

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION

"Salute to Black Business"



1 * 9 * 8 * 2

TWELFTH ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE WEEKEND

DINNER PROGRAM

MASTER OF CEREMONIES
LEBARON TAYLOR

INVOCATION

WELCOME
MAYOR MARION S. BARRY

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT
CONGRESSMAN LOUIS STOKES, PRESIDENT
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION

PRESENTATION OF AWARDS

GEORGE W. COLLINS AWARD
J. LAMAR HILL

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL AWARD
COLEMAN YOUNG

HUMANITARIAN AWARD
PERCY SUTTON

WILLIAM L. DAWSON AWARD
CONGRESSWOMAN SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

INTRODUCTION OF CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS
MEMBERS AND CONGRESSIONAL
BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION BOARD MEMBERS
CONGRESSMAN WALTER E. FAUNTROY

DENIECE WILLIAMS
ORCHESTRA CONDUCTED BY MR. WEBSTER LEWIS

SALUTE TO BLACK BUSINESS
CONGRESSMAN PARREN J. MITCHELL

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL BLACK
CAUCUS FOUNDATION PATRONS
CONGRESSMAN LOUIS STOKES
AND
CONGRESSMAN JULIAN C. DIXON

TABLE OF CONTENTS

HONORARY CHAIRPERSONS	6
HONORARY DINNER COMMITTEE	6
BOARD OF DIRECTORS	7
DINNER COMMITTEE	7
WELCOME MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT	9
SPECIAL MESSAGE	11
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS MEMBERS	12
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION:	
A NEW MISSION FOR NEW TIMES	50
THE GRADUATE LEGISLATIVE INTERN PROGRAM	55
1982 CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS AWARDS	60
LEGISLATIVE UPDATE	66
AN ECONOMIC DETOUR TO SUCCESS	74
CONSOLIDATED BANK AND TRUST	76
BEREAN SAVINGS ASSOCIATION	76
THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS AND BLACK BUSINESS	77
BLACK BUSINESS ALIVE AND DOING QUITE WELL	78
NON-TRADITIONAL FINANCE FOR MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE	79
THE PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE	80
PARKER HOUSE SAUSAGE COMPANY	80
MINORITY BUSINESS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE	81
OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY	82
BLACK BUSINESS IN THE 1980'S	83
E.E. WARD TRANSFER AND STORAGE COMPANY	84
MOTOWN	84
DENIECE WILLIAMS	87
ABOUT THE ARTIST	89
FINANCIAL REPORT	92
PATRONS	107
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	108
CREDITS	109
FAREWELL SHIRLEY	111
LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING	112

HONORARY CHAIRPERSONS

Congressman Louis Stokes
*President, Congressional
 Black Caucus Foundation*

Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy
*Chairman,
 Congressional Black Caucus*

HONORARY DINNER COMMITTEE



Congresswoman
 Shirley Chisholm, N.Y.

Congressman
 William L. Clay, Mo.

Congresswoman
 Cardiss Collins, Ill.

Congressman
 John Conyers, Jr., Mich.

Congressman
 George W. Crockett, Jr., Mich.

Congressman
 Ronald V. Dellums, Calif.

Congressman
 Julian C. Dixon, Calif.

Congressman
 Mervyn M. Dymally, Calif.

Congressman
 Harold E. Ford, Tenn.

Congressman
 William H. Gray, III, Pa.

Congressman
 Augustus F. Hawkins, Calif.

Congressman
 Mickey Leland, Tex.

Congressman
 Parren J. Mitchell, Md.

Congressman
 Charles B. Rangel, N.Y.

Congressman
 Gus Savage, Ill.

Congressman
 Harold Washington, Ill.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

President
Congressman Louis Stokes

Vice President
Mr. Albert L. Nellum
A.L. Nellum & Associates

Secretary-Treasurer
Attorney Nira Hardon Long

Congressman William L. Clay
Congresswoman Cardiss Collins
Congressman George W. Crockett, Jr.

Mr. Larry Doss
Coopers & Lybrand

Mr. Ofield Dukes
Ofield Dukes & Associates

Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally

Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy

Col. Ernest Frazier (USA, Ret.)
ITT Corporation

Dr. Bernard Gifford
University of Rochester

Congressman William H. Gray, III

Mr. W. Mitchell Hines
Century National Bank

Mrs. Joan B. Johnson
Johnson Products Company, Inc.

Congressman Parren J. Mitchell

Mr. Addison Barry Rand
Xerox Corporation

Mrs. Alma Rangel
CBC Spouses

Mrs. Jay Stokes
CBC Spouses

Mr. LeBaron Taylor
CBS Records

Mrs. Barbara Williams-Skinner
Tom Skinner Associates, Inc.

Ex Officio
Congressman Julian C. Dixon

Ms. Sheryl Webber

Mrs. Amy Robertson Goldson
General Counsel



DINNER COMMITTEE

Congressman Julian C. Dixon
Chairman

Congressman William L. Clay
Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally
Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy
Attorney Amy Robertson Goldson
Mrs. Joan B. Johnson
Mrs. Barbara Williams-Skinner
Mrs. Jay Stokes
Mr. LeBaron Taylor

WELCOME MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Friends:

On behalf of the Board of Directors of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, I welcome you to the Twelfth Annual Legislative Weekend. We ask you to join with us as we focus on what we believe to be the central element in the struggle for economic survival in the Black community — Black businesses.

Last year, the Congressional Black Caucus used as the Eleventh Legislative Weekend theme, “Addressing the Challenge—Implementing the Plan.” Together, we forged new coalitions and constructed a strong foundation for concrete action to ensure the progress and active participation of Black Americans in this nation.

Black Americans cannot progress without economic development. During this Twelfth Legislative Weekend, we will move to the next level of action by addressing key issues facing the economic structure of the Black community through our “Salute to Black Business.”

Economic growth in the Black community and the economic growth of Black businesses have been synonymous since the days of our early pioneers such as Madam C.J. Walker and A.G. Gaston. This dual economic thrust will inevitably take on even more significance as we approach the mid-1980s and the reality of increasing economic hardship in America. We must realize that our government and lawmakers will not necessarily be willing partners in our quest for economic survival.

All of the indicators are there. The federal social safety net is rapidly disintegrating for many Black families. At the same time, the federal government commitment to Black businesses is also shrinking. The current Administration has taken no leadership in proposing initiatives to resolve the problems and strengthen Black businesses. Indeed, federal agencies have started an assault on Black-owned companies.

The most revealing example of this warfare on Black businesses was the recent attempt by the Small Business Administration to cut 23 of the most successful Black firms from the vital Section 8(a) program. In FY 1981, 42 percent of the federal contract funds to Black businesses came through the Section 8(a) program.

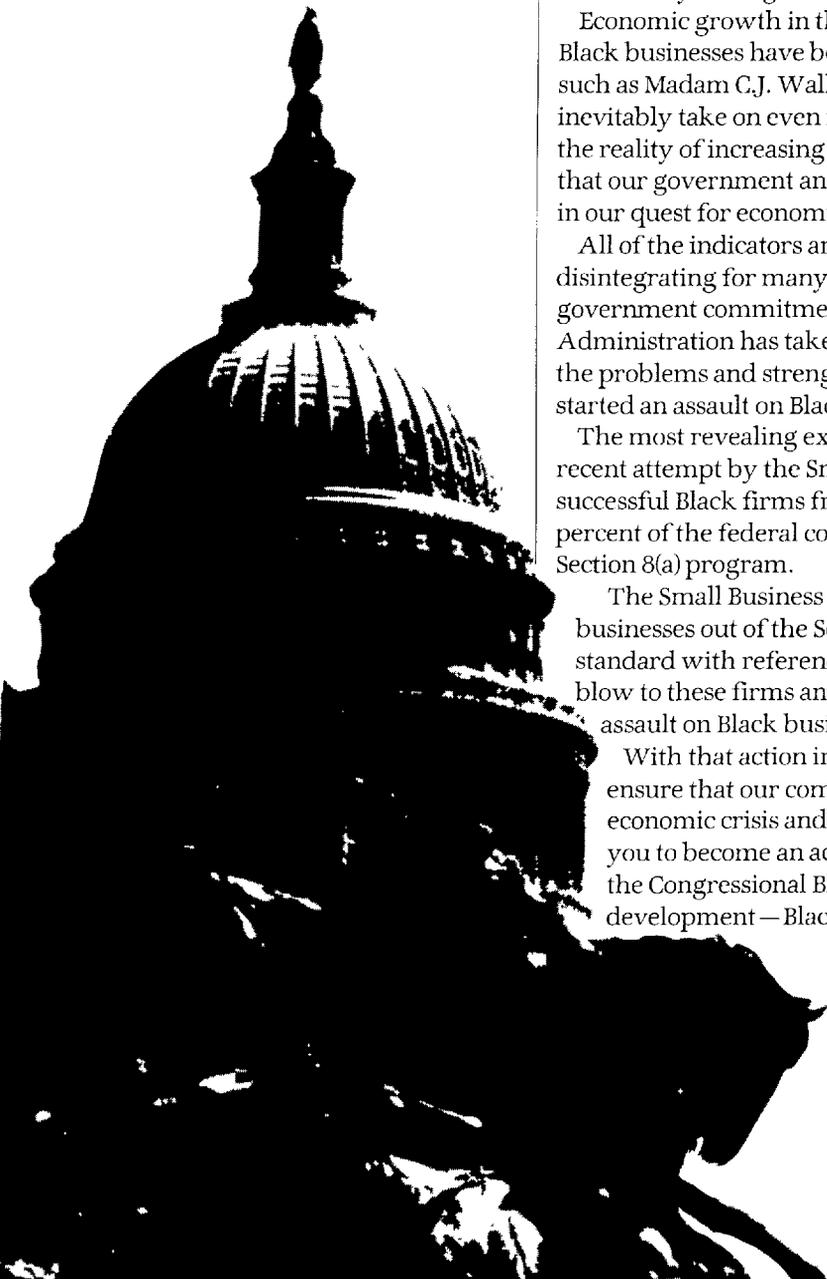
The Small Business Administration tried to force many successful Black businesses out of the Section 8(a) program by establishing an unreasonable standard with reference to size. This action would have dealt a crippling blow to these firms and their 7500 employees. This was an intolerable assault on Black businesses by our government.

With that action in the forefront of our minds, the challenge is clear. To ensure that our communities and Black businesses survive this period of economic crisis and assault, we must work together aggressively. We ask you to become an active participant in implementing the survival strategy as the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation salutes the key to our economic development — Black businesses.

Sincerely,



LOUIS STOKES
President
Congressional Black
Caucus Foundation



SPECIAL MESSAGE

*Congressman
Walter E. Fauntroy,
Chairman, Congressional
Black Caucus*

At the close of the 97th Congress, the Honorable Shirley Chisholm, a household name in the twelve year history of the Congressional Black Caucus, moves on to a field of broader relevance in the struggle of our people for social, political and economic justice. That fact reminds us of the transition that we in Black America and we in the CBC have had to make in the 97th Congress to answer the most formidable challenge in this century to our right to full participation in the economic, social, and political life of this nation.

At the 1981 CBC Dinner Weekend, we highlighted the opening of the Reagan Era, an era which we warned would bring America and the Black community record unemployment, record business failures and an unprecedented assault on programs that have improved the quality of life for Black Americans. With unemployment among Black workers now at record levels of 18.5% overall and 60% among our teenagers, those predictions have come to pass.

In 1981, the Congressional Black Caucus began addressing the challenge of the Reagan Era with the most comprehensive legislative approach to our condition that we have ever undertaken. We fashioned a "Constructive Alternative Budget" that covered every function of government in an effort to lead the nation in revolving the basic problems confronting the country, problems that just happen to be reflected most acutely in the Black experience. Had that budget been adopted, we would not be in the trouble we are in today, and even now key features of the CBC budget are being lifted by the Congress for enactment. The Democratic Study Group was right when it said that the CBC budget "takes the boldest step of any proposal being offered . . . to deal with the federal deficit," and that it opened "the largest and fairest tax cut of any proposal before the House."

In addition to a program and plan for the nation, we hammered out a "Black Leadership Family Plan for the Unity, Survival, and Progress of Black People."

The 1982 Dinner Weekend completes the transitional nature of the 97th Congress for us. New rules of the House of Representatives which now prohibit the Caucus from receiving outside contributions to our legislative advocacy work have forced us to call upon new research resources. Thus, the '82 Dinner Weekend is sponsored by the CBC Foundation under the able leadership of its President, the Honorable Louis Stokes. Our legislative advocacy work must now be carried out by the CBC Legislative Service

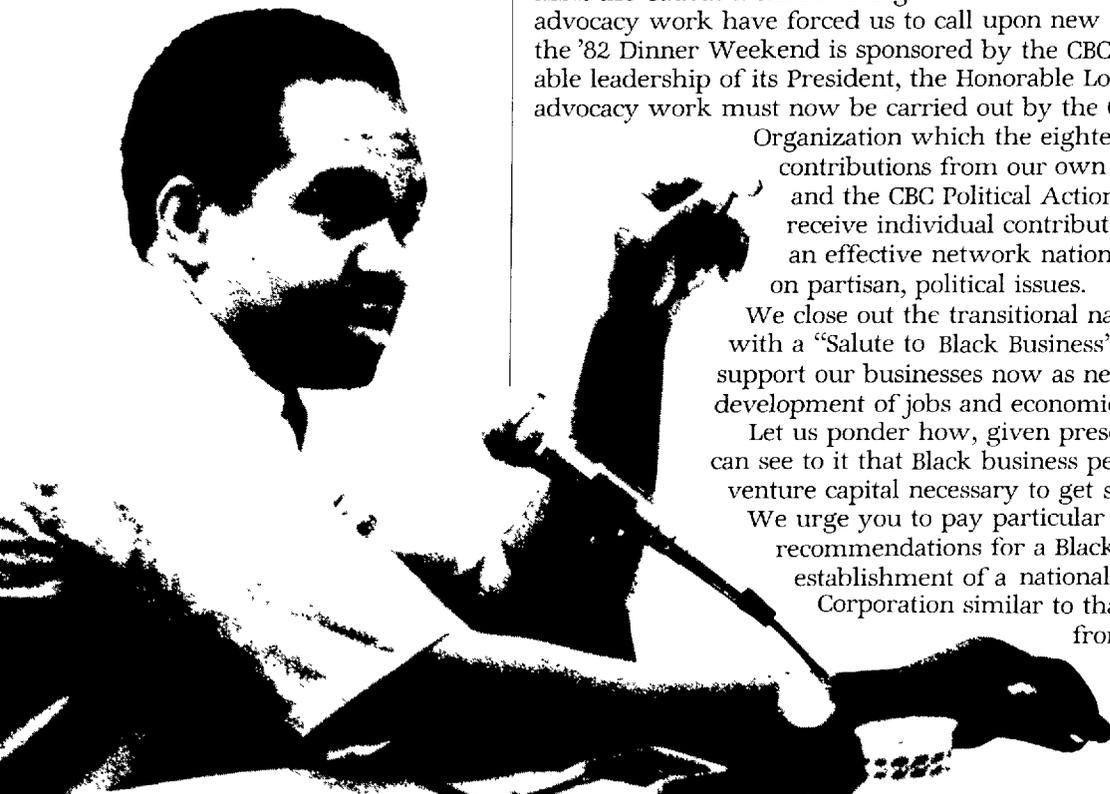
Organization which the eighteen of us maintain with contributions from our own congressional allowances, and the CBC Political Action Committee which can receive individual contributions to our efforts to organize an effective network nationwide to move decisively on partisan, political issues.

We close out the transitional nature of the 97th Congress with a "Salute to Black Business" to highlight our need to support our businesses now as never before as a key to the development of jobs and economic security for Black people.

Let us ponder how, given present economic conditions, we can see to it that Black business persons have access to the venture capital necessary to get started, survive, and grow.

We urge you to pay particular attention to our recommendations for a Black Development Fund, and the establishment of a national Reconstruction Finance Corporation similar to that which lifted our nation from the throes of the

Depression in the Thirties.
98th Congress, look out;
here we come!



WALTER E. FAUNTROY



SHIRLEY A. CHISHOLM

*12th Congressional District,
New York*

Shirley A. Chisholm is the senior Democratic woman in the U.S. House of Representatives. She is the only woman, and the only Black American, to sit on the powerful House Rules Committee, and she is a leading member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Shirley Chisholm spent her early childhood on the island of Barbados, in the West Indies. She credits a stable family life, strict in discipline, and an educational milieu where excellence was demanded, for her early achievements.

Mrs. Chisholm was first elected to the 91st Congress in 1968. Her constituency is the 12th Congressional District in the borough of Brooklyn. The center of her district is Bedford-Stuyvesant, and it also includes parts of Bushwick, Brownsville, East New York, and Greenpoint. Blacks and Puerto Ricans comprise more than 85% of the population. The rest are Jewish, Polish, Ukrainian and Italian. No other Congressional district is so diverse in its constituents.

Representative Chisholm is a specialist in early childhood education and child welfare. She earned her B.A. degree (Cum Laude), M.A. in education and diploma in Administration from Columbia University. She has been awarded honorary degrees from many prestigious colleges and universities. She writes and speaks fluent Spanish, which has been a tremendous asset in developing the wonderful rapport she enjoys with her Spanish speaking constituents.

Congresswoman Chisholm has earned praise for her efforts on behalf of black colleges, compensatory education, minimum wage for domestics, American Indians, the Haitian refugees, migrant farmworkers, and the poor. Her fierce individualism has resulted in a reputation as a 'maverick' and 'unpredictable,' terms which denote that she has been a power in her own right in the House of Representatives.

In February, 1982, Representative Chisholm announced that she would not seek reelection to the Congress. She cited her longstanding intention never to remain in politics throughout her productive and creative life, and she revealed the frustration and difficulty of serving her constituents while

conservatives controlled government in Washington. By writing, teaching, lecturing and traveling around the nation, Mrs. Chisholm hopes to create a new national state of mind that demands peace, prosperity and equality for all Americans.



WILLIAM "BILL" CLAY

1st Congressional District, Missouri

Congressman William "Bill" Clay represents the 1st Congressional District of Missouri comprising most of St. Louis and part of St. Louis County.

He serves as the 2nd ranking member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, where he is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations and Civil Service; he is 5th ranking member of the House Education and Labor Committee.

After serving two years active duty in the military, Mr. Clay embarked upon a diverse professional career, including positions as a real estate broker, a business representative for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and manager of a life insurance company. Simultaneously, he began his political career by unseating a veteran politician for the position of Alderman in the 26th Ward of St. Louis in 1959. As an Alderman, he sponsored the St. Louis Fair Employment Bill, which he used to open the doors for employment of Blacks in bakeries, breweries, the construction industry and banks. He resigned from that office in 1964 to become Committeeman for the 26th Ward, a position he continues to hold.

Since 1968, when he was elected to Congress, Representative Clay has sponsored 592 pieces of legislation including the Hatch Act Reform Bill, the City Earnings Tax Bill and the IRS Reform Bill. Instrumental in the organization of the Congressional Black Caucus in 1970, Bill Clay has established a strong link with Black communications experts around the nation and helped to establish a Communications Braintrust and Communications Legislative Workshop.

Representative Clay is a graduate of St. Louis University with Bachelor's degrees in Arts and Science, History and Political Science.



CARDISS COLLINS

7th Congressional District, Illinois

On June 5, 1973, Congresswoman Cardiss Collins was elected to fill the seat from the 7th Congressional District of Illinois left vacant by the death of her husband, George.

Mrs. Collins is the first woman and first Black to chair the House Government Operations Subcommittee on Manpower and Housing, which has major oversight responsibility for the Department of Labor, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, ACTION, Community Services Administration, and the Railroad Retirement Board. She currently sits on the very powerful Energy and Commerce Committee and is a member of three of its subcommittees: Subcommittee on Energy Conservation and Power; Subcommittee on Fossil and Synthetic Fuels; and the Subcommittee on Telecommunications, Consumer Protection and Finance.

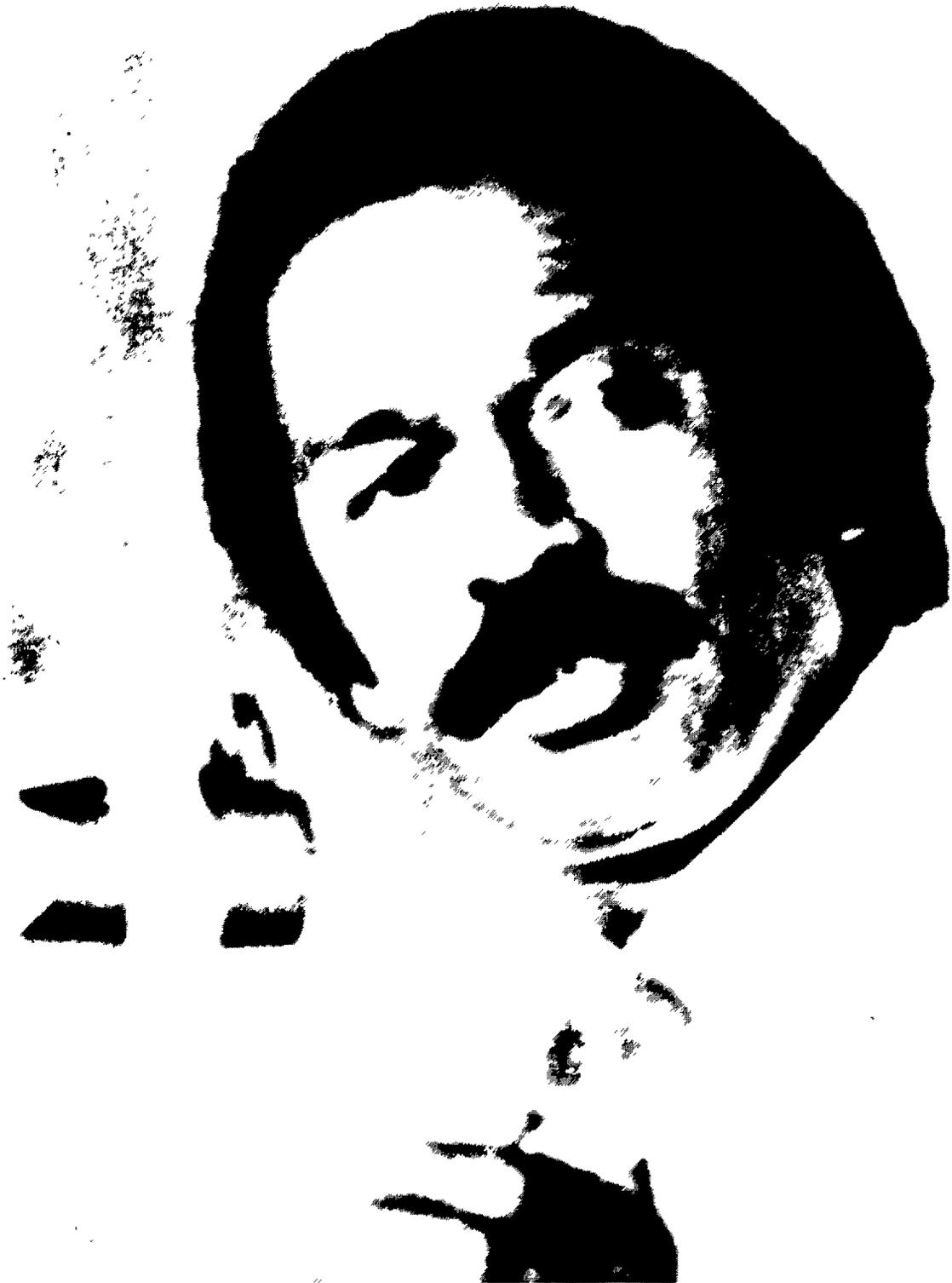
As a result of her dedication and an undisputed ability to perform her duties with excellence, her colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus elected her Chairwoman for the 96th Congress on January 24, 1979. She had previously served the Congressional Black Caucus as Secretary during the 94th Congress, and Treasurer during the 95th. Congresswoman Collins is also a past Chairwoman of the Members of Congress for Peace Through Law Subcommittee on African Affairs and has been in the forefront of the worldwide crusade for human rights as well as the struggle against poverty. She is also the immediate past Chairwoman of the Task Force on Women of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control.

On January 23, 1975, Speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill, appointed her to become a Whip-At-Large; and thus, the first Black and first woman ever to hold that office within the leadership structure of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The Congresswoman 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, Mrs. Collins moved to Chicago where she attended Northwestern University. She has received honorary degrees from Winston Salem State University and Spelman College and is the recipient of

numerous other awards for her many outstanding accomplishments.

She is Committeewoman of Chicago's 24th Ward Regular Democratic Organization.



JOHN CONYERS, JR.

*1st Congressional District,
Michigan*

John Conyers was first elected from the 1st Congressional District of Michigan in January of 1965. He is currently serving his 9th term in Congress.

Mr. Conyers is a senior member of the Judiciary Committee and as such, played a critical role this year in the successful passage of legislation to reauthorize the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He chairs the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Judiciary Committee which has jurisdiction over the criminal code, and is a ranking member on the Crime Subcommittee. He also serves on the Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs, and Manpower and Housing Subcommittees of the Government Operations Committee.

Congressman Conyers is a leader in the full employment movement and was a principal architect of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act, which became law in 1978. He is a leading critic of federal budget priorities, in particular the growth in military spending at the expense of domestic human resources programs, the subsidies awarded to business corporations, and the failure to overhaul and reform the tax structure. He also is actively involved in civil rights and civil liberties issues, consumer affairs, and urban policy.

In the 97th Congress, Congressman Conyers was the principal sponsor of legislation to shorten the workweek and eliminate compulsory overtime, as well as the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Holiday Bill, and three energy bills to create a federal oil import authority. Moreover, he sponsored legislation to establish a public agency to develop and manage oil resources on federal lands, and to reimpose price controls on domestic oil. He has also sponsored legislation to create a national health system, institute a system of national economic planning, and establish a single six-year presidential term with public campaign financing.

Mr. Conyers was born May 16, 1929 in Detroit, Michigan. He served in the U.S. Army from 1950 until 1954, obtaining the rank of Second Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers. Additionally, Mr. Conyers earned combat and merit citations in the Korean War. He

was educated in Detroit's public schools and received his Doctor of Laws degree from Wayne State University. Prior to entering Congress, Mr. Conyers was legislative assistant to Congressman John Dingell, a referee in Michigan's Workman's Compensation Department, Director of Education for Local 900 United Auto Workers Union and General Counsel for the Detroit Trade Union Leadership Council.



GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR.

13th Congressional District, Michigan

George W. Crockett, Jr. was elected to Congress in 1980 from the 13th Congressional District of Michigan to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Charles C. Diggs, Jr. He is the 14th ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and serves on the Africa and International Operations Subcommittees. In addition, Mr. Crockett is the 15th ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, serving on its Subcommittees on Criminal Justice and on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law. He is also a member of the Select Committee on Aging and serves on its Human Services and Housing and Consumer Interest Subcommittees.

After graduating from the University of Michigan Law School in 1934, Mr. Crockett began his legal practice in Jacksonville, Florida. He was admitted to the West Virginia Bar in 1935, the U.S. Supreme Court Bar in 1940, and the Michigan Bar in 1944.

In 1939, he was appointed as the first Black lawyer with the U.S. Department of Labor and later became the Senior Attorney on employee lawsuits under the Fair Labor Standards Act. In 1943, President Roosevelt appointed him one of the first Fair Employment Practices Commission Hearing Examiners.

George Crockett founded the International United Auto Workers Fair Employment Practices Department in 1944 and served both as its Director and as General Counsel to the UAW until 1946. From 1946 until 1966, Mr. Crockett was in private practice as a senior partner in the law firm, Goodman, Crockett, Eden, and Robb. Mr. Crockett was elected judge of the Records Court in Detroit in 1966 and reelected to a second term in 1972. In 1974 he became presiding judge of that same court. Following his retirement, he served as visiting judge for the Michigan Court of Appeals, and in 1980 he was Acting Corporation Counsel for the city of Detroit.

Mr. Crockett is a member of the Executive Board of the Democratic Study Group; the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (honorary); the Congressional Arts Caucus; the Congressional Auto Caucus; the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues (honorary); the Northeast-Mideast Economic Coalition; and

the Members of Congress for Peace Through Law.

Mr. Crockett was educated in the Jacksonville public school system and graduated from Stanton High School in 1927. He received his A.B. degree from Morehouse College of Atlanta, Georgia in 1931, where he now serves on the Board of Trustees. In 1934 he graduated from the University of Michigan's Law School with his J.D. degree. Honorary LL.D.'s were received from Morehouse College in 1972 and Shaw College at Detroit in 1973. In 1981 he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.



RONALD V. DELLUMS

8th Congressional District, California

Ronald V. Dellums represents California's 8th Congressional District, which includes parts of Alameda and Contra Costa counties. He is the Chairperson of both the House Committee on the District of Columbia and the D.C. Subcommittee on Fiscal Affairs and Health.

Mr. Dellums is also the tenth ranking member of the House Armed Services Committee, where he serves on the Research and Development Subcommittee. He also chairs the Armed Services Committee Panel dealing with problems on the Island of Vieques.

Mr. Dellums is a former Vice-Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus and its Executive Committee. A former member of the Democratic National Committee, he is currently a national Co-Chair of the New Democratic Coalition.

Prior to his election to Congress in 1971, Mr. Dellums served on the Berkeley City Council from 1967 to 1971. He was employed as a senior consultant for Social Dynamics, Inc., a firm which develops manpower and community organization programs on a nationwide basis. He was also a lecturer at San Francisco State College and at the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of California at Berkeley.

Since entering Congress, Mr. Dellums has become the principal leader of the continuing effort in the House of Representatives to curb military spending and nuclear weapons escalation. He has been in the forefront of the movement for renewal of the S.A.L.T. negotiations and the expansion of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. He is prominent among the opponents of the development of the MX Missile system. He 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 social and economic failures at home and abroad.

Mr. Dellums is a firm believer in the twin concepts of participatory democracy and "Coalition Politics." In his judgment, when people begin to realize how-and-why they are being victimized and manipulated by those who control the real levers of power in this society, they will then be able to join together to form a new poli-

tical majority; one which crosses racial, sexual and economic barriers.

In his view, Congress is an institution which must be made aware of the forces at work for progressive social and economic change. In his efforts to jolt the House out of its institutional indifference to controversial issues, he has been willing to conduct extra-official hearings to force "official" Washington to recognize the gravity of a particular situation. For example, he conducted personal investigations into U.S. war crimes in Indochina and the impact of Agent Orange and other toxic agents on the men and women who served in the Indochina theater of operations. In conjunction with the Congressional Black Caucus, he has conducted examinations on the extent of racism in the military and on various aspects of governmental lawlessness and bureaucratic indifference.

Legislation Mr. Dellums has sponsored includes the World Peace Tax Fund, the Adequate Income Act, the Omnibus Penal Reform Act, the Omnibus Intelligence Community Reorganization and Reform Act, and a number of bills dealing with the environment, women's rights, senior citizens, youth employment, opposition to a peacetime draft, and the expansion of the Voting Rights Act. He also has brought suit in Federal District Court to force the withdrawal of American military advisors from El Salvador and the termination of military and economic aid to the Junta there.

In the 97th Congress, Mr. Dellums has reintroduced his National Health Service Act, the most comprehensive health care legislation ever introduced into the Congress.

Mr. Dellums is married to the former Leola (Roscoe) Higgs, who recently completed her legal studies at the Georgetown University Law Center. They reside in Washington, D.C., with their three children, Brandy, Eric and Piper.



JULIAN C. DIXON

28th Congressional District, California

Julian C. Dixon was elected to the House of Representatives from the 28th Congressional District of Los Angeles, California, on November 7, 1978.

Mr. Dixon serves on the powerful House Appropriations Committee as the 25th ranking member. In March 1980, Mr. Dixon, a freshman Member of the 96th Congress, was elected Chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia. Congressman Dixon was the first freshman legislator in the history of the Congress to chair a House Appropriations Subcommittee. Mr. Dixon also serves on the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations which is responsible for financing all foreign aid measures including military and economic assistance, as well as formulating progressive programs in underdeveloped nations.

As a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, Mr. Dixon currently serves as Treasurer. In addition, he served as Chairman of the 1980 and 1981 Congressional Black Caucus dinners.

Congressman Dixon's legislative priorities have focused on a wide array of issues ranging from domestic social concerns to African/Caribbean affairs. Bills sponsored by Mr. Dixon have included measures to extend the Voting Rights Act and the Legal Services Corporation; a bill to provide federal assistance to victims of domestic violence; bills to close tax loopholes and repeal the "marriage penalty;" and resolutions expressing concern for the plight of African refugees, and the course of U.S. policy toward South Africa. His work on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee has succeeded in strengthening U.S. participation in the Sahel Development Program in West Africa and the African Development Bank as well as sounder development policies in Haiti. Mr. Dixon's efforts have also centered on issues affecting his urban district. He was successful in obtaining a federal study on the Baldwin Hills area in Los Angeles, an area nationally recognized for its disastrous mudslides. In addition, Mr. Dixon has been a leading supporter of the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles, and of improved mass

transit in Southern California.

From 1973 until his election to Congress, Mr. Dixon represented the 49th District in the California State Assembly. In 1973, he was elected Chairman of the Assembly Democratic Caucus, the first freshman Chairman of the Assembly Public Employees and Retirement Committee and was a member of the Assembly Committees on Criminal Justice, Ways and Means, and Education. His special assignments included Chairman of the Assembly Select Committee on Juvenile Violence. In 1979, he was the recipient of the "Outstanding Legislative Program" award from the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, and also, in the same year, received the Sugar Ray Robinson Foundation's "Man of the Year" Golden Glove Award for outstanding service to youth in the community.

Congressman Dixon was born in Washington, DC on August 8, 1934. He graduated from Dorsey High School in Los Angeles in 1953, received a Bachelor of Science Degree in Political Science from California State University at Los Angeles in 1962, and was awarded an LL.B. degree from Southwestern University in Los Angeles in 1967. Mr. Dixon served in the U.S. Army from 1957-1960, attaining the rank of sergeant.



MERVYN M. DYMALLY

31st Congressional District, California

Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally brings many years of experience and a deep concern for a broad range of people-oriented problems to the United States Congress. He was elected in 1980 as the Representative of the 31st Congressional District, which includes several communities in the southern portion of Los Angeles County.

The Congressman is presently a member of the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Science and Technology, and serves as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Judiciary and Education of the District of Columbia Committee. He serves as Secretary/Treasurer of the California Congressional Democratic Delegation and Chairman of the Congressional Caucus on Science and Technology.

Representative Dymally was a teacher of exceptional children in Los Angeles for six years prior to beginning his political career in 1962. He served four years as a California Assemblyman, and was elected to the California Senate in 1966. During his eight years as a State Senator, Dymally served as Chairman of the Senate Democratic Caucus and Chairman of the following committees: Social Welfare; Military and Veterans Affairs; Elections and Reapportionment; and the Subcommittee on Medical Education and Health Needs. He also headed the Senate Select Committee on Children and Youth, the Joint Committee on Legal Equality (women's rights), and the Joint Committee for Revision of the Election Code.

In 1975, he was elected Lieutenant Governor of California and served until 1979. In this capacity, he headed the State Commission for Economic Development and the Commission of the Californias, and 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.

In his first term as the U.S. Representative from the 31st District, California (Compton, Carson, Bellflower, Gardena, Hawthorne, Lynwood, Paramount, and South Los Angeles) he or-

ganized a job training program for the unemployed.

Dymally has introduced the State of California model in the Congress (H.R. 5326) for national implementation.

Congressman Dymally plays a very active part in the Congressional Black Caucus. He is a member of the Board of Directors, CBC Foundation; Vice Chairman, CBC Political Action Committee; Chairman of CBC Task Force on the Caribbean; and Coordinator of CBC Brain Trust on Science and Technology.

He is presently working with the Library of Congress to set up a CBC Archives to preserve the history of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Dymally holds a B.A. in Education from California State University Los Angeles; M.A. in Government from California State University Sacramento; and Ph.D. in Human Behavior from United States International University in San Diego. He is a member of Phi Kappa Phi, the National Honor Scholastic Society.

He holds honorary degrees from the University of West Los Angeles, Lincoln University School of Law (CA), California Western University and Shaw University (NC), where he serves as a member of the Board of Trustees. Dymally was recently appointed as a member of the Board of Governors of the Joint Center for Political Studies and is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Black United Fund.

He originally came to this country from Trinidad, West Indies, as a nineteen-year-old student to attend Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri. Among other jobs, he worked as a janitor and union organizer before entering politics.

He is the father of two children—Mark and Lynn, and is married to the former Alice Gueno of New Orleans who is a teacher by profession, with a B.A. (Xavier, New Orleans, LA and M.A. Occidental College, Los Angeles, CA). She serves as a member of the California Commission on Equal Opportunities.



WALTER E. FAUNTROY

District of Columbia

Walter E. Fauntroy was first elected to Congress by the citizens of our Nation's Capital in 1971. He was the first person elected Delegate to the House of Representatives from the District of Columbia in 100 years. Mr. Fauntroy is Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Since his election to Congress, he has continued to build a record of achievement, having played key roles in the mobilization of Black political power at the National Black Political Convention of 1972, and the presidential elections of 1972, 1976 and 1980.

In the 95th Congress, Walter E. Fauntroy was a member of the House Select Committee on Assassinations and Chairman of its Subcommittee on the Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. He is currently the sixth ranking member of the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee and Chairman of its Subcommittee on Domestic Monetary Policy. He is also the first ranking member of the House District Committee.

As a member of the House District Committee, Congressman Fauntroy has introduced legislation to ensure an automatic, predictable federal payment for the District of Columbia and worked to increase the level of payment to \$363 million. He has also worked to enhance the ability of the D.C. Government to float revenue and general obligation bonds for capital improvements and other projects, including small business enterprises and student loans.

Among his many accomplishments as Chairman of the Domestic Monetary Policy Subcommittee, Mr. Fauntroy has held hearings to highlight the effects of high interest rates on unemployment and small businesses in the District and around the country. He has also pressed for monetary policies which would lead to lower interest rates, and established contacts with Federal monetary and banking officials to focus their attention on the problems of minority businesses and employment.

As Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Walter Fauntroy introduced the CBC Constructive Alternative Budget; a comprehensive budget and tax initiative which included a \$5.4 billion jobs program as

well as a housing program for moderate and low income families.

A native of Washington, D.C., Mr. Fauntroy graduated from Dunbar High School and Virginia Union University. He earned his Bachelor of Divinity Degree in 1958 from Yale University Divinity School. He began his public career in 1959 as Pastor of his childhood church, New Bethel Baptist Church—where he continues to serve as Pastor.

Upon beginning his position as a member of Congress, Mr. Fauntroy brought to his new mission a rich background as a civil rights activist. He has previously served, at the appointment of Dr. Martin L. King, as Director of the Washington Bureau of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He was also the D.C. Coordinator of the historic march on Washington for jobs and freedom in 1963, and the coordinator for the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965. In addition, Mr. Fauntroy previously served as Vice Chairman of the White House Conference "to Fulfill These Rights" in 1966 and National Director of the Poor People's Campaign in 1969.



HAROLD E. FORD

8th Congressional District, Tennessee

Harold Ford was elected from the 8th Congressional District of Tennessee at the age of 29 to the U.S. House of Representatives. He is currently serving his fourth term.

Mr. Ford is the eighth ranking member of the powerful and prestigious House Ways and Means Committee. He is the youngest Congressman to ever be selected as a Ways and Means Subcommittee Chairman. As Chairman of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation, his Subcommittee has jurisdiction over approximately \$38 billion in programs which include Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Title XX, Social Services, Child Welfare and Foster Care, Low Income Energy Assistance, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), and Unemployment Insurance Compensation. He also serves on the Ways and Means Subcommittees on Health and Oversight and is the eighth ranking member of the House Select Committee on Aging.

While in Congress, Mr. Ford has served on the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs and Veterans Affairs Committees, as well as on the House Select Committee on Assassinations. His legislative interests include curbing inflation, care for the aged, and funding of needed social programs.

At the age of 25, Harold Ford was elected to the Tennessee Legislature as the Representative of approximately the same geographic area that his great grandfather represented as a squire in the post Reconstruction days from 1888-1900. Exhibiting exceptional leadership qualities during that term in the 87th General Assembly, he was named Majority Whip for the House. Mr. Ford was born in Memphis, Tennessee, where he was educated in the public school system. He received an AA Degree in Mortuary Science from John Gupton College in Nashville, Tennessee, and a Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration from Tennessee State University.

Mr. Ford is married to the former Dorothy Bowles of Memphis, Tennessee. They are the proud parents of three sons: Harold, Jr., (May 11, 1970); Jake (October 1, 1972); and Sir Isaac (January 6, 1975).



WILLIAM H. GRAY, III

2nd Congressional District, Pennsylvania

Congressman Bill Gray, of Philadelphia, was elected to the 96th Congress in November, 1978. He was reelected to the 97th Congress in November, 1980, and now is serving his second term in the House of Representatives.

In the 96th Congress, Mr. Gray served on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, on the Committee on the Budget and the Committee on the District of Columbia. He was elected Secretary of the Congressional Black Caucus, and was chosen by his freshman colleagues to represent them on the Leadership's Democratic Steering and Policy Committee.

As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Bill Gray authored the only new program offered by a freshman and passed by the Congress in the 20th Century. This legislation established the African Development Foundation, a new mechanism to deliver U.S. aid in a visible manner to the grassroots, village level on the continent.

The Congressman also authored legislation to increase the numbers of minority and women officers in the U.S. Foreign Service. His amendments to the Foreign Service Personnel Reform Act were adopted by the 96th Congress and signed into law by President Carter.

Mr. Gray was appointed as a U.S. representative at the inauguration of the government of Zimbabwe, following his advocacy of majority rule in that nation. President Carter appointed him to chair the U.S.-Liberia Presidential Commission, and later the Congressman chaired a special mission to Liberia to begin talks with the government which took office after the April, 1980 coup. Also, he was a participant in the bilateral trade negotiations with Nigeria.

In the 97th Congress, Bill Gray serves on the Committee on Appropriations, where he is a member of the Transportation Subcommittee and the Foreign Operations Subcommittee. Also, he serves on the Committee on the District of Columbia, where he chairs the Subcommittee on Government Operations and Metropolitan Affairs. In addition, the Congressman is Vice Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Mr. Gray has served as Pastor since 1972 of the Bright Hope Baptist

Church, in North Philadelphia. He was Pastor for eight years prior at the Union Baptist Church, of Montclair, N.J.

Raised in North Philadelphia, he attended public schools, and earned degrees from Franklin and Marshall College, Drew Seminary and Princeton Theological Seminary. He did further graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, and Mansfield College of Oxford, England.

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

In the civil rights field, Bill Gray established the precedent-setting New Jersey Supreme Court case *Gray vs. Serruto*, which ordered that financial damages be paid by those who discriminate on the basis of race in renting multi-family housing.

Mr. Gray was born in Baton Rouge, La., the son of Hazel Yates Gray and the late Dr. William H. Gray, Jr. He is married to the former Andrea Dash, of New Jersey, and they are the parents of three sons: William H., IV; Justin Yates; and Andrew Dash.



AUGUSTUS F. (GLS) HAWKINS

*29th Congressional District,
California*

Representing California's 29th Congressional District since 1962, Augustus F. Hawkins continues to be elected by more than 86% of the voters of that district.

In the 97th Congress, Mr. Hawkins was appointed Chairman of the powerful House Administration Committee which has jurisdiction over a varied number of responsibilities governing U.S. House personnel operations and federal election laws. He also serves as Vice-Chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing and Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library. Mr. Hawkins is the first ranking member on the very important Committee on Education and Labor and is Chairman of its Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities, which monitors matters dealing primarily with employment and training including: public service employment; full employment; and equal employment opportunity programs and regulations.

During the 93rd Congress, Representative Hawkins authored three landmark pieces of legislation and worked successfully for their Congressional approval. They included the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act which became law September 7, 1974; the Community Services Act, which was signed by the President on January 4, 1975; and the Civil Rights Act, Title VII section amendment to the Equal Opportunity Act which became law April 12, 1974.

In the 95th Congress, three other pieces of legislation authored by Mr. Hawkins became law. These are the CETA Amendments of 1978; the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act; and the Pregnancy Disability Act. Mr. Hawkins witnessed the signing into law of the Humphrey/Hawkins Full Employment Act of 1978 which he began developing in 1974 with the late Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

In the 96th Congress, Representative Hawkins introduced the Youth Act of 1980 to combat the disastrously high rate of unemployment among America's youth.

On his first professional venture into politics, Mr. Hawkins was elected to the California State Assembly, a post he held for 28 continuous years. During his tenure as a member of the

California State Assembly, Mr. Hawkins compiled a great legislative record, which eventually led to his assuming the powerful position of Chairman of the Rules Committee. He also served as Chairman of the Senate and Assembly Joint Legislative Organization Committee, the highest Committee position in the State Legislature.

While in the Assembly, he authored over 100 laws, including minimum wage for all women; slum clearance and low-cost housing program; workmen's compensation for domestics; disability insurance; the Fair Housing Act; old age pension; child care centers; The Fair Employment Practices Act of 1959; and the 1961 Metropolitan Transit Authority Act. He was responsible for legislation establishing the construction of the Los Angeles Sports Arena; the Department of Employment Building at 15th and Broadway in Los Angeles; and the Law and Medical Schools at the University of California at Los Angeles.

He also sponsored legislation in which racial designation was removed from all state documents such as driver's licenses and job orders. Among his other accomplishments resulting from his recommendations, were the appointments of Blacks as judges; state commissioners; members of the State Highway Patrol; and supervisory positions in the post office. A United States Attorney was appointed because of his recommendation.

Representative Hawkins continues to be an exemplary image of his own personal view of public service: "The leadership belongs not to the loudest, not to those who beat the drums or blow the trumpets, but to those who day in and day out, in all seasons, work for the practical realization of a better world—those who have the stamina to persist and to remain honest and dedicated. To those belongs the leadership."



MICKEY LELAND

*18th Congressional District,
Texas*

Mickey Leland represents the 18th Congressional District of Texas. He was born in Lubbock, Texas on November 27, 1944 and moved to Houston with his family in 1948.

Representative Leland was elected to Congress in 1978 and was elected Freshman Whip of the 96th Congress. He is the sixth ranking member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 18th ranking member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and the fourth ranking member of the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Congressman Leland was elected Chairman of the Subcommittee on Postal Personnel and Modernization on June 18, 1980. He also serves on the Subcommittee on Census and Population, the Subcommittee on Energy Conservation and Power, the Subcommittee on Fossil and Synthetic Fuels, the Subcommittee on Health and the Environment and the Subcommittee on Manpower, Education and the Judiciary.

Representative Leland was elected to serve in the Texas House of Representatives in 1972 and was reelected in 1974 and 1976. He was selected to serve on the Democratic National Committee in 1976 and was reelected in 1980. While attending the Memphis Midterm Conference of the National Democratic Party in 1978 he helped to organize the National Black/Hispanic Democratic Coalition, of which he now serves as a co-chair. Mr. Leland serves as the chair of the Energy Braintrust of the Caucus.

Mr. Leland is a graduate of the public schools of Houston and earned a Bachelor of Science Degree from Texas Southern University where he taught clinical pharmacy for one year following his graduation.



PARREN J. MITCHELL

7th Congressional District, Maryland

Parren J. Mitchell represents the 7th Congressional District of Maryland. After a period of varied and distinguished public service, Parren J. Mitchell was elected Maryland's first Black Congressman in 1970.

In 1976, 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 ten percent of each grant to retain minority firms as contractors, subcontractors, or suppliers. Mitchell's single amendment resulted in more than \$625 million (15%) going to legitimate minority firms. Following numerous court challenges, "The Mitchell Amendment" was upheld as constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in July, 1980.

He has also introduced legislation which, in 1978, became Public Law 95-507, requiring proposals from contractors to spell out goals for awarding contracts to minority subcontractors. This law potentially provides access to billions of dollars for minority businesses.

During his twelve years in Congress, Mitchell has served with distinction as a Member of the House Budget Committee, Vice Chairman of the Joint Committee on Defense Production, and Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

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.

He holds a total of seven Honorary Degrees: four Doctors of Humane Letters, two Doctors of Laws, and one Doctor of Social Services.

National and local consumer groups, civil rights groups, business and economic groups, fraternities, sororities, religious groups and educational organizations have presented more than 400 awards to Congressman Mitchell. He has received awards 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."



CHARLES B. RANGEL

*19th Congressional District,
New York*

Congressman Charles B. Rangel was elected from the 19th Congressional District of New York to serve his first term in the U.S. House of Representatives in January of 1971. He is now serving his sixth Congressional term.

In his first term, Congressman Rangel was appointed by the Speaker to the Select Committee on Crime. He was influential in passing the 1971 amendment to the drug laws that 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 to the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, where he is now its second ranking member. Rangel 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. He is currently its third ranking member. Two years later, his colleagues in the New York Congressional delegation voted him the Majority Regional Whip for New York State.

Early in the 97th Congress, Mr. Rangel was appointed Chairman of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation. He is the first Black to serve as a Ways and Means Subcommittee chairman. Mr. Rangel was also appointed to the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, which makes House committee assignment recommendations.

Mr. Rangel was born in Harlem, New York in 1930. He attended the old P.S. 89, the Frederick Douglass Junior High School and DeWitt Clinton High School. Upon completion of military service, where he was awarded the Purple Heart and Bronze Star Medal for Valor, Mr. Rangel obtained a law degree from St. John's University School of Law where he helped organize the Criminal Law Institute.



GUS SAVAGE

2nd Congressional District, Illinois

Gus Savage was elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1980 after winning the Illinois 2nd Congressional District primary and general elections by overwhelming margins. In testimony to his lifetime commitment to jobs, justice and economic leverage for Blacks and other minorities, Congressman Savage chose to serve on the Public Works and Transportation Committee as 23rd ranking member and the Small Business Committee as 22nd ranking member, using these influential committee assignments to aggressively promote and further minority interests. He is also a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

A political activist since 1946, he has achieved a number of notable victories on behalf of his people. He successfully led fights for veterans' housing, the hiring of Blacks in Chicago department stores and integration of Chicago restaurants. Further, he was 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.

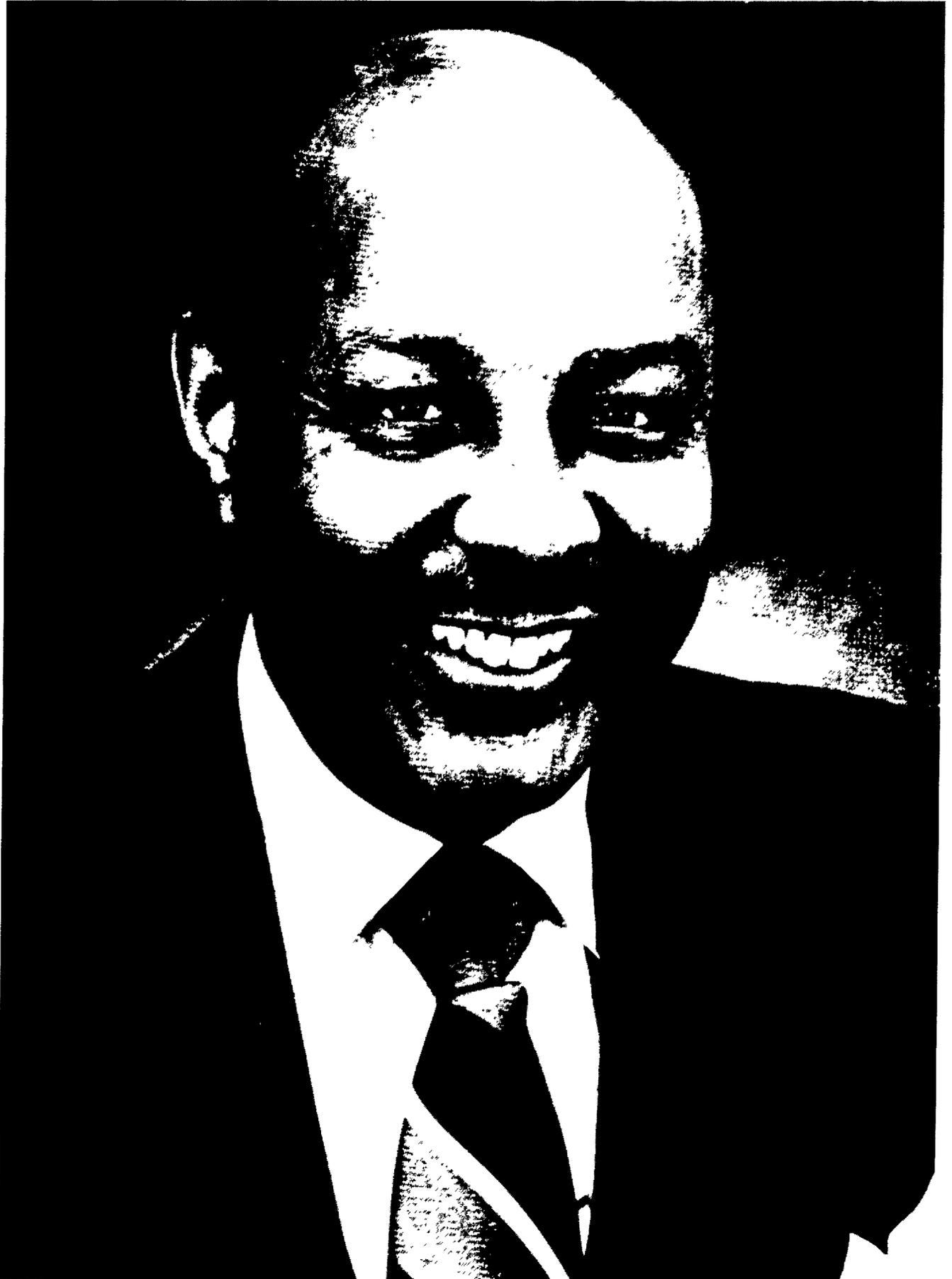
After completing his graduate studies, Congressman Savage commenced a 25-year career in publishing and in 1970 founded the Chicago Black Publishers Association, and served as its first chairman. Congressman Savage maintains a weekly column in over 50 newspapers nationally, and broadcasts a weekly public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

As a crusader for peace and justice since being on Capitol Hill, Congressman Savage has led a mass lobbying and picketing effort by Wisconsin Steel workers laid off due to an unexpected plant closing in his district; served as a congressional leader in organizing the September 19, 1981 AFL-CIO "Solidarity Day" demonstration of 400,000; led a mass world disarmament march of 200,000 in Lisbon, Portugal; and spearheaded a "Clergy Crusade" to Washington that brought some 40 ministers to Washington to challenge Reaganomics and to lobby against cutbacks in domestic spending in the 1983 fiscal budget.

To date, highlights of his legislative record during the 97th Congress include his active role as co-sponsor and a leading House floor debater for extension of the Voting Rights Act; his successful prodding of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to forthrightly implement and provide funds for a law that is designed to curb home foreclosures in areas of high unemployment; his affirmative action amendment to the Coal Slurry Pipeline legislation; his sponsorship of a bill to provide public transportation fare assistance to job seekers; his sponsorship of legislation (a companion to which was signed into law) that requires the federal government to make interest payments on overdue accounts to businesses; and his sponsorship of legislation to honor the memory of the late Joe Louis.

Among the awards bestowed on Congressman Savage in 1981 are the "Freshman Congressman of the Year" from the Maryland State Conference NAACP; the "Man of the Year" from the Evanston, Illinois NAACP, and the "Presidential Award" from the Cook County Bar Association.

Congressman Savage 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.



LOUIS STOKES

21st Congressional District, Ohio

On November 5, 1968, Louis Stokes was elected Congressman of the 21st Congressional District of Ohio. By virtue of the election, he became the first Black member of Congress from the State of Ohio. On November 4, 1980, he was reelected to his seventh term.

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, on February 5, 1975, he was elected by the Democratic Caucus to serve on the newly formed Budget Committee of the House. He was reelected 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 Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, a non-profit educational research organization.

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 that 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.

In January, 1981, Congressman Stokes became the Senior Democratic Representative from Ohio and was elected by his colleagues as the Dean of the Ohio Democratic Congressional Delegation.

Since being in Congress, Congressman Stokes has been named by *Ebony Magazine* as one of the 100 most influential Black Americans each year since 1971 and in 1979, he was nominated by *Ebony Magazine* in three categories for the Second Annual American Black Achievement Awards. His nomination was based upon his becoming the first black to head a major congressional investigation and 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."

Congressman Stokes is also the recipient of seven honorary degrees and is listed in "Who's Who in America," "Who's Who in American Law," "Who's Who in American Politics," "Who's Who in the Midwest," "Who's Who in Health Care," and "Who's Who Among Black Americans, Community Leaders and Noteworthy Americans."



HAROLD WASHINGTON

*1st Congressional District,
Illinois*

Harold Washington was elected from the 1st Congressional District of Illinois to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1980. As a freshman he is the 18th ranking member of the Committee on Education and Labor, the 14th ranking member of the Judiciary Committee and the 21st ranking member of the Committee on Government Operations.

Mr. Washington serves on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, which had initial jurisdiction over legislation to reauthorize the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He played a key and critical role in the successful extension of the Act which was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan on June 29, 1982. Mr. Washington also serves on the Subcommittee on Manpower and Housing.

In addition to his committee assignments, Mr. Washington is Secretary of the Congressional Black Caucus, a member of the Northeast-Midwest Congressional Coalition, the Auto Task Force and the Congressional Steel Caucus. He also serves on the Executive Board of the Federal Government Service Task Force.

After graduating from Northwestern University School of Law in 1952, Harold Washington was a practicing attorney until his appointment in 1954 as Assistant City Prosecutor for Chicago. He served for five years as Arbitrator for the Illinois Industrial Commission, and in 1965 was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives where he served Chicago's 26th District until his election to the Illinois Senate in 1977.

Mr. Washington is the founder and President of the Black Taxpayers Federation. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Suburban Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Mid-South Mental Health Association.

Representative Washington is a member of the Cook County, Illinois and National Bar Associations.

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION:

A NEW MISSION FOR NEW TIMES

The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc. (CBCF) is a non-partisan, non-profit, tax exempt organization created to provide educational research and public policy analysis on legislative issues vital to Congressional Members, their constituencies and the general public.

The interests of minorities participating in the legislative process—particularly on the Committee level of Capitol Hill's Congressional staffs—became the touchstone of the CBCF's Graduate Legislative Intern Program. The internship program was initiated in 1976 after published reports indicated that of approximately 18,000 Congressional employees, less than 1,000 were Black; and of the 22 standing Committees in the House of Representatives, less than 25 Blacks held professional positions. Of these, the majority were staff of the Congressional Black Caucus Members. The need for greater representation by Black people and other minority groups was apparent, and immediate.

It was also apparent that an essential element in creating legislation and

policies which address the needs of Black and minority citizens was the development of legislative technicians and ultimately legislative leaders—thoroughly familiar with the legislative process.

The legislative pilot project was launched during the summer of 1976 with four graduate students selected from Howard University. To date, 78 students have successfully completed the program. Some have actually secured permanent Hill employment.

The CBC Foundation is expanding its program still further. Its central mission is the development of a comprehensive center of information, research and program policy analyses of issues that greatly concern the Black community. Specifically, the CBCF will provide this support for legislators and others involved in the legislative process or public policy formulation. It will also offer its services to national organizations and other friends and supporters of the cause of Black Americans. In addition, the Foundation will offer non-partisan educational programs on the functions

Left to Right: Gary C. Rivers, Harriet C. Pritchett, Kathy Arnold, Denise Williams, Congressman Louis Stokes, Gretchen Wharton, Linda Hunt, Denise Woods, Melony McGant





Congressman Louis Stokes, Joyce Clements

of Federal, state and local government. These programs will be focused on Black Americans and other groups which have historically been excluded from participation in these processes.

The present need for a research and information center focused on Black Americans is clear. For too long we have relied upon the statistics and data collection of others to shape public policies which affect Black America. With current attacks on institutions and policies which were developed to ameliorate discrimination, Black Americans now need the ability to explore and implement their own solutions to these problems. The CBCF can be a catalyst for these efforts.

As the CBCF expands, and evolves into a research institute, it will address the array of issues and problems confronting the Black community by calling upon its own resources—its talented youth; experienced scholars; legal experts; entrepreneurs; technicians; artists; workers; social policy planners and analysts. Its legislative origins—and the continued active involvement of several Members of Congress—make the CBCF unique. The goals of the new CBCF ensure that it will make important and constructive contributions to Black life. Its goals are:

- Development of an independent data base and analyses on issues affecting Black Americans;
- Provision of information and education to the public about these issues and the functions of Federal, State and local government in addressing them;
- Provision of educational and professional opportunities for talented younger scholars, and develop greater working relationships with more established scholars;
- Establishing relationships between public and private sector institutions to expand its resources and capacity; and
- Support of networks and institution-building efforts within the Black community.

PROPOSED CBCF ACTIVITIES

In addition to continuing its highly successful Graduate Legislative Intern Program, it will initiate several new activities in the next year. These include:

- **Formulation of a Scholars' Council**, comprised of leading intellectuals and academicians from here and abroad. These scholars will serve as an adjunct to the CBCF Board, will advise the CBCF on new research projects and contribute to its scholarly journals and legislative proposals.
- **Development of an information service and statistical research capability.**
- **Publication of a newsletter** that provides statistical and other information on Black Americans to be used by public policy makers and the general public.
- **Development of legislative proposals**, with supporting research and analyses.
 - The CBCF will initially focus its research efforts on serious problems now plaguing the Black community—including unemployment; the problems of poverty; urban decay; the problems of Black rural communities; and the continuing need for affirmative action and equal opportunity laws and policies.
 - In recognition of the need to develop partnerships between the public and private sector and between minority and majority business, the CBCF will devote substantial resources to analyses of new, innovative corporate-sponsored programs to increase collaboration between these entities; to enhance provision of community services and employment; and to demonstrate responsible corporate efforts that meet Black consumer needs and problems. CBCF's research also must focus on Black business ownership, with particular reference to the penetration of new markets; joint ventures; technology transfer; and their role in enhancing job creation and economic stability in the Black community.

THE GRADUATE LEGISLATIVE INTERN PROGRAM

The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's Graduate Legislative Intern Program began as a pilot project during the summer of 1976 with four students selected from Howard University. At the time of its creation, Black members of Congress were deeply disturbed by the severe underrepresentation of minorities on Congressional staffs, particularly with regard to vital Congressional committees. Although there has been some improvement in the intervening years, underrepresentation persists.

The Intern Program was established as a focused effort to address this problem by increasing the number of trained Black and minority Congressional staff on Capitol Hill. The creation of effective Black leadership requires legislative technicians familiar with the legislative process. The objective of this program, therefore, is to provide opportunities for students to better their analytical and technical skills, in order that they may master legislative and policy-making procedures.

The CBCF Intern Program is unique on Capitol Hill. It is the only program specifically designed for Black and minority graduate students. It is the only program which operates bi-annually, and which focuses exclusively on the Committees for intern placement.

Interns are recruited and selected from colleges and universities on a nationwide competitive basis. Intern selection is primarily based upon

prior academic performance, general understanding of the objectives of the program and the nature and requirements of intern assignments, and upon recommendations of the Deans of Graduate Schools. A scholarly research paper related to the intern's committee assignment is a requirement for completion of the program.

Interns assigned to the legislative staff of Congressional Committees serve a two to three month internship. In addition to their legislative assignments, interns meet in seminar sessions. This year's seminars have included lectures by experts on the legislative process (including the role of the committees; the budget and appropriations process; and the rules of the House); the role of lobbyists and public interest groups in shaping legislation; and the role of Congressional Caucuses. Interns also are exposed to representatives of the other branches of government, and discuss how these three branches inter-relate in the formulation of Federal policy.

Since 1976, 78 students have participated in the program. Several former interns have obtained professional Capitol Hill staff positions.

Each student is awarded a stipend of \$1,000 per month for the two to three month internship period. These awards are made possible through the fundraising efforts of the Congressional Black Caucus Spouses and corporate and private contributions.



by Rosa Whitaker

In Langston Hughes' poem, **The Negro Mother**, an old Black woman leaves her children with a legacy. She says "... I had only hope then, but now, through you dark ones of today, my dreams must come true. . . All you dark children in the world out there remember my sweat, my pain, my despair; remember my years heavy with sorrow and make of those years a torch for tomorrow."

The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Graduate Legislative Intern Program is fulfilling the hopes of that old Black woman by providing Black students with a "torch for tomorrow." The Intern Program has not only afforded me the opportunity to learn the legislative process but it has also assisted me and many other former interns throughout the country in becoming more proficient in our subject and career areas.

As a child growing up in the neighborhood of Howard University in Washington, D.C., during the mid-1960's, I witnessed the decay of my own community while, fortunately, at the same time I saw Black students and professors at Howard who were determined to make it despite all of the obstacles. This experience resulted in my determination to be a public servant.

Inspired by my parents, and a local City Council member, at a very early age I planned to devote the rest of my life to public service. In 1975, at the age of 15, I worked for the District of Columbia's first elected City Council, and it was there I received a strong foundation to build upon.

The following year, I was the youngest person ever to be elected as Youth Chairperson of a Neighborhood Planning Council. Afterwards, I received an award from the Mayor for Distinguished Community Service. This momentum led to my enrollment and graduation with honors from the American University.

In 1979, I received a scholarship to study at the University of London in England. The following year, I was chosen to study in Italy at the American University of Rome.

I obtained relevant work experience in government service while employed as a Contracts Manager for the D.C. government, a Legislative Assistant to the D.C. City Council, and a Research analyst for an international lobbying group.

I had always hoped that my work experience would lead to a career in government as a policy-maker or program administrator which would allow me to have a direct impact on the political system—a system which not only affects but shapes people's

lives. I am concerned about the ability of political institutions to satisfy basic human needs such as housing, sufficient health care and quality education. It has been my desire to translate these needs into public policy.

To launch this endeavor, I was overwhelmed when I was selected for the Intern Program and assigned to the House Committee on the District of Columbia. My tenure on the Committee was very rewarding. Not only was my knowledge about issues affecting the District of Columbia enhanced, but I was also taught how I could be an effective voice for the citizens.

In addition to greatly improving my technical skills, my Internship restored a great deal of confidence in myself and my ability to carry out the legacy of that Black mother in Langston Hughes' poem. I will be forever indebted to the CBC Foundation for providing me with such an opportunity. As a direct result of my Internship, I feel ready to use the skills I obtained to improve the conditions, not only for the District of Columbia, but all over the world.

This Internship has indeed provided me with a foundation for that pursuit. For this, I express my heartfelt gratitude to all those who have contributed to making the CBCF Graduate Legislative Intern Program possible. I thank the Program Director for her guidance, the entire CBC Foundation, and my Representative to Congress, the Chairman of the CBC, the Honorable Walter Fauntroy, whose dedication has been a great inspiration to me.

1982 GRADUATE LEGISLATIVE INTERNS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

WINTER

Peter Burke
Antioch School of Law
Committee on Small Business

Linda Parker
George Washington University School of
Law
Committee on Education and Labor

Samuel Perkins
Antioch School of Law
Subcommittee on Unemployment
Compensation and Public Assistance
Committee on Ways and Means

Alvetta Peterman
Atlanta University
Subcommittee on Oversight
Committee on Ways and Means

Joyce Stephens
Howard University
Subcommittee on Human Resources
Committee on Education and Labor

Everald Thompson
Indiana University School of Law
Subcommittee on Domestic Monetary
Policy
Committee on Banking, Finance and
Urban Affairs

Rosa Whitaker
American University
Committee on the District of Columbia

SUMMER

Leamon Abrams
Harvard University Kennedy School of
Government
Subcommittee on Manpower and
Housing
Committee on Government Operations

Laurack Bray
Howard University School of Law
Committee on Education and Labor

Kimberly Foster
Princeton University
Senate Subcommittee on the
Handicapped
Committee on Labor and Human
Resources

Karen Hill
St. Louis University
Subcommittee on Fiscal Affairs and
Health
Committee on the District of Columbia

Janis Nero
George Washington University
Subcommittee on Health
Committee on Ways and Means

Mark O'Riley
George Washington University School of
Law
Committee on Small Business

Michael Ross
University of Virginia School of Law
Subcommittee on Postsecondary
Education
Committee on Education and Labor

Jesse Wineberry
University of Puget Sound School of Law
Subcommittee on Telecommunications,
Consumer Protection and Finance
Committee on Energy and Commerce

Deborah Wood
Howard University
Subcommittee on Constitutional and
Civil Rights
Committee on the Judiciary

Sincere appreciation for contributions
and generous support to the Congressional
Black Caucus Foundation
Graduate Legislative Intern Program
by:

*American Can Company
Avon Products
Beneficial Management Corporation
Bethlehem Steel Corporation
Bright Hope Baptist Church
Bristol Myers Company
CBC Spouses
CBS Records
Chrysler Corporation Fund
Don King Foundation, Inc.
Edison Electric Institute
Greyhound Corporation
Illinois Bell
Johnson Products Company, Inc.
Los Angeles Times
McDonald's Corporation
Miller Brewing Company
PepsiCo
Philip Morris Corporation
RCA
R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc.*

COORDINATOR

Gretchen Wharton

SPECIAL THANKS

Nadine Robinson
Andrea Jefferson
Faithe Norrell
Ann Royal
Pat Fagin Scott
Lorraine Smith
Sondra Norrell-Thomas



*Avon Products, Inc. Henry Poole presenting
check to Congressman Louis Stokes and
Denise Woods.*

1982 GEORGE W. COLLINS AWARD

The George W. Collins Award for Community Service is being presented to J. Lamar Hill, an individual who exemplifies the ideals of service on the local level as perceived by the late Congressman George W. Collins.

J. LAMAR HILL

ANGELUS FUNERAL HOME,
Los Angeles, California



John Lamar Hill is President and owner of the Angelus Funeral Home in Los Angeles, California. His mortuary represents one of the largest Black funeral homes in California. He is also the former owner of radio station KJLH-FM in Los Angeles, the first Black owned radio station on the West coast.

Throughout his business career, Mr. Hill has displayed a strong commitment to community service by working with the Congressional Black Caucus, community churches and other civic organizations to improve the quality of life in his community.

Mr. Hill has been very active within his current professional field, serving as both past president and member of the California Morticians Association and the California State Board of Funeral Directors and Embalmers. In addition, he is an active member of the California Mortuary Alliance, the California Funeral Directors Association and Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity.

A member of the Republican National Party, Mr. Hill is a former member of the Republican California State Central Committee. His recreational interests include photography and golf.

1982 ADAM CLAYTON POWELL AWARD

The Adam Clayton Powell Award is presented to Coleman Young for political achievement because of his courageous and outspoken commitment to the rights of minorities and the poor.

COLEMAN YOUNG

MAYOR,
Detroit, Michigan

Coleman Alexander Young was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama on May 24, 1918.

He moved to Detroit at the age of five when his father, a tailor, sought to escape an economic recession in the south. Coleman Young attended public and parochial (Catholic) elementary schools in the city and graduated with honors from Detroit's Eastern High School. He attended technical school briefly and then went to work on the line at the Ford Motor Company's Rouge Plant.

He joined in the early organizing battles of the United Auto Workers (UAW), took a leadership role in the Wayne County C.I.O., and combined civil rights and labor activities as executive secretary of the National Negro Labor Council.



Commissioned as an officer in the U.S. Army during World War II, Coleman Young served briefly in a Ft. Knox stockade after he and scores of other Tuskegee Airmen in the Air Corps shut down an officers' club that refused to serve black officers.

He worked as an insurance executive, a spot cleaner in a laundry, as manager of a chain of dry cleaners, a taxi driver, and a butcher's assistant before plunging into politics full time in 1961 with a successful campaign for delegate to Michigan's Constitutional Convention.

In 1964 he captured a State Senate seat from an east side Detroit district, and rose quickly to leadership posts in the Lansing legislature. Michigan Democrats elected him in 1968 to become the first black member ever to serve on the Democratic National Committee.

In 1973, pledging to restore peace between the people and police of

Detroit, Coleman Young announced as a candidate for Mayor. He defeated the City's former police chief in a sometimes bitter election contest, and in early 1974 took the oath of office just two miles from the "Black Bottom" neighborhood where his father had operated a small tailor shop.

Mayor Young was appointed by President Carter as vice-chairman of the National Democratic Party. He is President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and an active spokesman for America's large cities.

In November, 1977, Mayor Young was re-elected to a second four-year term and in 1981 began to serve his third term.

1982 WILLIAM L. DAWSON AWARD

Representative Shirley A. Chisholm is being presented the William L. Dawson Award for her unique leadership in the development of legislation which addresses the needs of minorities in the United States.

SHIRLEY A. CHISHOLM

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Brooklyn, New York

For her outstanding legislative achievements, the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation is presenting the 1982 Dawson Award to Congresswoman Shirley A. Chisholm.

Mrs. Chisholm was first elected in 1968 to the 91st Congress of the United States. She brought with her an interest in and a commitment to the provision of a quality education for all Americans. In keeping with this commitment, she worked to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1978 to establish the Bio-Medical Services Program. Today, this program supports 12 projects nationally which encourage junior high school students to pursue careers in the medical profession.

In 1980, Congresswoman Chisholm responded to the financial needs of Black Colleges and Universities by introducing her own Higher Education legislation. Unlike the Education and Labor Committee bill, Mrs. Chisholm's bill provided "Challenge Grants" to Black, higher educational institutions to allow the establishment of their own endowment funds. Although her entire bill was not passed by the Congress, the "Challenge Grant" component was adopted and provides an important mechanism for financial assistance to Black institutions.

Mrs. Chisholm has similarly been a major spokesperson and effective legislator in support of: Title IX of the 1982



Education Amendments, which guarantees sex equity in education; juvenile delinquents, by establishing both the Alternative Education and Serious Youth Offenders Special Emphasis Programs within the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquent Prevention; and domestic workers by helping to establish a national minimum wage.

Most recently, Congresswoman Chisholm's legislative efforts have also included initiatives in the foreign policy area. As Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus Task Force on Haitian Refugees, Mrs. Chisholm brought national attention to the plight of Haitians seeking political asylum in the United States. The Congresswoman speaking on behalf of the Caucus, testified before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law on the blatant discriminatory treatment received by Haitian asylum applicants. The Administration, in response to charges of racist refugee

policies, finally agreed to change their policy of quick expulsion for Haitians and allow them to remain in this Country as part of the Cuban-Haitian entrant program. Despite this significant change in policy, Mrs. Chisholm continues to press for full recognition of Haitians as political refugees and federal reimbursement to states and localities that have been impacted by the influx of Haitians and Cubans. She has authored legislation, H.R. 3602 which would grant refugee status to Cubans and Haitians and H.R. 6071 which would create an independent asylum review board.

Congresswoman Chisholm's legislative contributions as the Representative of the 12th Congressional District in the State of New York have been an asset to the Congress and the Nation during her years of service. It is in recognition of these and other legislative achievements that we honor her with this award.

1982 HUMANITARIAN AWARD

The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation is presenting the 1982 Humanitarian Award to Mr. Percy E. Sutton for his exceptional work in the struggle for human rights and social justice for all people.

PERCY E. SUTTON

INNER CITY BROADCASTING CORP.,
New York, New York

As Chairman of the Board and Treasurer of Inner City Broadcasting Corporation, Percy E. Sutton finds himself at the helm of one of the largest black-owned telecommunications companies in the nation. Inner City Broadcasting Inc., is the parent body of such stations as WLBS in Michigan, KRE-AM & KBLX-FM in California and WBLS-FM & WLIB-AM in New York.

He is also Chairman of the Board and President of Amistad DOT Venture Capital, Inc., a project designed to fund disadvantaged entrepreneurs seeking to service the America railroad company.

In addition to his many business and professional activities, Mr. Sutton participates in various service organizations and efforts, such as the Boy Scouts of America; the USO of Metro-



politan New York; Hale House in New York City, (a home for children born of drug addicted mothers); the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C., which he founded; the African-American Institute; and the Nigerian-American Friendship Society, Inc.

A long time Pan-Africanist and activist in demonstrations, negotiations and fund raising efforts on behalf of the African Freedom Movement, Mr. Sutton is a founder and Board Member of Trans-Africa, a lobbying group in support of African causes.

Trained as an agricultural economist, Mr. Sutton holds a law degree from Brooklyn Law School. He, together with his brother, former New York State Supreme Court Justice Oliver C. Sutton, has served as attorney for various groups and causes; including Counsel for Malcolm X, the New York NAACP, and the

Baptist Ministers' Conference of Greater New York.

Mr. Sutton is also active in civil rights affairs. He is a Life Member of the NAACP and a member of the Board of Directors of PUSH. Having been a leader and participant in the civil rights demonstrations and legal proceedings of the 1950's and 1960's, Mr. Sutton has been arrested many times as an early civil rights activist.

A former two term member of the New York State Legislature, he was borough president of Manhattan for almost 12 years, until leaving public office in 1977 after losing a Democratic Primary bid to become Mayor of the City of New York.

Mr. Sutton presently resides in Harlem. He is married to Leatrice O'Farrell Sutton, and is the father of Pierre and Cheryl Sutton.

The Second Session of the 97th Congress*



The Reagan Administration's policies—as evidenced by severely flawed and unfair budget proposals; the most serious economic decline and unemployment since the Great Depression; equivocation on the Voting Rights Act; efforts to dismantle civil rights laws and enforcement; discriminatory and cruel immigration and asylum practices; and unsettling foreign affairs and defense decisions—have provided some of the most significant challenges for the Congressional Black Caucus since its creation.

The Reagan program is producing misery instead of prosperity. His economic policies are producing exactly the opposite result of what was promised. Small businesses are failing at record rates—almost 500 per month. Unemployment is rising—increasing by over 35% in the last 18 months. The huge and unwarranted tax cuts and giveaways to the rich—almost \$750 billion over the next five years—have not produced a boom in productivity, plant expansion and job creation. In fact, productivity has declined by 8.8%. Corporate profits and new orders for capital goods have declined by 25% in the second quarter of 1982. Even the heartless and callous cuts in social programs, which were portrayed as a means to reduce the Federal deficits, have not worked. Federal deficits have ballooned to an estimated

\$140 to \$160 billion for each of the next three years. This development is particularly poignant, since the number of families living in poverty actually rose last year, creating the highest number of Americans living below the poverty line since 1965, when President Johnson launched the War on Poverty. More devastating, 1 in 3 Black Americans now live in poverty. These policies, and their results, constitute a declaration of war on the poorest and the most vulnerable who have already borne a double burden caused by budget cuts and the economy.

There were certainly some important victories this session. The Congress passed the Voting Rights Act by smashing margins in both the House and the Senate. This victory was of more than symbolic and passing importance: not only does it continue the necessary Federal protections to ensure equal voting rights for Black and brown Americans, but it also demonstrated the power of an aroused and organized citizenry. Congressman Augustus Hawkins' new job creation and training bill, H.R. 5320, passed the House of Representatives on August 4, 1982. A similar measure (S. 2036) had already passed the Senate on July 1, 1982. At a time of severe and debilitating unemployment in the Black community, and after the demise of CETA and other public sector jobs programs, this successful initiative is of great importance. Prolonged high unemployment rates of 18.3% for Black adults and 52.6% for Black teenagers stalk our community. This year, 1 in 5 American workers, and 1 in 3 Black workers, were unemployed for all or part of the year. Therefore, Congressman Harold Ford's proposal (H.R. 6369) to extend unemployment benefits for an additional 13 weeks, incorporated into the most recent major bill to increase revenues, will also have a significant impact in lessening the suffering in our communities.

These victories notwithstanding, most of the news was not good. Under the Reagan Administration, the budget has become the preeminent instrument of government policy-making. Under the guise of balancing the budget and eliminating waste, this Administration has for two straight years decimated social programs which are needed now more than ever before.

There also were developments in the area of foreign affairs including a shift toward South Africa; harsh and discriminatory immigration policies; the loss of human life and devastation in protracted Middle East conflicts; and a flawed proposal for assistance to Caribbean nations, that are significant to Black Americans.

These conditions have stimulated a legislatively productive session for the Caucus. The highlights of the Caucus' legislative activities include:

*This legislative update, which was prepared by the Congressional Black Caucus, is reprinted in our dinner book as an educational service.

The Congressional Black Caucus Budget

For both the FY 82 and FY 83 budget debates, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) introduced an alternative to both the Reagan and the House Budget Committee proposals. The budget proposed by the Congressional Black Caucus (the "Fauntroy Sub-statute") had the following major features:

- The CBC Budget reduced the deficit substantially. In fact, its FY 83 budget deficit of \$93 billion was much less than the \$140 billion FY 83 deficit now projected for the Reagan proposal. Moreover, the CBC budget would lead to steadily shrinking deficits of \$62 billion in 1984 and an *actual surplus* of \$18.6 billion in 1985, which will help bring interest rates down and provide the basis for economic recovery.
- The CBC Budget was fair and humane. It prevented the many additional cuts in human-needs programs proposed by the President and returned funds to social programs that were lost by enactment of Reagan FY 82 budget reductions. Because of savings generated by alternative tax and defense policies, several education, health, housing and urban programs were restored to FY 81 funding levels, adjusted for inflation. The CBC Budget restored a total of \$27.4 billion for social programs in FY 83 alone. For example, the Budget restored \$3.3 billion to Title I; \$1.6 billion to Pell Grants for disadvantaged college students; more guaranteed student loan funds; 16,000 more Section 8 housing units; increased funding for health care programs; \$1.2 billion in Social Services funds, including child welfare programs. It retained EDA; the Legal Services Corporation, and low-income energy and other conservation programs.
- The CBC Budget was stimulative and created jobs. A centerpiece of the Budget proposal was the creation of a major \$6 to \$8 billion Federal jobs, vocational educational and training package. Portions of the CBC jobs proposal were taken from Congressman Hawkins' job training bill, H.R. 5320. This initiative was in response both to the Nation's unemployment rate generally, and to the catastrophic unemployment in the Black community specifically. The CBC Budget also included a \$4 billion urban infrastructure proposal, which would have created 50 to 80,000 jobs; a \$4 billion expansion of mass transit and highway construction programs, which would have created an equal number of jobs; and homeownership assistance and

rental housing construction programs to stimulate employment in residential construction.

- The CBC Budget ensured adequate Social Security and other support for the Nation's poor—both elderly and non-elderly. The budget maintained the cost of living adjustment for elderly on fixed income, and extended unemployment compensation benefits and program triggers to 52 weeks. In the Caucus' view, this restoration of benefits was necessary at a time when we are experiencing levels of unemployment which have not been endured since the Depression. The basis of our proposal, Congressman Ford's bill to extend benefits, was incorporated into the recent major revenue bill which passed both the House and the Senate. Our Budget also provided increased funding for programs to assist the poor including \$3.2 billion more than Reagan for AFDC; \$5 billion more for Food Stamps; \$7.7 billion more for Medicaid; \$2.9 billion more for Medicare; \$1.2 billion more for 6 health programs; and \$400 million more for Supplemental Social Insurance.
- The CBC Budget established a saner and safer national defense. As an initial matter, the Caucus recognized the need for a strong conventional military. The alternative provided for the continued funding of practical conventional weapons, and actually increased pay for military personnel and funds for operations and maintenance. However, in an effort

to slow the unacceptable rate of growth in the defense budget, and to ensure that the deficit is reduced, the Congressional Black Caucus generally recommended that the defense spending be held at FY 82 levels. In addition, the CBC endorsed the principle of a nuclear freeze by providing no funding for new nuclear weapons systems and nuclear weapons.

- The CBC Budget provided comprehensive tax reform. The CBC believes that there must be a fair and adequate tax system to support the many legitimate and necessary activities of the Federal government. The existing system has not met that test, and the tax changes made by the President last year have made the situation even worse. Consequently, the CBC budget included comprehensive reform of the tax codes. It replaced the second and third years of the Reagan/Kemp/Roth individual tax cuts with tax cuts that would provide the most tax relief to the poor and middle class. The budget closed or capped many of the tax breaks and loopholes which allow the rich to avoid paying their fair share of taxes. It reversed the misguided tax breaks given corporations last year as well as many of the wasteful corporate loopholes that existed before Reagan took office. It also raised users fees and similar revenues where appropriate to support needed Federal programs. It is obvious that the CBC proposals were meritorious. Recently, the Congress passed a bill to increase revenues by \$98 billion. This measure included 12 provisions which were exactly the same, or markedly similar, to those proposed in the CBC budget.

In light of these realities, action by Congressman Louis Stokes on the Education and Labor Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee has been extremely important in rectifying the imbalances caused by the Reagan Administration budget proposals. For example, when considering the FY 82 Supplemental Appropriations bill, Congressman Stokes was successful in including an additional \$140 million for the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant Program for disadvantaged college students. In addition, he authored an amendment that will enable approximately 200 needy medical students to continue to receive National Health Service Corps Scholarships, although they would have been denied such scholarships under new budget proposals. Finally, as a result of Congressman Stokes' actions, the Committee approved a 15% set-aside of Maternal and Child Health. Funds to provide transitional funding for Sickle Cell



Left to Right: Felda Thompson, Francesta Farmer, Congressman Walter Fauntroy and Sheila Senesie

projects which would otherwise be ended because of lack of resources.

Other Caucus Members, too, have used non-Budget Committee assignments to develop legislation which responds creatively to the nation's current economic and fiscal crises. Congressman Walter Fauntroy, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Domestic Monetary Policy, has authored two such bills:

- **H.R. 6222: The Reserve Requirements Reform Act of 1982.** The Monetary Control Act of 1980 requires all depository institutions to maintain non-interest bearing reserves with the Federal Reserve System. Since the implementation of the Act, the Federal Reserve has by administrative action exempted small depository institutions, of which many are minority controlled and owned, from these requirements. This exemption expires on December 31, 1982 and the Federal Reserve has indicated that it will not be extended without legislative authority. By enacting this legislation, realistic and meaningful relief to small financial institutions, including those owned and controlled by minorities, will be made available without interference with the conduct of monetary policy. More than 17,755 such institutions will be aided by this bill.

This bill was passed unanimously by the House Banking and Urban Affairs Committee, and was considered by the full House on August 17, 1982.

- **H. Joint Resolution 365.** Congressman Fauntroy, the Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, and the Chairman of the Full Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, sought adoption of H.J. Res 365 because they were alarmed by current economic conditions. This resolution would require the Administration to reconsider its current economic policies in order to bring interest rates down.

It still is pending before the Subcommittee at this time.

Voting Rights

The Voting Rights Act of 1965—designed to prevent discriminatory practices through the administrative rather than the judicial process—was due to expire in August, 1982. Therefore, one of the most important debates ever on voting rights for minority Americans consumed the Congress for much of this session.

The Congressional Black Caucus, through the special efforts of Congressmen Washington, Conyers and Fauntroy, provided

leadership during the House and Senate consideration of this vital legislation. After Committee hearings and mark-up, the House began debate on H.R. 3112 on October 2, 1981, and passed the bill on October 5 by a vote of 389 to 24. It was a stirring reaffirmation of the principles and problems which necessitated the Voting Rights Act in the first place.

On May 4, 1982, the full Senate Judiciary Committee reported a version of S. 1992 which was similar to the House-passed bill except in three respects. First, the bill incorporated more explicit standards and language from the controlling Supreme Court case, *White v. Regester*. Second, the Senate bill, unlike the House bill, extended the Act for only 25 more years with a provision providing for Congressional review after 15 years. Third, the bill made more explicit provisions in the current law which permit assistance to voters who are illiterate or handicapped.

On June 18, 1982, after a long and complicated debate, the Senate overwhelmingly



approved a strengthened Voting Rights Act that was consistent with the House-passed bill, by a vote of 85 to 8.

H.R. 5320: Job Training Partnership Act

A final version of Congressman Hawkins' bill, with changes, was passed by the House on August 4, 1982. A similar measure was passed by the Senate on July 1, 1982.

H.R. 5320 maintains most of the services which were provided under CETA, including job search assistance, skills training, OJT, internships, remedial education and basic skills and job development. It allows use of funds for "employment bonuses" for six months of successful retention, special subsidized programs for employers who will "customize" training and provide a job. Employment generating programs are also allowable. The bill contains specific local programs for youth, a state displaced worker program and national programs.

Refugee Policy

The Caucus' Task Force on Refugee Policy, led by Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm and Congressman Walter Fauntroy, has been deeply involved in initiatives relating to U.S. immigration and asylum policies. Outraged and disturbed by the treatment of Haitian refugees to our shores, the Caucus has examined the range of available legislative options to eradicate ideological and racial discrimination from the process by which foreign nationals are permitted to come to, and remain in, our country. Four Caucus Members (Cong. Gray, Dixon, Fauntroy and Chisholm) also traveled to Haiti to study, first-hand, the conditions which have prompted the sharp increase in the number of Haitian refugees.

There are three important legislative initiatives in this area:

- **The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1982 (H.R. 6514: the "Simpson-Mazzoli" bill).** After several salutary changes in the first draft of this legislation which were insisted upon by Members of the Caucus, three provisions still are extremely troubling. The Caucus is withholding total support and working with the principle authors of the bill to secure further changes. The three provisions are:
 - **Section 123.** This section eliminates judicial review of asylum claims; it, therefore, raises the issue of "court stripping." The CBC is opposed to removal of Federal court jurisdiction as a matter of principle. It also is particularly concerned about the pattern and practice of denying due process to Haitian asylum applicants due to racial and ideological discrimination.
 - **Summary exclusion.** The summary exclusion provisions in the bill are open to abuse by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). This is evidenced by the current INS practice of granting only cursory or hostile interviews to Haitian and other Black asylum claimants. Under these circumstances, there is no assurance that a Black or brown applicant will even be informed of his or her right to claim asylum.
 - **Employer sanctions.** These provisions are objectionable because they do not include equal employment or other civil rights enforcement mechanisms which enable Federal officials to monitor discrimination against U.S. citizens and permanent residents who are denied employment because of sur-

name or because they are "foreign looking." Moreover, victims of such discrimination cannot seek redress under the current bill. A better alternative to these provisions, in the CBC's view, is vigorous enforcement of existing fair labor practices laws.

There are two other bills, introduced by Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, which affect U.S. refugee policies.

- H.R. 3602, grants permanent resident status to Cuban and Haitian entrants now in this country.
- H.R. 6071, reforms asylum procedures by establishing an independent corps of knowledgeable and bias-free asylum officers positioned outside both the INS and the State Department. In addition, the legislation creates an independent review board for claims of those whose asylum or refugee applications have been denied, and preserves judicial review of such claims.



Minority Business Enterprise (MBE)

Under the leadership of the Chairman of the House Small Business Committee, Congressman Parren Mitchell, the CBC has been active in advancing the interests of minority business by introducing legislation and by monitoring Federal agency policy relevant to MBE's. The necessity for this focus is clear: in a time of severe economic dislocation, not only are MBE's more negatively affected by high interest rates and scarce credit, but they also are the last best hope for employment for millions of minority citizens. A thriving minority business sector is essential for the long-term health of our communities. Yet, notwithstanding a rich legacy of Black business development, the contemporary Black and minority entrepreneur has, until recently, been virtually excluded from participation in this Nation's total economic system.

One measure of this exclusion is the level of minority participation in Federal con-

tracting opportunities. In 1977, less than 1% of the Federal government's \$100 billion procurement budget was awarded to minority businesses. By 1981, due in some measure to CBC pressure, this figure rose to \$4.5 billion. Even though this figure does not even approach economic parity, it is clear progress.

Recent developments at the SBA have cast a long shadow over the aspirations for stability of some of our most viable MBE's. In June, 1982, the SBA announced that it was graduating 23 Black and Hispanic-owned businesses from the Section 8(a) set-aside program. This action would remove these businesses from specific Federal contract opportunities, affecting some \$250 million in contracts and 7,500 employees. The "graduation" of these firms based merely on gross receipts, and not on size relative to the industries in which they are found, has enormous destructive potential. The Caucus and other concerned Members of Congress have demanded that the SBA reverse its position on this forced graduation.

Other legislation affecting minority businesses in the Second session includes:

- P.L. 97-219. The Small Business Innovation and Development Act of 1982 was enacted on July 22, 1982. This law will become effective on October 1, 1982. All Federal agencies with a research budget of \$100 million or more must establish a Small Business Innovation and Research program. These agencies must also set-aside 25% of their research budgets for small businesses.
- P.L. 97-177. The Prompt Payment Act was enacted on May 21, 1982. By law, agencies are now required to pay businesses in a timely manner. If this is not done, businesses will be able to receive an interest penalty on the delinquent contract price. P.L. 97-177 helped to improve the cash flow of many businesses during this difficult economic period.
- H.R. 5022. Introduced by Congressman Mitchell, it is pending before the Government Operations Committee. If enacted, H.R. 5022 would eliminate the outmoded practices of retainage. Retainage is a Federal policy in which 10 percent of a contractor's contract price is withheld until the contract is complete. A survey of some minority businesses with annual sales ranging from \$250 thousand to \$1.5 million showed \$475 thousand in retainages for periods of up to 1½ years.
- H.R. 6823 and H.R. 6824. H.R. 6823 requires that a firm's 8(a) business plan contain targets, objectives and goals designed to overcome the firm's economically disadvantaged status. The

plan must also contain predetermined "criteria of competitiveness" for financial, management and marketing functions. The second bill, H.R. 6024, is entitled the "Small Business Administration Personnel Reform Act of 1982." It attempts to decrease the political personnel abuses that SBA has been susceptible to historically.

H.R. 3597: Legislation Banning New Investment in South Africa

The Caucus has long been on record as abhorring the apartheid regime of South Africa, and exploitation of the indigenous citizens and the country's resources by a white minority. On May 14, 1981, Congressman William Gray, III introduced legislation that directs the President to exercise authorities contained in the International Emergency Economic Powers Act to issue regulations prohibiting investment in South Africa. This legislation is necessary because investments by American firms in South Africa help support an oppressive apartheid



system. H.R. 3597 was reported out of both the Africa and the International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittees of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on June 10, 1982.

The bill provides for civil and criminal penalties of up to \$50,000 in fines and 10 years in prison for individual violators, and a fine of up to \$1 million for corporations.

Ethiopian Refugees: H. Con. Resolution 368

In August, 1981, the State Department announced that it had changed its policies with regard to Ethiopian nationals residing in the U.S. For unknown reasons, it was alleged that conditions in Ethiopia had stabilized. Therefore, nearly 15,000 Ethiopians could be subject to deportation proceedings, despite their government's poor human rights record and the real possibility of punishment upon their return.

Working in concert with Ethiopian organizations here in the United States, and with

Congressman Jack Kemp, the CBC Refugee Task Force, other CBC Members, and nearly 60 Members of Congress, he authored a bipartisan resolution that was introduced on June 24, 1982. A companion measure also was introduced in the Senate by Senators Paul Tsongas and Nancy Kassebaum.

Because of the attention drawn by this resolution and nationwide expressions of concern, the Department of State announced in July, 1982, that it would revise its recommendation and permit continuation of extended voluntary departure status for Ethiopians.

Caribbean Basin Initiative

In early March, 1982, President Reagan announced a new foreign aid and trade initiative for the Caribbean region, and several countries in Central America. This so-called "Caribbean Basin Initiative" (CBI), a \$350 million aid package (H.R. 5900) which originally provided \$128 million in economic



and military aid to El Salvador alone, was introduced on March 18, 1982.

The CBC had immediate concerns about the disproportionate amount of aid given to Central American nations under the guise of supporting the historically-defined Caribbean Region; the provision of more military aid to El Salvador; the paucity of aid to the nations of the Eastern Caribbean; the *de facto* exclusion of Grenada; and the specific mix of infrastructure versus trade assistance.

Congressman Mervyn Dymally presented the CBC position before joint hearings held by the House InterAmerican and International Economic Policy Subcommittees on March 23, 1982; he and Congressman George W. Crockett played critical roles in the Foreign Affairs Committee mark-up of the bill. Congressman Charles Rangel also participated in marking up the trade portions of the bill in the Ways and Means Committee.

In the House-Senate Conference on the FY 82 appropriations supplemental, Congressman Dixon's efforts were the key to final

approval of a CBI package which markedly increased levels of assistance to the Caribbean, and reduced the imbalances between funds allocated to Central America and those earmarked for Caribbean nations. It also eliminated any additional FY 82 military assistance to El Salvador and thwarted the Reagan Administration's attempt to obtain an additional \$200 million in worldwide military assistance.

Defense Policy

For six full days, during March and April (March 16-18, March 30-31 and April 1), 1982, Congressman Ronald V. Dellums convened Special Congressional Ad Hoc Hearings on the Full Implications of the Military Budget. These hearings were motivated, in large part, by a sense "that political leaders have, for many years, failed to debate the fundamental premises and needs of American foreign and military policy with intelligence or integrity." These hearings also



were convened at a time when the Reagan Administration was proposing an unprecedented \$1 trillion increase in defense expenditures over the next five years.

In his hearings, Congressman Dellums called over 40 expert witnesses for an in-depth analysis of the military budget from the following perspectives: Foreign Policy and National Security Implications; Strategic and Tactical Weapons Assumptions; Escalation versus Disarmament; Economic Implications; Moral Implications; Citizen Responsibilities; and Impact of Global Arms Sales.

After reviewing the 1400-page transcript of the hearing, Congressman Dellums introduced an alternative defense reauthorization bill: H.R. 6696. H.R. 6696 eliminated funding for dangerous and potentially ineffective strategic and nuclear weapons systems including the MX missile; the B-1 bomber; the CVB nuclear aircraft carrier; the Pershing II missile; the Tomahawk Sea-launched Cruise missile; ground-launched missiles; and binary chemical weapons.

After extensive debate, H.R. 6696 was defeated by a vote of 55 to 348 on July 20, 1982.

H.R. 6410: The Pension Equity Tax Act

On June 10, the House Ways and Means Committee held hearings on H.R. 6410—also known as the Rangel Bill or the Pension Equity Tax Act. The bill would limit the maximum pension eligible for tax benefits under a defined benefit plan to \$90,000, reduced from \$136,425. H.R. 6410 also was incorporated into the major \$98 billion revenue bill considered by the Congress in early August. The bill would prohibit top corporate officials from depositing thousands of dollars in retirement accounts one day, to claim a tax deduction, and then withdrawing the funds the next day as a loan in order to escape taxation on current income. Besides reducing these employer contributions to a pension or profit-sharing plan, the bill would also require that



executive health insurance and life insurance plans be extended to lower-paid employees.

It is estimated that the bill will return over \$1 billion to the government.

Change In Federal Policies on Tax-Exempt Status for Discriminatory Institutions

On January 8, 1982, the Reagan Administration decided to rescind Revenue Ruling 71-44. This revenue ruling, adopted pursuant to court order during the Nixon Administration, denies tax exempt status to schools that discriminate on the basis of race or national origin. The Administration's decision to rescind was in violation of existing Federal anti-discrimination laws. There also is ample case law precedent in support of the Revenue Ruling, including a standing Federal Court order that was approved by the Supreme Court.

The Caucus, with many others, argued the position that several existing statutes, including Title VI, mandated denial of Federal benefits, including tax-exempt status, to

discriminatory institutions. The reasoning was so persuasive that the House and Senate Committees to which the Administration bill was referred refused to consider it, finding that the Administration proposal was unwarranted and unnecessary.

Southwest Regional Forum

On February 12-14, 1982, Congressman Mickey Leland hosted the second CBC legislative forum outside Washington, D.C. Eleven Caucus Members journeyed to Houston, Texas for a series of workshops and Congressional hearings on a range of issues, including minority business; the economy; foreign affairs; criminal justice; energy; civil rights and women's issues; and urban development. These sessions were opened to community participation, and over 750 persons attended the events.

"New Federalism"

Having foisted on the American people the "river-boat gamble" of supply-side economics in 1981, the White House is now pushing a "shell game" called the "New Federalism."

The Administration's latest version of the New Federalism hides the reality of more cuts in aid to the poor and working poor behind shifts between Federal responsibilities and funds and state responsibilities.

In exchange for Federal absorption of some \$18.7 billion in state medicaid costs, the initial proposal suggested that States assume, through such mechanisms as block grants, total responsibility for financing several programs that once provided the now tattered "safety net" for needy individuals.

Perhaps more cynically, the proposed shifts place no obligations on states and localities to continue the programs in their current form or to provide at least some minimum levels of support, thus virtually guaranteeing that programs—and needy program beneficiaries—will be at the mercy of regional, local political and ideological variations. As a *Washington Post* editorial writer recently said: "The only philosophical justification is that the states should decide for themselves how much charity they wish to render. But that puts an abstraction, states' rights, ahead of a reality, poverty. Hungry people need no less food in Mississippi than in Maine, no matter how stingy or generous state legislatures may be..."

Although there is, as yet, no specific legislation, this proposal was the centerpiece of the 1982 State of the Union address. Undoubtedly, this will be a focus in the 98th Congress. To combat this proposal—which is a code for "states' rights"—the Caucus will work to defeat these cynical proposals,

in coalition with others who share its views that the Federal role in guaranteeing minimal levels of support and civil rights protections should not be further eroded.

Death Penalty

Riding a wave of rising popular support of the death penalty, legislation is under consideration both in the House (H.R. 5679) and the Senate (S. 114) to reactivate the use of the death penalty for selected Federal crimes.

Testimony in hearings on the death penalty before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, chaired by CBC Criminal Justice Braintrust Chairman John Conyers, Jr. also revealed that it is difficult to find attorneys who are able to prepare adequate defense in capital trials and that the costs of presenting that defense are very high.

This Congress is not likely to agree on the Federal death penalty, but efforts toward that end will resurface, and will be monitored by the Caucus.

Postal Service

The Postal Service is the largest employer of minorities that receives annual Federal subsidies. In his role as Chairman of the Postal Operations and Services Subcommittee, Congressman William Clay has been holding extensive hearings on the Service to explore Postal operations over the 10 years since its reorganization. Two vital issues have been the focus of several hearings: the

failure of the Postal Service to make adequate progress in equal employment opportunity and affirmative action programs, and its failure to utilize minority contractors. H.R. 10, the Minority Postal Contracts Act, introduced by Congressman Clay at the start of the 97th Congress, would remedy one of these areas by requiring that at least 10% of all postal procurement dollars be awarded to minority businesses.

The Ninety-Eighth Congress: A Perspective

During the first session of the 98th Congress, the Caucus will continue to be vigilant in its defense of Black and poor people, both here and abroad. It will monitor negative civil rights legislation, including H.R. 5689—a civil rights consolidation bill to strip several statutory protections—which is sure to be reintroduced. The Caucus will monitor legislation to implement President Reagan's "New Federalism" proposals. It will seek to ameliorate the devastation caused by high unemployment in our communities.

Pursuant to the recent economic summit held in Gary, Indiana on July 26-28, 1982, the Caucus will spearhead development of new and comprehensive legislation to, in the words of Congressman Walter Fauntroy at that summit, address "the problem of our deteriorating industrial and manufacturing base, and the urgent need of Black businesses for outside capital to get started, survive and grow." The CBC will make solving these problems a priority for the next Congress.



AN ECONOMIC DETOUR TO SUCCESS



Journalism was one of the earlier Black professions. Earl G. Graves (left) of Black Enterprise, Ed Lewis (center) of Essence, and John Johnson (right) of Ebony continue a tradition of advocacy.



During the Revolutionary Era Black entrepreneurs ran shops for a largely white clientele. Fraunces Tavern (left) was a leading New York City restaurant. Much later, Blacks catered only to other Blacks. Madam C.J. Walker (far left) established the Black beauty industry.

Black business has taken a circuitous route to reach its present number of 230,000 businesses. America's other ethnic groups prospered by producing and marketing for the general public, their economic progress hampered only by the vagaries of commerce and the limitations of their abilities. Black entrepreneurs, because of the spectre of racism, were forced to detour to produce and market only for other Black people. From 1865 through the 1960s, Black entrepreneurs were encouraged both by their leaders and the federal government to create a separate "race" business by the side of, and in competition with, the general business of the nation. Given the racial climate of the time, perhaps it could have been no other way. (But even this was not exclusive: white merchants could still sell to and service the Black community.)

In 1900 Booker T. Washington was instrumental in creating the National Negro Business League (NNBL), an organization established to promote the

financial development of Blacks and "to lead the race to a position of influence in American life through economic independence." At the 1921 annual meeting of the NNBL "an assembly of gentlemen representing nine negro insurance companies met in Bethel A.M.E. Church on Auburn Avenue [in Atlanta]... for the purpose of organizing a national association of Negro insurance men," reports M.S. Stuart, a pioneer insurance executive. Later that year, the National Negro Insurance Association was organized with 13 members. There were then 42 black-controlled insurance companies. Today there are 38 with combined assets of \$725.8 million. Six years later, in 1927, R.R. Wright, formerly a college president but then president of the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company of Philadelphia, founded the Negro Banker's Association.

These ethnic trade associations indicated that Black entrepreneurs were obliged to select those kinds of businesses that white competitors did not choose to

invade or to monopolize—barbershops and beauty parlors, food service establishments, undertaking, life insurance and banking. Working within these limited areas Black businesspersons persevered and laid the foundations for our Black business tradition. They turned adversity into advantage.

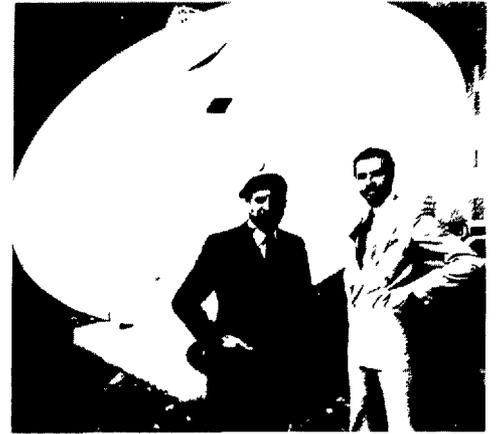
Two barbers serving white clientele founded, and were presidents of, the two largest black-owned insurance companies. John Merrick founded North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, the largest black-owned company with assets of \$198,750 million. Alonzo Herndon was the founder of Atlanta Life Insurance Company, the second largest company with assets of \$112 million.

A beautician, Madam C.J. Walker sold beauty products that she manufactured in her own plant and was our first Black millionaire.

Enterprising Black persons have been caterers and restaurateurs since the 1700s. In New York City, Samuel Fraunces prospered as the proprietor of



Segregation forced Black business into an economic detour, leading it to develop large institutions under the umbrella of race. Black Insurance companies formed an association (left) to strengthen their position. Today entrepreneurs are moving into high technology with companies such as Percy and Pierre Sutton's (right) telecommunication's complex. Larger companies as exemplified by the Black Enterprise Top 100 executives (below) are the wave of the future.



the city's leading restaurant. It was a place regularly frequented by George Washington and it was here that the first President of the United States bade farewell to his officers at the end of the Revolutionary War. Fraunces Tavern, although no longer black-owned, is still operated as a restaurant. Black caterers soon came to dominate this area of commerce, a dominance that would last until the 1850s. Men such as Robert Bogle of Philadelphia, Peter Augustin and James Prosser of that same city were held in high regards and their services were as essential as wealth and position to the status of the leading citizens of Philadelphia.

Of course there were Black businessmen outside of the parameters of the consorsial or culinary arts. Paul Cuffee built ships in New Bedford, Massachusetts, James Forten made sails in Philadelphia, Robert Boyd manufactured furniture in Cincinnati. These Black men operated enterprises for the general public. But with the various waves of

immigrants and the aftermath of the Civil War Black entrepreneurs were pushed out of the general market. In 1912 Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois wrote in his study, *The Negro American Artisan*: "The new Negro business men are not successors of the old; there used to be Negro business men in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore catering to the white trade. The new Negro business man caters to the Negro trade."

Such restrictions on commerce rubs against the principle of free trade. Black entrepreneurs, vested with courage and foresight, worked to move from their economic detour and to travel on the main road. The successes have been few, but they have been encouraging. With the aid of the federal government, especially through the SBA and its 8(a) program, the Federal Communications Commission with its change of rules to allow for more minority ownership of communications vehicles, the establishment of the Organization of Minority Business Enterprise (now Minority Busi-

ness Development Agency) and the establishment of Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Corporations, Black entrepreneurs are creating larger and more diversified companies. This year THE BLACK ENTERPRISE top 100 companies had sales of almost \$2 billion dollars. More importantly, the list was more diverse than ever and included several companies involved in high technology.

All Black businesspersons are to be saluted—both large companies and the "mom and pop" shops—They are all striving to become partners in the world's business. This partnership, to be sure, is fostered by the guarantee of fair enforcement of equal laws. But the desire for partnership and the ability to be partner, must be in the persons. The law and public sentiment may protect businesspersons, but they cannot make them. The making is largely with the persons themselves.

The Staff
BLACK ENTERPRISE

CONSOLIDATED BANK AND TRUST: PAST AND PRESENT

The roots of Consolidated Bank and Trust Company can be traced back to 1903, when Maggie L. Walker founded the Saint Luke Penny Savings Bank, one of the earliest black-owned banks in America. In doing so, Mrs. Walker distinguished herself as the first woman bank president in the country.

Under her able guidance, the Saint Luke Penny Savings Bank's deposits increased steadily. In 1906, the bank's first dividend was declared at a rate of 10 percent.

In January, 1923, the Saint Luke Penny Savings Bank was granted trust powers, and as a result, the name was changed to the Saint Luke Bank and Trust Company.

At the end of 1928, the total resources of three black-owned and operated banks (Saint Luke, Second Street Savings Bank, and Commercial Bank and Trust Company) had decreased. It was apparent that something was wrong and some form of action had to be taken. In 1930, the Saint Luke Bank and Trust Company and Second Street Savings Bank merged to form what is now known as Consoli-

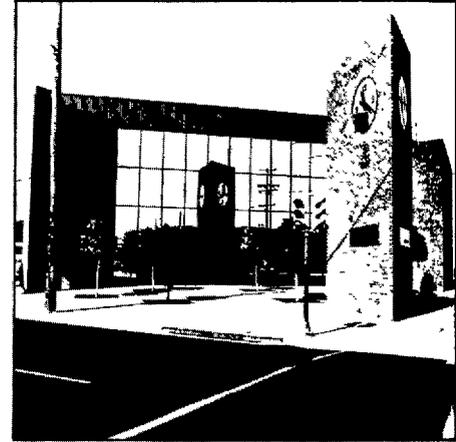
dated Bank and Trust Company. In 1931, Commercial Bank and Trust Company joined Consolidated Bank and Trust Company.

Upon the completion of each merger, Maggie L. Walker remained the leader of the organization and was elevated to the position of Chairman of the Board. She served in this capacity until her death in 1934.

Today, Consolidated Bank has total assets in excess of \$38 million and total deposits of more than \$34 million. It ranks 12th among the 46 black-owned banks in the country and its 59 employees serve the Richmond Metropolitan area from modern facilities in three separate locations.

Consolidated is not only committed to the use of sound business principles, but is dedicated to improving the quality of life for all Richmonders, as evidenced by its spirited support of civic and human service activities. For nearly eight decades the banking and social needs of our community have been—as they continue to be—of utmost concern to all of us.

Profitability and financial strength are important objectives of the bank. "We realize that we can be effective in our pursuits only if we are profitable," says Consolidated President, Vernard Henly. "We know that we can best serve those needs of our community only from a position of financial strength. An adequate capital base is foremost among our activities."



BEREAN SAVINGS ASSOCIATION—SAVING TO BUILD

After his arrival in Philadelphia in the late 1800s, The Rev. Matthew Anderson wrote: "One of the first things which greatly surprised us on coming to... the City of Brotherly Love (?) was the difficulty which colored people experience in securing desirable homes. That they should occupy only districts designated as slums seemed to have been agreed upon by the [city's] landlords generally. And as a result, our people were being insulted all over the city whenever they attempted to get desirable homes."

Anderson, a Presbyterian clergyman, decided that the best way to encourage home ownership was through the creation of a building and loan association. In 1888 he founded the Berean Building and Loan Association in the basement of a church in North Philadelphia. It later became the Berean Savings Association, and it is now the nation's oldest black-owned-and-operated savings and loan institution (S&L). Berean's 1896 assets of \$80,000 have climbed to more than \$17 million. And the bank, after 94 years of service, is still going strong, providing

mortgages (\$12 million in loans last year) to Blacks in various Philadelphia neighborhoods.

The bank's early survival depended on meetings being held on the third Thursday of every month at the church. Members followed a savings plan where they purchased one dollar monthly installment shares for 12 years. At the end of the 12-year period, they were paid \$200 for their accumulated shares.

Members, who were small businessmen and laborers, also received 4 percent interest on their savings (also called dues).

All of the money collected went for mortgages carrying a 6 percent interest rate. Berean systematically issued five to ten mortgages per month, which were sometimes awarded to residents by drawing lots. Members volunteered their time to make the association successful. A secretary was the only paid employee.

Berean changed from a part-time association to a full-time savings and loan institution in 1941. That same year, the installment shares were converted into federally insured passbook accounts,

and the bank moved to West Philadelphia.

Today Berean is Philadelphia's only black-owned banking institution. As a full-service bank, it offers home rehabilitation, construction and student loans, money market certificates, retirement accounts, and home mortgages in areas considered risky.



Berean's founder Matthew Anderson.

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS AND BLACK BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

By Honorable Parren J. Mitchell, (D.-Md)



contribution of the Congressional Black Caucus to Black business development is its political unity. While the Caucus represents a congressional blocking vote of only 18, they represent congressional districts with a large number of minority voters. Indeed, this intangible political tool has worked to the advantage of the Caucus as it has moved to the forefront in promoting Black business and economic development.

Beyond the intangible, the Congressional Black Caucus has in the last decade, contributed to every major federal issue affecting Black and other minority business. A few of the specific accomplishments of the Caucus in promoting Black business development are as follows:

1) In 1977 the Caucus supported an amendment to the Local Public Works Act requiring a 10 percent set-aside for minority business. The Economic Development Administration was so supportive of this amendment that they exceeded the statutory goal by 5 percent. As a result, millions of dollars were awarded to Black and other minority contractors. Of equal significance, the Caucus was very instrumental in gaining Nation-wide support from Black and other minority communities to counter the judicial attacks on this amendment. This massive community outcry was, in part, responsible for the U.S. Supreme Court's affirmation of the 10 percent set-aside amendment.

2) Public Law 95-507 was enacted in October of 1978. For the first time in the contemporary history of this Nation, the U.S. Congress and the Executive Office took affirmative steps to systematically address the problems of Black and other minority businesses. As a result of this law, the Caucus was the moving force behind a 1977-78 Presidential Memorandum instructing all agency heads to triple their minority procurement goals.

3) In the area of Finance, the Caucus was instrumental in getting President Carter to pledge to increase Federal deposits in minority banks to \$100 million by the end of 1977. Such deposits grew from \$3.7 million in 1970 to \$89 million by May of 1976.

4) Multinational Trade Agreement—In January of 1977, President Carter advised

the Congress that he intended to enter into a number of Trade agreements with foreign countries. These agreements covered a number of different areas and each had its own "code." The agreements, by law, had to be approved by the Congress.

One of these codes was concerned with the procurements made by the governments of all signatory Nations. Among other things, the procurement code would insure that all businesses located within the signatory Nations could compete, on an unrestricted basis, for certain specified procurements made by each government. This, therefore, would have had the effect of voiding all small business set-asides and 8(a) set-asides on the items covered by the "code."

As a result of hearings held by the Subcommittee on General Oversight and Minority Enterprise (March 20, 1979) and intense criticism from the Caucus and Reps. Mitchell, Addabbo, and LaFalce, the treaty was renegotiated and 8(a) and small business set-asides excluded from its provisions.

5) In 1980 a delegation of the Caucus met with Vice President Mondale and twenty minority entrepreneurs to discuss ten items of importance to the survival of this segment of the business community. Among the accomplishments of this meeting, President Carter ordered all federal agencies to initiate immediate prompt contract payment to minority businesses and the ear-marking of several million dollars to the Small Business Administration to aid Black and other minority businesses.

The above accomplishments of the Caucus are but a thumb nail of its contributions to Black business development. A critical ingredient of Black economic development is dollar volume of contracting opportunities. In this regard, the Congressional Black Caucus must be proud of its record. In 1977 less than 1 percent of the federal government's \$100 billion procurement budget was awarded to minority businesses. In 1981, the Federal government awarded nearly \$4.5 billion to minority businesses. Even though this figure does not approach economic parity, the Caucus can stand tall on such accomplishment in such a short period of time.

In order to understand the role of the Congressional Black Caucus in contributing to the growth of Black business development, one must first understand the federal contemporary business milieu that has until recently been exclusively non-minority. In the 60s there was a paucity of minority businesses participating in federal contracts. The Johnson Administration launched the "War on Poverty" and by doing so began to focus on economic development issues facing Black and other minority communities. Under the Nixon Administration, the "War on Poverty" was substituted for "Black Economic Development." It was in this era that the Department of Commerce was authorized by Executive Order 11458 to create the Office of Minority Business Enterprise. It was also during this period, that the Small Business Administration began a feeble attempt to ear-mark contracting opportunities for Black and other minority businesses through its 8(a) program. In fact, as late as 1977, minority businesses were receiving less than 1 percent of the federal government's \$100 billion procurement budget.

Despite such deplorable conditions, Black and other minority businesses have made some gains. According to a recent report, the top 100 Black businesses have moved from \$423 million in sales in 1972 to a 1982 level of nearly \$2 billion. Much of the recent growth of Black business development runs parallel with the emergence of the Congressional Black Caucus as a strong proponent of increased federal aid for Black and other minority businesses.

Perhaps, the single most important

BLACK BUSINESS ALIVE AND DOING QUITE WELL

By Alfred E. Osborne, Jr., UCLA Graduate School of Management



There is considerable apprehension about the state of the Black business community. The economic environment is tough. Businesses of all sizes and hues are failing at historically high rates and there is no imminent resolution to the liquidity problems and new capital requirements confronting business as a result of the poor performance of our economy. For Black business which is both small and minority, it is fashionable to predict their secular decline in competitiveness and insignificant contribution to the gross national product, business savings and aggregate employment. Those who may make these predictions are likely to be wrong if the economic performance of the largest black-owned firms is any indicator of the ability of this sector to survive and to prosper.

In 1976, I and one or two other researchers, argued that the emerging black-owned enterprise was qualitatively different than the traditional Black businesses. These emerging firms were found in capital-intensive lines of enterprise, experiencing economies of scale in non-traditional markets. We found that newly formed businesses were in manufacturing, wholesale, finance, and non-traditional lines of services and retail. And although most black-owned firms are still entrenched in small retail and personal services, the kinds of firms in the most dynamic sectors have changed with those changes in the larger economy demonstrating the potential for the greatest profits. While there has been some assistance from the government in finance and procurement, successful

black-owned enterprises have struggled in our predominantly free enterprise economy, where price and quality govern, despite often conflicting and hobbling efforts by the government.

THE BLACK ENTERPRISE TOP 100 provides a case in point. In 1973, when that magazine published its first survey, the largest black-owned company had sales of \$40 Million. The top five firms accounted for 35 percent of the top 100 revenue total of about \$423 million. In contrast, ten years later in 1982, black-owned firms approached \$2 billion in revenues. The largest firm surpassed \$100 million and the top 5 percent had gross revenues in excess of \$400 million. The representative firm on this list has grown some 600 percent in revenues, from \$2.4 million in 1972 to \$13.7 million in 1982, suggesting the presence of enterprises achieving economies of scale and capable of competing in our economy. THE BLACK ENTERPRISE TOP 100, in comparison to a broader population of firms such as the *Venture 100* or *Inc 100*, are in lines of business which somewhat reflect the areas of future economic growth in our society. Several are in energy distribution and resale, wholesale and industrial supply; some are in manufacturing, including computers, defense and telecommunications which represent what I called in 1976, emerging lines of Black enterprise.

Interestingly, there has been no large employment effect in this most recent decade. The number of direct employees rose a mere 13 percent, less than 1 percent compounded per year. Although the distribution of these jobs between minority and nonminority persons is not known, nor is the size of the wage bill, an analysis I made in one of my early articles on the subject predicted a small (even negative) employment gain to the Black community.

The smallest group in the BE 100 here gives encouragement, too. The bottom 10 percent of the top 100, had average revenues in excess of \$7 million in contrast to the figure ten years ago of \$1 million.

While I am delighted with the success and progress of the largest black-owned enterprises during the seventies, they too will have to change and adapt, or give

way to others who are more able to compete in the new economic environment. There is no sitting still with technological and demographic changes which await us. Lest anyone forget, the American economy is set upon a course of new business development and industrialization to which there is no return. We are increasingly a service oriented economy and less pure manufacturing. We compete in an increasingly international marketplace governed by the discipline imposed by demand and supply (in spite of the all too common interference of governments) and the information age. Business activities will be more skilled-labor intensive and less capital intensive with greater reliance on America's comparative advantage in research and development and new knowledge creation. For Black enterprises, the premium will be on the orderly development of their businesses. Entrepreneurs will probably have to yield to professional managers and although, flexibility will be important, a more defined and structured organization will be vital to success in the next decade. Careful planning systems will characterize those companies who can be called successful. The presence of a cadre of talented Black individuals trained in the newest management techniques and technical skills perhaps willing to leave safe corners of larger corporations can be relied upon to spearhead this development.

Regardless, the largest Black businesses have demonstrated considerable economic progress. They today represent a resource base positioned to succeed in the new economic environment of the 80s and the 90s. Small business will be favored by the shift away from manufacturing and heavy industry to a diverse array of services. Black-owned businesses will also benefit to the extent that they have characteristics and are in lines of business which further capitalize on these trends.

Do not look for a big employment effect, but successful Black firms can be an important source of residual profits so vital to the development of our communities and the accumulation of wealth by Black Americans. Black business is alive and doing quite well.

NON-TRADITIONAL FINANCE AND ALTERNATIVE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS FOR MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

By Patricia D. Jacobs, President, American Association of MESBICs, Inc.



The inaccessibility of capital and lack of capital sources remains as one of the most formidable barriers to viable business development and successful entrepreneurship in the American minority community.

Throughout the years, numerous studies have been conducted on the "Capital Gap" or capital needed to promote and insure economic parity among minority businesspersons. One of the more thorough and targeted of these studies, based on 1972 data, demonstrated a capital gap of \$100-\$175 billion dollars between the majority and minority business sector, and indicated that this capital gap is rapidly increasing in size each year at a rate of \$13.8 billion dollars or more. Clearly, this increasing capital or funds "deficit" in the MBE community represents a threat to its survival and to the concepts of equal economic opportunity.

Like many of its non-minority small business counterparts, a primary "traditional" financial source to alleviate this capital gap or funds "deficit" for the minority business community has been the federal government. In response, over the years, the federal government has developed several "traditional" approaches to the amelioration of the capital problems of minority businesses. These approaches, continuously reviewed and revised over the past decades, have included the establishment and operation of debt and equity financing programs, targeted at the MBE community, and primarily under the auspices of the Small Business Administration (SBA), and the provision of

capital for community-based development funds under the now defunct Community Services Administration or the (proposed to be eliminated) Economic Development Administration.

Federal government approaches are continuing revision under the current Administration and new looks are being taken by policymakers as the "traditional" providers of capital for MBEs, including such major programs as: (1) Economic Opportunity Loan Program; (2) The 7(a) or Guaranteed Loan Program; (3) The Local Development Company Program; (4) the 301(d) SBIC or Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Company (MESBIC) Program; and (5) the Displaced Business Loan Program and related SBA loan and loan guarantee programs.

Evaluators of these programs, as early as 1976, concluded that, while the goals of these programs are significant and valid, steps should be taken to increase non-federal activities in this area and to encourage and promote access to the major capital markets by minority entrepreneurs. This premise is more easily advanced than implemented.

Historically, major capital market sources have not been sensitive to, or equitable participants in, minority business financing. These sources, which range from major commercial banks and insurance companies to pension funds and trust companies, must, therefore, become targets for capital access by the minority business community in the next decade.

Confronted with what one MESBIC executive has characterized as the three R's of the capital markets—Reality, Resource (limitations), and Racism (intentional or unintentional), the minority entrepreneur and the minority business community must not limit their search to evolving or existing federal sector financing programs or to seeking access traditionally denied to the major financial sector capital sources. Instead, we must look, also, to the alternative financial institutions existing or being developed throughout the country and, ultimately, to assisting in the development of these or other more non-traditional or "creative" sources of finance for minority businesses.

The most vivid examples of alternative financial institutions to be accessed by MBEs are those institutions which have recently emerged through state and local efforts and actions. While generally limited geographically in their scope and activities, these state and local programs provide a variety of financial options for the minority businessperson including straight debt, equity, capital, asset, and lease financing, or specialized financing for startups, equipment, acquisitions, agriculture, real estate, and import/export businesses. State and local programs currently existing or on the drawing board include revolving loan funds, state loan guaranty programs, revenue bond guaranty programs, community development finance corporations, and others. Additional examples of alternative financial institutions include regionalized or localized funds for minority business enterprise investments created by exemplary members of the Foundation community, or specialized venture capital investment funds targeted at growth and technology or other industry-specific business ventures.

Ultimately, many minority business development professionals and supporters believe that minority America must find a way to recycle or leverage the dollars in its own community. Academicians, theorists, and thinkers have advanced this concept under many titles in the past—from the community stock sales in the days of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois papers promoting the formation of the "Investor's Equity Resource Corporation" or the "National Minority Business Finance Corporation" or other institutions to harness the collective capital resources of minority Americans. As the federal sector takes a new look at its MBE finance programs, the major financial sector takes a new look at financing minority businesses, and the minority entrepreneur takes a new look at non-traditional and alternative financial institutions, perhaps it is time for minority and non-minority Americans in general, and minority business leaders in specific, to take a new look at creating non-traditional and alternative financial institutions and, perhaps, financing themselves.

THE PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE: ADVOCATE FOR FREEDOM

It would be difficult to discuss the current condition of any Black newspaper in this nation without recalling such overused cliches as "when white America has a cold, Black America has pneumonia" or "when America is on the brink of recession, Black America is already feeling the pinch of depression."

The fact that we always tend to find some humor in such cliches lend credence to our ability to survive, recoup and go forward in this land of great wealth and yet so little.

The Black press, and the Philadelphia Tribune in particular, perceives itself in such light, and has managed to draw the necessary strength to not only survive, but prosper in these times of Reaganomics.

Long before many of the mighty white giant daily newspapers in major urban cities began to drop like dead flies, the Tribune, and just about every Black newspaper in the nation had practically hit bottom, both in circulation and advertising revenue. While we can hardly brag of finding a cure for our pneu-

monia, we have more than found a way to survive. In fact, we are optimistic more than ever about the future of the Tribune as a thriving business.

"From that day 98 years ago when founder Christopher James Perry published the first edition of the Philadelphia Tribune, it has been the people's advocate for freedom, justice and equality," wrote his son-in-law and late publisher-editor E. Washington Rhodes.

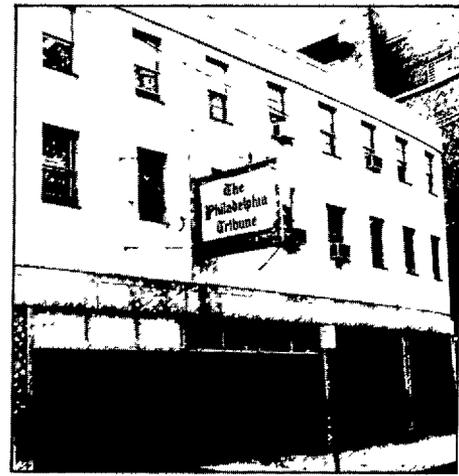
The Perry-Rhodes legacies have passed on to those who have followed in their footsteps. And, today the Tribune remains a powerful voice in the black community in Philadelphia.

We continue to be a strong advocate of Black rights, leading the charge against social and economic injustice and discrimination.

The Tribune also champions the cause of human rights, and in Philadelphia actively crusades for more and improved jobs, working conditions, education, housing and better representation for Blacks in all sections of our society.

It is very significant that the Con-

gressional Black Caucus Foundation is saluting Black business on the occasion of its 12th anniversary. And the Philadelphia Tribune, on behalf of the Black press, is particularly pleased that we have been cited as we approach our next anniversary as the oldest continuously published newspaper in the nation.



An advocate for Black Philadelphia.

PARKER HOUSE SAUSAGE CO: RETAIL PIONEER

In 1921, an ambitious youth, noting that the pork sausage commercially available in Chicago was tasteless and bland, compared to the full-flavored, spicy pork sausage his parents had served "down home," conceived the idea of producing "southern style" pork sausage in his own kitchen and retailing the product in his neighborhood.

With the family "recipe" and a hand meat grinder, fresh pork "trimmings" and a variety of seasonings and spices, Judge Henry Parker produced his first 50 pound pork sausage batch, neatly wrapping one pound portions in wax paper (no refrigeration), carefully placing the product in a basket, and, basket in hand, launched his sales from door to door in his own block on December 6, 1921.

Business was good. With repeat sales, his route grew so large he had to buy a horse and wagon to cover more territory.

After almost two years of profitable door to door sales, he decided to "go wholesale," established the "Parker House" brand name, and began to pro-

duce his pork sausage from a rented store location, selling wholesale to neighborhood restaurants and grocery stores. Here the produce was packed in muslin bags, cut and sewn by his mother.

History was made in 1927 when, on a vacant lot at 4605 S. State Street in Chicago, Parker, then 35 years of age, built the first Black-owned and staffed sausage processing plant to meet the standards of the U.S. government meat inspection service.

In its trail-blazing efforts Parker House Sausage Company placed the first black route salesman on the streets of America, was the first black-owned producer to win space for its products in the meatcases of a major corporate foodchain (A & P), developed the commercial market in the North for such products as "southern style" pork sausage, hot smoked link sausages, and specialty lunchmeats including hog headcheese and sagey souse.

Today, from the modern sausage kitchens, coolers and smokehouses of Parker House Sausage Company, a vari-

ety of quality pork and beef sausages, weiners and bacon are sped to thousands of leading chain and independent food retailers, hospitals, schools, plant cafeterias, office lunchrooms and restaurants in Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Missouri, Indiana, Kansas, and Wisconsin.

Its annual \$7 million dollar volume provides solid employment for 95 workers with union scale wages and benefits.



Parker House is in tune with the times.

MINORITY BUSINESS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE: GAINS TO BE MADE

By Herbert P. Wilkins, President, Syncom Capital Corporation, Washington, D.C. Chairman, AAMESBIC



President Lyndon B. Johnson once stated: "Our success in creating and satisfying the demands of our domestic market has brought our country to its present high level of opportunity. Often, however, the very opportunities we found at home caused us to neglect other promising markets overseas... Although we are selling substantial amounts of our products abroad, we ought to do better."

The current administration, like its predecessors, has placed increased importance on world trade and international business to the American economy. The President has announced a multi-million dollar Caribbean Basin Initiative to encourage business sector involvement in the Caribbean and Latin America. The Commerce Department has announced a program of export promotion designed to increase the number of American businesses exporting to foreign countries throughout the world. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation has increased its efforts to involve smaller American businesses in international trade and investments.

Various legislative initiatives are pending in the Congress which would promote the increased involvement of the American business sector in the international markets, such as the Export Company Trading Act, the Agricultural Export Credit Act, Amendments to the Trade Act of 1974, and others. The importance of international trade to the U.S., and indeed to our predicted and anticipated economic recovery is underlined in presentations by policy makers in the public and private sectors.

That these policy directives and legis-

lative initiatives address a valid concern—and an equally valid business opportunity—is indisputable in view of the fact that exports keep over three million Americans working and international trade is a major contributor to our GNP. That minority business enterprise must be prepared to take advantage of the business opportunity represented by international markets and international trade is equally indisputable.

Successful minority business involvement in international markets must necessarily be predicated upon an assessment of the strengths and variables of the minority business firm, as well as an in-depth review of the characteristics and prevalent business factors of the targeted countries.

As in any business venture, an analysis must be made of such factors as market potential and size, technical and engineering feasibility, financial constraints and advantages, and legal restrictions and prescriptions. Additionally, however, the minority entrepreneur must consider all possible characteristics of doing business internationally which might affect his involvement in international trade. These factors, as outlined by Dr. Vincent R. McDonald in a 1974 article include: 1) Money—e.g. both U.S. and foreign exchange trends and rates; whether the domestic based company is adequately capitalized to engage in international trade; 2) Banking and finance—e.g. liquidity of money markets, interest rates, credit practices; 3) Taxes—e.g. double taxation agreements, tax relief through negotiations with tax authority; 4) Insurance—e.g. the types, cost, and extent of coverage available; 5) Competition—e.g. legal and traditional limitations of free competition, required licenses, protective tariffs, etc.; 6) Prices; 7) Production; 8) Labor; 9) Politics; 10) People; 11) Transportation and Communications; 12) Patents, Design, Protection of Copyright; 13) Law and Courts; 14) Markets, Merchandising, Advertising, etc.

To quote Dr. McDonald, "All of the above variables will influence the business. The extent and the number which will be applicable will depend on the nature of the industry and product, the countries involved and the state or stage

of development of the firm."

Minority entrepreneurs seeking international trade involvement must begin now to consult with and become informed of services offered by various international business resources such as the Agency for International Development (AID), Department of Agriculture, Export-Import Bank, various United Nations Agencies, State Government Promotion Offices, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), the National Foreign Trade Council and others. Additionally, organizations in the minority community must begin to develop the capacity to assist minority entrepreneurs in their efforts, much as do private sector organizations serving the majority business community such as the Freight Forwarders Association, World Trade Club of New York, International Trade Club of Chicago, American Institute of Merchant Shipping. Certainly we should not "re-invent the wheel" and, indeed, access to the services provided by the organizations referred to above should be and is available to the minority entrepreneur and should be sought by him or her. However, I believe that the success of the minority community in international business should not rest solely on utilizing the technical skills of other Americans but must necessarily be tied to the development of similar skills *within* minority America. Several minority organizations have programs to promote international involvement by minority entrepreneurs. These include the Harlem Third World Trade Institute in New York and the Mesbic International Project Management Corporation (a subsidiary of AAMESBIC, an organization of which I am chair) in Washington, D.C. Other programs—both similar and different must be developed in our minority business community. Both the public and private sectors have a role to play in this program development, and both the public and private sectors will benefit from this program development. More importantly, however, minority Americans must become aggressive and, indeed, proactive, in accepting the challenges and taking advantage of the opportunities for minority business enterprise that lie in international trade.

OUR UNIQUE RESPONSIBILITY TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY

By Albert L. Nellum, A.L. Nellum and Associates



As one who has been in business for some 20 years, I can appreciate the problem which confronts the business-owning Black American. However, I would suggest that it is obligatory for Black businesspersons to examine their responsibility to the Black community. For Black businesses in America are unique entities unto themselves. And so their responsibilities are unique as well.

To put this view into perspective, it may be helpful to state my definition of Black business. A Black business must be black owned and controlled, with a predominantly Black staff, especially in key management and decision-making positions. The bulk of the work in which it is involved should have a positive impact on Blacks and other disadvantaged persons; and it must return some of its resources (time, professional expertise, and dollars) to the Black community.

"But my customer and clients aren't Black... my business is not dependent upon the Black community for survival," some companies might say. Even if this is the case, our success as businesspeople came about as a result of the struggles and suffering of other Blacks—those Blacks who marched the hot and dusty roads of Georgia and Alabama; those Blacks who made their frustration known in the uprisings in New York, Detroit, Newark, and Los Angeles. They brought about change. The point is that although the dollars that support Black businesses may not come directly from Black pocketbooks, our businesses still owe their existence to those change-makers.

If we accept this premise, then we agree that Black business, no matter

how large or small, owes a debt to the Black community.

I am aware that the times are economically dire for most Americans and it is particularly difficult to get businesspeople to focus on giving. Yet this is the time when help is needed most. This is the time for us to display a greater consciousness towards those less fortunate than ourselves.

For a long time now I have felt and argued that as Black people, we should support our own movements and leaders. We should no longer expect those agencies, organizations and institutions responsible for our social and economic growth, to be supported by the white community unless we are willing to have them controlled by the white community.

As Black businesspersons we can make contributions to the progress of our people by giving of our time and talent as well as our financial resources.

Clearly, not all business involvement need be national in scope, nor does it have to involve heavy dollar contributions. National organizations such as P.U.S.H., Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, the NAACP, the National Business League and others need our contributions. But their local chapters also need our support. Most local and national organizational leaders and political office holders are anxious to receive practical advice and counsel based on our business experience. We have various skills that can be of use to them. We cannot expect our leaders to be experts in every area. Hence, input from, and ongoing relationships with, specialists from the business community makes them more effective in their representational role. Similarly, most of our businesses have staff resources that could be made available to local organizations to assist in planning, research, proposal development, and fundraising. The local arm of any Black organization would welcome business involvement through membership, professional advice and expertise, participation and assistance in organizing projects such as demonstrations and boycotts and in supplying the staff or office equipment to carry these out.

Local and state wide voter registration efforts can use similar help, as can

a host of local candidates (Republicans and Democrats, Black and white) who are right on the issues affecting Black folk. Your in-kind resources and sometimes just your prestige as a business leader can have an effect on important political races and local issues.

In addition to offering our support, advice and assistance to organizations and candidates, it is also imperative that Black businesses start supporting each other. Whenever you buy something: supplies, services, legal advice, equipment or whatever, find the Black supplier. We have got to be vigilant about turning the dollar over more times in the Black community before it passes on to white hands.

Further, we have to use our tremendous buying power as leverage with those white concerns with whom we do business. We have to develop and enforce our own EEO efforts. Any company that we do business with must understand that they can lose that business if their own hiring, promotion and community involvement policies are not favorable to Blacks. Over the years I have made it a habit to ask where are the Blacks in those companies where I don't see them, and when there are none, why? It is important to let it be known that this is an important criterion for doing business with them. And if the answers aren't right, we can take our business elsewhere.

Therefore, it is primarily important as well as imperative that we, members of the Black business community, become involved with each other, our community, our leadership, and our institutions. I trust we have all outgrown the proverbial crab syndrome and are secure enough in ourselves to have overcome past rivalries, petty jealousies and presumed competition. I hope we are committed enough to fulfilling our potential and in meeting the needs of the Black community. We must join with our fellow Black business persons at the local group level and if there is no group to join, start a move to form one. What the group is called is not important. Who heads it is not important. What is important is that we collectively get involved to save ourselves, to save our businesses, and to save our communities.

BLACK BUSINESS IN THE 1980s WILL NOT BE BUSINESS AS USUAL

By Earl G. Graves, Publisher, *Black Enterprise Magazine*



When we began publishing BLACK ENTERPRISE magazine 12 years ago, we conceived of it as a business publication designed "for Black men and women who want to get ahead." Over the years the magazine has prospered and expanded in such a way that it is now posited as a business oriented consumer service publication with 10 percent of its audience being entrepreneurs. Just as we have grown, so, too, has Black business in general.

A year after we began publishing, and ten years ago, we produced our first BLACK ENTERPRISE list of the top 100 black-owned businesses in the United States. That list totaled \$423 million in sales. Our 1982 list is a hairsbreadth away from \$2 billion. Considering the obstacles Black entrepreneurs face simply because they are Black—leaving aside the formidable business problems—this performance is outstanding. The increase I have noted is in constant dollars so that it is not due to inflation.

Just as important as this increase has been the change over the years in the kinds of businesses appearing on the list. There are now more companies involved in the "mainstream" of American business. There are now more companies in energy distribution and high technology. Overall, there is a greater balance by the business sector on the BLACK ENTERPRISE 100 list than ever exhibited before.

Appreciating the success of the present entrepreneurs and understanding the lessons of the past, I foresee the future of Black business in the 1980s as one of continued growth, both in profits and in its variety of companies.

But the way we reach these profits

will change—a downturn in the economy, a disinterested, if not hostile, federal government will prevent Black entrepreneurs from operating in the mode of "business as usual." Black entrepreneurs will look to mergers, acquisitions and joint ventures as ways of putting themselves on a firmer footing.

The success of general Black economic development depends upon the success of the larger Black-owned companies. This is not to speak against the proverbial "mom and pop" shops. These Businesses obviously perform a service within the community and most certainly they provide incomes for their owners. But the 1980s demand that larger Black businesses be developed. This is important in terms of economic growth and employment. For example, in 1977 the average annual sales of Black-owned companies was \$160,000. The average annual sales of the top 100 companies that same year was \$9.2 million. Of the 14,791 Black-owned companies with paid employees, the average number of employees is six. The average number employed by the top 100 companies is 124. The need for developing larger companies is clear. The best way to do this is through the merging of successful companies and the acquisition of viable firms. To do this we will need political power and capital.

In those cities where there has been strong Black political participation Black entrepreneurs have been given an opportunity to develop—in Atlanta, Detroit, Los Angeles, and New Orleans. For example, in the building of Atlanta's new airport, of the total awards of a little over \$750 million, Blacks received 20 percent, or \$150 million. This indicates that economic and political power go hand in hand.

But the fundamental problem of minority business now, and will continue to be throughout the 1980s, is the lack of access to capital—and proper funding when capital is available. The larger Black-controlled banks, perhaps through mergers, must develop means to aid those Black-owned companies with financial needs usually above their loan limits. If history is to be an indicator, certainly, minority business cannot depend on the large white banks for their

financial needs. And it seems, they will not be able to depend upon the federal government, either. The Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Corporations (MESBICs) have compiled an impressive track record with their ability to leverage private funds with federal dollars while making their decisions on a strict business basis. Yet, the government wants to cut back funds available to the MESBICs. Also, the Reagan Administration has declared its intentions of getting out of the direct lending process and limiting its support to loan guarantees. This avoids the basic issue of capital formation in a Black community where a middle class capable of accumulating wealth for investment is still in its formative stages. It is incumbent upon us to get the federal government back on track in reference to Black economic development. It is incumbent upon us to make sure that Public Law 95-507 is enforced. This law requires that prime contractors make available to small business a share of all government contracts.

Will any of this happen? I believe so. There are things going on right now that speak well for the future of Black-owned business in the 1980s. Broadcasting by cable has opened up an area in telecommunications that Black entrepreneurs are moving into and we can expect great gains from at least a few companies in this area. Energy distribution is also an area of growth that Black companies have moved into. On the BLACK ENTERPRISE Top 100 list there are nine such companies, four of them in the top 10. Especially encouraging is the fact that several companies on the list are involved in high technology—computers and microelectronics. The growth opportunities in the 1980s will be in the area of high technology. As reported in BLACK ENTERPRISE, any company, Black or white will get the business if it has the right personnel and the financial stability to build a track record.

It has always been difficult for the Black entrepreneur and I expect that it will be so during the rest of this decade. But what has surprised many analysts is that Black business continues not only to survive but to prosper. I don't see that changing in the eighties.

E.E. WARD TRANSFER AND STORAGE CO. MOVES AHEAD

The story of the E.E. Ward Transfer and Storage Company, perhaps the oldest Black business in the country, is not one of spectacular growth. Instead, it is the story of how a family business survived racism, depressions, recessions, and other conditions that wiped out many Black businesses. Still viable in its 101st year, the Ward business has maintained the dream of its founder who came home one day in the spring of 1881 with the family name freshly painted on a horse-drawn wagon. Calling his family outside, he announced, "This is going to be our way of life."

That way of life has been maintained in company offices on the east side of Columbus, Ohio. The building is modest, but inside is a real store of knowledge about the significance of the business and the times it has survived.

For the record, the company earned \$280,000 in 1981—a slow year when the moving industry was down as a result of the housing industry recession and business was off by 30 percent. Ward employs 36 people.

It was John Ward who started the family interest in hauling and transferring. A freedman and a farmer, John Ward hauled produce and merchandise from a station at Columbus' downtown freight depot in the 1850s. During the Civil War, the Ward family also contracted with the federal government to haul supplies for troops.

It was John's son, William, who later organized the family's work into a business called the Ward Transfer Line. In 1899, the business was renamed the E.E. Ward Transfer and Storage Company in honor of William's son, Edgar Earl Ward.

Elton Ward, a grandson of the founder is now the general manager of the company. Whenever a potential customer inquires whether he can handle a job, Ward, a graduate of the Ohio State University College of Business Administration, says yes. "The answer is always the same," Ward says.

Through the years the leadership of the company has been able to win contracts with firms like Western Electric, AT&T, Xerox, the Motorist Insurance

Co., City National Bank, and government agencies.

Ward says that in the future there is a particular market he would like to tap even more... the Black community. Only 5 percent of his business is with Black clients. Ward says Blacks in the Columbus area seem to place more trust in white movers. He hopes it does not take another 101 years for that attitude to change.



Elton Ward keeps a family tradition.

MOTOWN: THE SOUND OF SUCCESS

One day in early 1960, a young Black singing group named the Miracles, led by songwriter William "Smokey" Robinson, sat on the steps of a small house on Detroit's North Side and rehearsed a song they hoped to record for a fledgling Black company called Hitsville, U.S.A. The company, eventually to become better known as Motown, was headquartered in the house on West Grand Boulevard and had been organized the year before by Berry Gordy, Jr. Gordy, for a while a professional featherweight boxer (12-1-2) following his high school years, was by then a hungry songwriter who had borrowed \$700 from his reluctant family to go into the record business.

The tune rehearsed by the Miracles took shape, and set Motown on the road to its first million seller in 1961. A decade later Motown had become a multimillion dollar corporation and pushed the names like Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, Stevie Wonder, Martha Reeves and the Vandellas, Diana Ross, the Supremes, the Temptations, Marvin Gaye, the Jackson 5, Gladys Knight and

the Pips, and the Four Tops into international prominence.

These feats were largely accomplished through Gordy's firm business sense and his almost clairvoyant ability to spot talent in Detroit's inner city and develop it. In a way, both these gifts came naturally to Gordy who had grown up in a business environment. His mother was an insurance agent and his father a plastering contractor—and he had a strong interest in music since 1953.

He managed to get a few tunes of his produced by major recording companies but found that their renditions didn't conform to his conceptions. He decided to become an independent producer.

In his new role, Gordy would rent a recording studio, hire musicians and sometimes sing the songs himself. He would take the record masters and try to sell them to a company in New York on a straight royalty basis. "I'd be extremely happy if I placed a record," Gordy reminisces. During this period, he began to work with Robinson, then 18, who suggested to Gordy to try to

manufacture and distribute his own records. The ultimate result was Motown Record Corporation.

Motown has now begun to diversify into other areas of the entertainment industry. The company sees its future in video technology, home entertainment and cable programming.



Berry Gordy is on a record pace.

DENIECE WILLIAMS



Feelings . . . The word itself is such an integral part of Deniece Williams' conversation and of her music: feelings about her music, about other people's music, intuitive feelings, feelings of hurt and letdown, feelings about her family, life on the road and in the studio, writing those feelings down and letting others know.

Deniece was born into a religious family in Gary, Indiana where virtually no music was permitted in the household except gospel. Deniece was steeped in music, having become an active, vibrant cornerstone of the local church choir. For this reason, Deniece cannot be pigeonholed into a generation that revered Sarah, Billie and Ella. Her background in the pop and R & B field did not arrive until her teenage years. While attending Tolliston High School, Deniece worked part-time in a record store. The owner heard her singing along with the records and told her mother that Deniece had potential as a singer. He invited representatives from Chicago's Toddlin Town Label to hear her, and she was signed to the Company. Her first single, "Love is Tears" received some notice in Gary; there was

another 45 a year later, but nothing ever came of it. She attended Baltimore's Morgan State College as a nursing major for a year and a half, and occasionally moonlighted as a nightclub singer. She returned to Indiana and continued her studies at Purdue.

Deniece's musical career reached a turning point in 1971. Stevie Wonder heard her old singles and invited her to Detroit to audition for his backup group, Wonderlove.

Deniece's first real professional exposure was with Stevie Wonder during the 1972 Rolling Stones tour. Shortly thereafter her debut album, *This Is Niecy*, was released. Produced by Maurice White, the album featured the hit single "Free" and

"That's What Friends Are For." Five other successful albums have been released, including *That's What Friends Are For*, a duet with Johnny Mathis, *Too Much, Too Little, Too Late* and *When Love Comes Calling*, which she co-produced with David Foster of Hall and Oates and Ray Parker, Jr.

Deniece's sixth and most recent album, *Niecy*, is the second collaboration between Deniece and her co-producer/co-writer Thom Bell. This album, featuring the single "It's Gonna Take A Miracle," is a landmark and rated one of the year's best.

"I just try to be as true to my experience as I can, knowing that nothing is new, nothing is unique." Everything for the feelings, of course, of course. *That is Niecy.*

ABOUT THE ARTIST

TOYCE ANDERSON

Toyce Anderson was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1950. He entered Ohio University in 1968, where he majored in fine art. In 1970, Anderson felt the need to explore other areas of creative expression and moved to New York, transferring to Pratt Institute and changing his major to fashion design and illustration. Within a few years, he was free-lancing, doing illustrations for fashion designers Bill Blass, Stephen Burrows and Hiroko.

In 1975, Anderson decided to travel—to see what existed beyond this country—and so he began what was to be a two-year odyssey. He traveled to Morocco, West Africa and Paris.

It was in Paris that the first of Anderson's collages and constructions came to life. The Musee D'Art Moderne was inviting entries for an exhibition of small constructions framed by boxes. He became interested in entering the exhibition and began to create a box construction.

Regrettably, the piece was not completed in time for the exhibit, but the experience stimulated Anderson's creative energies, and he began to



explore the elements of such creations more thoroughly.

Anderson's first one-man exhibition took place in 1973 at the Adept New American Folk Art Gallery in Houston, Texas, where he presented his life-size drawings of people in their routine day-to-day milieu. In November 1977, Anderson exhibited again at the Adept New American Folk Art Gallery, where he showed his collages and constructions.

In December 1977, Anderson provided a collage, "Savannah," for an exhibition of 19th and 20th century

American Art at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. In 1978, Anderson took part in an exhibition-demonstration of works in paper at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum.

In January 1979, Anderson exhibited his colorful collages and constructions at the Basement Workshop in New York City. His works have been seen in a number of group exhibitions, including the Black Enterprise Gallery, Randall Gallery and the World Trade Center Gallery, all in New York City, and Rutgers University Art Gallery in New Jersey.

Mr. Anderson has had one-man exhibitions at the Washington World Gallery and Evans-Tibbs Gallery in Washington, D.C., and Gallery 62 in New York City. His work is represented in many private collections.

Among his commissions, Anderson designed the poster and playbill cover for the Broadway production, "The First Breeze of Summer," by the Negro Ensemble Company. In 1979 Anderson's constructions were used to create the environment for fashions in the show windows of Saks Fifth Avenue in New York City.

June Kelly

Congratulations & Best Wishes
to the

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

on twelve years of commitment to the
economic, educational, social and cultural advancement
of all
Black Americans

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS,
AFL-CIO**

VINCENT R. SOMBROTTO,
President

--0000--

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS, INC.
FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
FOR THE YEARS ENDED
JUNE 30, 1982 AND 1981
WITH THE AUDITORS' REPORT THEREON

--0000--

September 3, 1982

INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT

To The Board of Directors
Congressional Black Caucus, Inc.

We have examined the balance sheets of the Congressional Black Caucus, Inc., as of June 30, 1982 and 1981, and the related statements of support, revenue and expenses and changes in fund balance 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, Inc. as of June 30, 1982 and 1981, 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.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS, INC.

BALANCE SHEETS

ASSETS

	<u>JUNE 30</u>	
	<u>1982</u>	<u>1981</u>
Cash	\$15,714	\$173,382
Certificates of deposit	-	71,004
Accounts receivable (less allowance for doubtful accounts of \$3,298 and \$6,125)	2,948	2,101
Deferred expenses	-	<u>10,181</u>
Total assets	<u>\$18,662</u>	<u>\$256,668</u>

LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE

Liabilities:

Accounts payable	\$ 7,324	\$ 9,115
Taxes payable	4,346	970
Other liabilities	250	
Deferred revenue	-	<u>102,545</u>
Total liabilities	<u>11,920</u>	<u>112,630</u>

Fund balance:

Unrestricted

Designated - Building fund	-	57,189
Undesignated	<u>6,742</u>	<u>86,849</u>
Total fund balance	<u>6,742</u>	<u>144,038</u>
Total liabilities and fund balance	<u>\$18,662</u>	<u>\$256,668</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

EXHIBIT B

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

	<u>JUNE 30</u>	
	<u>1982</u>	<u>1981</u>
<u>Public support and revenue</u>		
Public support:		
Contributions	\$ 7,835	\$ 13,450
Donated services	40,554	19,668
Special events (net of direct costs of \$258,095 in 1981 and \$220,976 in 1980)	<u>396,738</u>	<u>483,683</u>
Total public support	<u>445,127</u>	<u>516,801</u>
Revenue:		
Dues	29,000	
Interest income	15,468	20,267
Miscellaneous income	323	3,235
Total revenue	<u>44,791</u>	<u>23,502</u>
Total support and revenue	<u>489,918</u>	<u>540,303</u>
<u>Expenses</u>		
Program services:		
Legislative development	207,551	200,511
Public information	80,171	96,604
Total program services	<u>287,722</u>	<u>297,115</u>
Supporting services:		
General and administrative	126,093	127,625
Fund raising	124,595	136,458
Total support services	<u>250,688</u>	<u>264,083</u>
Total expenses	<u>538,410</u>	<u>561,198</u>
Excess (deficiency) of public support and revenue over operating expenses	(48,492)	(20,895)
Transfers to CBC Foundation (Note 3)	(88,804)	-
Fund balance, beginning of year	144,038	164,933
Fund balance, end of year	<u>\$ 6,742</u>	<u>\$144,038</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

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

	<u>JUNE 30</u>	
	<u>1982</u>	<u>1981</u>
Cash, beginning of year	<u>\$ 244,386</u>	<u>\$266,795</u>
Sources of cash:		
Excess (deficiency) of support and revenue over expenses	(48,492)	(20,895)
Charges not requiring cash outlay - increase in allowance for doubtful accounts	<u>1,686</u>	<u>1,612</u>
Total cash from operations	(46,806)	(19,283)
Other sources:		
Decrease in deferred expenses	10,181	3,286
Increase (decrease) in accounts payable	<u>1,835</u>	<u>(1,222)</u>
Total sources of cash	<u>(34,790)</u>	<u>(17,219)</u>
Uses of cash:		
Transfer to CBC Foundation	88,804	
Increase (decrease) in accounts receivable	2,533	(10,884)
Decrease in deferred revenue	<u>102,545</u>	<u>16,074</u>
Total uses of cash	<u>193,882</u>	<u>5,190</u>
Net increase (decrease) cash in bank cash	(157,668)	6,587
Certificates of deposit	<u>(71,004)</u>	<u>(28,996)</u>
Cash, end of year	<u>\$ 15,714</u>	<u>\$244,386</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS, INC.
NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
JUNE 30, 1982

NOTE 1. ORGANIZATION

The Congressional Black Caucus, Inc. (CBC), a not-for-profit corporation, incorporated on December 10, 1971 to operate exclusively for the promotion of social welfare of the various peoples of the Community who look to it for guidance and leadership. CBC is exempt from income taxes under Internal Revenue Code Section 501(c)(4) and applicable sections of the District of Columbia code; consequently, no provisions for Federal or State income taxes have been reflected in the financial statements.

NOTE 2. SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

CBC reports on its financial operations by using the fund method of accounting. The financial statements are prepared under the accrual basis of accounting.

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

Deferred items as of June 30, 1981 represent revenue earned and expenses incurred in connection with the September, 1981 dinner.

Donated services are recorded at their estimated fair market values. Such services are recognized both as support and expenses and, therefore, do not affect CBC's fund balance.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS, INC.
NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
JUNE 30, 1982

Note 3. TRANSFERS TO THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION

CBC was primarily funded through the net proceeds of its annual legislative weekend activities. U.S. House of Representatives regulations, effective January 1, 1982, require all congressional service organizations to cease outside fund raising activities.

In compliance with the new regulations, the annual legislative weekend formerly sponsored by CBC will be sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation (CBCF) in 1982 and thereafter. In connection with the conveyance of this activity, CBC has transferred \$88,804 to CBCF, a non-profit 501(c)3 organization.

September 3, 1982

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, 1982 and 1981 and the related statements of support, revenue and expenses and changes in fund balance 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, 1982 and 1981, and the results of its operations and changes in financial position for the years then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a consistent basis.

Lucas, Tucker & Co.

EXHIBIT A

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

BALANCE SHEETS

	<u>JUNE 30</u>	
	<u>1982</u>	<u>1981</u>
<u>ASSETS</u>		
Cash and certificate of deposit	\$171,571	\$32,621
Deferred expenses	<u>7,421</u>	<u>-</u>
Total assets	<u>\$178,992</u>	<u>\$32,621</u>
<u>LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE</u>		
Accounts payable	\$ 4,761	\$ 2,802
Taxes payable	2,715	93
Deferred revenue	<u>84,585</u>	<u>-</u>
Total liabilities	92,061	2,895
<u>Fund balance</u>		
Unrestricted	<u>86,931</u>	<u>29,726</u>
Total liabilities and fund balance	<u>\$178,992</u>	<u>\$32,621</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 BALANCE
FOR THE YEARS ENDED

	<u>JUNE 30</u>	
	<u>1982</u>	<u>1981</u>
Public support and revenue:		
Public support:		
Special events (Net of direct costs of \$79,063 in 1982 and \$36,088 in 1981)	\$ 49,718	\$40,598
Contributions	32,735	33,095
Southwest conference	11,200	-
Donated services	<u>3,000</u>	<u>2,000</u>
Total public support	96,653	75,693
Revenue:		
Interest income	<u>14,258</u>	<u>1,419</u>
Total support and revenue	<u>110,911</u>	<u>77,112</u>
Expenses:		
Internship program	64,161	66,226
General and administrative	60,327	18,480
Fund raising	<u>18,022</u>	<u>8,586</u>
Total expenses	<u>142,510</u>	<u>93,292</u>
Excess (deficiency) of public support and revenue over expenses	(31,599)	(16,180)
Transfers from CBC (Note 3)	88,804	-
Fund balance, beginning of year	<u>29,726</u>	<u>45,906</u>
Fund balance, end of year	<u>\$ 86,931</u>	<u>\$29,726</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements

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

	<u>JUNE 30</u>	
	<u>1982</u>	<u>1981</u>
Cash, beginning of year	<u>\$ 32,621</u>	<u>\$51,448</u>
Sources of cash:		
Excess (deficiency) of public support and revenue over expenses	(31,599)	(16,180)
Transfer from CBC	88,804	-
Increase in accounts payable	1,959	-
Increase in taxes payable	2,622	93
Increase in deferred revenue	<u>84,585</u>	<u>-</u>
Total sources of cash	146,371	(16,087)
Uses of cash:		
Decrease in accounts payable	-	2,740
Increase in deferred expenses	<u>7,421</u>	<u>-</u>
Total uses of cash	<u>7,421</u>	<u>2,740</u>
Increase (decrease) cash and certificate of deposit	<u>138,950</u>	<u>(18,827)</u>
Cash, end of year	<u>\$171,571</u>	<u>\$32,621</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

JUNE 30, 1982

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.

CBCF is tax-exempt under Subsection 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.

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.

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

JUNE 30, 1982

NOTE 2. SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES (Continued)

Deferred items as of June 30, 1982 represent revenue received and expenses incurred in connection with the September, 1982 legislative weekend.

Donated services are recorded at estimated fair market values. Such services are recognized both as support and expenses and, therefore, do not affect fund balances.

NOTE 3. TRANSFERS FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) was primarily funded through the net proceeds of its annual legislative weekend activities. U.S. House of Representatives regulations, effective January 1, 1982, require all congressional service organizations to cease outside fund raising activities.

In compliance with the new regulations, the annual legislative weekend formerly sponsored by CBC will be sponsored by CBCF in 1982 and thereafter. In connection with the conveyance of this activity, CBC has transferred \$88,804 to CBCF.

PATRONS

A. L. Nellum & Associates
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc.
American Can Company
American Telephone & Telegraph Company
Anheuser-Busch, Inc.
Avon Products, Inc.
Carnation Company
CBS Records
Century National Bank
The Coca Cola Company
Computer Sciences Corporation
Conoco, Inc.
Coordination Council for North American Affairs
Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc.
Edison Electric Institute
General Motors, Inc.
Greyhound Corporation
Interracial Council for Business Opportunity
International Telephone & Telegraph, Inc.
Johnson & Johnson
Joseph E. Seagrams & Sons, Inc.
McDonald's Corporation
Motown Record Corporation
MTI Construction Company
National Education Association
New England Television Corporation
OIC of America, Inc.
Opportunity Funding Corporation
PepsiCo, Inc.
Philip Morris, Inc.
Purex Corporation
Raven Systems & Research, Inc.
R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc.
Sears, Roebuck & Company
Shell Oil Company
The Southland Corporation
Storer Broadcasting
Stroh Brewing Company
Rev. Leon Sullivan
Sun Company, Inc.
Unified Industries, Inc.
United Steel Workers of America
Uniworld Advertising Company
Warner Brothers Records
Warner Communications
Washington Hilton Hotel

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Board of Directors of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation would like to extend its most sincere appreciation to the following companies for their extraordinary contributions to the success of the Twelfth Annual Legislative Weekend:

BLACK ENTERPRISE MAGAZINE

Coordination and production of the "Salute to Black Business" section of the Souvenir Dinner Book.

PHILIP MORRIS, INC. and its operating companies:

Philip Morris USA
Miller Brewing Company
Seven-Up Company

Sponsors of the "Tribute to Shirley Chisholm" Reception and 12th Annual Legislative Weekend Portfolios

THE STROH BREWERY COMPANY

Geyser Peak wine for the Awards Dinner
Co-sponsor of the "Salute to Black Business" Reception on behalf of the CBC Foundation

CBS RECORDS

Entertainment for the Awards Dinner

ANHEUSER BUSCH

Sponsors of the Very Special Reception

RCA RECORDS

EASTERN AIRLINES

CREDITS

Special credits and appreciation to the many people who have worked tirelessly the year round on behalf of the various divisions, programs, and activities of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation.

CBCF STAFF

ACTING EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Harriet C. Pritchett

ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
Kathleen E. Arnold

DIRECTOR, INTERN PROGRAM
Denise L. Woods

INTERN SECRETARY
Linda Hunt

FUNDRAISING COORDINATOR
Gary C. Rivers

FUNDRAISING ASSISTANT
Melony Ann McGant

LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR
Joyce A. Clements

SPECIAL COORDINATOR—
CBC SPOUSES FASHION SHOW
Gretchen B. Wharton

DINNER MEDIA CONSULTANT
Ronn E. Nichols, The PATARI Group

The Fundraising staff of the CBC Foundation extends a special thank you to the following persons for their invaluable assistance: Tracy Simmons, Denise Williams, Greer Cleaves, Annette Crumbly, Fran Farmer, Dotti Ross, Adriene Gray

CBCF VOLUNTEERS

Brenda H. Andrews, Joan Bowen, Bonnie Chestnut, Dynia Coleman, David Fleming, Chris Garner, Lisa E. Grymes, Verna Gunn-Williams, Fran Harris, Pamela Hughes, Frances Jefferson, Gloria Lewis, Lela Palmer, Kellie Shelton, Robert Singleterry, Denise Spencer, Leslie Talbot, Kathi Thurston-Johnson, Charmone Williams, Fernando Narvaez

AWARDS DINNER PROGRAM
COORDINATION: Toni Taylor

AWARDS DINNER PLANNING TEAM

June Watson—*Staff of Congresswoman Shirley A. Chisholm*

Eunice McCall—*Staff of Congressman William L. Clay*

Dottie Ross—*Staff of Congresswoman Cardiss Collins*

Heidi Napper—*Staff of Congressman John Conyers, Jr.*

Jack Barthwell—*Staff of Congressman George W. Crockett, Jr.*

Robin Hart—*Staff of Congressman Ronald V. Dellums*

Tracy Simmons—*Staff of Congressman Julian C. Dixon*

Mary Twitty—*Staff of Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally*

Cliff Smith—*Staff of Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy*

Marguerite Riley—*Staff of Congressman Harold E. Ford*

Joan Middleton—*Staff of Congressman William H. Gray, III*

Annette Crumbley—*Staff of Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins*

Roger Strickland—*Staff of Congressman Mickey Leland*

Clarence Bishop—*Staff of Congressman Parren J. Mitchell*

Nancy Williams—*Staff of Congressman Charles B. Rangel*

Ronald Low—*Staff of Congressman Gus Savage*

Joanne White—*Staff of Congressman Louis Stokes*

Norma Collins—*Staff of Congressman Harold Washington*

THE DINNER BOOK:

EDITORS: Harriet C. Pritchett, Gary C. Rivers;
ASST. EDITOR: Denise Williams;
additional thanks to the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation staff members who compiled the articles and other source materials for this publication;
ADVERTISING: Gary C. Rivers;
DESIGN & PRODUCTION: Rokus Design;
COVER: Collage "Board Meeting" by Toyce Anderson;
TYPESETTING: Litho Composition Services Inc.;
PRINTING: Reproductions, Inc.

AWARDS DINNER HOSTS/HOSTESSES

Pat Aguilar, Leslie Alfonso, Cheryl Algee, Tina Allen, Yvonne Anders, Clementine Anthony, Joe Bedford, M.D., Pamela J. Bell, Lillie Bennett, Punta Boozeman, Kevin G. Bouknight, Denise Brooks, Betty Brown, Joann Brown, Tanya Brown, Theodora Brown, Gail Burke, Audrew Burwell, Nancy Butler, Delzia Bunn, Karen Calemeise, Mark Calloway, Diane Campbell, JoAnne Carie, Jacqueline Carr, Saundria Chase, Lillie Clark, Lacy Clay, Angela Cole, Angela Collins, Anthony Collins, Norma Collins, Renee G. Collins, Gail Crews, Wanda Curry, Denzel Daye, Hazel Domangue, Marie Dorsey, Lamont Duncan, Charlotte Edeline, Dorothy Ewell, Helen E. Fischer, David Fleming, Lisa Fleming, Pamela Floweres, DeShawn C. Foggie, Margeret Forde, Bruce Gamble, Wayne Gooch, Connie Goode, Sachiko Goode, Charlotte Green, Karen Green, Yvonne J. Greene, Michael Greer, Fran Harris, Vi Hawkins, Pat Hawthorne, Janis Hazel, William Highsmith, Pamela Hughes, Anise Jenkins, Allison Johnson, Annette Johnson, Donald Jones, Mae King, Gary Lampkin, Kim Laurie, Kathy Lewis, Sara Lizenby-Tucker, Charlene Lynch, Chery Macho, Renee Mials, Vicki Miles, Beverly Miller, Brenda Moore, Teddy Murphy, Janice Patterson, Bennie Peasant, Clyde Penn, Tracy L. Pinson, Gwendolyn Proctor, Darlene Richeson, Len Rie, Deborah Rose, Kevin Sample, Carlottia A.W. Scott, Kelly Shelton, Dee Dee Simmons, Lisa Simmons, Sandra Simmons, Katherine Smith, Sharion Smith, Tami Smith, Roger Strickland, Sharon Stricklin, B. J. Thomas, Cora A. Thompson, Craig Thompson, Constance Turner, Julian Turner, Keith Turner, Natalie Turner-Williamson, Stephanie Underwood, Derrick Ward, Stephanie Washington, Denise Watson, Forrest Watson, Denise White, Sabrina Whitehead, Greg Williams, Jeanette Williams, Denise Wilson, Vera Winfield, Renard Winters, Henry Wise, Sam Wray Jr., Dan Wright, Brenda Young, Carolyn Young

COORDINATORS:

Greer Kelly-Cleaves
Annette Crumbley
Fernando Narvaez
Thelma Daley

FAREWELL SHIRLEY



LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING

Words by
James Weldon Johnson
Music by
Rosamund Johnson

*Lift every voice and sing
Till earth and heaven ring.
Ring with the harmonies
of Liberty:
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies,
Let us resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that
the dark past has taught us.
Sing a song full of the hope that
the present has brought us.
Facing the rising sun of our new
day begun.
Let us march on till victory is won.*

*God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who has brought us
thus far on the way;
Thou who has by Thy might
Led us into the light.
Keep us forever in the path,
we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places,
our God, where we met Thee,
Lest our hearts, drunk with the
wine of the world, we forget Thee.
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand.
True to God.
True to our native land.*