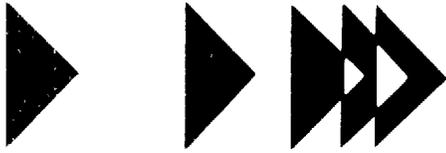


cbsf THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION, INC.



TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE WEEKEND

September 11-15, 1991 Washington Hilton & Towers

Annual Awards Dinner

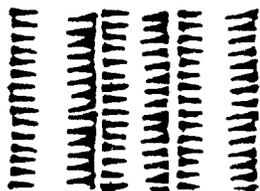


**DEFY'
ODDS**

**EXPANDING
OPPORTUNITIES**



**THE
AFRICAN
AMERICAN**



CHALLENGE

CBCF CHAIR'S MESSAGE



Congressman Alan Wheat

"A Foundation Expanding Opportunities"

The history of Black America is the history of a people who have overcome tremendous odds, triumphed over the adversity of slavery and segregation, and found opportunity in hardship.

As we come together for the 21st Annual Legislative Weekend, the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation is proud to celebrate these achievements and to help chart a course for the future that will enable us to continue to build on the successes of the past.

The civil rights era inaugurated by Thurgood Marshall and other champions of justice was marked by the passage of landmark legislation banning discrimination in employment, housing, public accommodations, and the voting booth.

Thanks to this watershed period of progress in our nation's recent past, an unprecedented number of Black

Americans are now beginning to realize economic security. Yet recent events have shown us that we cannot take these gains for granted.

Although a vibrant and growing Black middle-class will continue to make headway in the 1990s, a dismaying portion of our population faces a bleak future as a result of governmental indifference and neglect during the last ten years.

An increasingly hostile Supreme Court has begun to chip away at the legal underpinnings of our nation's antiracial safety net and the current Administration has shown itself willing to play racial politics with legislative safeguards against discrimination.

In the face of these new obstacles to progress, the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation is rising to the challenge of developing strategies to address the inequities that continue to confront modern society and to create new opportunities for an increasingly diverse Black American population.

With your support, the Foundation is undertaking an ambitious program of development to meet the growing need for research and education on issues of special concern to Black Americans. For example, a complete technological overhaul is currently underway that will provide the Foundation with the computer and software network necessary for expanded research efforts and increased information distribution to Black Americans.

These upgraded information services will also improve the Foundation's ability to translate research results into policy options for legislators and policymakers.

Through its educational programs, research projects, leadership seminars and issue forums on topics such as civil rights, political awareness, reapportionment and leadership development, the Foundation has demonstrated its commitment to educating future leaders and encouraging all Black Americans to participate in the legislative process.

Support provided by you, the patrons of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's Annual Legislative Weekend, has long been the cornerstone of the Foundation's educational activities, which include the Internship Program, the Congressional Fellows Program, and the CBC Spouses' Scholarship Fund Program.

The young people who participate in these educational programs represent the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's most important constituency. By bringing the Foundation's resources to bear on the challenges facing Black America today, we can help assure a new era of progress and opportunity for the next generation.

With the continued support of a forward-looking Black American community, the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation stands ready to carry on its two-fold mission of assisting the leaders of today while helping to prepare the leaders of tomorrow.

The Honorable Alan Wheat

TABLE OF CONTENTS



THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS
FOUNDATION, INC.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

Honorable Alan Wheat
Chair, CBCF

Honorable Mike Espy
Chair
21st Annual Legislative Weekend

Honorable Edolphus Towns
Chair, CBC

DEFYING ODDS, EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES: THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHALLENGE

5	21st Annual Legislative Weekend Message <i>Honorable Mike Espy</i>
7	Master and Mistress of Ceremony <i>Ossie Davis & Ruby Dee</i>
9	Dinner Program & Entertainment
13	CBCF Awards
20	Golden Circle Sponsors
21	Acknowledgements
22	1991 Honorary Dinner Committee
24	CBCF Board of Directors
33	Departing Member <i>Honorable William H. Gray III</i>
34	CBC Chair's Statement <i>Honorable Edolphus Towns</i>
36	CBC Members
62	CBC Associate Members
66	CBC Spouses
69	1991 Exhibitors



Congressman Mike Espy

Defying Odds, Expanding Opportunities: The African-American Challenge

► Last year, the Congressional Black Caucus recalled our past to help fashion a vision for the future. This year, the Caucus highlights the central thrust of our history, which, not coincidentally, also makes clear our challenge today – defying odds, expanding opportunities.

Ours is the saga of a people who have survived in a hostile, foreign land. It is the story of a people bent but never broken, tired though never yielding, oppressed, yet always full of the fires of resistance. From the day the first slave ships arrived in Africa over four centuries ago, African-Americans have personified the human capacity to overcome adversity, often excelling in the face of it.

Just three decades ago, our challenge was to overcome the most blatant legacies of slavery – mass poverty, separate and unequal education, political disenfranchisement and Jim Crow dehumanizing stereotypes which branded us

inferior at birth, lazy and untrustworthy by nature, mob terror and officially sanctioned violence

Undaunted, African-Americans forged ahead, sustained by our abiding faith, a selfless spirit, and stubborn determination. Because we defied the odds, and expanded opportunities, America is a much better country. Millions of African-Americans, other minorities, women, and workers of all races today enjoy opportunities of which our parents and grandparents could have only dreamed. Because of our persistent struggle, the nation is closer to realizing its creed – that all are created equal.

Almost thirty years after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. eloquently preached his dream of equality and justice on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, the odds we must defy are vastly different, though no less challenging.

The majority of African-Americans are now in the economic mainstream – but one third remain stuck on the river bottom and almost one half of African-American children live in poverty. The nation grandly celebrates victory in a war abroad, but offers no solution for the war claiming the lives of thousands of young African-American males at home.

A conservative majority on the Supreme Court is eroding hard won civil rights and liberties. Yet, the president would increase that conservative majority by replacing Thurgood Marshall, an unquestioned champion of civil rights, with Clarence Thomas.

The odds against African-Americans are increasing at the same time that opportunities available to all Americans are decreasing. The nation is caught up in an intensifying struggle over a shrinking economic pie, fueling the growth of racial intolerance. Twelve years of Republican economic policies have left the nation mired in debt, and unable to respond to pressing domestic needs. The American dream has been eroded for millions of Americans, of all races.

Defying odds and expanding opportunities today require new approaches, innovative ideas, and perhaps most of all a broad perspective. As Reverend Jesse Jackson said recently, "We do not have the luxury of just espousing a plan for racial justice, outside of a context of economic growth and world peace. Through much pain and bitter tears, we must see a way out for the whole nation."

We must gain inspiration and strength from our history of defying the odds, while summoning forth the spirit which has brought us this far.

That indomitable spirit, the will to overcome the highest mountain, or cross the widest sea, is the essence of African-American history. It is a spirit which tells us that no matter how many hungry sharks infest the waters, we shall make it across, no matter how long, dark, or deadly the night, we can make it 'til morning comes. With this faith, we can move mountains.

There are many mountains as yet unmoved on the American landscape. To see a way out for the nation, we must meet the challenge today by doing what we've always done in the past – defying the odds, expanding opportunities.

The Honorable Mike Espy

MASTER AND MISTRESS OF CEREMONIES



Ruby Dee & Ossie Davis



consummate actor, **Ossie Davis**, in addition to his roles as director and producer, prefers to be known foremost as a writer.

Mr. Davis began his theatrical career when he joined the Harlem theater group, the Rose McClendon Players. He later studied acting under Paul Mann and Lloyd Richards, and debuted on Broadway in *Jeb*. He has since appeared in such noted plays as *Purlie Victorious*, which he wrote; *A Raisin in the Sun*, *Green Pastures*, *Anna Lucasta*, and *Wisteria Trees*. Mr. Davis also starred in the 1986 Tony-award winning Broadway production of *I'm Not Rappaport* at the Booth Theatre, and repeated his performance at Burt Reynolds' Jupiter Theatre in Florida.

His role as chair of the board of the Institute for New Cinema Artists is perhaps his proudest contribution to motion pictures. Mr. Davis' most recent performances have

been for Spike Lee in *Jungle Fever*, and *Do the Right Thing*, which earned him the NAACP Image Award for Best Supporting Actor. His other movie credits include *The Cardinal*, *The Hill*, *The Scalphunters*, and his own *Purlie Victorious*. In addition, Mr. Davis has directed several well-known films, such as *Cotton Comes to Harlem*, *Kongi's Harvest*, *Black Girl*, *Gordon's War*, and *Countdown at Kusini*.

Through their company, Emmalyn II Productions, Mr. Davis and his wife, Ruby Dee, presented a PBS special, *Martin Luther King... The Dream and the Drum*, and conceived the critically acclaimed PBS series, *With Ossie & Ruby*, which they co-hosted and co-produced with KERA in Dallas and WHMM in Washington, D.C. They have also produced *A Walk Through the 20th Century with Bill Moyers*, *Countdown at Kusini*, and *Today is Ours*, a program that he wrote and directed for CBS. Mr. Davis, who won an Emmy nomination for his role as Daddy King in *King*, has appeared in *Roots: The Next Generation*, *All God's Children*, *Name of the Game*, *The Sheriff*, *Bonanza*, *The Defenders*, *Teacher, Teacher*, and *B. L. Stryker*. Mr. Davis, who along with Ms. Dee was inducted into the NAACP Image Award Hall of Fame in 1989, can currently be seen in the new hit comedy, *Evening Shade* on CBS with Burt Reynolds.

Born in Cogdell, GA, Mr. Davis attended Howard University. After 42 years of marriage, he and Ms. Dee have three children and seven grandchildren. In the Spring of 1991, he and Ms. Dee released their first home video cassette, *Hands Upon the Heart*, a collection of some of their best dramas.



Ruby Dee, a versatile and gifted performer, was inducted into the Theatre Hall of Fame in 1988, and the NAACP Image Award Hall of Fame in 1989, with her husband, Ossie Davis. She recently appeared on the American Playhouse as the star and author of *Zora is My Name*, an adaptation based on the works of Zora Neale Hurston; with her husband in Spike Lee's movie, *Do the Right Thing*; and on Broadway in Ron Milner's *Checkmates*.

Ms. Dee, a product of Harlem's American Negro Theater, studied acting under Paul Mann, Morris Carnovsky, and Lloyd Richards. She is perhaps best remembered on stage as Lutiebelle in *Purlie Victorious*, written by Davis; as Lena in Athol Fugard's *Boesman and Lena*, for which she won an Obie, and as Julia in her Drama Desk Award-winning performance of Alice Childress' *Wedding Band*. Additional stage productions include *The Glass Menagerie*, *A Raisin in the Sun*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*.

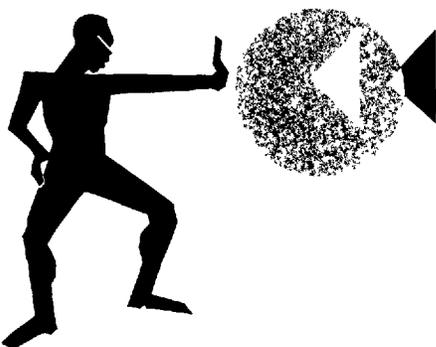
For Ms. Dee, television has provided some of the most fulfilling challenges of her career as an actress. Not only did she receive the 1983 ACE Award for her performance as Mary Tyrone in Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night*, but she also produced programs through Emmalyn II Productions Co., Inc., an enterprise founded by her and Davis. Together, they presented a PBS special, *Martin Luther King... The Dream and the Drum*, and conceived the critically acclaimed PBS series, *With Ossie & Ruby*, which they co-hosted and co-produced with KERA in Dallas and WHMM in Washington, D.C. They also produced *A Walk Through the 20th Century with Bill Moyers*, *Countdown at Kusini* for the Delta Sigma Theta sorority, and *Today is Ours* for CBS. Ms. Dee's other television credits include *The Golden Girls*, *The Court Martial of Jackie Robinson*, *Lincoln*, *Windmills of the Gods*, *The Atlanta Child Murders*, *All God's Children*, and *Roots: The Next Generation*.

Ms. Dee's film career has included such roles as Ruth in *A Raisin in the Sun*; Lutiebelle in *Gone are the Days*, an adaptation of her husband's play; Ruth in *Buck and the Preacher*; and Rachel in *The Jackie Robinson Story*. She and Davis appeared in Spike Lee's movie, *Jungle Fever*, released in the summer of 1991.

As an author, Ms. Dee has adapted two African folktales into books for children. These are *Two Ways to Count to Ten*, which won the Literary Guild award for 1989, and *Tower of Heaven*, which was released in the Spring of 1991. *My One Good Nerve* is a collection of her short stories, poetry, and humor.

Ms. Dee graduated from Hunter College, and after 42 years of marriage, she and Ossie Davis have three children and seven grandchildren.

DINNER PROGRAM



"Wake Up Everybody"

Phyllis Hyman

"Cry"

Alvin Ailey Dance Company

Mistress & Master of Ceremony

Ruby Dee & Ossie Davis

Welcome

Honorable Alan Wheat

Invocation

Honorable Walter Fauntroy

Dinner

Musical Selection

En Vogue

Occasion

Honorable Mike Espy

Tribute to Justice Thurgood Marshall

The Congressional Black Caucus

Presentation of the CBCF Awards

The Congressional Black Caucus

Introduction of the Members of the Congressional Black Caucus

"Lift Ev'ry Voice"

Mississippi Mass Choir

(The clips from the movie "Separate But Equal" were provided courtesy of George Stevens, producer.)



En Vogue

Cindy Herron, Maxine Jones, Terry Ellis, and Dawn Robinson make up the vocal group En Vogue. They all started singing at about the same time they started walking. After growing up in separate parts of the country, they converged at an audition in California's Bay Area in 1988 and found themselves harmonizing with the ease of childhood friends. En Vogue first came together in the studio when the four young women were chosen to work on the concept album FM2. Their own debut album is fittingly titled *Born to Sing*.



LIFT EV'RY VOICE

Lyrics-James Weldon Johnson/Music J. Rosamond Johnson

*Lift ev'ry 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 it 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.*

*Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chast'ning rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn
had died;
Yet with a steady beat,
Have not our weary feet,
Come to the place for which our
fathers sighed.
We have come over a way that with tears
has been watered,
We have come, treading our path
through the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past,
Till now we stand at last.
Where the white gleam of our bright star
is cast.*

*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 Thy path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the place,
Our God, where we met Thee.
Lest our heart, drunk with the wine
of the world, we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand, True to our God,
True to our native land.*

Phyllis Hyman

Phyllis Hyman, who has spent nearly fifteen years as an internationally successful recording artist, started singing in school in Philadelphia, where she was a member of the All-City Choir. She began her professional career in 1971. In demand as a live performer, she has spent much of the past five years touring and recording material for her recent album, *Prime of My Life*. She has appeared on Broadway in *Sophisticated Ladies* and in films and television specials, including the Barry Manilow special *Swing Street*, Spike Lee's *School Daze*, and Fred Williamson's *The Kill Reflex*.



Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater

Alvin Ailey's vision of a company dedicated to the preservation and enrichment of the American modern dance heritage and the uniqueness of Black cultural expression is realized in the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater. Since its inception, the company has performed for an estimated 15 million people in 48 states, 45 countries, and 6 continents, earning the company a reputation as one of the most popular international ambassadors of American culture. The Ailey organization conducts a number of outreach programs to satisfy its commitment to reach underserved audiences and to serve as a responsible member of every community in which it performs.

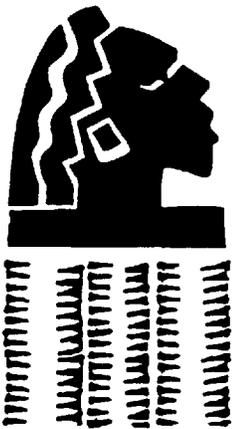


The Mississippi Mass Choir

The Mississippi Mass Choir, directed by founder Frank Williams and Musical director David R. Curry, is a one hundred voice choir representing every region of the state. They recorded their first album and video in 1988, with an audience of three thousand supporters. The choir has received numerous awards, including an achievement award presented in August, 1990, by *Billboard* magazine for maintaining the number one position on the magazine's gospel chart for forty-five consecutive weeks. Although they are striving to establish themselves in the music industry, their foremost purpose is to establish the gospel of Jesus Christ throughout the world.

 The African American Challenge

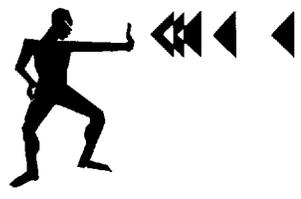
Part I



*Defying the odds
has become our custom,
Rituals of our people
Learned in our innocence
at the rising of the Niger,
in the lush rain forests of the Congo River Basin,
near the pristine shoals of Dahomey,*
beside the sultry peaks of Togo,
by drowsy palms that nod to Ghana's white sanded southern rim,
on Kenyan highlands where the soil lies red and deep,
within the mangrove swamps and fickle bantefaros** of Gambia,
along the coast of Senegal where the Atlantic yields her living treasures,
Learned through anguish and dread,*

*Rituals of survival —
Our African American Challenge.*

*Abduction
Coercion
Humiliation
Rape
Oppression
Mutilation
Isolation
Escape!
Die!
Endure!*



*The question still prods — —
The key to our survival — —
Defying the odds!
Nearly 50 million snatched from the breast of Africa,
15 million carted to the Newland, gone
as captive voyagers on a cruise of woe.*

*Shackled —
No more to whirl around the fire,
or offer sacrifice for fertile fields and health,
or follow herds who track the seasons in search of land
to graze,
or clasp hands, lift chants, and sway
in praise of kinship and
impalpable forces.*

*Disarmed —
No more to nudge the stubborn earth with digging sticks,
or throw the net for fish swimmin in the Niger's pull,
or so incline a knife to style beguiling masks and
sacred figurines,
or hurl a spear across the plains in search of meat
and manhood.*

*Deprived —
Robbed of our language, our cloth, our drum,
our parents, our partners,
Robbed of our young,
Robbed of our memories,
Robbed of our pride—
One tool remaining, one weapon—
inside—*

*The African American Challenge —
the will to survive.*

* (duh-hoh-mey)
**bantefaros- areas of firm ground which become
swamps during the rainy season



Justice Thurgood Marshall

The Congressional Black Caucus Lifetime Achievement Award

Justice Thurgood Marshall's departure leaves a giant void on the Supreme Court and in the hearts and minds of many Americans who view him as our nation's foremost defender of equal justice for all

As the first and only Black American Supreme Court Justice, he earned a page in the history books on the day he was appointed by President Lyndon Johnson in 1967, but his status as a powerful legal champion of progressive social change was cemented long before he ascended to a seat on the highest court of the land.

As chief counsel for the NAACP in the 1940s and 1950s, Justice Marshall won dozens of groundbreaking civil rights victories as he traveled from town to town in the segregated South, arguing against racial restrictions on voting, housing, and access to public accommodations.

He argued 32 cases before the Supreme Court during that period and prevailed in 29 of them, including the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Topeka, Kansas Board of Education* decision that ended "separate but equal" school systems.

When he stepped up to the bench in 1967, he came not as a litigator, but as a Justice. He immediately joined a majority on the Court that for nearly 20 years extended rights and benefits to groups of citizens who previously had not enjoyed the full exercise of these privileges.

During that time, he was the leading liberal voice on a Court that pushed through a series of rulings upholding the principle of affirmative action, protecting the freedom of speech, and confirming a woman's right to make her own decisions concerning reproductive health

Despite the legal battles he lost in recent years at the hands of an increasingly conservative majority on the Court, Justice Marshall has not given up hope that the pendulum will swing back in the other direction. "I still firmly believe that right will win out," he said last year.

By using the American judiciary as a tool for positive social change, Thurgood Marshall did more than perhaps any other American in modern times to expand the rights of ordinary citizens. He will be greatly missed.



Christopher Edley, Sr.

The George W. Collins Award for community service is presented to an individual who has exemplified the dedication and work style of the late Congressman George W. Collins

The George W. Collins Award

For 18 years, Christopher F. Edley, Sr. headed the United Negro College Fund (UNCF), the national fund-raising organization representing 41 private, historically black colleges and universities.

Since 1973, when Mr. Edley became president and chief executive Officer, UNCF has raised more than \$500 million.

Christopher Edley is a magna cum laude graduate of Howard University, which he attended after serving as an infantry sergeant in the U.S. Army. Upon receiving his law degree from Harvard Law School in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1953, he launched immediately into a career that has included both private practice and public service

Mr. Edley has been an assistant district attorney in Philadelphia and a partner in the Philadelphia law firm of Moore, Lightfoot and Edley. In 1960, he served as chief of the administration of Justice Division of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and for two years he was regional counsel for the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency (now HUD).

Mr. Edley's tenure as director of the Ford Foundation's Government and Law Program began in 1963. Over the next decade, he spearheaded major funding initiatives designed to promote minority rights

Mr. Edley serves on many committees, including the American Academy of Public Administration. He is a member of the board of directors of American Airlines and the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company (A&P). Mr. Edley and his wife, Zaida Coles Edley, reside in New Rochelle, N.Y. They have two children, Christopher R. Edley and Judith.



Senator Henry J. Kirksey

The William L. Dawson Award is presented to an individual who has made significant research, organizational and leadership contributions in the development of legislation that addresses the needs of minorities in the United States

The William L. Dawson Award

Senator Henry J. Kirksey was born on May 9, 1915 in Tupelo, Mississippi. He graduated from North Central University with a degree in economics. Senator Kirksey also spent six years in the United States Army, and retired with the rank of major.

Senator Kirksey was married in 1946, to the former Audrey Neal of Oklahoma City. She is the mother of their three children, Henry Jr. (Hank), Karin, and Kevin.

In 1959, Senator Kirksey developed a newspaper in the Greensboro/Highpoint/Winston-Salem North Carolina area. After returning to Mississippi, he became editor of the Mississippi Teachers Association Journal and later became editor of the Mississippi Free Press. He subsequently set up his own publishing company. In the 1960s, he was immersed in the civil rights movement. Even now, he continues his struggle to re-open the Sovereignty Files and to remove the various forms of discrimination in the jury selection process.

His career as a state senator began in 1980, and he served a total of eight years. His expertise there was an essential ingredient in successfully winning the redistricting and redrawing of a number of districts. He served as plaintiff, along with others, in redistricting cases for congressional, legislative, judicial, municipal, and county elections. Senator Kirksey was a key influence in the Connor v. Johnson case of 1966, which was a suit to reapportion the Mississippi legislature and several districts. This case paved the way for the 1986 election of Congressman Mike Espy, the first Black American congressman since Reconstruction.

Senator Kirksey was also a plaintiff contesting at-large city council elections. In *Kirksey v. City of Jackson*, Kirksey's efforts resulted in three Blacks being elected within wards established in that city. This served as a model for other lawsuits in a number of cities.

Senator Kirksey was the key figure in a case for redistricting county voting districts, *Kirksey v. Hinds County*, which resulted in the election of two Blacks as county supervisors. This case served as a model for redistricting of other voting districts in several counties. In 1986, due to the success of another case, *Kirksey v. Allain*, Black Americans now have the opportunity to select Black attorneys to judgeships to interpret the law and decide its application.



Daniel T. Blue, Jr.

The Adam Clayton Powell Award is presented to an individual in the political arena who has contributed substantially to Black political awareness and empowerment

The Adam Clayton Powell Award

Daniel Terry Blue, Jr. was born in Lumberton, N.C. to Daniel T. Blue, Sr. and Allene Morris Blue, on April 18, 1949, and grew up in rural Robeson County.

After graduating from Oak Ridge High School in 1966, he enrolled at North Carolina Central University in Durham, where he earned a B.S. degree in mathematics. Following an outstanding academic and leadership career at NCCU, Mr. Blue decided to pursue a career in law. He then attended Duke University School of Law, where he graduated with distinction in 1973.

Upon receiving his law degree in 1973, Mr. Blue began practicing law in Raleigh, North Carolina with one of the state's major law firms. In 1976, he formed his own law firm, Thigpen, Blue, Stephens and Fellers, and continues to practice with that firm today, serving as managing partner.

Mr. Blue is married to Edna Earle Smith, and they are the parents of three teenage children, Daniel III, Kanika, and Dhamian.

Mr. Blue is a member of several political, civic, religious and community organizations. Included among these are: Davie Street Presbyterian Church in Raleigh, where he serves as an Elder; Raleigh-Wake Citizens Association; Kiwanis Club; Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Wake County, North Carolina; and American Bar Associations; NC Center for Public Policy Research Board of Directors, NCNB Community Development Corporation Board, the North Carolina Public School Forum, and many other boards and commissions.

In 1980, Mr. Blue was elected to the North Carolina House of Representatives, representing Wake County. He has been re-elected to the House for the last five terms, serving on many committees, and as chairman of a judiciary committee, and of an appropriations committee. He served as chairman of the Legislative Black Caucus from 1984-89. In 1985, he received the Outstanding Legislator Award from the NC Association of Trial Lawyers, and from the NC Black Lawyers Association. This year, Mr. Blue was chosen to be the recipient of the N.C. AFL-CIO's "Friend of the Working People" Award, and the General Baptist State Convention's "Martin Luther King, Jr. Service Award." In addition to these and many other awards, Mr. Blue has been chosen as the "Citizen of the Year," by several fraternities and sororities. He holds honorary doctorate degrees from several colleges and universities.

On January 30, 1991, Dan Blue was the first Black in North Carolina history to be elected Speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives.



The Honorable Sharon Pratt Dixon

The Harold Washington Award is presented to an individual who like Harold Washington, has demonstrated excellence in coalition building

The Harold Washington Award

Sharon Pratt Dixon, Mayor of the District of Columbia, defied great odds on November 6, 1990, to become the first female leader of the nation's capital and the first Black American woman to serve as mayor of a major urban city.

Mayor Dixon's unprecedented mayoral victory follows more than 20 years of community involvement and activism in local and national politics. A native Washingtonian, Mayor Dixon attended District of Columbia public schools and graduated with honors from Roosevelt High School in 1961. She furthered her education at Howard University, earning a bachelor of arts degree with honors, in political science in 1965, then a juris doctorate from the university's law school in 1968. She has served as an instructor at the Antioch School of Law, and was appointed by former House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill as vice chair of the D.C. Law Revision Commission. In the mid-seventies, she joined the general counsel's office of the Potomac Electric Power Company (PEPCO) and in 1983, became the first Black American woman ever to become vice president of the company.

Mayor Dixon was the first Black American and the first woman to become treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. She served four consecutive terms on the committee and held a seat on its executive committee. She has been a member of the Legal Aid Society and the Howard University Board of Trustees.



Bill & Camille Cosby

The George Thomas "Mickey" Leland Humanitarian Award is presented to an individual for his or her exceptional work in the struggle for human rights and social justice

The George Thomas "Mickey" Leland Humanitarian Award

Bill Cosby is, by any standards, one of the most influential stars in America today. Through his concert appearances, recordings, television programs, films, and commercials, Mr. Cosby has the ability to touch people's lives. His humor often centers on the basic cornerstones of existence, seeking to provide insight into our roles as parents, children, family members, men, and women. Mr. Cosby's comedy has reference to and respect for the traditions of the great American humorists, such as Charlie Chaplin, Will Rogers, W.C. Fields, and Groucho Marx. Coming from a Philadelphia ghetto, he represents the voice of the vast, ordinary world.

As busy as they have been with their many ventures, the Cosbys have been crusaders for a better world and for better understanding between people. In addition to their involvement with a host of charitable organizations, contributions by Bill and Camille Cosby to predominantly Black colleges have brought national attention to the importance of these institutions.

As well as raising five children, Camille Cosby has taken an active role in her husband's career, and serves on the boards of several organizations, including the National Council of Negro Women, Rainbow Coalition, and The Vanderzee Institute. She is currently completing her doctoral degree at the University of Massachusetts, where she earned her master's degree in education in 1980. She is also presently producing a film on the life of Winnie Mandela.

GOLDEN CIRCLE SPONSORS

American Postal Workers Union
American Council of Life Insurance
Anheuser-Busch, Inc
California Teachers Association
CCNRA
Coca-Cola Company
Columbia Pictures Entertainment, Inc
Consolidated Edison Company of New York
D C Housing Finance Agency
Dial Corporation
Kraft General Foods
MCA
McDonald's Corporation
Merck & Co., Inc
Miller Brewing Company
MJJ Productions
Mobil Corporation
National Education Association
New York Stock Exchange, Inc
Pepsi-Cola Company
PepsiCo, Inc
Philip Morris Corporation, Inc
Philip Morris, USA
Pryor, McClendon, Count & Co., Inc
Sony Music Entertainment, Inc
Sony Corporation of America
The Washington Post
The Connell Company
Time Warner, Inc
Virginia Power
Warner Communication
Warner-Lambert
Xerox Corporation

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

American Express

Anheuser-Busch, Inc

ASCAP

Chrysler Corporation

Coca-Cola Company

Jack Daniels

Kraft General Foods

Miller Brewing Company

Pepsi-Cola Company

PepsiCo, Inc

Philip Morris Company, Inc

Philip Morris, U S A

The Oakland Childrens Hospital Foundation

Toyota, U S A

1991 HONORARY DINNER COMMITTEE

Mr. Don Barden
President
Barden Cablevision
Detroit, Michigan

Mr. John Bass
Staff Director
House Subcommittee on Libraries & Memorials
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

The Honorable Unita Blackwell
Mayor
Mayersville, Mississippi

Mr. Napoleon Brandford, III
Executive Vice President
Grigsby, Brandford & Company, Inc.
San Francisco, California

The Honorable William L. Clay, Jr.
Missouri House of Representatives
St. Louis, Missouri

Mrs. Diane Cleaver
Swope Parkway Health Center
Kansas City, Missouri

The Honorable Emanuel Cleaver
Mayor
Kansas City, Missouri

The Honorable Henry Espy
Mayor
Clarksdale, Mississippi

Mr. Robert Finch
M&R Mechanical
Cleveland, Ohio

Mr. Dick Griffey
Solar Records
Los Angeles, California

Mr. George Henry
Senior Counsel
American Insurance Association
Washington, D.C.

Ms. Inola Henry
Chair, Political Action Council
United Teachers of Los Angeles
Los Angeles, California

Dr. Franklyn Jenifer
President
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Jody Jiles
The First Boston Corporation
Houston, Texas

Ms. Marcia A. Johnson, Esq.
Houston, Texas

Mr. Anthony P. Kavanagh
Manager, Federal Government Relations
Consolidated Edison of New York, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

The Honorable Juanita McDonald
Carson City Council
Carson, California

Mr. Bert M. Mitchell
Managing Partner
Mitchell/Titus & Company, Inc.
New York, New York

Mr. Dominic Ozanne
Ozanne Construction
Cleveland, Ohio

Mr. Harold Patrick and
Mrs. Bea Patrick
Los Angeles, California

Mr. William D. Payne
Urban Initiatives
Newark, New Jersey

Dr. Eleanor M. Ramsey
President
Mason Tillman Associates, Ltd.
Oakland, California

Judge Henry Ramsey, Jr.
Dean
Howard University School of Law
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Carl D. Robinson
New Orleans, Louisiana

Ms. Ingrid Saunders-Jones
Assistant Vice President,
Urban & Government Affairs
The Coca-Cola Corporation
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Stanley S. Scott
President
Crescent Distributing Company
Harahan, Louisiana

Mr. Norbert A. Simmons
Chairman
First Commonwealth Securities
New Orleans, Louisiana

Ms. Martha Jean "The Queen" Steinberg
Vice President
WQBH Radio
Detroit, Michigan

Mr. Robert P. Titus
Partner
Mitchell/Titus & Company, Inc.
New York, New York

The Honorable Diane Watson
California State Senate
Sacramento, California

Mr. Theodore U. Wells, Jr., Esq.
Lowenstein, Sandler, Kohl, Fisher & Boylan
Roseland, New Jersey

Part II



***(*grē-ō*) African storyteller of the past who communicated the history of the people

Hallelujah!
Juneteeth Feeling!
Leave the quarters.
Leave the chains.

Hurray!
Emancipation!
Resident status!
We claim
This Land.
We have
plowed it with our misery,
fertilized it with our blood.
Citizens!
We shout Hosanna!
The Vote! The Vote!
Our voices now are heard.
Brace, strain, hold,
forge ahead, move on —
The tragedy will haunt us
until the shame is gone
One hundred and twenty-six
years from bondage —
still struggling to be free.
It's time to raise a cry,
to fight
the wiles of bigotry
Twelve decades of progress,
but still we're losing ground.
Rituals of survival —
the only way we've found
to
Defy the odds!
Sit down
Stand up
Sit in
March
Pray
and Preach
Be silent
Be bold
Boycott
Speak out
Moan
or teach!
Acquire means and prestige,
Sing spirituals
and jone,
Use percussion,
Call, respond,
Make art for life.
Bring home
the victories of our heroes.

*Let modern griots****
spread the tales.
Excel!
Be twice as good as others;
fool old massa;
tote the bale.
Scratch our heads
And shut our eyes;
Shuck and jive and smile.
Plot our course to a freer day,
and bide our time the while
Tote the Bible,
Drown our sorrows,
Love the night away.
Ease the pain with crack
and borrow
Junkie Joy with Hell to pay!
Look to Jesus,
Look to Allah,
Put our faith in Uncle Sam.
Smash the cars and
Burn the buildings;
Choose our names
and say,
"I am
Somebody
Dark and lovely.
I am Somebody
strong and proud."
Or steer our rage
toward one another
or aim our anger
at the crowd.
Integrate
or
separate
assimilate
or
fade?
This query we must answer
It cannot be delayed!
Fight —
Die —
and Challenge —
Campaign —
Vote —
or Scream —
Express ourselves in polyrhythms
Laugh
and weep
and dream.



Part III – see page 32

CBCF BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Board of Directors

Honorable Alan Wheat
Chair

Mr LeBaron Taylor
Vice Chair

Mr Lawrence Doss
Treasurer

Mr Carl Ware
Secretary

Honorable William L Clay

Honorable Cardiss Collins

Honorable Julian C Dixon

Mr Ofield Dukes

Dr Ramona Edelin

Mr Christopher F Edley, Jr

Honorable Charles A Hayes

Mr Jesse Hill, Jr

Mr Bertram M Lee, Sr

Mrs Lillian Lewis

Honorable Kweisi Mfume

Mr Albert L Nellum

Honorable Major R Owens

Honorable Charles B Rangel

Mrs Barbara J Skinner

Mr Wayman F Smith, III

Honorable Louis Stokes

Mrs Gwen Towns

Ex-Officio

Honorable Edolphus Towns



LeBaron Taylor is vice president and general manager of Corporate Affairs for Sony Music Entertainment, Inc. (formerly CBS Records, Inc.) and vice president of Sony Software Corporation.

Mr. Taylor's career, spanning three decades, began when he was hired as a broadcast engineer for radio stations WCHB and WCHD in Detroit. He moved from broadcasting to the recording industry when he joined Atlantic Records as director of A & R. In 1974, Mr. Taylor became vice president for Black American music marketing at CBS Records. In this role, he was instrumental in nurturing the company's Black American music roster to its current leadership role, and in addition, oversaw the jazz/progressive marketing department. In 1988, Mr. Taylor was elected to become an executive officer of the company, and in 1991, was appointed vice president of Sony Software Corporation, where he oversees Sony Music Entertainment, Inc., Columbia Pictures Entertainment, and Sony Electronic Publishing.

Mr. Taylor is past chair and past president of the National Association of Market Developers, and past president of the Black Music Association. He currently serves as vice chair of the CBCF, founding president of the Philadelphia Music Foundation, and is a member of the board of directors of the MLK, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, the NAACP Special Contributions Fund, the Rhythm & Blues Foundation, and the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Board of Governors.

Mr. Taylor has twice received the CBC Chair Award. He has also received the Highest Public Service Award from the National Urban League, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, the National Urban Coalition, the National Association of Black Owned Broadcasters, Operation PUSH, and the National Council of Negro Women. The accomplishment of which Mr. Taylor is most proud is his recognition by the Black Employees organization of CBS, Inc. for his development of minorities within the company and his promotion of Black Americans. Mr. Taylor is married to the former Yvonne Ridley. He has two children, Eric and Tiffani.



Lawrence P. Doss, president of Doss Ventures, Inc., is currently involved in the business of matching entrepreneurs with opportunities for acquisitions, mergers and major contracts and franchises.

Mr. Doss previously served as president of New Detroit, the nation's first urban coalition, held management positions with the Internal Revenue Service and was executive coordinator of the school decentralization effort for Detroit Public Schools. He was formerly a partner in the firm of Coopers and Lybrand, where he served as the National Industry Chairman for State and Local Government.

Mr. Doss is the vice chairman of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center, president of the Coleman A. Young Foundation, chair of Doctors Hospital, director of American Natural Resources and a trustee of the Hudson-Webber Foundation. He is also president of Metro Ventures, Inc., chair of Paradies/Metro Ventures, and president of United Communications, Inc.



Carl Ware is senior vice president of The Coca-Cola Company, and deputy president of the Northeast Europe/Africa Group where he has specific responsibilities for markets in Africa. Prior to Mr. Ware's appointment to deputy president, he directed the domestic and international external affairs programs of The Coca-Cola Company. He was also responsible for the company's philanthropic programs.

Mr. Ware joined The Coca-Cola Company in 1974 as an urban and governmental affairs specialist. In 1979, he was named vice president of Special Markets with Coca-Cola USA, where he was responsible for expanding Black American and Hispanic marketing and advertising programs. In 1982, Mr. Ware was appointed vice president, Urban Affairs, The Coca-Cola Company. In that capacity, he organized the company's minority business development program. The first Black American bottler in the history of the U.S. soft drink industry was developed under his leadership, and is now the third largest Black American owned business in the nation.

Mr. Ware began his career as director of housing for the Urban League of Pittsburgh. From 1970 to 1973, he was employed by the Atlanta Housing Authority as director of Family and Community Services and deputy director of Urban Redevelopment. Mr. Ware started the first comprehensive human services program in the Atlanta public housing community. In 1973, Mr. Ware was elected to the Atlanta City Council and served as president of the Council from 1976 to 1979.

Mr. Ware is chair of the board of trustees at Clark Atlanta University. He also serves as a member of President Bush's Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges and Universities. He is a director of the Georgia Power Company and the African-American Institute. He is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Underground Festival, Inc., 100 Black Men of Atlanta, Inc., and Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity, and has served as chair of the 1990 United Way of Metropolitan Atlanta Campaign.



Ofield Dukes has excelled in two related careers, those of journalism and public relations, in the cities of Washington, D.C. and Detroit. Having earned a bachelor of science degree in journalism from Wayne State University, Mr. Dukes became an editor for the *Michigan Chronicle*, and won three national writing awards from the National Newspaper Publishers Association. He came to Washington, D.C. in 1964 to join the Johnson-Humphrey administration, and in 1966 was appointed to the personal staff of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, where he served until 1969. He opened a public relations firm, Ofield Dukes & Associates, in 1969, and, in 1975, was awarded the "Oscar" of the public relations profession, the highly coveted Public Relations Society of America Silver Anvil. Mr. Dukes helped organize the public relations curriculum at the Howard University School of Communications, and served as an adjunct professor there for 17 years.

Active in the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation since its inception, Mr. Dukes currently serves as co-chair of the CBCF Capital Building Fund. He has served as a consultant to the Democratic National Committee for every Democratic presidential campaign since 1968.



Ramona H. Edelin, president and chief executive officer of the National Urban Coalition (NUC), has been associated with the Coalition since 1977, after an outstanding career as a social activist, scholar, and academic administrator. Dr. Edelin has been especially identified with the NUC's "Say Yes to a Youngster" program. Under her leadership, the Coalition has instituted the M. Carl Holman Leadership Strategy Series. She has also been a catalyst in bringing the African-American Cultural Initiative to public attention, and has been instrumental in convening Black American and Latino leaders to discuss tensions between those two communities in the inner cities.

Before her tenure with the NUC, Dr. Edelin was founder and chair of the Department of African-American Studies at Northeastern University. She has also taught at Brandeis University, Emerson College, and the European Division of the University of Maryland.

A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Fisk University, Dr. Edelin performed undergraduate work at Harvard University, and earned a master of arts degree in philosophy from the University of East Anglia in Norwich, England. She received her doctorate from Boston University.

Dr. Edelin serves on the board of directors of the National Center for Policy Alternatives and is a member of the D.C. Committee on Public Education, the U.S. Department of Education's Educational Partnerships Study Group, the National Public Radio's Advisory Committee on Special Projects, and the Black Leadership Forum. Formerly, Dr. Edelin was the chair of the Public Education and Prevention Strategy Team, the District of Columbia Office of Drug Control Policy, and has been a member of the District of Columbia Commission on Budget and Financial Priorities, the board of the District of Columbia Community Humanities Council, and Women in Politics.

Dr. Edelin is the author of many articles dealing with education and urban affairs, and writes a column which is carried in a number of Black American newspapers. A nationally respected lecturer, she has recently become a regular on CNN's public affairs program, "Crier & Company."

Among her recognitions and achievements are, Outstanding Young Women of America, *Ebony Magazine's* Women to Watch; IBM Community Executive Program, membership, National Technical Association, Southern Christian Leadership Conference Award for Progressive Leadership; and Academy of Distinguished Alumni at the Boston University College of Liberal Arts and Graduate School.



Christopher F. Edley Jr. is a professor of law at Harvard Law School, where, since 1981, he has taught and written in the fields of government regulation, taxation, public interest litigation, and national security law. In 1987 and 1988, while on leave, he was the national issues director in the presidential campaign of Michael Dukakis. During that time, Professor Edley was responsible for the full range of domestic, economic, and national security issues. During 1982 and 1983, he was a part-time member of the editorial page staff of the *Washington Post*, writing editorials and occasional op-ed columns. He is a member of the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, and a consultant to the Rockefeller Foundation on antipoverty advocacy.

Before teaching, Professor Edley served in the Carter Administration as assistant director of the White House Domestic Policy staff, where he was responsible for welfare reform, social security, food stamps, WIC, job training, social services, and minority businesses. He also served as special assistant (for welfare) to the late HEW/HHS Secretary Patricia Roberts Harris, and as associate assistant to the president.



Tesse Hill, Jr. is chair, president, and chief executive officer of Atlanta Life Insurance Company. The Atlanta Life Insurance Company is the largest financial institution owned and controlled by Black Americans from the standpoint of net worth. Mr. Hill joined the company in 1949 as an actuarial assistant.

Born in St. Louis on May 30, 1926, Mr. Hill attended public schools and went on to graduate with honors from Lincoln University of Missouri, earning a bachelor of science degree in mathematics and physics. He received a master's of business administration in actuarial science from the University of Michigan.

Mr. Hill is currently a director and member of the executive committee of Delta Airlines, Inc., and is a director of National Service Industries, Inc., Trust Company of Georgia Holding Company, Trust Company of Georgia Bank, and of

Hill, continued

Knight-Ridder, Inc. He chairs the board of directors of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, is a member of the American Academy of Actuaries, and of the board of directors of the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games. He is also a member and trustee of the Big Bethel A.M.E. Church.

In 1977, in Atlanta, Mr. Hill became the first Black American to chair the Chamber of Commerce of a major American city. He has served on the Board of Regents of the State of Georgia under consecutive appointments by three governors. He is the recipient of six honorary degrees and numerous other awards.

Married to the former Azira Gonzales Sanchez, Mr. Hill and his wife have two daughters, Nancy Cooke and Azira Kendall. They have four grandchildren, Charnan Jessica Cooke, Jonathan Charles Cooke, Mark Oliver Kendall, and John Robinson Kendall.



Bertram M. Lee, Sr. chairs the board of BML Associates; Albimar Communications, Inc., and the Denver Nuggets Corporation. Mr. Lee is president of KELLE Communications Group, Inc.; executive committee chairman of Boston Bank of Commerce; director of Ruggles-Bedford Associates, Inc.; director and board member of Reebok International Limited, and advisory committee member on the board of I AM Records.

In the past, Mr. Lee has served as president and director of New England Television Corporation, which is the parent company of the first minority owned national CBS affiliate in Boston. He has also served as director of Shawmut National Bank.

Mr. Lee chairs TransAfrica Forum, and is a member of the District of Columbia Management Advisory Committee. He is a director on the boards of the Jackie Robinson Foundation; the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies; the National Association for Sickle Cell Disease, Drew Child Development Corporation, The Civil Rights Project, Inc.; and the Public Education Fund, Inc.

A recipient of numerous awards and honors, Mr. Lee has been given the NAACP Image Award, the American Heritage and Freedom Award, the New England Telephone Company/Minority Management Association Recognition Award, the Museum of Afro-American History Recognition Award, a recognition award from the Maryland/District of Columbia Minority Supplier Development Council, and the "Friends from Norfolk" CIAA award.

Mr. Lee has served in the U.S. Army, and has earned a bachelor of arts degree in political science from North Central College and an honorary doctorate from Tougaloo College. He is married to Laura Murphy Lee and is the father of Paula, Elaine, and Bertram M. Lee, Jr.



Thelma Lewis is the wife of Congressman John Lewis of Georgia. She is a native of Los Angeles, California, but has spent most of her life in Atlanta. Mrs. Lewis is a graduate of California State University at Los Angeles with a degree in English. She earned her master's degree in library science from the University of Southern California. She currently serves as director of external affairs in the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at Clark Atlanta University. Her many community and professional activities include memberships on the boards of CARE and My Turn Now, an advocacy organization facilitating the adoption of children with special needs.

Mrs. Lewis is a member of the Atlanta Zoological Society, Jack and Jill of America, Inc., and Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Atlanta Alumni Chapter. She is chair of the CBC Spouses and serves on the board of directors of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc. Mrs. Lewis is the mother of one son, John-Miles.



Albert L. Nellum is president and chief executive officer of the country's oldest Black-owned international management consulting firm, A.L. Nellum and Associates, Inc. This international firm is headquartered in Washington, D.C. He is also chairman and president of TALMA Productions, a Los Angeles based firm and television production company and ALNA Sports Management which produces sports events domestically and internationally.

A founding member of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Mr. Nellum conceived and organized this organization's inaugural fund-raising dinner. He is the former vice president of its board of directors and is a member of its Executive Committee, Personnel Committee, as well as chairman of the Foundation's Grants Policy Committee. Mr. Nellum also serves as president of the Black Business Council-USA of which he is a co-founder.

Involved in the entertainment industry for several decades, he has served as promoter, producer and investor and has been responsible for bringing together African American businesspersons and members of the entertainment industry in a number of successful ventures. One such endeavor has been the annual Black Oscar and Black Emmy Nominee Dinners. These dinners now in their twelfth year honor African American performers who have been nominated for these awards. He is active in numerous other organizations and civic groups that enable Black people to achieve self-reliance in American society.



Barbara W. Skinner is currently executive vice president of Tom Skinner Associates (TSA), a leadership development organization headquartered for the past 20 years in New York City. Mrs. Skinner works closely with current leaders in business, athletics, and politics, with future leaders at Howard University and Norfolk State University, and with the poor in Newark, New Jersey through the TSA Learning Center

Prior to joining TSA, Mrs. Skinner served for seven years as executive director of the Congressional Black Caucus. She has also served as legislative assistant to Congressman Ronald Dellums.

Born in Antioch, California, and raised in Richmond, California, Mrs. Skinner graduated from San Francisco State College and the University of California Law School. She has served on the board of directors of such organizations as the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, the Evangelicals for Social Action, and the Volunteers of America. She is a founding member of the National Political Congress of Black Women, and served as deputy campaign manager for the 1984 Jesse Jackson for President campaign. Mrs. Skinner currently resides in New York with her husband, Tom Skinner.



Rayman F. Smith III is vice president of Corporate Affairs for the Anheuser-Busch Companies. He is also a member of the board of directors of the company's largest subsidiary, Anheuser-Busch, Inc.

Mr. Smith earned his undergraduate degree in business administration from Monmouth College, and his juris doctor degree from Howard University School of Law

Prior to joining Anheuser-Busch, Mr. Smith was a partner in the St. Louis law firm of Wilson, Smith and McCullin. He has been a judge in the St. Louis Municipal Court, and has held the position of director of the Conciliation for the Missouri Commission on Human Rights. Mr. Smith served for twelve years as a St. Louis alderman.

Mr. Smith is currently a director of the Urban League of Metropolitan St. Louis, St. Louis Symphony; the Arts and Education Council, where he is vice chair, Ranken Technical College; Junior Achievement of Mississippi Valley; Backstoppers, St. Louis Metropolitan YMCA; St. Louis Convention and Visitor Commission, and is a trustee of the St. Louis Regional Educational and Public Television Commission. He is a board member of the National Association of Sickle Cell Disease, Inc., the National Bar Association, the National Urban League, the NAACP Special Contribution Fund, and the Harris Stowe State College Board of Regents. He chairs the Board of Trustees of Howard University.

Mr. Smith was named a distinguished alumni by both Howard University and Monmouth College. He has one daughter, Kymberly Ann, who is a student at Georgetown University Law School.



Edwen Towns is the wife of Congressman Ed Towns of New York. She is a native of North Carolina and a graduate of North Carolina A&T State University. She earned a master's degree in guidance and school counseling from Brooklyn College and subsequently gained post-master credits at Pace University.

Among the highlights of Mrs. Towns' professional career are many challenging positions, including remedial teacher and recreation therapist at New York City's Women's House of Detention; public school teacher; and educational therapist. She is currently a teacher-trainer for the NYC Board of Education. Mrs. Towns' various professional affiliations include the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association, and several other ad hoc local education committees. She is chair-elect of the CBC Spouses and a member of the board of directors of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc. The recipient of a number of citations for her community activism and leadership on educational issues, Mrs. Towns is also a member of the NYC Chapter of Jack and Jill of America, Inc.; Concerned Women of Brooklyn; and Berean Baptist Church. She and Congressman Towns are the proud parents of two children, Darryl and Diedra.

Part III



*But dreaming time has ended.
There is work to do
We must be architects of change
We must defy the odds
 anew
We must become prime movers
whose power will reveal
the remedy to ancient crimes
And wrongs that plague us still
We must change the odds against us
We must challenge what's unfair
We must right the situation
We must push for our fair share
Dare we ask ourselves the question?
We must not take time to pause
We can solve most any problem
If we stop it at its cause
Why do we
Die too young
Live too poor
Suffer more stress
Endure
Crime in our neighborhoods
Inferior schools
Job bias
Cops who break rules
who beat us and abuse us
and neglect our pleas for aid
Or deteriorating cities
where fortunes are made
for others
for others
who don't live in squalid tenements
who don't stumble over trash in the street
who don't watch their babies shrivel and die
for lack of food?
We're most often the victims of crime
We fill the jails
and the cells on Death Row
Too many of our babies
are born to teen mothers
We're hated by others*

*We know
We suffer poor health care
and lack decent affordable homes
while our nation's one-time enemies
use our dollars
to thrive and grow strong
our country funds secret agreement
and wages war far away
while great cities here lie dying
since fear holds growth at bay*

*We're hired last on account of
"No experience," we're told
We're fired first
We have no tenure
Promotions keep us
 beneath
 the glass ceiling –
We're reeling –
We're shocked
 by the twisting of the Court
A veto holds us hostage,
The Census is a false
Report
We are debased by negative stereotypes
in film and on TV
We are shattered
 by divorce
 which kills the family*

*Some of us are bribed by status
and some by material gain
Some are disassociated
 from our own
Some fail to feel the pain,
the portent of our people,
or the passion of our plea
We must defy the odds
and conquer
each threat to Equality
We must lift our eyes and voices
We must unify our throng
We must stretch our
 hands behind us
to help our people
 come along
If we are bold on every front,
If we but sound the cry,
We can expand our options
for how we live and die*

*Have we lost our strong
 conviction?
Have we lost our will
 to fight?
Can we not design a program
that will win what's
 ours by right?
Can we now join
 hands together?
Can we bind our hearts as one?
Can we defeat the odds against us?
If we can, then victory's won!*

DEPARTING MEMBER

A CBC Tribute to Bill Gray



Congressman William H. Gray, III



We come to this moment with conflicting emotions – understanding the celebration of accomplishment and the promise of infinite possibility, yet knowing our collective loss as a family

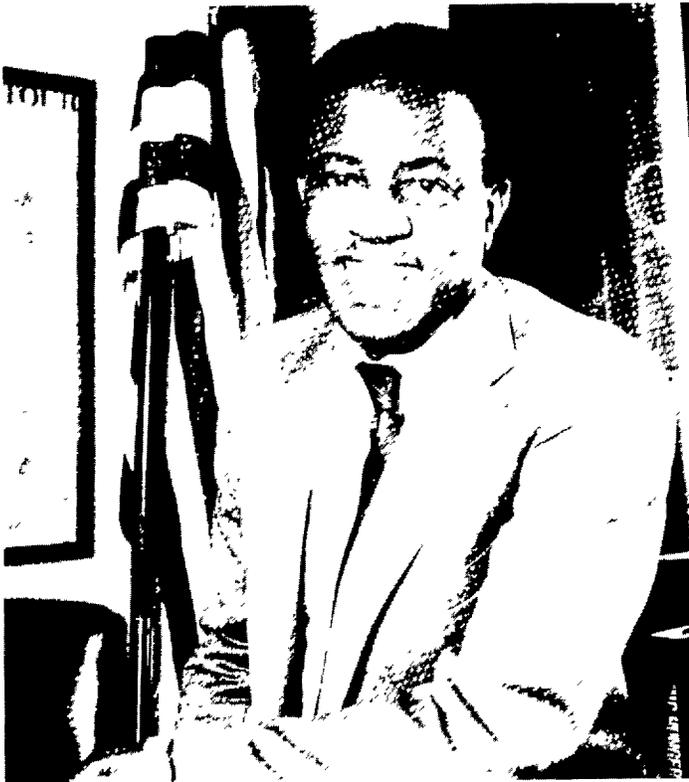
William H. Gray, you have come to the Congress of the United States with an absolute commitment to the individual and collective advancement of people of color and those who suffer around the world. You have brought boundless potential to its ultimate conclusion – you have made history.

We come now to a fork in the road, where opportunity turns to a blue print for the future. In retrospect, we have walked this path together – witnessing your climb to uncharted heights. You have crossed thresholds never before pioneered and defied odds some would claim insurmountable.

Bill Gray, you leave us a memorable legacy and bountiful memories. We have been enlightened by your wisdom, enlivened by your spirit, and emboldened by your courage. You have made us proud. Godspeed, our brother.

The Congressional Black Caucus

CBC CHAIR'S MESSAGE



Congressman Edolphus Towns

"A Caucus Defying All Odds"

Little more than twenty years ago, the Congressional Black Caucus was founded upon the premise that all men and women are created equal and endowed with the rights of freedom, justice, and human dignity - demanding a new kind of advocacy within the Congress. We began this effort united by our common vision and commitment to remold the contours of the political process in America

It was our choice to challenge those who viewed the role of government as exclusive - instead of inclusive. It was our mission to bring a new agenda to the United States Congress.

The members of the Caucus therefore dedicated themselves to the proposition that we should wage war for the defenseless, the helpless, and the hopeless. We have sought to empower the powerless, to enlighten the uninformed, and to lead those we serve. We have stood shoulder to shoulder in the trenches of battle, and because of you - we have kept the faith.

As we have embarked upon the final decade of this century, we continue to witness explosive changes in the geopolitical scene and an emerging new world order. Yet in our own backyards, America has been engulfed in a wave of conservative retrenchment which seeks to destroy the very foundation upon which racial equality and justice was built. The Congressional Black Caucus has determined that even if alone, we shall stand as a fortress. We shall not yield to threatened presidential vetoes of civil rights bills or "quota-mongering" detractors. We shall not retreat in the aftermath of the repeal of U.S. sanctions in the face of the continued tyranny of South Africa's unyielding apartheid. Arch-conservative nominees to the Supreme Court to the contrary, we will not relinquish our right or will to raise up champions who will fight for justice for our people.

In the well of the House and the halls of the Senate, the Congressional Black Caucus shall continue to stand in the vanguard against injustice. We shall not countenance the defacing of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s dream. We will not allow the denegation of the legacy of Medgar Evers and Schwerner, Goodman, and Chaney. We are neither faint of heart nor weak of spirit. We are the inheritors of the dreams of Hiram Revels, of Frederick Douglass, and Mary MacLeod Bethune. We must be the strong who keep coming. Defying odds, expanding opportunities.

We, as members of this Caucus, know that justice is not advanced by a retreat from those basic tenets of law which have protected the rights of the few against the prerogatives of the many. Because there is a Constitution that is our birthright, we are uniquely aware that Black Americans have fought to protect its precepts at all costs - whether in the deserts of the Persian Gulf, the jungles of Vietnam, on the beaches of Normandy, or the cotton plantations of the ante-bellum South. We as a people have borne a disproportionate burden in the battles for freedom and democracy.

I share with you, now, a challenge made by one of my colleagues in the Caucus during the closing debate on the 1991 Civil Rights Bill - that we seek "a social order where justice is the supreme ruler and law is but its instrument - where freedom is the dominant creed and order - where equity is the common practice and fraternity the common human condition."

The Honorable Edolphus Towns

CBC MEMBERS



William L. Clay
*1st Congressional District
Missouri*

As the senior Member of the Missouri congressional delegation, and a native of St. Louis, William L. Clay was elected to the House of Representatives in 1968. He chairs the full Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the House Administration Committee's Subcommittee on Libraries and Memorials. He is also the second ranking member of the Education and Labor Committee.

Workers' rights are the cornerstone of Congressman Clay's legislative agenda. He is presently sponsoring three major pieces of legislation: the Striker Replacement Act, the Family and Medical Leave Act, and The Hatch Act reform bill. The latter two bills were approved in the last session of Congress but vetoed by President Bush.

Congressman Clay serves as a trustee on the boards of Tougaloo and Benedict colleges. He is the founder of the William L. Clay Scholarship and Research Fund, a non-profit, tax-exempt scholarship program, which presently enrolls twenty-eight students in fourteen different schools. Fourteen of the students are recipients of all-expense paid four year scholarships.

Congressman Clay holds a bachelor of science degree in history and political science from St. Louis University. He has also received numerous honorary degrees for his achievements as a legislator. His book dealing with the savagery of capital punishment, *To Kill or Not to Kill*, was published in 1990. His next book, on the history of Black American Members of Congress, is expected to be published early next year.



Barbara-Rose Collins
*13th Congressional District
Michigan*

Barbara-Rose Collins was elected to the House of Representatives in 1990. She serves the 13th Congressional District of Michigan, and is a member of the Public Works and Transportation Committee, the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families

Prior to being elected to the United States House of Representatives, Congresswoman Collins served on the Detroit Region I Public School Board from 1971 through 1973 and in the Michigan State House of Representatives from 1975 through 1981. She was elected to the Detroit City Council in 1981 and served there until coming to Congress

In the Michigan State Legislature, Congresswoman Collins was the principal sponsor of initiatives on sex education and sexual harassment, equal benefits for women's pensions, pituitary gland retrieval, food dating, and enterprise

zones. She served as chair of the House Standing Committee on Urban Affairs and as chair and founding member of the Michigan Legislative Black Caucus. In addition, she served as vice chair of the Michigan Democratic Caucus

While serving on the Detroit City Council, Congresswoman Collins sponsored city ordinances on South African divestiture, toxic waste, and single room occupancy housing. She also served as chair of the Task Force on Litter and "Clean Up" Detroit and the Task Force on Teenage Violence and Juvenile Crime, and was a member of the New Detroit Minority Business Committee. She is listed in Who's Who in Black America.

Born in Detroit, Congresswoman Collins attended Detroit public schools and Wayne State University. She is an active member of the Shrine of the Black Madonna, Pan-African Orthodox Christian Church. She is also the mother of two adult children, Cynthia Simpson and Christopher Collins, and is the proud grandmother of Amber Rose, Shaina Marie and Bruce Simpson Jr. and Kwame Collins



Cardiss Collins
7th Congressional District
Illinois

▶ Cardiss Collins, the longest serving Black American woman in Congress, has represented the people of the 7th Congressional District of Illinois for over seventeen years. She chairs the House Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness, under the highly regarded House Committee on Energy and Commerce. Congresswoman Collins is the first woman and the first Black American to assume the chair of any Energy and Commerce Committee panel. She is also a member of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, the Energy & Commerce's Transportation and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee and the Government Operations Committee's Subcommittees on Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs and Legislation and National Security

Some of Congresswoman Collins' legislative goals include regulation of the insurance industry to assure solvency, a review of international trade negotiations, reforms in private health insurance, achieving effective security at airports, eradicating problems Black American broadcasters face in securing advertising revenues, and ensuring far greater access to communications for people of color. She has also been an advocate of comprehensive federal child care. Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Congresswoman Collins moved to Detroit, Michigan at the age of ten. After graduating from the Detroit High School of Commerce, she attended Northwestern University. Having a keen interest in politics, she became committeewoman of Chicago's 24th Ward Regular Democratic Organization. She was heavily involved in the campaigns of her late husband, George W. Collins, who became alderman and committeeman in that ward, and congressman of the 6th Congressional District.

Congresswoman Collins was first elected to Congress in 1973, in a special election held to fill the seat left vacant by her husband's death.

Congresswoman Collins has led the way on many occasions. She was the first woman to represent a congressional district in the Midwest and the first woman to chair the Congressional Black Caucus. She was the first woman and the first Black American to hold a Democratic leadership position in the House, when she became Whip-at-Large.

Congresswoman Collins is a member of the Friendship Baptist Church of Chicago and the Alfred Street Baptist Church of Alexandria. She belongs to the NAACP, the Chicago Urban League, the LINKS, the Coalition of 100 Black Women, the Black Women's Agenda, the National Council of Negro Women, and Alpha Kappa Alpha and Alpha Gamma Phi Sororities. She is the recipient of numerous awards and commendations, including awards from Loyola University and Roosevelt University, and honorary degrees from Barber-Scotia College, Spelman College, and Winston-Salem State University.



John Conyers
1st Congressional District
Michigan

John Conyers, Jr. was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1964. He was re-elected to his thirteenth term in 1988 with over 91% of the vote. He serves the 1st Congressional District of Michigan.

Congressman Conyers chairs the House Government Operations Committee and also the Government Operations Subcommittee on Legislation and National Security. He is a senior member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, where he sits on the Economic and Commercial Law, the Civil and Constitutional Rights, and the Criminal Justice subcommittees. He is also a member of the House Small Business Committee and the Subcommittee on Small Business Administration, General Economics and Minority Enterprise Development.

Congressman Conyers has authored legislation on voter registration, social security, public housing, civil and constitutional rights, small businesses, family farms, education, economic and community development, foreign affairs, defense contracting, and procurement. He authored and spearheaded the drive for passage of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday Bill. He offered the first nuclear freeze amendment on the House floor and has authored a wide range of full-employment legislation.

As the fourth ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, Congressman Conyers has conducted hearings on civil rights, police violence, white collar crime, sentencing, grand jury reform, and strong protections for consumers and small business investors. Currently, he is taking a keen interest in the copyright and anti-trust issues under consideration by the Committee.

After attending Detroit public schools, Congressman Conyers earned his bachelor and doctor of law degrees at Wayne State University. He is the recipient of many awards for leadership, including a Southern Christian Leadership Conference Award presented to him by Martin Luther King, Jr.



Ronald V. Dellums
8th Congressional District
California

Ronald V. Dellums represents California's 8th Congressional District. First elected in 1970, he is serving his eleventh term.

Congressman Dellums serves as chair of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Research and Development. In 1979, he was elected chair of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, which made him the first Member of the House class of 1970 to be elected chair of a full committee. In December, 1988, he was elected chair of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Mr. Dellums has been a leader in the congressional effort to end U.S. government support for the racist regime in South Africa. In 1971, he introduced comprehensive sanctions legislation. In 1986, the House approved his legislative initiative. It was then modified by the Senate and the President's veto was overridden. Since then Dellums has

reintroduced sanctions legislation in every Congress. These legislative initiatives have played a significant role in the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and subsequent moves toward a nonracial and nonsexist democratic society in South Africa.

Congressman Dellums is the first Member of Congress to have introduced and debated on the House floor a comprehensive alternative military budget. This landmark legislation was the result of extensive ad hoc hearings he conducted on "The Full Implications of the Military Budget." The highlights of those hearings, his critical analysis and legislative proposals were subsequently published in his book, *Defense Sense: The Search for a Rational Military Policy*. Congressman Dellums has also consistently been opposed to U.S. military aid to Central America. In 1983, in *Dellums v. Smith*, he sought to have the federal court appoint a special prosecutor to investigate the illegal funding and training of the Contras. The Federal District Court twice ruled in his favor, and recent disclosures have confirmed many of the issues raised by the Dellums' court suit.

Social and economic justice are another important area of concern for Congressman Dellums. Since 1977, Congressman Dellums has regularly introduced his updated version of the National Health Service Act. During the past five years, he has advocated increased funding for research, treatment and counseling of AIDS victims and their families. As chair of the D.C. Committee, he has conducted hearings on the issue of homelessness and proposed emergency funding.

Born in Oakland, California on November 24, 1935, Congressman Dellums spent two years on active duty with the U.S. Marine Corps before earning a bachelor of arts degree at San Francisco State University and a master's degree in social work from the University of California, Berkeley. He is married to the former Leola (Roscoe) Higgs. They have three children—Brandy, Erik, and Piper.



Julian C. Dixon
*28th Congressional District
California*

Julian C. Dixon was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1978, and is now serving his seventh term. He represents California's 28th Congressional District.

Congressman Dixon serves on the House Appropriations Committee. He is chair of the Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, and is a member of the Subcommittee on Defense.

An advocate for arms control, Congressman Dixon has been a supporter of the ban on nuclear weapons testing, cutting funds for SDI, and ensuring greater accountability from firms building high-tech weapons systems.

He is a champion of the Civil Rights Act of 1991 and has been a co-sponsor of every major civil rights initiative in recent years.

Congressman Dixon supported activating the National Guard full time to assist local law enforcement officials in the war on drugs in California, and pushed for legislation to assist communities hard hit by defense cuts. He has been recognized for his leadership on issues related to low and moderate income housing, education, and health care for senior citizens.

He has been instrumental in securing federal funds for construction of the Los Angeles Metro Rail Project, and has helped win federal funds for noise abatement in Inglewood.

For ten years, Congressman Dixon was a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. He authored the first economic sanctions law against South Africa. In 1987, he authored an urgent appropriations bill to provide humanitarian aid to the southern African region, and in 1990, helped in obtaining more funds for Africa. He has also been instrumental in gaining disaster aid for Jamaica, and scholarships for disadvantaged South African students.

Congressman Dixon was a member of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct for nearly a decade. He chaired the Committee from 1985 to 1991.

Politics in America named him one of the twelve "Unsung Heroes in Congress." He has earned honors and awards from numerous civic groups.

From 1986 to 1990, Congressman Dixon served as president of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. During the 98th Congress, he was chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, and in 1984, he was chair of the Standing Committee on Rules for the Democratic National Convention.

Prior to entering Congress, he served six years in the California State Assembly, and chaired the Assembly Democratic Caucus. Born in Washington, D.C., Congressman Dixon is married to the former Betty Lee of Los Angeles, and has one son, Cary Gordon Dixon.



Mervyn M. Dymally
*31st Congressional District
California*

Mervyn M. Dymally was elected to the House of Representatives in 1980. He serves the 31st Congressional District of California.

After a six year career as a teacher of exceptional children, Congressman Dymally began his political career in 1962. He served for four years as a California assemblyman, and was elected to the California Senate in 1966, where he served for eight years. During that time, he chaired the Senate Democratic Caucus, and several committees, including Social Welfare, Military and Veterans Affairs, Elections and Reapportionment, and the Subcommittee on Medical Education and Health Needs. He also headed the Select Committee on Children and Youth, the Joint Committee on Legal Equality for Women, and the Joint Committee for revision of the Election Code. While in the State Senate, Congressman Dymally consistently won top ratings as a legislator from consumer, environmental, labor, women's and

civil rights groups, and was the organizer of an institute to train young minorities in government and politics.

Elected Lieutenant Governor of California in 1975, he served until 1979, and headed such commissions as the California Commission for Economic Development and the Commission of the Californias. He served on the Board of Regents of the University of California and the Board of Trustees of the California State University System. He organized the Council on Intergroup Relations, the California Advisory Commission on Youth, and the Commission on Food and Nutrition.

Congressman Dymally presently serves on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, where he is chair of the Subcommittee on Africa, the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and the Committee on the District of Columbia, where he also chairs the Subcommittee on Judiciary and Education. In addition, he serves as chair of the Congressional Caucus for Science and Technology; the Advisory Board of the Institute for Science, Space, and Technology; and the Congressional Black Caucus Foreign Affairs Braintrust.

Originally from Trinidad, West Indies, Congressman Dymally holds a bachelor of arts degree in education from California State University, Los Angeles, a master of arts degree in government from California State University, Sacramento; and a doctorate in human behavior from United States International University, San Diego. He is a member of the Phi Kappa Phi national scholastic honor society. The father of two children, Mark and Lynn, he is married to the former Alice Gueno of New Orleans, a teacher by profession.



Mike Espy
2nd Congressional District
Mississippi

Mike Espy, the first Black American elected Congressman from Mississippi since the Reconstruction, is developing a national reputation as a spokesman for rural America and as a bureaucracy-buster. A Yazoo City native, he was recognized in the August 2, 1989 edition of *U.S. News & World Report* as a Congressman who takes on constituents' cases and gets their problems solved. In *Esquire* magazine's Register of 1989, Congressman Espy was listed as one of the nation's 39 movers and shakers. *Esquire* noted, "He shepherd federal money into a district that's seen precious little."

Indicative of Congressman Espy's widespread appeal, he has significantly gained support since his initial election in 1986. In 1988, his Black American support remained solid at 95%, while at the same time, his white support jumped to 40% from 12.5% in 1986. He was re-elected with 66% of the vote, and a victory in each of the counties in

his district.

Congressman Espy represents Mississippi's 2nd Congressional District, which covers most of the western half of Mississippi, and is one of the nation's poorest districts. For this reason, his appointments to the House Budget Committee and the House Agriculture Committee have been extremely important. As a member of these committees, Congressman Espy has been able to protect such important programs for his district as the Women, Infants and Children Food Program, and various farm programs. He was a major player in the Rural Economic Development Act and the 1990 Farm Bill.

In January, 1988, Congressman Espy was named Democratic Whip-at-Large. In that same month, he was appointed chair of the Domestic Task Force on Hunger, a task force of the House Select Committee on Hunger on which he has served since 1987.

Congressman Espy was one of a few freshman Members of Congress to pass a major piece of legislation in the 100th Congress. That legislation was the Lower Mississippi River Valley Delta Development Act, which will be a blueprint for economic development in a seven state area. He also introduced and passed National Catfish Day, which gained worldwide attention in 1987. The direct and indirect employment from the catfish industry is estimated at 17,000 in the 2nd Congressional District.

A lawyer and businessman, Congressman Espy lives in Madison. Before he was elected to Congress, he was an assistant attorney general and an assistant secretary of state for Mississippi. He attended Howard University and the University of Santa Clara Law School. He was born on November 30, 1953, in Yazoo City.



Floyd H. Flake
6th Congressional District
New York

Floyd H. Flake was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1986, and represents New York's 6th Congressional District. This is the first political office he has held, and his election represented a well organized grass-roots effort. Since his election, Congressman Flake has led the fight against drugs in his community and has been a strong proponent of a national housing program and an improved educational system.

Congressman Flake serves on the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs; the Committee on Small Business; and the Select Committee on Hunger. As an advocate of decent, safe, and affordable housing, he introduced the Mickey Leland Peace Dividend Housing Act of 1990. Several proposals authored by Congressman Flake were included in the 1991 Housing Programs Reauthorizations Act.

A proponent of a stronger America and a consistent foreign policy, Congressman Flake has introduced H.R. 482, the Fair Treatment for Freedom National Bank Act; H.R. 1061, the Fair Employment Reinstatement Act; H.R. 1062, the Home Ownership Plan Encouragement Act; H.R. 1328, a bill to authorize supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1991 for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in Liberia, and H.R. 90, a resolution regarding the steps which the House of Representatives believes the U.S. must take to ensure that all Americans have decent and affordable housing. The bills which he has supported are consistent with his concern for the well-being of all mankind.

Before entering politics, Congressman Flake, in his role as pastor of Allen A.M.E. Church, was and continues to be an active and dynamic community leader in the district he now represents. Since his appointment as pastor in 1976, the church has grown from a congregation of 1,400 with an annual budget of \$250,000 to one of over 6,150 members, with a budget of \$2.7 million. This growth has been channeled into several major community revitalization projects, such as a 300 unit senior citizen complex, a Christian school and multi-purpose center, and a multi-service center, which provides health care, head start education, and numerous other services. He has also recently completed 61 affordable homes for local residents and has established a home care agency to assist the elderly and infirm.

Born in Los Angeles on January 30, 1945, Congressman Flake attended Houston public schools and did his undergraduate work at Wilberforce University. He went on to graduate studies at Payne Theological Seminary, with additional graduate studies in business administration at Northeastern University. He is currently enrolled in the Doctor of Ministry Program at United Theological Seminary in Dayton, Ohio.

He is married to the former M. Elaine McCollins of Memphis, Tennessee. They are the parents of two daughters—Aliya and Nailah, and two sons—Rasheed and Hasan.



Harold E. Ford
9th Congressional District
Tennessee

Harold Eugene Ford has represented Tennessee's 9th Congressional District since 1974 and is currently serving his ninth term in the House of Representatives. He is the first and only African-American ever elected to Congress from Tennessee.

Congressman Ford serves as a ranking member of the powerful and prestigious House Ways and Means Committee. Since 1981, he has chaired the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources. This subcommittee has jurisdiction over approximately \$40 billion in programs, including Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Title XX and Supplemental Security Income under the Social Security Act, Child Welfare and Foster Care, Low Income Energy Assistance, and Unemployment Compensation Insurance. He is the youngest Member of Congress ever to be elected chair of a Ways and Means subcommittee. Congressman Ford also serves as a ranking

member of the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Oversight and the House Select Committee on Aging. In 1987, he was appointed to the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee.

Because of his leadership in crafting a comprehensive welfare reform bill in the 100th Congress, Congressman Ford was named Child Advocate of the Year for 1987 by the Child Welfare League of America.

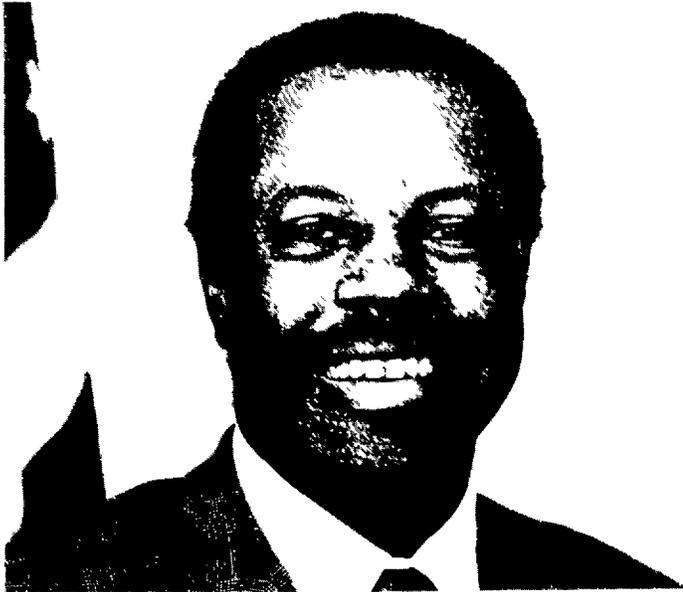
Along with his committee responsibilities, he is a member of the Congressional Arts Caucus and the Democratic Study Group.

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

Congressman Ford is active in social and community activities in Memphis and throughout the country. He is a member of the National Advisory Council of St. Jude Children's Research Hospital and of the Metropolitan Memphis YMCA board. He is also affiliated with Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.

He is a recipient of a bachelor of science degree in business administration from Tennessee State University, an associate of arts degree in mortuary science from John Gupton College, and a master's degree in business administration from Howard University.

Congressman Ford is married to the former Dorothy Bowles of Memphis. They are the proud parents of three sons- Harold Jr., Newton Jake, and Sir Isaac. He and his family are members of Mt. Moriah East Baptist Church in Memphis.



Gary A. Franks
5th Congressional District
Connecticut

Gary A. Franks was elected to the House of Representatives to represent Connecticut's 5th Congressional District in 1990. He has been appointed to the Committee on Armed Services, which has oversight and policy making responsibilities for the military forces. He also serves on the Committee on Small Business

Congressman Franks' top priority has been to emphasize constituent services for his district. He has and will continue to return to the district when the House is not in session to meet with residents regarding their problems and concerns.

He has supported President Bush in his handling of the Persian Gulf crisis. Congressman Franks believes that a strong military is essential to deterring aggression against freedom-loving people and countries throughout the world

On domestic issues, Congressman Franks is a proponent of holding the line on taxes and of providing programs which invigorate the economy and thereby strengthen the family unit. He also believes that people, young and old, should be given more choices of how to conduct and better their lives in the areas of housing, education, and economic advancement. Drugs and violence are a persistent problem, which must be dealt with aggressively. Congressman Franks supports a three part approach to battling them - increased deterrence, education, and rehabilitation. He also supports cutting regulatory barriers, eliminating waste in government spending, and giving the President the ability to veto individual spending items on a line-by-line basis. These issues reinforce his commitment to ensuring that the families of the 5th district can have the best opportunities available to them in all aspects of their lives

Congressman Franks, the son of a factory worker and a hospital dietician, is a life-long Waterbury resident. Despite his family's modest means, his three sisters have earned doctorate degrees. One of his brothers is a Colonel in the Army Reserve. The other is a school teacher in Ansonia

Prior to his election to the House of Representatives, Congressman Franks was a successful real estate entrepreneur. Before that, he was a labor and industrial relations specialist with three Fortune 500 companies.

Congressman Franks is married to the former Donna Williams of New York City. He has a step-daughter, Azia, and he and his wife are the parents of a four month old daughter, Jessica Lynn.



Charles A. Hayes
1st Congressional District
Illinois

Charles A. Hayes, currently serving his fifth full term in the House of Representatives, was elected in 1983 to fill the seat left vacant by the late Harold Washington. Congressman Hayes represents Illinois' 1st Congressional District.

Prior to his election to Congress, he served as vice president and director of Region Twelve of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union. Congressman Hayes is the first trade unionist holding a leadership position to be elected to Congress. As a labor leader, he was consistently in the forefront of the successful fight for women and Blacks in labor, for their representation at all levels of union leadership, and for better benefits for all workers. In Congress, he continues to support the struggles of the working class.

To address the disturbingly high incidence of school dropouts, Congressman Hayes introduced the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act of 1987. Signed into law as part of P.L. 100-297, this initiative now provides over \$23 million in funding nationally to enable 89 school districts to run dropout demonstration projects to encourage children to stay in school or to re-enter school. Congressman Hayes also introduced legislation which would establish the historic Lovejoy Building in Washington, D.C. as a Black Higher Education Center

Congressman Hayes also authored the Quality of Life Action Act. When enacted, this measure will affirm that every U.S. citizen is entitled to a good job at decent wages or an income adequate to ensure a decent standard of living. Previously, he has introduced legislation such as the Economic Bill of Rights, the Community Ratepayer Protection Act, and resolutions to establish Soweto Remembrance Day and South African Freedom Week.

Currently, he serves on the Committee on Education and Labor and the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and is chair of the Subcommittee on Postal Personnel and Modernization.

Congressman Hayes was born in Cairo, Illinois. He has two daughters, Barbara and Charlene, four grandchildren, and one great-grandchild.



William J. Jefferson
2nd Congressional District
Louisiana

 William J. Jefferson was elected to the House of Representatives from Louisiana's 2nd District. Congressman Jefferson serves on the Education and Labor Committee, where he is a member of the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education; the Subcommittee on Post-Secondary Education; and the Subcommittee on Select Education. He is also a member of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Under that committee, he serves on the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment and on the Subcommittee on Merchant Marine.

Born on March 4, 1947 in Lake Providence, Congressman Jefferson is a lifelong resident of Louisiana. He received bachelor of arts degrees with highest honors in political science and english in 1969, and earned his juris doctor from Harvard University School of Law in 1972.

Upon graduation from law school, Congressman Jefferson served as law clerk to the Honorable Alvin B. Rubin of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, and later as legislative assistant to U.S. Senator J. Bennett Johnston. He also served as a captain in the U.S. Army's Judge Advocate General Corps.

In 1977, Congressman Jefferson returned to New Orleans to enter private practice as the founding partner of the law firm of Jefferson, Bryan and Gray. He received the A. P. Tureaud Community Legal Services Award, and is rated "a. v." by Martindale-Hubbel, the highest rating accorded lawyers.

In 1987, he was elected to his third term in the Louisiana State Senate. He has served on the State Senate's State Bond Commission, the Senate Finance Committee, and held the chair of the Senate and Governmental Affairs Committee. Congressman Jefferson's most significant pieces of legislation were bills to create enterprise zones, consensus revenue forecasting, program budgeting, and program evaluation. While in the State Senate, Congressman Jefferson handled much of the City of New Orleans' legislative packages, as well as legislation for the Orleans Parish School Board and the Regional Transit Authority. He has directed the apportionment of millions of dollars in support for the city and its agencies.

Congressman Jefferson has twice been voted "Legislator of the Year" by the prestigious Alliance for Good Government. He has served on the board of directors of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans, as a cooperating attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, and as trustee of the Greater St. Stephen Baptist Church. He is a member of the Louisiana and the District of Columbia Bar Associations.

Congressman Jefferson and his wife, Andrea, who is vice chancellor of Southern University at New Orleans, are the parents of five children, four of whom attend New Orleans public schools. The fifth is now a sophomore at Harvard University.



John Lewis
5th Congressional District
Georgia

John Lewis has been described as “one of the most courageous persons the Civil Rights Movement has ever produced.” He has dedicated his life to protecting human rights, securing personal dignity, and building what he calls “The Beloved Community.”

Elected to Congress in 1986, Congressman Lewis represents Georgia’s 5th Congressional District. He was re-elected in 1990 by an overwhelming majority.

For more than three decades, Congressman Lewis has been in the vanguard of progressive social movements and human rights struggles. From 1963 to 1966, he chaired the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and joined other students to organize sit-in demonstrations at segregated lunch counters. In 1961, he risked his life with other Freedom Riders to challenge segregation at interstate bus terminals. He came to be recognized as one of the “Big Six”

leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. Congressman Lewis helped plan and served as a keynote speaker in the 1963 “March on Washington.” In 1964, he led the march across the Edmund Pettus bridge in Selma, Alabama on “Bloody Sunday.” Despite physical attacks and 40 arrests, he remained a devoted advocate of nonviolence.

Congressman Lewis went on to become director of the Voter Education Project, and his efforts helped to add nearly 4 million minority voters to the rolls. Under President Jimmy Carter, he directed more than 250,000 volunteers for the federal volunteer agency, ACTION. Following that, he became Community Affairs director of the National Consumer Co-op Bank in Atlanta. In 1981, he was elected to the Atlanta City Council, where he was an advocate of ethics and neighborhood preservation.

Congressman Lewis is a member of the Public Works and Transportation Committee, the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and the Select Committee on Aging. He also serves as a Chief Deputy Majority Whip and sits on the influential Steering and Policy Committee. He is a member of the Congressional Coalition of Soviet Jewry and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

The *National Journal* named Congressman Lewis as one of eleven “rising stars in Congress” stating that “Few House Members . . . have had such momentous experiences before coming to Washington that other Members of Congress want to hear about them. John R. Lewis . . . has that cachet and he has made it a plus in his House service. In so doing, he has also begun to show the reasons for his earlier success.”

Congressman Lewis is married to Lillian Lewis, chair of the CBC Spouses. Mrs. Lewis lives in Atlanta where she is director of External Affairs, Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at Clark Atlanta University. The Lewises have one son, John-Miles Lewis.



Kweisi Mfume
*7th Congressional District
Maryland*

Kweisi Mfume (Kwah-EE-see Oom-FOO-may) is a member of the 102nd Congress, representing Maryland's 7th Congressional District. He brings to the House of Representatives the same wisdom, integrity, and concern for his constituency that he possessed during his eight year tenure as a member of the Baltimore City Council.

A third term Member of Congress, Congressman Mfume serves on the Banking Finance and Urban Affairs Committee, the Small Business Committee, the Select Committee on Narcotics, and the Joint Economic Committee. His subcommittee assignments include Housing and Community Development, Financial Institutions Supervision, and the General Economy and Minority Enterprise Development. He also is chairman of the House Task Force on Homelessness.

Congressman Mfume's accomplishments during his service in Congress include authorship of the Minority Contracting and Employment Amendments to the Savings and Loan Bailout Bill, the Minority Business Development Act, and the Beeper Abuse Prevention Act. He was instrumental in the successful codification of the Minority Bank Deposit Program, and has consistently supported landmark legislation, including the Civil Rights Act of 1990 and 1991- amending the 1991 act to cover U.S. workers working abroad. He has also strengthened the Equal Credit Opportunity Act and amended the Community Reinvestment Act in the interest of minority financial institutions.

Congressman Mfume currently serves as first vice chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, and has served as treasurer in the past. He is also a member of the Caucus for Women's Issues, the Congressional Arts Caucus, and the Federal Government Service Task Force. He serves on the advisory board of the Schomburg Commission for the Preservation of Black Culture, and is currently a member of the Baltimore Museum of Art Board of Trustees and the Morgan State University Board of Regents.

Congressman Mfume graduated *magna cum laude* from Morgan State University in 1976, where he later joined the faculty as assistant professor of political science and communications. He went on to earn his master's degree from John Hopkins University in 1984. As a young man, Congressman Mfume adopted his African name which translates to "conquering son of kings."



Eleanor Holmes Norton
Delegate
District of Columbia

Eleanor Holmes Norton, a fourth generation Washingtonian, became the second person and the first woman ever to represent the District of Columbia in the House of Representatives when she was elected in 1990. She has been chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under President Carter, and was the only woman to hold that position. She has also served as chair of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, and before her election, was a tenured professor of law at Georgetown University. Congresswoman Norton has received over 50 honorary degrees, and has been named one of the most important women in America by the *Ladies Home Journal* and one of the most powerful women in Washington by the *Washingtonian* magazine.

Among the accomplishments of Congresswoman Norton's first term are her roles in the Dellums-Bliley-Norton Federal Payment Formula Bill, the Civil Rights Act of 1991, a \$100 million dollar supplemental appropriation, and an additional \$100 million dollar increase in the federal payment to the District. She serves on the Public Works and Transportation Committee, and is vice chair of its Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds. In addition, she serves on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and the District of Columbia Committee. She has also been elected to the Executive Committee of the Democratic Study Group.

In addition to her committee assignments, Congresswoman Norton is deeply involved in a variety of issues affecting the District of Columbia and the nation. She is a charter member of the Urban Caucus, and is a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues, the Congressional Arts Caucus, the Energy and Environment Study Conference, and the Federal Government Service Task Force. She is also on the Steering Committee of the Congressional Tourism Caucus.

After receiving her bachelor of arts degree from Antioch College, Congresswoman Norton simultaneously earned a master's degree in American studies from Yale Graduate School and a law degree from Yale Law School. In 1980, Yale Law School awarded her the Yale Citation of Merit as the Outstanding Alumnus of the Law School, and in 1989, Yale Graduate School awarded her the Wilbur Cross Medal as an Outstanding Alumnus of the Graduate School. She has served on the boards of three Fortune 500 companies, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Community Foundation of Greater Washington, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, and the National Women's Political Caucus Advisory Board. She has also served on the board of governors of the D.C. Bar Association and as a trustee of many professional, civic, and civil rights organizations.



Major Owens
*12th Congressional District
New York*

As a senior member of the House Education and Labor Committee and chair of its Subcommittee on Select Education, Major Owens has been a driving force for the successful passage of legislation on special education, the landmark Americans with Disabilities Act, and television decoding for people who are hearing impaired. A graduate of Morehouse College and Atlanta University, he has pushed for increased federal funds for historically Black colleges and universities.

In his own 12th Congressional District of Central Brooklyn, New York, Congressman Owens has been dubbed the "Education Congressman" as a result of his concern for the quality of education in the schools. This year, in his capacity as the chair of the Congressional Black Caucus Education Braintrust, he devoted his entire CBC weekend workshops to organizing a National Citizens Commission on Black Education. The Commission is designed to make policy recommendations and influence legislation to drastically reform the education of Black Americans.

Through his Subcommittee on Select Education, Congressman Owens has introduced legislation creating a National Institute for the Education of At-Risk Students.

Congressman Owens' tireless advocacy for a better educated American public is manifested in his education activities for the children of his district. For six years, his Central Brooklyn Martin Luther King Holiday Commission has sponsored annual poetry, essay, and art competitions to encourage artistic and intellectual excellence among young people. For three years in a row, teams of high school students he has sponsored have won the New York City and regional championships of the National Bicentennial Competition on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Throughout his years in Congress, Congressman Owens has battled the Reagan and Bush Administrations over cuts in the federal budget for education. Recently, he challenged the *America 2000* education initiative proposed by President Bush and the nation's governors, asserting that it falls far short of providing what is needed to transform education in America. Among other things, he says, the initiative does not discuss the financial aid that school districts must obtain in order to make the reforms work, and it ignores the education crises facing the Black American community.

Long concerned with the rights of working people, Congressman Owens fought for the passage of legislation on plant closing notification, pension reform, child care expansion, and the very important increase in the minimum wage. He led the crusade for passage of H.R. 5, the "right to strike" legislation which passed the House in July by a vote of 247 to 182.

Congressman Owens is married to Maria A. Owens of New York City. The children of their blended family are Christopher, Geoffrey, Millard, Carlos, and Cecilia.



Donald M. Payne
*10th Congressional District
New Jersey*

Donald M. Payne was elected to serve as the Representative of the 10th Congressional District of New Jersey in 1988 by an overwhelming majority. He was re-elected in 1990 with more than 80% of the vote. Congressman Payne is a member of the Education and Labor Committee, the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Government Operations Committee, and the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control.

Congressman Payne has played an active role in both domestic and foreign policy matters. During his first session in Congress, his first legislative resolution to promote literacy was unanimously approved by his colleagues and was signed into law by the President in 1989 and again in 1990 and 1991.

In response to an alarming increase in AIDS cases, Congressman Payne convened congressional hearings in New Jersey on AIDS prevention, education, and treatment. He was instrumental in securing additional funds in the federal budget

to address the AIDS crisis. This year, he introduced legislation to improve the Abandoned Infants Assistance Act, which addresses the needs of "boarder babies."

Congressman Payne was a member of the U.S. Presidential Observer Delegation to monitor the first free elections in Namibia, a territory at that time seeking independence from the government of South Africa.

Before being elected to serve as New Jersey's first African American Congressman, he served as a member of the Newark Municipal Council from 1982 to 1989. In 1972, Congressman Payne was elected to the Board of Chosen Freeholders, and served until 1978. In 1977, he served as the Board's director. A true community leader, he has worked with young people as a teacher from 1957 to 1964, and with various youth-oriented activities throughout his adult life. In 1970, he was elected president of the YMCAs of the USA, serving as its first African American president.

Congressman Payne's work with the YMCA has afforded him the opportunity to help people worldwide. He had visited 75 countries by 1980. During many of these visits, he assisted in the development of education, housing, and local government systems in numerous Third World nations. He became a member of the World YMCA Refugee and Rehabilitation Committee in 1970, and served as chair from 1973 to 1981.

Congressman Payne currently serves on the board of directors of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF. He has served on the Substantive Issues Committee of the United Nations Association of the USA and the Small Business Advisory Council. He is the past chair of the New Jersey Hospital Rate Setting Commission.

After receiving a bachelor of arts degree from Seton Hall University in New Jersey, Congressman Payne pursued graduate studies at Springfield College in Massachusetts.



Charles B. Rangel
*16th Congressional District
New York*

Charles B. Rangel is chair of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, third ranking member of the Committee on Ways and Means, and chair of its Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures. Congressman Rangel is Deputy Majority Whip of the House of Representatives.

As chair of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, Congressman Rangel is the chief congressional architect of the war on drugs, helping define the issue as a national priority. He has pressured the Bush Administration to institute tougher international narcotics control policies. At home, he has promoted greater emphasis on addiction treatment services and alternative penalties for narcotics offenders.

On the Committee on Ways and Means, Congressman Rangel is the principal author of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, which is responsible for most of the affordable housing built in this country in recent years. The Targeted Jobs Tax Credit, which he championed, has provided thousands of jobs for underprivileged young people. He is also a leading advocate of the Enterprise Zones programs for revitalizing urban neighborhoods.

As chair of the Congressional Black Caucus Veterans Task Force, Congressman Rangel has authored several pieces of pending legislation to benefit minority and women veterans, including programs for training in the medical professions and a proposal to create an Office of Minority Affairs within the Department of Veterans' Affairs. An outspoken opponent of the Persian Gulf War, his advocacy of the Persian Gulf G.I. Bill of Rights led to enactment of important improvements in veterans' education and health benefits.



Gus Savage
*2nd Congressional District
Illinois*

Gus Savage represents Illinois' 2nd Congressional District. He chairs the House Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds as well as the Minority Business Braintrust of the Congressional Black Caucus. He is also the senior Black American member of the House Committees on Small Business and on Public Works and Transportation

Reared poor in Chicago's tough ghettos, Congressman Savage once lived in low income public housing. He earned a bachelor of arts degree in philosophy at Roosevelt University, where he also studied foreign relations as a graduate student. He also attended Chicago-Kent College of Law

Congressman Savage is the first award-winning Black American journalist elected to Congress. From 1965 until his election in 1980, he owned and edited Citizen news-

papers, a chain of community weeklies in the Chicago area. A long-time strategist of Black American political independence, economic empowerment, cultural identity, and Third-World development, he has written three pamphlets and several magazine articles on these subjects. He favors national reparations and self-determination for Black Americans and doubts that racial equality can be attained through integration or legislation.

Congressman Savage has sponsored the largest ever government procurement goal for minority-owned businesses. It is known as section 1207 of the 1986 Defense Authorization Act. He has also twice successfully sponsored reauthorization of the Economic Development Act, and has refined its focus to deal specifically with the special plight of Black Americans.

In his last campaign, Congressman Savage was targeted for defeat by the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee because of his support for Palestinian national sovereignty and his criticism of U.S. foreign policy, particularly the \$3 billion of annual aid to Israel, which includes more than \$1.5 billion in military aid.

Congressman Savage was one of three House Members who voted against the impeachment of Judge Alcee Hastings and one of only a few who spoke against the U.S. invasions of Grenada and Panama. He has publicly defended Minister Louis Farrakhan and recently, Reverend Al Sharpton and Mayor Marion Barry, as "victims of the Reagan-Bush egregious attacks on Black leadership."



Louis Stokes
21st Congressional District
Ohio

Louis Stokes, the first Black American Member of Congress from Ohio, was elected in 1968. He is currently serving his twelfth term representing Ohio's 21st Congressional District. In 1981, he became the senior democratic representative from Ohio.

During his tenure, Congressman Stokes has chaired the Select Committee on Assassinations in 1977, the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct in 1981, and the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence in 1987. In addition, Congressman Stokes is a former member of the House Internal Security Committee, the Committee on Education and Labor, and the Budget Committee. He served as a member of the Iran-Contra Panel, the Ethics Task Force, and the Pepper Commission on Comprehensive Health Care.

Currently, Congressman Stokes serves as chair of the House Ethics Committee. He is also a member of the House

Appropriations Committee, and is a member of its subcommittees on Labor-Health and Human Services-Education, the District of Columbia, and VA/HUD-Independent Agencies.

In 1972, Congressman Stokes was elected chair of the Congressional Black Caucus. He served two consecutive terms, and currently chairs the Congressional Black Caucus Health Braintrust.

Congressman Stokes has been named one of the 100 Most Influential Black Americans by *Ebony Magazine* each year since 1971. In 1979, he was nominated in three categories by *Ebony Magazine* for the Second Annual Black Achievement Awards. His nomination was based on the fact that he was the first Black American to head a major congressional investigation, in his role as chair of the House Assassination Committee. He received the Martin Luther King, Jr. Award from *Ebony Magazine* and the William L. Dawson Award from the Congressional Black Caucus. Congressman Stokes has also received 19 honorary doctorate degrees.

Prior to his election, Congressman Stokes was chief trial counsel for the law firm of Stokes, Character, Terry, Perry, Whitehead, Young and Davidson. He personally argued the landmark "stop and frisk" case of *Terry v. Ohio* in the Supreme Court. Congressman Stokes attended Case Western Reserve University and received his juris doctor degree from Cleveland Marshall Law School.

Born on February 23, 1965, Congressman Stokes is the son of the late Charles and Louise Stokes. Prior to her death, Mrs. Stokes was the recipient of Cleveland's "Woman of the Year Award" and Ohio's "Mother of the Year Award." Congressman Stokes' brother, Municipal Court Judge Carl B. Stokes, made history in Cleveland as the first Black American mayor of a major American city. Married to Jeanette (Jay) Stokes, Congressman Stokes is the father of Shelley, Angela, Louis C., and Lorene. He is the grandfather of Brett S. Hammond, Eric S. Hammond, and Kelley C. Stokes.



Edolphus Towns
*11th Congressional District
New York*

Edolphus "Ed" Towns was elected to serve as representative of the 11th Congressional District of New York in 1982. Congressman Towns is a member of the Energy and Commerce Committee, the Government Operations Committee, and the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. He serves as chair of the Congressional Black Caucus for the 102nd Congress.

Prior to being elected to the House of Representatives, Congressman Towns was the first Black American deputy borough president in the history of Brooklyn, New York. He served in that capacity for six years.

Congressman Towns is a graduate of North Carolina A & T University, and has a master's degree in social work from Adelphi University. He holds honorary doctorates from a number of colleges and universities, including Shaw University, Virginia Seminary, North Carolina A & T University, and Adelphi University. He was also elected to the Academy of Distinction at Adelphi University and received an outstanding alumni award from North Carolina A & T University.

After serving in the U. S. Army, Congressman Towns had a varied career, which included work in the fields of health care, youth programs, education, and programs for the elderly. He taught in the New York City Public School system, and was an administrator at Beth Israel Medical Center. He has been a professor at Medgar Evers College and at Fordham University, both in New York City.

Congressman Towns serves on the board of trustees of Shaw University, the board of directors of the Black Tennis Foundation, the board of trustees of Share Our Strength, the board of directors of the American Red Cross, the board of directors of Kings County Boy Scouts, the advisory board of Medgar Evers College, and is a member and supporter of the United Negro College Fund, the National Association of Social Workers, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc., Brooklyn Guardsmen, and many other professional and civic organizations.

Born in Chadbourn, North Carolina, Congressman Towns is married to the former Gwendolyn Forbes. The couple has two children, Darryl and Deidra. He also serves as a surrogate father to his nephews, Jason and Jereme Towns.



Craig Anthony Washington
18th Congressional District
Texas

Craig Anthony Washington was elected to the House of Representatives from the 18th Congressional District following the tragic death of his friend Congressman Mickey Leland. Congressman Washington was first sworn in on January 23, 1990. He was re-elected to a full term in November 1990.

Congressman Washington serves on three House committees, Judiciary, Education and Labor, and the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. He also serves on the Education and Labor Subcommittees on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education, Postsecondary Education; and Labor-Management Relations. He serves on the Judiciary Subcommittees on Civil and Constitutional Rights and Crime and Criminal Justice. Congressman Washington was also appointed as a Democratic Whip-at-Large and as a Regional Representative to the Democratic Study Group Executive Committee.

A native of Longview, Texas, Washington is a graduate of Prairie View A & M University and the Thurgood Marshall School of Law at Texas Southern University. A criminal defense lawyer, he is a former partner in the Houston law firm of Washington, Lampley, Evans & Braquet.

Congressman Washington served in the Texas House of Representatives from 1973 to 1982. In the course of his tenure, he served as chair of the Criminal Jurisprudence, Social Services, and Human Services Committees; chair of the Harris County Delegation and the Legislative Black Caucus; and, served as Speaker Pro Tempore.

From 1982 to 1990, Congressman Washington served in the Texas Senate. There he served on the Human Resources, Health and Human Services, Jurisprudence, Intergovernmental Relations, Criminal Justice, and Rules Committees. He was also a member of the subcommittees on Criminal Matters, Public Health, Health Services, Elections, and Urban Affairs. As Senate President Pro Tempore, he served as the state's "Governor for a Day" on January 20, 1990.

Congressman Washington is well known for his consistent support of civil rights and civil liberties and for his efforts to increase the participation of women and minorities in Texas state government. Highlights of his legislative career include passage of bills creating the Texas Department on Aging, increasing monthly payments to recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), limiting state investments in businesses involved with South Africa, addressing the needs of disabled people, and coordinating Texas' fight against AIDS.

Congressman Washington is the father of five children: Craig Anthony II, Chival Antoinette, Alexander Haller, Cydney Alexandra, and Christopher Alfred.



Maxine Waters
*29th Congressional District
California*

In November 1990, Maxine Waters was elected to represent California's 29th Congressional District with an overwhelming 80% of the vote. Congresswoman Waters serves on the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, and the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Congresswoman Waters served from 1976 to 1990 in the California State Assembly, where she became the first woman in the state's history to be elected to chair the Assembly Democratic Caucus.

While in the Assembly, Congresswoman Waters served as chair of the Joint Committee on Public Pension Fund Investments and as a member of the Joint Legislative Budget Committee, the Assembly Judiciary Committee, and the Elections, Reapportionment and Constitutional Amendments Committee. During her tenure, she created the first opportunity for minorities and women to manage the state's vast public

pension funds (some \$100 billion in assets). She also successfully steered into law a bill to prevent strip searches for nonviolent misdemeanors and also legislation to help prevent chemical catastrophes.

Congresswoman Waters has received honorary doctorates from Spelman College, North Carolina A & T State University, and Morgan State. She serves on the board of directors of *Essence* magazine, TransAfrica Foundation, the National Women's Political Caucus, the Center for National Policy, the Clara Elizabeth Jackson Carter Foundation (Spelman College), the National Minority AIDS Project, and Women for a Meaningful Summit. She is a member of the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament, lifetime member of National Council of Negro Women, Black Women's Agenda, and founder of Black Women's Forum.

As a first term member of the Banking Committee, Congresswoman Waters was a primary sponsor of a proposal to open up and reform the contracting process of the Resolution Trust Company to include more minorities and women. She successfully worked to include minority and women contracting provisions in the Committee's version of the Defense Production Act. More recently, she led the fight in committee to prohibit government-sponsored housing enterprises from doing business with financial institutions who discriminate.

As a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, she has sponsored and passed an amendment in committee to extend legal services to veterans who are denied re-employment upon their return from military service.

She is a member of the Democratic National Committee, and has been appointed by the Speaker to serve on the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

A native of St. Louis, Missouri, Congresswoman Waters earned a bachelor of arts degree from California State University. She is married to Sidney Williams and is the mother of two adult children, Karen and Edward.



Alan Wheat
5th Congressional District
Missouri

In 1987, the *Wall Street Journal* hailed Alan Wheat as a “political star for the year 2000.” With his insider’s knowledge of Capitol Hill and his skill at coalition building, Congressman Wheat is well on his way to confirming that prediction

Elected to the House of Representatives in 1982, representing Missouri’s 5th District, Congressman Wheat quickly established himself as a future leader by gaining a seat on the prestigious Rules Committee. Now serving his ninth year on the committee, he has used his position to get results for his district and to forge sound national policy. His assignment to the Rules Committee, which controls the flow of legislation and sets the terms of floor debate, guarantees that he has a role to play in nearly every major bill that comes before the House. According to the *Congressional Quarterly*, Congressman Wheat has shown how his position on that committee “can be used to avoid the legislative hurdles that often frustrate other members” of the House.

Congressman Wheat is the president of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. He also serves as a commissioner of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday Commission.

The *Kansas City Star* says that “one of U.S. Rep. Alan Wheat’s very strong suits during his eight years in the House has been a genuine concern about people.” This concern has been reflected in his support for programs to improve the quality of life and expand opportunities for all Americans. As a member of the Select Committee on Hunger, Congressman Wheat is helping to heighten public awareness of the problems of malnutrition, infant mortality, and homelessness. On the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, he is working to make sure the federal government adequately identifies and addresses the changing needs of American families.

In 1976, in his first attempt at elective office, he won election to the Missouri General Assembly, where he was named “Best Freshman Legislator” by the *St. Louisian Magazine*. He was elected chair of the Missouri Legislative Black Caucus and was treasurer of the National Black Caucus of State Legislators. He also served as chair of the Urban Affairs Committee, and was selected as one of the “Ten Best Legislators in Missouri” by the *Jefferson City News Tribune*.

Born in San Antonio, Texas, on October 16, 1951, Congressman Wheat is the son of an Air Force officer. Educated in schools around the globe, from Wichita, Kansas to Seville, Spain, he received a bachelor of arts degree in economics from Grinnell College. He is married to Yolanda Townsend Wheat, and has a daughter, Alynda.

CBC ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Since 1988, the Congressional Black Caucus has invited a select group of Members of the House and Senate to serve as Associate Members of the CBC. These individuals are chosen because of their participation in the development of progressive legislative initiatives and their consistent advocacy on behalf of domestic and foreign policy issues of importance to African Americans and people of conscience throughout the world.



Cong Gary L. Ackerman
(D-N.Y.)



Cong Bill Alexander
(D-Ark.)



Cong Les Aspin
(D-Wis.)



Cong Howard L. Berman
(D-Calif.)



Sen Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
(D-Del.)



Cong Ben Blaz
(R-Guam)



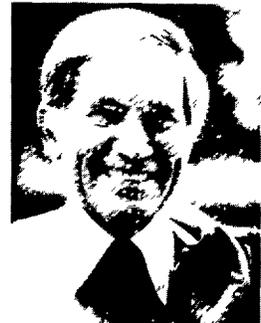
Cong George E. Brown, Jr.
(D-Calif.)



Cong Ron de Lugo
(D-Vt.)



Sen Christopher J. Dodd
(D-Conn.)



Cong Don Edwards
(D-Calif.)



Cong Eni F. H. Faleomavaega
(D-American Samoa)



Cong Thomas M. Foglietta
(D-Pa.)



Cong Barney Frank
(D-Mass.)



Cong Martin Frost
(D-Tex.)



Cong Richard A Gephardt
(D-Mo)



Cong Frank J Guarini
(D-N.J.)



Cong Steny H Hoyer
(D-Md)



Cong Marcy Kaptur
(D-Ohio)



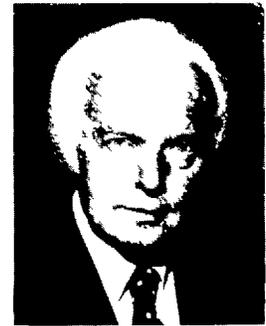
Sen Edward M Kennedy
(D-Mass)



Cong Joseph P Kennedy II
(D-Mass)



Cong Martin Lancaster
(D-N.C.)



Cong Tom Lantos
(D-Calif)



Cong Richard Lehman
(D-Calif)



Cong Sander M Levin
(D-Mich)



Cong Nita Lowey
(D-N.Y.)



Cong Matthew G Martinez
(D-Calif)



Cong Robert T Matsui
(D-Calif)



Cong Jim McDermott
(D-Wash)



Cong C Thomas McMillen
(D-Md)



Sen Barbara A Mikulski
(D-Md)



Cong Norman Y Mineta
(D-Calif)



Cong Constance A Morella
(D-Md)



Cong Stephen A Neal
(D-N C)



Cong Mary Rose Oakar
(D-Ohio)



Cong Nancy Pelosi
(D-Calif)



Cong Owen B Pickett
(D-Va)



Cong Nick J Rahall, II
(D-W Va)



Cong Robert A Roe
(D-N J)



Cong Charlie Rose
(D-N C)



Cong Patricia Schroeder
(D-Colo)



Cong Jose E Serrano
(D-N Y)



Sen Paul Simon
(D-Ill)



Cong Robin Tallon
(D-S C)



Cong Jolene Unsoeld
(D-Wash)



Cong Ron Wyden
(D-Ore)

CBC SPOUSES

In accordance with the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's mission of assisting the policy makers of today, while at the same time helping to prepare the leaders of tomorrow, the Congressional Black Caucus Spouses organization has concentrated its efforts in the field of education

Founded in 1976, the CBC Spouses organization was the impetus behind the establishment of the CBCF Congressional Fellows Program. For the last fifteen years, this program has provided graduate students and public policy professionals with the opportunity to obtain work experience on House and Senate committees and subcommittees

In 1988, the CBC Spouses established the CBC Spouses Scholarship Fund Program to provide tuition assistance to high school seniors and undergraduate students seeking a degree at an accredited college or university. To date, some 300 students have benefitted from the organization's efforts

In recent years, the members of the CBC Spouses have collectively and individually taken on the challenge of educating African-Americans about public policy issues of critical importance to their community. Whether hosting their annual fund-raisers to support CBCF program activities, organizing symposiums on breast cancer detection and prevention, hosting seminars on the single African-American mother or working in their local communities, the spouses have been consistently committed to supporting programs and activities which reinforce the significance of education



Carol Clay



Monica Conyers



Leola (Roscoe) Higgs Dellums



Betty J. Dixon



Alice Gueno Dymally



Elaine Flake



Dorothy Bowles Ford



Donna Franks



Andrea Dash Gray



Andrea Jefferson



Lillian Lewis



Maria Owens



Alma Rangel



Jay Stokes



Gwen Towns



Yolanda Wheat



Sidney Williams

1991 EXHIBITORS

African Links & Inner City Ministry
Agency for Health Care Policy and Research
Alaska Oil and Gas Association
Alternative Videos/National Video Resources
American Association of Retired Persons
American Federation of Teachers
American Lung Association
American Postal Workers Union AFL-CIO
American Red Cross
Anheuser-Busch Inc
AT&T
Bahamas Ministry of Tourism
Bridges Book Center
Bureau of the Census
Century 21 Avanti Realtors
Chrysler Corporation
Coca-Cola USA
Continental Airlines
Coors
Dean Witter Reynolds
Digital Corporation
EES Gallery
Ford Motor Company
Frito-Lay
Gateway South Travel Agency
General Motors
Great Blacks In Wax
Grumman Corporation
Harvard University's John F. Kennedy
School of Government
Hyatt Hotels & Resorts
Industrial Bank of Washington
Kentucky Fried Chicken
Library of Congress/Human Resources
Maryland Department of Natural Resources
MetLife Insurance Company
Miller Brewery
Mutual of Omaha Companies
National Black Leadership Initiative on Cancer
National Cancer Institute
National Center for Health Statistics
National Education Association
National Library Service BPH
Nestle USA
New York City Housing Authority
Northrop Corporation
Office of Thrift Supervision
PEPCO
Pepsi-Cola
Philip Morris Companies
Regional Bell Companies
Revlon Professional Products
RJR Nabisco
Rockwell International
Roasters on the Hill
Smithsonian Institution
Soft Sheen
Superconducting Super Collider Laboratory
Technical Assistance Contractors, Inc
The Dial Corporation
The Gillette Company
The Wilderness Society
Toyota Motor Sales USA, Inc
United Black Fund, Inc
United States Postal Service
United States Secret Service
Upscale Magazine
USDA/Forest Service
U S Department of Education/
Office of Civil Rights
U S Department of Justice
U S Federal Deposit Insurance
Corporation/RTC
Visions in Black
Westin Hotel



Educational Programs

We would like to thank all our friends and sponsors for their continued support of the **Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's Educational Programs.**

To date, with your support the Foundation has had the privilege of providing –

More than three hundred undergraduate students with scholarships to accredited colleges or universities of their choice;

Two hundred forty-one students with summer internships in Congressional Offices on Capitol Hill; and

One hundred seventeen graduate students and professionals with fellowships on Congressional House and Senate Committees and Subcommittees.

With your continued patronage, the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation will carry on its mission of helping to prepare our leaders of tomorrow.

The Congressional
Black Caucus Foundation
announces that the

**22nd Annual
Legislative Weekend**

will be held

September 23-27, 1992

Washington, D.C.

CREDITS

SPECIAL THANKS

Executive Audio Visual Services, Inc
Mario Jean

Executive Security, Inc
Margo Evans-Briggs
Ron Curtis

Cheryl D Miller Design, Inc
Cheryl D Miller

Creative Writing
Wylene Branton Wood

RP Exhibit Services, Inc
Robert Price
Landis Hargrove
Rodney West

Photographer
Paul Greene

Entertainment Sound Production
Ed Casey

Design Arts Tech Company
Dale Davis

Baltimore Stage Lighting, Inc
Don Turner

CCAV
Rick Gambo

ALW Award
Ed Dwight

USAir
Shirley Henderson

United Airlines
Charles Jones

"Separate But Equal"
George Stevens

Computer Support
Advanced Strategies, Inc

Washington Hilton and Towers
Staff and Management

Johnnie's Florist, Inc

Mary Malapane
Accountant Consultant

The Honorable Mike Espy
Chair, 21st Annual Legislative Weekend

CBCF Staff

Rondalyn Kane	<i>Executive Director</i>
Cheryl L Jamison	<i>Director, Special Events</i>
Beverly Branton	<i>CBC Spouses Liaison</i>
Jane Bourgeois	<i>Director of Communications</i>
Marcia Mills	<i>Deputy Director, Special Events</i>
Cassandra Malone	<i>Assistant Director, Educational Programs</i>
Nancy Edmond	<i>Assistant Press Secretary</i>
Sandra Bell	<i>Assistant Manager, Special Events</i>
Kimberly Carr	<i>Staff Assistant</i>
Crystal Wilkerson	<i>Staff Assistant</i>
Joann Wright	<i>Coordinator, ALW Ambassadors</i>
Tommi Phillips	<i>Executive Assistant</i>
Wanda Lovelace	<i>Receptionist</i>
Kelvin Dickerson	<i>Intern</i>
Aaron Lancaster	<i>Intern</i>

CBC Staff

Amelia Parker	<i>Executive Director</i>
Kevin Parker	<i>Staff Assistant</i>
Comelia Stanford-Cooper	<i>Assistant of the Director</i>
Tracy Boylan	<i>Caseworker and Legislative Assistant</i>
Lynn Hampton	<i>Legislative Intern</i>

21st ALW Chairman's Liaison

Sharon Harris	<i>Executive Assistant</i>
---------------	----------------------------

The CBCF Dinner Planning Team

The ALW Ambassadors

The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation wishes to extend a special thanks to all of the ALW Ambassadors who so graciously volunteered their time and energy