degree from Howard University, and a Doctor of Social Work degree from the University of Pennsylvania.

She was a 1983-84 Senior Congressional Fellow, assigned to the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Oversight and the office of Representative Harold E. Ford of Tennessee.

Dr. Haile has been a faculty member at the University of South Carolina in Sumpter and at Syracuse University, where she taught Social Welfare Policy to graduate and undergraduate students.

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### **SHIRLEY A. BRYANT**

Shirley A. Bryant, 1983-84 CBCF Senior Congressional Fellow, served on the Committee on Rules. She assisted in organizing Committee Hearings on the impact upon Congress of the 1983 Supreme Court decision in *Immigration & Naturalization Service v. Chadha*, which struck down the use of legislative vetoes by Congress.

Ms. Bryant received her Bachelor of Arts degree from Hanover College and her masters degree in Social Work from the Fordham University School of Social Sciences. She is currently a doctoral candidate in the School of Social Work at Howard University.

*Left to Right: Fay & Mays—1983-84 Fellow, Marsha Coleman, Director of CBCF Fellows Program, Congressman Charles A. Hayes, Barbara Haile—1983-84 Fellow, Shirley Bryant—1983-84 Fellow*



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## **CBCF Visiting Fellows**

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### **MR. LERONE BENNETT**



Mr. Lerone Bennett, a graduate of Morehouse College, in Atlanta, Georgia, is presently seeking a masters degree in Public Affairs from Texas Southern University in Houston, Texas.

Mr. Bennett submitted a paper to the Congressional Black Caucus on the War Powers Act which expresses the constitutional provisions for wars, emergencies and the kinds of indirect pressures placed on Members of Congress.

The recipient of the Society of Collegiate Journalists Award, Mr. Bennett was a Morehouse College Dean's List student and is listed in "Who's Who Among American College Students."

*Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Visiting Fellow*

**Assignment:** Congressman Howard Wolpe Synthetic Fuel Corporation. Bill to rescind \$10 million from the corporation.

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### **MS. GAYLE P. BENTON**



Ms. Gayle P. Benton, a masters degree candidate in the Texas Southern University School of Public Affairs' Public Administration Program, in Houston, Texas, has as her areas of academic specialization, Public Personnel Management and Urban Management.

Ms. Benton has served as a Probation Officer for the Harris County Adult Probation Depart-

ment in Houston, a home supervision counselor in the Alameda County Probation Department in Alameda, California and a Group Counselor II.

*Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Visiting Fellow*

**Assignment:** Congressman Ronald V. Dellums Research on Black and Third World Women's Involvement in Politics and Peace Movements

### MS. PEARLINE CHASE



Ms. Pearline Chase, a doctoral candidate at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, received her masters degree in Mathematical Education from Louisiana Technical University in Shreveport, Louisiana.

A former instructor of mathematics with the Department of Mathematics at the University of Oklahoma, in Norman, Oklahoma, Ms. Chase is interested in policy analysis that will benefit Members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

*Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Visiting Fellow*

**Assignment:** Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally Science Foundation policy and analysis of elementary, secondary and postsecondary education

### DR. LORRAINE THERESA COLE



Dr. Lorraine Cole, Director of Minority Concerns at the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association in Rockville, Maryland, received her Ph.D. in Communicative Disorders from Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

Dr. Cole is the author of "Blacks With Oro-facial Clefts: The State of the Dilemma," "The Effects of the Apartheid System in South Africa on Service Delivery and Training in Speech Pathology and Audiology," "The Social Responsibility of the Black Researcher," and a computer software program that performs sociolinguistic language sample analysis.

Dr. Cole is a Fellow of the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, a former Research Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation Program for Minority Group Scholars and the National Fellowship Fund of the Ford Foundation.

A recipient of the Medal of Merit from the National Black Association for Speech, Language and Hearing, she held positions with the Chicago Department of Human Services, Northwestern University Speech and Language Clinic, University of Illinois Division of Services for Crippled Children, and the Chicago Association for Retarded Children.

*Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Visiting Fellow*

**Assignment:** Congressman Charles B. Rangel Research on trend analysis for the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control

### DR. ROBERT J. CUMMINGS



Dr. Robert J. Cummings, Director of the African Studies Research Program in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Howard University in Washington, D.C., is Vice President and President-Elect of the African Studies Association, a national and international academic association.

The recipient of grant contracts by the U.S. Department of Education, U.S. Information Agency, U.S. Department of State and the John F. Kennedy Foundation and Center, Dr. Cummings' books and monographs include *The Lagos Plan of Action vs. The Berg Report: Contemporary Issues in African Economic Development*, *Islam in the United States: Religion with Ideology*, and *the Basic Course in Tigrinya: Textbook*.

Dr. Cummings is on the Board of Directors of the Montgomery County Chapter of the NAACP, Washington Office on Washington Educational Fund, WPBT-TV, Channel 2 in Miami, Florida, and the United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization-Funded African Diaspora Committee in Washington, D.C. He is the recipient of grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development 211-D and Institutional Development Grant for International Health.

*Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Visiting Fellow*

**Assignment:** Congressman William H. Gray, III South African International Trading Partners 1979 to the Present

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**MS. THERESA A. LAURIE**

Ms. Theresa A. Laurie, a former member of the Youth Services Coordinating Office for the City of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, received a masters of Social Service degree from Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania.

Ms. Laurie's research emphasis has been social policy and program development, and in an advanced program in Law and Social Policy her focus was the legislative process and legal research.

Her most recent research paper is entitled "District 7 Truancy/Drop-out Program Attendance Improvement Project."

*Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Visiting Fellow*

**Assignment:** Congressman William H. Gray, III. Research on the Department of Defense-Contracting for Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Business.

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**MS. JACQUE TURNIPSEED**

Ms. Jacquie Turnipseed, a former Policy Analyst in the Budget Bureau for the City of Rochester, New York, and the Urban League Task Force of Rochester, received her masters degree in Public Policy from the University of Rochester.

With a background in microeconomic analysis, multivariate statistical analysis, cost-benefit techniques, computer languages—FORTRAN, SAS, and MINITAB, Ms. Turnipseed evaluated the "impact (cost/benefit) tax foreclosure policy" enacted by the City of Rochester.

Other investigative research by Ms. Turnipseed includes the accumulation of data on tax



foreclosures for Rochester, data on inner city violence in the Rochester City School District and the evaluation of the effectiveness of proposed techniques to reduce school violence.

Ms. Turnipseed has submitted for publication "A Theoretical Analysis of the Sub-Minimum Wage."

*Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Visiting Fellow*

**Assignment:** Congressman Parren J. Mitchell. Economic and Taxation Division. Research on the impact of tax laws on small business.

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**MR. THOMAS C. WILLIAMS**

Mr. Thomas C. Williams, a doctoral candidate in Higher Education at Texas Southern University, in Houston, Texas, assisted in the writing and editing of Dr. James J. Cunningham's *Sources of Finance for Higher Education in America*.

Author of "Influences of International Trade and Commerce on Labor Economics in Houston," Mr. Williams has served as University Supervisor of student teachers at Texas Southern University, Administrative Assistant to the Dean of the School of Education at Texas Southern University, and Instructor of Human Development and Student Government Leadership at the College of Alameda in Alameda, California.

Mr. Williams is listed in "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities," a contributor to the Texas Southern University student news paper, "The Herald," a member of Phi Delta Kappa, Houston Council of Education and the American Association of Higher Education.

*Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Visiting Fellow*

**Assignment:** Congressman Mickey Leland. Research on Texas Junior College financing and continuation of research on doctoral studies.

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**Contributing Scholars**

Dr. Mark Mitchell  
Marguerite Siebenhoven

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**Washington Center Interns**

Orandra Cotton  
Herbert E. Walker, III  
D'Andre Workman

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**University of the District of Columbia Interns**

Wayne Caraway  
Clinton Davis  
Cheryl Green  
Janet Hite  
Jackie Hobbs  
Kimberly Kellogg  
Joseph Kennedy  
Uzo Nnamani  
LaVerne Stephens  
Sheila Williamson

## THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION

### DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARS LECTURE SERIES

**T**he CBCF Distinguished Scholars Lecture Series was initiated this year with an opening lecture by Dr. Robert Staples entitled "Reflections on the Future of the Black Family: Implications for Public Policy." The Lecture Series serves as a forum for Black scholars, distinguished philosophers and practitioners to suggest and define future legislative policy directives to Members of Congress and the public. Lectures this year focused on many of the economic and political issues currently confronting Blacks in America. The Lecture Series is open to the public and will be expanded next year to include presentations in other cities. The manuscripts, cassettes, records, and a monograph series of the lectures will be available for sale. The 1983-84 CBCF Fellows served as rapporteurs and moderators for the Lecture Series.

The 1984-85 CBCF Distinguished Lecture Series will be held in five cities throughout the country. Dr. Charles Hamilton, the distinguished Sayre Professor of Government at Columbia University in New York City, will present the opening lecture during the CBCF Legislative Weekend, Wednesday September 26, 1984, with a presentation entitled "Social Policy and Political Reforms: Implications for Minorities and the Poor."

The inaugural 1984 Lecture Series included presentations by such distinguished scholars as

Robert Staples, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of San Francisco. He is the author of *The World of Black Singles*, *Changing Patterns of Male/Female Relationships*, *Black Masculinity: The Black Male's Role in American Society*, and *The Urban Plantation: Changes in Race Relations During the Post Civil Rights Era*. Dr. Staples presented a paper at the Lecture Series entitled "Reflections on the Future of the Black Family: Implications for Public Policy."

Joyce Ladner, Ph.D., Professor at Howard University in the Department of Social Work. Dr. Ladner is the author of *Tomorrow's Tomorrow*, *The Black Woman*, *Mixed Families Adopting Across Racial Boundaries*, and she edited *The Death of White Sociology*. She lectured on "Adolescent Pregnancy in the Black Community: Public Policy Implications."

Harriette McAdoo, Ph.D., Dean of the School of Social Work at Howard University. She is the former Chairman of Human Behavior Sequence and chairman of major faculty committees. Among Dr. McAdoo's books are *Black Families: Women and Children Alone and in Poverty*.



John Hope Franklin, Ph.D.

Dr. McAdoo delivered a paper at the Lecture Series on "The Feminization of Poverty."

John Hope Franklin, Ph.D., Professor, Duke University. Professor Franklin has written a number of books, including *The Emancipation Proclamation*, *The Free Negro in North Carolina: Reconstruction After the Civil War*, and *A Southern Odyssey: Travelers in the Antebellum North*. His Jefferson Lecture in The Humanities for 1976 was published under the title of "Racial Equality in America." Perhaps his best known book is *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro America*, the fifth edition of which appeared in 1980. Dr. Franklin's presentation focused on "Lessons From the Past for Policies for the Future."

David Swinton, Ph.D., Director of the Policy Center at Clark College in Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Swinton is directing the development of an innovative research program which is designed to generate a better understanding of linkages between the institutional, structural, performance and other systematic characteristics of the American economy and economic problems of the Black American population. His lecture analyzed the problems of "Systematic Barriers to Economic Development for Black Americans."



Pictured left to right: Dr. Frank Morris, Executive Director; Hon. Charles Rangel; Dr. Robert Staples, Guest Lecturer; Mrs. Alma Rangel, CBCF Board Member; Sheryl Webber, CBCF Board Member; Mr. Al Nellum, A.P. CBCF Board.

## ANNUAL REPORT ON DEVELOPMENT

**T**he major focus of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation development program is to continue to generate a continuing source of income to support the programs and research efforts of the Foundation. As the Foundation moves to realize its goal to expand its research projects and support and fund specific research, it becomes necessary to focus on long term substantiating financial support. The Foundation's major source of revenue is generated through the activities of the Annual Legislative Weekend. The development program is responsible for the planning and coordination of that event. While the revenue raised during the Legislative Weekend has increased substantially over the past four years, the needs of the Foundation's many programs have outpaced the revenue increases. Thus, the development program of the Foundation is presently moving to establish a Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Endowment Fund. The revenue raised from the Cabaret Concert featured at this year's Annual Legislative Weekend will initiate this endowment. Continued growth for the endowment is anticipated through contributions made from the regional CBCF fundraisers held in various cities around the country. Los Angeles, California, is the site of the 1985 CBCF Regional Fundraiser. Other development activities include the development of a Corporate Advisory Board and the initiation of additional corporate participation.

The Corporate Advisory Board will be utilized to advise the Foundation on strategies to employ in order to expand the fund raising efforts of the development program. The Advisory Board would assist in identifying potential companies and/or individuals who might be inter-

ested in participation in our programs. We would also use the Advisory Board to foster support for the CBCF Endowment Fund.

The efforts to stimulate corporate participation will center on forming a partnership with the corporate business structure, so that an exchange of information is communicated regarding how public policy issues impact Blacks and other minorities in the corporate arena.

In April of this year, the Foundation held an Art Exhibit, Auction and Brunch sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus Spouses. This spring's fundraiser was the first undertaking of this nature by the Foundation. Its purpose was to raise funds to renovate the Foundation's first permanent home which we have occupied since October of 1983.

The spring fundraiser generated enough funds to put in an air conditioning/heating system and complete the renovation of the basement of the building. A second spring fundraiser is being considered to raise the funds necessary to complete the total renovation.



*1983 CBCF Awards Dinner Congressman William H. Gray III, presenting Mr. Julius Irving with the George W. Collins Award*



*Exhibit at 1983 Exhibit Program*

## CBCF STAFF



*From left to right: Sherille Ismail, Marsha Coleman, Ph.D. Frank Morris, Ph.D., Joyce Austin, Wilhe Faye Garrett, Gary C. Rivers, Aleta Hordge, Keith Allen (Coordinator of the Spouses Fashion Show)*

### FRANK L. MORRIS, Ph.D.



Dr. Frank L. Morris, the Executive Director of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, administers all programmatic and fiscal operations of this national organization for research and legislative analysis. He is responsible for the implementation of policies established by the CBCF President and Board of Directors.

Dr. Morris brings to the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation an extensive background in college teaching, government service, international development and foreign service. He is formerly the Assistant Director and Chief of Operations of the United States Foreign Aid Program to Jamaica. Dr. Morris also has been an

Associate Professor of Political Science and Urban Affairs at Northwestern University. The recipient of several advanced degrees, he has studied at Georgetown University, Syracuse University, Colgate University, the University of Ghana and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He holds a Doctorate in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a masters in Public Administration from Syracuse University in Syracuse, New York.

A much sought-after speaker and lecturer, Dr. Morris has been the guest lecturer at a number of colleges and universities including Yale University, the University of Chicago, Howard University and West Point Naval Academy. He has a long record of scholarly publications, community service, professional activities and distinguished honors and awards.

### GARY C. RIVERS



Gary C. Rivers, Deputy Director of Development for the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, is responsible for the development and coordination of all fund raising activities for the Foundation. Responsible for all phases of the CBCF Legislative Weekend, he has raised nearly \$4,000,000 in his four years of tenure.

Prior to joining the Foundation, Mr. Rivers served as Finance Director for the Boy Scouts of America in New York City. He is a graduate of New York University in New York and a member of the National Society of Fund Raising Executives.

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**MARSHA LYNNE  
COLEMAN, Ph.D.**



Dr. Marsha Coleman is Senior Research Analyst for the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation where she is directly responsible for conducting specific CBCF-sponsored research on international policy issues. She also serves as Director of the CBCF Fellows Program, responsible for coordination and supervision of the Fellows Program and Lecture Series.

Dr. Coleman has taught Foreign Policy, International Relations, Political Communications Theory and African Studies at the American University, the University of California at Santa Barbara, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She received her undergraduate degree from Barnard College of Columbia University and holds a Doctorate in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

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**SHERILLE ISMAIL,  
ESQUIRE**



Sherille Ismail is Policy Analyst for the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation and serves as Editor of the Foundation's quarterly newsletter, *Point of View*. Mr. Ismail's main research focus is domestic policy and civil rights issues.

Before coming to the Foundation, Mr. Ismail was a public interest lawyer in Washington, D.C., working on employment discrimination and Freedom of Information Act cases. He is a graduate of the Georgetown Law Center and the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. A member of the District of Columbia Bar, he was born on the island of Sri Lanka and is now a U.S. citizen.

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**WILLIE FAYE HEARRING  
GARRETT, ESQUIRE**



Willie Faye Herring Garrett is Special Assistant for Development and Media Relations for the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation and is on sabbatical leave from the University of the

District of Columbia, Department of Communicative Arts and Sciences. Ms. Garrett is responsible for providing assistance to the Deputy Director of Development in the fund raising efforts of the Foundation and for coordination of the public relations and media activities.

She received her Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees from California State University at San Francisco where she majored in Speech Communications. Ms. Garrett holds a Juris Doctorate from Catholic University. A member of the District of Columbia Bar, Ms. Garrett's legal specialty is Communications Law.

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**AMY ROBERTSON  
GOLDSON, COUNSEL**

Amy Robertson Goldson has been engaged in the private practice of law since 1982. Her primary areas of concentration include corporate and commercial matters, tax, civil litigation, government contracts, EEO matters, and public utilities law.

Before establishing her private practice, Ms. Goldson worked with Smothers, Douple and Long, a Washington, D.C. based law firm, and with the Internal Revenue Service. Ms. Goldson has a Juris Doctorate from the Catholic University of America, Columbus School of Law, and a Bachelor of Arts degree from Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts.

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**KEITH ALLEN**

Keith Allen comes to the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation after six years of corporate sector experience. His most recent position was Special Assistant to the President of a Black Enterprise "Top 100 Corporation," where he was responsible for a myriad of activities ranging from marketing to organizational development.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and a graduate of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, he now resides in Washington, D.C. Mr. Allen serves as the Coordinator of the Congressional Black Caucus Spouses Fashion Shows.

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**ALETA K. HORDGE**

Aleta K. Hordge is Administrative Secretary of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. Responsible for the execution of the Foundation's administrative duties, Mrs. Hordge is a native Washingtonian and has been a member of the Foundation staff since 1983.

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**J. ALLEN MATTHEWS, JR.**

Allen Matthews, serves as the Secretary to the Fellows Program at the Foundation. He is primarily responsible for assisting the director of the Fellows Program with securing placement assignments for the CBCF Fellows.

A graduate of Excelsior School of Music in Washington, D.C., Mr. Matthews brings to the Foundation a wealth of secretarial and administrative experience having served as legal secretary to a number of leading law firms.

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**JOYCE W. AUSTIN**

Joyce W. Austin serves as the Secretary of the Development Program at the Foundation. A native of Danville, Virginia, Ms. Austin now makes Washington, D.C. her home.

A graduate of Morgan State University in Baltimore, Maryland, she brings to the Foundation an expertise gained through educational, public, and corporate sector experience.



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CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS  
FOUNDATION, INC.  
STATEMENTS OF REVENUE AND EXPENSES  
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS SPOUSES'  
ANNUAL FASHION SHOW  
FOR THE PERIODS ENDED  
OCTOBER 31, 1983 AND 1982  
WITH THE AUDITORS' REPORT THEREON

—00000—

Certified Public Accountants  
**Lucas,  
Tucker & Co.**

733 15TH STREET, N.W., SUITE 926, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 (202) 659-2911

May 15, 1984

AUDITORS' REPORT

To the Board of Directors  
Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc.

We have examined the statements of revenue and expenses of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc. as they relate to the Congressional Black Caucus Spouses' Annual Fashion Show for the periods ended October 31, 1983 and 1982. Our examinations were made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, to the extent appropriate in view of the nature of the engagement and, accordingly, included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the aforementioned statements present fairly the results of operations for the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc. as they relate to the Congressional Black Caucus Spouses' Annual Fashion Show for the periods ended October 31, 1983 and 1982, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a consistent basis.

*Lucas, Tucker & Co.*

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS SPOUSES'

ANNUAL FASHION SHOW

STATEMENTS OF REVENUE AND EXPENSES

FOR THE PERIODS ENDED

	<u>October 31,</u>	
	<u>1983</u>	<u>1982</u>
<u>Revenue</u>		
Ticket sales	\$208,514	\$170,052
Advertisements	5,000	5,500
Contributions	8,055	15,487
Other	723	-
Total revenue	<u>222,292</u>	<u>191,039</u>
 <u>Direct costs</u>		
Luncheon and brunch	73,381	77,695
Entertainment	<u>41,454</u>	<u>38,467</u>
Total direct costs	<u>114,835</u>	<u>116,162</u>
Revenue, net direct costs	<u>107,457</u>	<u>74,877</u>
 <u>Other costs</u>		
Professional fee	1,320	1,200
Printing	11,473	8,053
Office help	726	510
Supplies	738	151
Security	1,848	1,138
Conference	496	615
Other	<u>2,214</u>	<u>717</u>
Total other costs	<u>18,815</u>	<u>12,384</u>
 Excess revenue over costs	<u>\$ 88,642</u>	<u>\$ 62,493</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS SPOUSES'

ANNUAL FASHION SHOW

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

OCTOBER 31, 1983

NOTE 1. ORGANIZATION AND PURPOSE

The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc. (CBCF), a non-profit organization, was incorporated on August 14, 1976, to support and conduct non-partisan research, technical assistance, training, educational and informational activities and programs to advance the exercise and effectiveness of rights of political participation by Blacks and other minority group members by promoting non-partisan Congressional employment of Black and other minority professional legislative staff assistants and technicians, advancing the non-partisan preparation of Blacks and other minorities for involvement in the political process at state and local levels, and promoting and developing positive perceptions about government by Black and other minority citizens.

CBCF is tax-exempt under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code and applicable sections of the District of Columbia Code.

The Congressional Black Caucus Spouses produce and manage an Annual Fashion Show. The net proceeds from this activity are used to finance the CBCF Fellows Program.

NOTE 2. ACCOUNTING POLICY

The statements of revenue and expenses have been prepared on the accrual basis of accounting. Under this method of accounting, revenues are recorded when earned and expenses are recorded as incurred without regard to the date of receipt or payment.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS SPOUSES'

ANNUAL FASHION SHOW

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

OCTOBER 31, 1983

NOTE 3. SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

Total revenue includes \$19,848 which was collected subsequent to October 31, 1983, as follows:

Ticket sales	\$15,625
Contributions	<u>4,223</u>
	<u>\$19,848</u>

As a result of the 1983 Fashion Show, interest earned and contributions received, the Congressional Black Caucus Spouses transferred approximately \$110,000 to the CBCF Fellows Program during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1984.

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THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS  
FOUNDATION, INC.  
FINANCIAL STATEMENTS  
FOR THE YEARS ENDED  
JUNE 30, 1984 AND 1983  
WITH THE INDEPENDENT  
AUDITORS' REPORT THEREON

—00000—

August 20, 1984

INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT

To The Board of Directors  
The Congressional Black Caucus  
Foundation, Inc.

We have examined the balance sheets of The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc. as of June 30, 1984 and 1983, and the related statements of support, revenue and expenses and changes in fund balances and changes in financial position for the years then ended. Our examinations were made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the aforementioned financial statements present fairly the financial position of The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc. as of June 30, 1984 and 1983, and the results of its operations and changes in its financial position for the years then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a consistent basis.

*Lucas, Tucker & Co.*

EXHIBIT ATHE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.BALANCE SHEETS

	<u>JUNE 30</u>	
	<u>1984</u>	<u>1983</u>
<u>ASSETS</u>		
Cash and certificates of deposit	\$169,510	\$159,732
Accounts receivable	3,384	1,285
Building and equipment, at cost less accumulated depreciation of \$13,446 in 1984 and \$25,354 in 1983 (Note 3)	282,091	33,724
Deferred expenses (Note 6)	28,754	7,594
Other assets	<u>1,196</u>	<u>25,000</u>
Total assets	<u>\$484,935</u>	<u>\$227,335</u>

LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCESLiabilities

Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 28,896	\$ 12,219
Payroll taxes payable	1,227	-
Deferred revenue (Note 6)	82,074	28,450
Notes payable (Note 4)	8,504	39,268
Mortgage payable (Note 5)	<u>199,474</u>	<u>-</u>
Total liabilities	320,175	79,937

Fund balances

Undesignated	32,143	113,674
Designated	50,000	-
Property	<u>82,617</u>	<u>33,724</u>
Total fund balances	<u>164,760</u>	<u>147,398</u>
Total liabilities and fund balances	<u>\$484,935</u>	<u>\$227,335</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.



EXHIBIT B

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.  
STATEMENT OF SUPPORT, REVENUE AND EXPENSES  
AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES  
FOR THE YEARS ENDED

	<u>JUNE 30</u>	
	<u>1984</u>	<u>1983</u>
Public support and revenue:		
Public support:		
Special events (Net of direct costs of \$417,149 in 1984 and \$302,128 in 1983)	\$438,250	\$444,160
Contributions	97,256	43,740
Southwest conference	-	5,500
Donated advertisement	5,000	-
Other	<u>4,995</u>	<u>-</u>
Total public support	545,501	493,400
Revenue:		
Interest income	16,183	16,060
Gain on disposal of fixed asset	<u>5,157</u>	<u>-</u>
Total public support and revenue	<u>566,841</u>	<u>509,460</u>
Expenses:		
Fellows program	131,446	66,017
Development	112,767	112,165
Publications	7,520	13,223
Programs and research	197,130	49,927
General and administrative	<u>100,616</u>	<u>198,996</u>
Total expenses	<u>549,479</u>	<u>440,328</u>
Excess of public support and revenue over expenses	17,362	69,132
Fund balances, beginning of year	<u>147,398</u>	<u>78,266</u>
Fund balances, end of year	<u>\$164,760</u>	<u>\$147,398</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

EXHIBIT C

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.  
STATEMENT OF CHANGES IN FINANCIAL POSITION  
FOR THE YEARS ENDED

	<u>JUNE 30</u>	
	<u>1984</u>	<u>1983</u>
Cash and certificates of deposit, beginning of year	<u>\$159,732</u>	<u>\$171,571</u>
Sources of cash:		
Excess of public support and revenue over expenses	17,362	69,132
Add/Deduct items not requiring outlay of funds:		
Depreciation	17,276	10,762
Gain on disposal of fixed asset	(5,157)	-
	<u>29,481</u>	<u>79,894</u>
Increase in accounts payable and accrued expenses	16,677	7,458
Increase (decrease) in payroll taxes payable	1,227	(2,715)
Increase (decrease) in deferred revenue	53,624	(56,135)
Proceeds from mortgage loan	200,000	-
Total sources of cash	<u>301,009</u>	<u>28,502</u>
Uses of cash:		
Increase in accounts receivable	2,099	1,285
Purchase of building and improvements	274,524	-
Purchase of equipment	10,575	10,438
Increase in deferred expenses	21,160	173
(Decrease) increase in other assets	(23,804)	25,000
Decrease in notes payable	6,151	3,445
Reduction of mortgage payable	526	-
Total uses of cash	<u>291,231</u>	<u>40,341</u>
Increase (decrease) in cash and certificates of deposit	<u>9,778</u>	<u>(11,839)</u>
Cash and certificates of deposit, end of year	<u>\$169,510</u>	<u>\$159,732</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

JUNE 30, 1984

NOTE 1.      ORGANIZATION AND PURPOSE

The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc., (CBCF) a not-for-profit organization, was incorporated on August 14, 1976, to support and conduct non-partisan research, technical assistance, training, education and informational activities and programs to advance political participation by Blacks and other minority group members. CBCF also seeks to promote non-partisan Congressional employment of Black and other minority professional legislative staff assistants and technicians by advancing the non-partisan preparation of Blacks and other minorities involvement in the political process at state and local levels, and promoting and developing positive perceptions about government.

NOTE 2.      SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

CBCF uses the fund method of accounting to report its financial operations. The financial statements are prepared on the accrual basis.

All public support and revenue are considered to be available for unrestricted use unless specifically restricted by the donor.

CBCF is tax-exempt under Section 501(c)3 of the Internal Revenue Code and applicable sections of the District of Columbia Code; consequently, no provision for income taxes is reflected in the financial statements. In addition, CBCF has been determined by the Internal Revenue Service not to be a "private foundation" within the meaning of Section 509(a) of the Code.

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

JUNE 30, 1984

NOTE 3. BUILDING AND EQUIPMENT AND DEPRECIATION

Fixed assets are stated at cost less accumulated depreciation. Depreciation is computed on a straight line basis over the estimated useful lives of the assets. At June 30, 1984 and 1983, the costs of such assets were as follows:

	<u>1984</u>	<u>1983</u>
Building	\$252,524	\$ -
Building improvements	22,000	-
Office furniture and equipment	<u>21,013</u>	<u>59,078</u>
Total cost	295,537	59,078
Less: accumulated depreciation	<u>13,446</u>	<u>25,354</u>
Net	<u>\$282,091</u>	<u>\$33,724</u>

NOTE 4. NOTES PAYABLE

At June 30, 1984 and 1983, amounts were due for the purchase of fixed assets as follows:

	<u>1984</u>	<u>1983</u>
Xerox Corporation	\$7,488	\$37,997
Pitney Bowes	<u>1,016</u>	<u>1,271</u>
	<u>\$8,504</u>	<u>\$39,268</u>

During fiscal year 1984, CBCF negotiated the settlement of a lease purchase agreement with the Xerox Corporation. The terms of the settlement require CBCF to return the equipment and make a final payment of \$7,488.

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

JUNE 30, 1984

NOTE 5.      MORTGAGE PAYABLE

The balance represents a 13% first trust on the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's office building located at 1004 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E. Washington, D.C., payable in monthly installments of \$2,304 until liquidated.

NOTE 6.      DEFERRED REVENUE/EXPENSES

Deferred items as of June 30, 1984, represent revenue received of \$82,074 and expenses incurred of \$28,754 in connection with the September, 1984 Legislative Weekend.

NOTE 7.      SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

For fiscal year 1985, CBCF has been awarded research grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Foundation for Child Development.

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.  
SCHEDULE OF FUNCTIONAL EXPENSES  
FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1984

	Fellows Program	Development	Publications	Programs and Research	General and Administrative	Total
Salaries and employee benefits	\$ 23,986	\$ 59,489	\$3,843	\$103,433	\$ 36,445	\$227,196
Stipends	59,006	-	-	-	-	59,006
Professional fees	16,163	6,959	480	12,238	4,319	40,159
Legal	11,643	28,136	1,940	49,481	5,821	97,021
Printing	3,884	2,064	146	3,630	1,281	11,005
Consumable supplies	851	2,281	157	4,012	1,416	8,717
Telephone and telegraph	1,359	3,283	226	5,774	679	11,321
Conferences and meetings	2,081	373	26	656	232	3,368
Occupancy	1,998	4,828	333	8,491	999	16,649
Equipment maintenance and rental	1,245	3,009	208	5,292	623	10,377
Travel	2,315	802	55	1,410	498	5,080
Training workshops	2,892	-	-	-	-	2,892
Other	4,023	1,543	106	2,713	5,921	14,306
Depreciation	-	-	-	-	17,276	17,276
Interest	-	-	-	-	25,106	25,106
	<u>\$131,446</u>	<u>\$112,767</u>	<u>\$7,520</u>	<u>\$197,130</u>	<u>\$100,616</u>	<u>\$549,479</u>

# **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

## **ANHEUSER-BUSCH**

Sponsors of the Very Special Reception  
Co-sponsors of the CBCF & National Junior Tennis League  
Tennis Exhibition

## **AVON**

Co-sponsor of the CBC Spouses Midnight and Brunch Fashion Shows  
Product Favors

## **BLACK ENTERPRISE, INC.**

October issue of Black Enterprise Magazine

## **BLACK ENTERTAINMENT TELEVISION**

Coordinators of the CBCF and National Junior Tennis League  
Tennis Exhibition

## **CALIFORNIA COOLER**

Co-sponsors of the CBCF and National Junior Tennis League  
Tennis Exhibition

## **CBS RECORDS, INC.**

Co-sponsors of the Cabaret Concert The Manhattans, courtesy of CBS Records

## **EASTERN AIRLINES, INC.**

CBC Spouses Fashion Show Models transportation  
Co-sponsors of the CBCF and National Junior Tennis League  
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## **KOBRAND CORPORATION**

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Directory of Historically Black Colleges and Universities  
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## **PHILIP MORRIS, INC.** and its operating companies:

Philip Morris, USA; Miller Brewing Company; Seven-Up Company  
Co-sponsors of the Cabaret Concert  
Legislative Weekend portfolios  
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## **NIKE**

Co-sponsor of the CBCF and National Junior Tennis League  
Tennis Exhibition

## **SCM CORPORATION**

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## **JOSEPH SEAGRAMS & SONS**

Champagne for CBC Spouses Midnight Fashion Show

## **SHOREHAM HOTEL**

Co-sponsor of the CBCF and National Junior Tennis League  
Tennis Exhibition

## **SUMMITT SALES COMPANY**

Cherry Kijafa for CBC Spouses Brunch Fashion Show

## **UNIFIED INDUSTRIES, INC.**

Co-sponsor of the African-Caribbean Dinner

# CREDITS

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*Congressman William L. Clay*  
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*Congresswoman Cardiss Collins*  
 Heidi Napper—*Staff of*  
*Congressman John Conyers, Jr.*  
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*Congressman Edolphus Towns*  
 Deloris Brown—*Staff of*  
*Congressman Alan Wheat*

## CBCF VOLUNTEERS

The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation wishes to extend a special thanks to the following persons for their invaluable assistance:

Kathy Arnold and Toni Taylor—*Awards Dinner Coordination*, Shiba Freeman—*Cabaret Concert Coordination*, Barbara Williams-Skinner—*Prayer Breakfast Coordination*, Fernando Narvaez—*Hosts and Hostesses Coordination*, Jeff Fox—*Cover Art*

*Assistant Coordinators for Hosts and Hostesses*  
 Greer Kelly-Cleaves, Kathy Thurston-Johnson, Sarah Tucker

The University of the District of Columbia for the services of Ms. Willeva Lindsey, Office of Public Affairs

### Press Volunteers:

Naomi Churchill, Ernestine Jackson, Daphne Northington, Gloria Lear Abernathy, Denise Whitfield, Wayne Walker, The University of the District of Columbia Summer Interns

### And the midnight oil burners:

Naomi Churchill, Beverly Crawford, Lorraine Cole, Debbie DuCre, Cleo Gray, Linda Henderson, Russell Hawkins, Ernestine Jackson, Kimberly Kellogg, Juanita Lee, Len Perry, Harriett Pritchett, Vincent Stovall, Maria Williams, Gladys Young, Winston Morris

*The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation wishes to thank the over 300 hosts and hostesses who so graciously volunteered their time and energy*

## ISSUE FORUM VOLUNTEERS

Abiose O. Adebayo, Cecelee Counts, Mohamad El-Khawas, Barbara Haile, Dora Henderson, Portia James, Ellen Kornegay, Georgia Parks, Nancy Piersma, Mary Wade, Herbert E. Walker, III, Arthur Williams

## CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS SPOUSES FASHION SHOW VOLUNTEERS

*Host & Hostesses Coordinator*—Crystal Wright  
*Staging & Production Services*—Tracy Simmons, Danielle Ricks, Vincent Stovall, Kerri Douglas

*Late Night Services*—Thank you so much, Paul Christie, Robert Dace, Amien Hodge, Theresa A. Laurie, Courtney Miller, Brenda Washington, Billie Harris, Rod Harris

## JEFFREY FOX



A Hampton, Virginia native, Jeffrey Fox ventured to Washington, D.C. in 1978 to begin studies at Howard University, where he graduated with a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree. It was at Howard that Mr. Fox studied Graphic Design, but his interest was always underlined by the thought of being an illustrator and fine artist.

Mr. Fox began his introduction to the graphics world within the university campus during his first two years. He undertook various graphic jobs around the university as a means of experience. However, his experience expanded when he became acquainted with a well known Washington, D.C. artist, Bernard Brooks. During his last two years at Howard University, Mr. Fox worked as Mr. Brooks' protegee. This included not only working as an assistant artist for Mr. Brooks' in his firm Graphic Gallery, but participation in group art shows within the Washington, D.C. area. He was an assistant medical-dental illustrator at the Howard University Dental School, and participated in a panel discussion at the Anacostia Museum with other famous Washington, D.C. artists.

As a young artist, Mr. Fox's greatest wish is to travel around the world to gain cultural experience. As he says, "you can't get all your information from one book. People's experiences are part of my work." Mr. Fox's works are included in collections within the Washington metropolitan area.

## LEGISLATIVE WEEKEND SOUVENIR BOOK

EDITORS: Willie Faye Hearing Garrett  
 Gary C. Rivers  
 COPY PROCESSOR: Joyce Austin  
 ADVERTISING: Freddy Moody  
 DESIGN & PRODUCTION: Rokus Design  
 TYPESETTING: Litho Composition  
 PRINTING: Virginia Lithograph, Inc.