

**And
the
strong
keep
a-comin'**

The Congressional Black Caucus 3rd National Banquet/September 29, 1973/ Washington Hilton Hotel Washington, D C

**"The Constitution Warrants it;
the Supreme Court Sanctions it;
Justice demands it"**

These eloquent words were spoken in defense of the Civil Rights Bill — not the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, but an earlier version, pending on the Congressional floor on wintry January 5, 1874. Black lawyer-linguist, Robert Brown Elliot was the speaker.

The Bill, the stillborn dream of recently departed liberal Charles Sumner, put an "end" to discrimination and segregation in public inns, schools, churches, public transportation, and cemeteries.

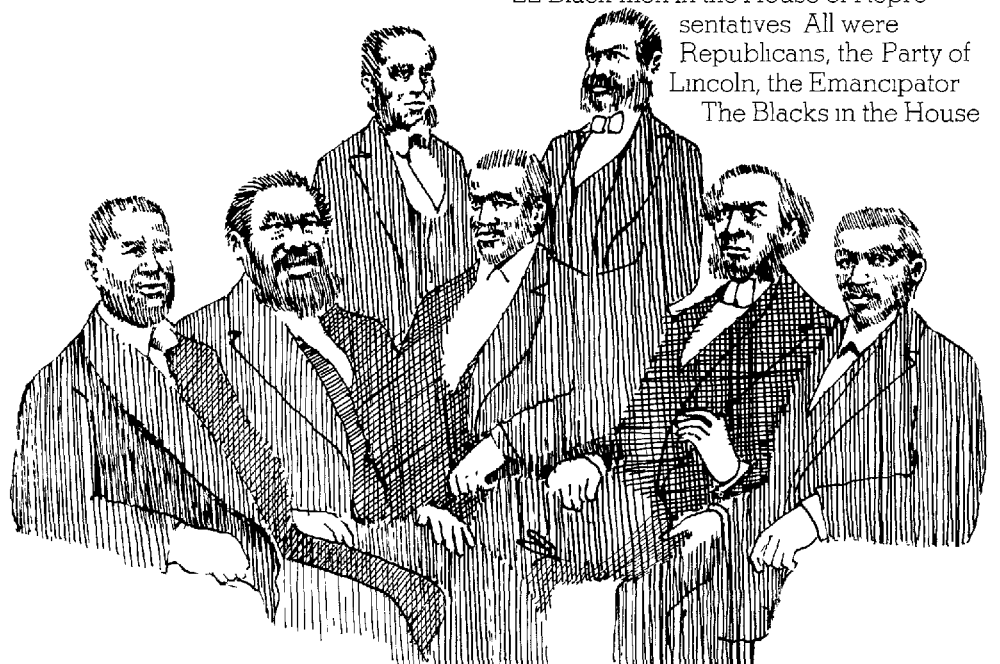
Elliot, sent to Congress by the State of South Carolina when he was 28, received one of the longest ovations in the history of Congress.

He was but one of 20 outstanding Black Congressmen serving during Reconstruction, the first Golden Era of Black Politics. There was John H. Menard from Louisiana, the first Black elected to the House. Menard never served because he was denied his seat.

There was shrewd P. B. S. Pinchback, a self-made man who holds the unprecedented distinctions of being Congressman-elect, Senator-elect (and holding more political offices than any Black man in history,) including the post of Governor of Louisiana.

John E. O'Hara, J. A. Hyman, H. P. Cheatham, and George H. White were the big four representing North Carolina. Alabama had three: B. S. Turner, J. T. Rapier, and J. Haralson. Georgia sent J. F. Long, and Virginia, where registered whites outnumbered Blacks, elected Congressman J. M. Langston.

Thus, during Reconstruction and a few short years thereafter, there were 22 Black men in the House of Representatives. All were Republicans, the Party of Lincoln, the Emancipator. The Blacks in the House.



of Representatives were part of a larger cadre serving in local, state, and national political offices. There were state legislators, heads of boards of education, Lieutenant Governors, Mayors, Councilmen, Aldermen, and Judges.

Even before the first elected Black official performed his first task, there were organized overt and underground campaigns to disenfranchise freed men.

Evidence proves that Black Congressmen and other elected officials were hardworking, with good voting records on important national issues, and for the most part, avoided graft and corruption. However, ambitious politicians exploiting the race conflict, issued warnings of "mongrelization." Critics spread rumors of corruption and ignorance, and respected writers and academicians supported them. Underground terrorism was widespread. When the Ku-Klux Klan organized in 1866, the terror campaign was accelerated through harassment, intimidation, and brutality.

At the same time, a battle waged at the source of political power: the ballot box. Polling places were stationed in the woods, in swamps or other inaccessible places. When Blacks learned the whereabouts of these voting sites and appeared, they were told that the polls were closed. Quenes or militancy begot threats that were often carried out.

The mission of these organized

campaigns, from the crudest to the most sophisticated, was to destroy the power bases of Black officials by physically or politically picking off local community leaders.

The movement to disenfranchise Blacks was further supported by underlying economic motives. In 1873 the nation felt the pangs of a dying war economy.

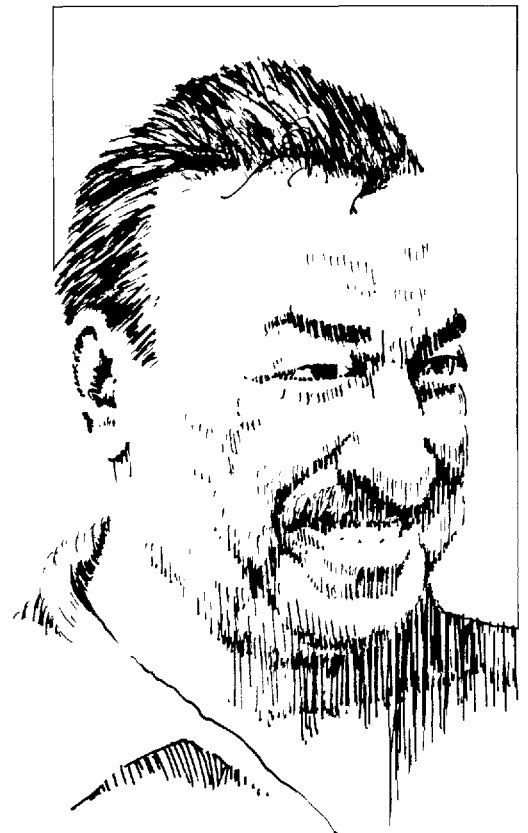
Blacks lost political allies because of the 1873 panic. Liberals, from the North and South, became so engrossed in their own economic survival that they abandoned the Black cause. Industrialists and capitalists looked to the South for new industrial resources to retrieve the war time economy boom level.

There were ports and harbors to be developed. There were railroads to be built. There was coal and iron ore to be mined. None of these lucrative projects could be initiated, however, in a climate of friction, fighting, and sometimes bloodshed.

The fighting came to an abrupt halt when the Black vs. White, Democrat vs. Republican war came to a showdown in the 1876 presidential contest between Republican Hayes

and Democrat Tilden. The resolution of the contest rested with questionable election results in Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina. To win the election, Hayes struck a bargain behind closed doors that created states rights. This agreement, subsequently reduced to writing, sounded the death knell for Black politics, marking the end of an era. More than forty years passed before another Black was elected to the House of Representatives. Not until 1928 under the Hoover administration was Oscar De Priest, a Chicagoan, elected to Congress.

When FDR's New Deal was embraced by Blacks and other Americans emerging from the Great Depression, the history of Black political party loyalty did an about face that has not since been reversed. Arthur C. Mitchell, another Chicagoan, became America's first Black Democratic Congressman. Mitchell served four New Deal terms, 1934-1942. Veteran-pro Bill Dawson, also from Chicago, came to Capitol Hill in 1938. He was followed by New York's legendary Adam Clayton Powell in 1944. Powell, who won the chairmanship of the powerful House Education and Labor Committee, was followed by Charles C. Diggs, Jr., of Detroit in 1952. Los Angeles' Augustus Hawkins came four years after Diggs. And the strong keep a-comin'.



Caucus Beginnings

In the twilight of their political years, Powell and Dawson formed the Democratic Select Committee, the forerunner of the Congressional Black Caucus. The Caucus achieved national prominence with the defeat of Supreme Court nominees Haynesworth and Carswell. When the new wave of Black newcomers arrived on Capitol Hill following the 1968 elections it was urged by William Clay and others that a formal vehicle be established through which the interest of Blacks, the poor and the disadvantaged could be articulated and acted upon.

In mid-1970 the Caucus was born. Its presence rushed a new life force into the American political system and signalled the coming of the Second Golden Era of Black Politics.

The Present Caucus

Despite the tendency on the part of media and the general public to use "the Black community" as a blanket term covering Black Americans everywhere, Black America is not a monolith. Our communities are vastly different in size, type, needs, interests and aspirations. Accordingly, the people elected to represent our communities mirror these similarities and differences. They come with a wide range of philosophies and styles. They come, too, reflecting a wide range of human characteristics, some are idealistic, others pragmatic, some are impulsive, others calculating, some are planners, others doers. However, whatever differences there may be between members of the Congressional Black Caucus, they have each committed themselves to pooling their talents and resources to build a lasting legislative machine that works for the benefit of Blacks and all disadvantaged persons.

During the past two years Caucus members publicly aired the bread-and-butter issues faced daily by Black Americans: education, housing, military justice, health, drug addiction, and employment. Now that the Caucus' focus is clear, it can approach these issues with a balanced sense of proportion from both national and local perspectives. Its next move is to channel its energies into creating constructive alternatives through legislative action.

Caucus Members

Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, California
Attractive, intelligent Yvonne Braithwaite Burke labored in California's State Legislature for six years prior to coming to the Hill, as the first Black Congresswoman from California. Ms. Burke, a practicing attorney for ten years, served as Deputy Corporation Commissioner, and as an attorney for the McCane Commission which investigated the Watts Riots. Representing California's 37th C.D. in Los Angeles, she sits on the Public Works Committee and the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee during the 93rd Congress.

Shirley Chisholm, New York
When outspoken Shirley Chisholm, representative for New York City's 12th Congressional District, was elected, she became the first Black Congresswoman. In 1972 Ms. Chisholm again made political history by becoming the first woman and the first Black to seek the presidential nomination on a major party ticket. Ms. Chisholm played the lead role in the passage of the Minimum Wage Bill in the House. She sits on the House Education and Labor Committee.

William L. Clay, Missouri
Bill Clay, who represents St. Louis' 1st C.D. brought to the Caucus twenty years of political expertise. During this time he was deeply involved in legislation that yielded increased employment opportunities for Blacks, most significant of which was his

sponsorship of the Fair Employment Bill. Clay is the treasurer of the CBC, and has worked tirelessly to establish and maintain its organizational stability. He sits on the House Education and Labor Committee and the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Cardiss Collins, Illinois
Cardiss Collins, was actively involved in her Congressman husband's career. She won a seat in the House of Representatives in a special election to fill the Illinois 7th district vacancy caused by her husband's untimely death. Prior to her election, Mrs. Collins was a committeewoman in Chicago's 24th Ward Regular Democratic Organization. The newest member of the CBC, Mrs. Collins is on the House Committee on Government Operations, the Subcommittee on Legal and Monetary Affairs, and the Subcommittee on Government Activities.

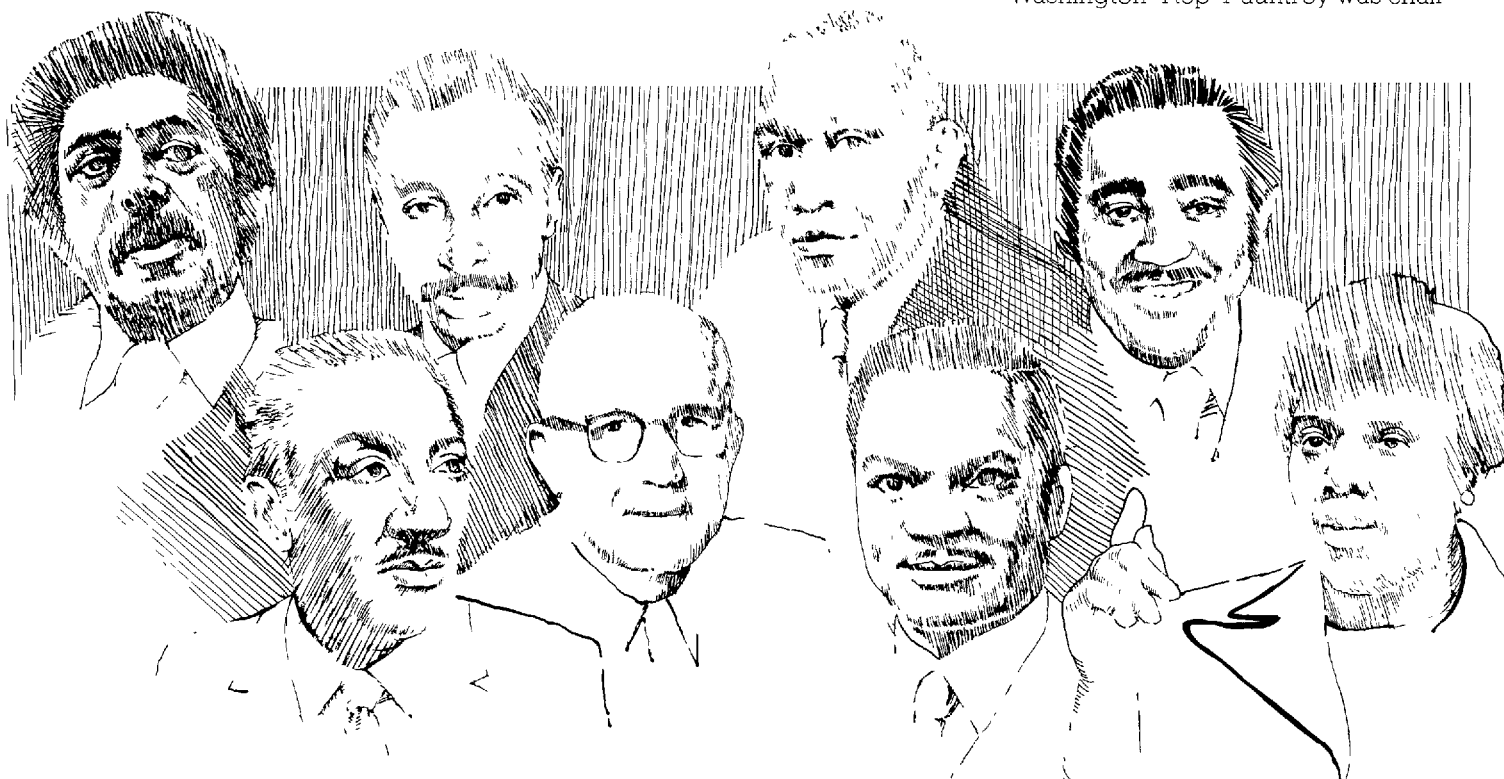
John Conyers, Jr., Michigan
John Conyers is currently serving his 5th term as Representative of Detroit's 1st Congressional District. He has sponsored the Full Opportunity Act which would provide \$30 billion a year to disadvantaged Americans. He also sponsored the Martin Luther King Holiday Bill creating a national holiday on January 15th, the late civil rights leader's birthday. He authored the only amendment passed by the House which put guts into the Fair Housing section of the 1966 Civil Rights Bill.

Ronald V. Dellums, California
Mr. Dellums, who represents the

Student-Black-Chicano Peace Coalition in Berkeley's 7th district, began his congressional career in 1967. A former social worker and Manpower consultant, Rep. Dellums has been the object of critical attacks for his firm outspoken stands on controversial issues such as the Vietnam War. Rep. Dellums is currently a member of the House's District of Columbia and Armed Forces Committee.

Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Michigan
It was through the guidance and vision of veteran lawmaker, Charles C. Diggs, Jr., that the seeds of the CBC were planted. Elected in 1954 as Michigan's first Black Congressman, Rep. Diggs is serving his 10th term for Detroit's 13th district. He is Chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia and Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa. He is also recognized as the West African affairs man on Capitol Hill. Diggs recently served as a full delegate at the 26th session of the UN General Assembly.

Walter E. Fauntroy, Dist. of Columbia
Walter E. Fauntroy is one of the two Caucus' practicing ministers. A veteran of the Civil Rights Movement, he was aide-de-camp to the late Martin Luther King, Jr. Rep. Fauntroy, a leading political figure in the District of Columbia, has demonstrated exceptional organizational capability. In 1972 he was Chairman of the Platform Committee of the National Black Political Convention. Rep. Fauntroy served as D.C. Coordinator for the historic 1963 March on Washington. Rep. Fauntroy was chair-



Ronald Dellums

Ralph Metcalfe

Parren Mitchell

Augustus Hawkins

Robert Nix

Walter Fauntroy

Charles Rangel

Barbara Jordan

man of the Caucus task force for the 1972 Democratic National Committee

Augustus F. Hawkins, California

Rep. Hawkins came to Congress from Los Angeles's 21st district in 1962, after having served for 25 years in the state legislature. Active as a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor and the Committee on House Administration, Hawkins has co-sponsored numerous bills including the Economic Opportunity Act, the Vocational American Act, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Section of the 1965 Civil Rights Act. In addition to duties on these committees Gus Hawkins is chairman of the House Subcommittee on Equal Opportunity.

Barbara Jordan, Texas

The brilliant and energetic Barbara Jordan came to the Senate from the State of Texas in 1972. She brings with her an exceptional political background, having served in the Texas State Senate with great distinction. Her training as an attorney has prepared her well for service as a member of the House Judiciary Committee. Barbara Jordan is well known for her demonstration of a sense of purpose.

Ralph H. Metcalfe, Illinois

With the same lightening speed that took him to the Olympics, Ralph Metcalfe moved on to become a Ward Democratic Committeeman, an Alderman in 1969, and President pro tempore of the Chicago City Council. In 1970 he was elected to Congress representing Chicago's first Congressional

District. Rep. Metcalfe is a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

Parren J. Mitchell, Maryland

Political activist, Parren Mitchell served as Executive Director of Baltimore's Community Action Agency and the Executive Secretary of the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems before his trek to Washington. He presently represents Maryland's 7th Congressional District in Baltimore. Parren Mitchell has a long track record in the field of Civil Rights, beginning with his law suit to open up the University of Maryland to Blacks in 1950.

Robert N. C. Nix, Pennsylvania

The second senior Caucus member, Robert N. C. Nix, came to Capitol Hill to fill a vacancy in 1958. A practicing attorney since 1925 and a member of the law firm Nix and Nix, he has been re-elected to serve seven more terms for Pennsylvania's 2nd district in Philadelphia. He is a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and the Foreign Affairs Committee. He is the chairman of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Committee.

Charles B. Rangel, New York

Harlem native, Charles B. Rangel, was appointed Assistant U. S. Attorney for New York's Southern District in 1961.

After serving two years as Assemblyman, in 1970, Rangel was elected to Congress for New York's 18th Congressional District, comprising Central Harlem. He serves on the House District of Columbia Committee and the Judiciary Committee. Charles Rangel has been a moving force in the fight for anti-drug legislation.

Louis Stokes, Ohio

Louis Stokes, the new Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, was elected to Congress in 1968 in his first run for public office and became the first Black member in Congress from Ohio. Rep. Stokes, a native of Cleveland, representing the 21st District, served on the House Committee for Education and Labor, and Internal Security Committees during his first term. During his second term he was the first Black appointed to sit on the House Appropriations Committee.

Andrew Young, Georgia

Another Civil Rights Movement veteran and close aide of the late Martin Luther King, Jr., Andrew Young is the first Black Congressman from Georgia since Reconstruction. Rep. Young was a practicing minister in Alabama and Georgia prior to going to work for the National Council of Churches in 1957. Rep. Young serves on the House Banking and Currency Committee and its Subcommittees on Urban Mass Transit, Consumer Affairs, International Trade and International Finance.



Cardiss Collins

Louis Stokes

John Conyers

Charles Diggs

Shirley Chisholm

Yvonne Burke

William Clay

Andrew Young

Milestones

Under the leadership of its first chairman, Charles C. Diggs, Jr. and its current chairman, Louis Stokes, the Congressional Black Caucus rolled up its sleeves and came to grips with the formidable long-standing enemies of Black Americans, poverty and inequality. The Caucus first achieved national recognition at an unprecedented White House meeting where members proposed to President Nixon a 61-point agenda designed to improve the quality of life for Black Americans. Bolstered by the physical, moral and financial support of people throughout the country, the CBC zeroed in on pertinent specific issues through a series of public hearings and conferences directed by individual Caucus members.

□ Reps. Chisholm and Dellums aired racism and repression in the military in November, 1971. A special task force was formed to study judicial problems from the field to the Pentagon.

□ In December 1971 the National Medical Association, The National Dental Association, Meharry Medical College, and Howard University joined Rep. Metcalfe in reviewing the status of health in the black community.

□ Rep. Parren Mitchell invited 500 Black economists and businessmen, to develop a 10 year plan for Black enterprise to remedy traditional exclusion of Blacks in business, following hearings on Blacks and business in 1972 held at Morgan State College.

□ An alliance was formed between Black elected officials and media specialists to eliminate discriminatory practices, challenge licenses and renewals and file suits when necessary, after Rep. Wm. Clay held hearings in Washington, March, 1972, on mass media and the Black community.



□ Rep. Louis Stokes chaired a Black elected officials conference, November 1972, where delegates examined vital issues to include in a national Black political agenda.

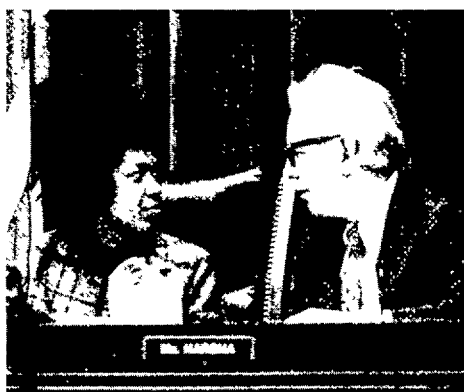
□ Alternatives on Blacks in education were heard in March, 1972 when the Caucus co-sponsored hearings with Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Metropolitan Applied Research Center, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, National Urban League, et al.

□ Media representatives, community leaders, and public officials came to Harvard's Institute of Politics to establish national domestic priorities for Blacks. Rep. Wm. Clay acted for Caucus, as co-sponsor with the Boston Globe, Chicago Sun Times, Philadelphia Bulletin, and Harvard's Institute of Politics.

With legislative action as its new thrust, this year the Caucus undertook the mammoth project of developing a counter-strategy to President Nixon's proposed \$11 billion dollar budget cuts. These slashes, allegedly designed to curb inflation, will kill the Office of Economic Opportunity and inhibit or destroy major programs which were designed to help the nation's poor.

Since many cuts traverse racial and income class lines, the Caucus is confident that its efforts will be supported by other interest groups. Low and middle income whites, for example, feel the chill of the freeze on funds for subsidized housing. The interests of industries related to housing—construction, real estate, banks, insurance companies, etc. are also at stake. The elderly and other low-income groups will suffer cuts in Medicare and Medicaid.

The Caucus hopes to forge a coalition of groups related by interest to challenge these cuts and similar high-handed actions in the future.



The re-enfranchisement of our Southern Black brothers and sisters and the swelling of Black ranks in major northern cities forged the way to our present Second Golden Era of Black Politics

Blacks now hold more than 2,033 elected positions — six times more than in 1965. Alabama alone has more Black elected officials than any other state except Michigan or New York. Black populations have reached the over 40% mark in Baltimore, Birmingham, Detroit, Jackson, New Orleans, Savannah, and Richmond.

It is predicted that the Congressional Black Caucus will grow to 30 by 1980.

The long-deferred dream of Black political power is coming. Inherent in these facts and predictions is the realized political potential to determine elections, if only by bloc, from Dog Catcher to President.

The Caucus Chairman Louis Stokes indicated in a recent New York Times article that "most controversial legislation is passed or defeated by a margin of 10 votes or less." Thus a Caucus bloc potentially holds the balance of power on key issues. A specific example of how this power is used was the 1971 vote on legislation authorizing construction of the supersonic air transport (SST). Eleven of the then 13 Caucus members formed a bloc that defeated the legislation by one vote.

Caucus clout is given added weight by 75 to 100 White Representatives whose votes often follow the Caucus', because they were elected from districts with large Black constituencies.

The leadership role of the Congressional Black Caucus emerges at a time when poverty and hopelessness, the henchmen of long standing discrimination, are hard at work. The Caucus flexes its muscles in the aftermath of a controversial war and the stench of Watergate. The Caucus is Black, urban, and Democratic. Although these three groups currently share mutual aims and interests, Caucus Chairman Louis

Stokes cautions, "it has no permanent enemies, no permanent friends — only permanent interests."

In a sense, the survival of the cities is the survival of America. Increasingly, America's cities are being inherited, whether by choice or by chance, by Blacks, Latins and other poor and disadvantaged peoples of European and Asian descent. It is a phenomena that the Caucus members represent all of the major urban areas. The legislative bloc that the Caucus forms, with the support of other urban representatives, has the potential to shape decisively the future of all urban life. So it is of no wonder that the Caucus' interests to support legislation related to the survival of urban cities — i.e. housing, mass transportation, taxation, environmental improvement — is of top priority.

Today, Black people in America may be without jobs. Today Black people may be without decent living environments. Today Black people may find themselves without adequate health care, and with limited educational opportunities, — tangibles that make or break the chance for the Good Life in 20th Century America. But Black Americans can find hope in their newly-retrieved political power, a potential that the Congressional Black Caucus will utilize and exhaust until every family in America can live with economic security and dignity.

The Caucus Dinner

The annual Congressional Black Caucus Dinner was established as a tradition three years ago. We are still guided by the eloquent words spoken by Ossie Davis, speaker at the Caucus' first dinner. "It's Not the Man, But the Plan. Not the Rap, But the Map."

Funds raised from this year's dinner will enable the Caucus to support an able staff, and maintain an office. Thus enabling the Caucus to continue its legislative research, and establish effective communications between key groups involved in the legislative process.



The Honoree

The Dinner Speaker

Mayor Thomas Bradley

The Congressional Black Caucus pays a special tribute to Tom Bradley, first Black Mayor of Los Angeles, America's second largest city. A former police officer and member of the Los Angeles City Council, Bradley is confident that he can make the system of city government work to eliminate poverty and fear.

Mayor Thomas Bradley was elected in a city where Blacks are not in the majority. A city where Mexican Americans and Blacks have long been the victims of discrimination. It is significant that that city elected a Black Mayor and may be the herald of things to come.

Senator Edward W. Brooke

Senator Brooke, main speaker for the Third Annual Dinner Banquet, is the single Black member of the U.S. Senate. In 1966, following a three-year term as Massachusetts Attorney General, Brooke was elected Senator by a plurality of 438,712 votes. He was re-elected in 1972 with a plurality of 682,654 votes. He is the recipient of numerous honorary degrees and awards including the Bronze Star and the 1967 Springarn Medal.



Program

Presiding

Harvey C Russell,
Nancy Wilson, Leonard Woodcock

"Lift Every Voice"

Led by Nancy Wilson

Invocation

Dr W Sterling Cary

Introduction of Caucus Members

Ms Dorothy I Height

Welcome

Mayor Walter Washington

On Behalf of The Caucus

Rep Charles B Rangel, New York

Presentations

Adam Clayton Powell Award
George W Collins Memorial Award

Reading

Ruby Dee

Honoree

Tom Bradley,
Mayor of Los Angeles

Guest Speaker

Edward W Brooke
Senator from Massachusetts

Entertainment

Host Don Cornelius
The Dells, dynamic soul group
Melba Moore, singer-actress
Isaac Hayes, multi-talented Academy
Award winner accompanied by
50-piece orchestra

Talent

Don Cornelius, Host



The Dells, dynamic soul group



Melba Moore, singer-actress



Isaac Hayes, multi-talented Academy Award winner accompanied by 50-piece orchestra

Dinner Committee

Harvey Russell, Chairman

Harvey Russell, currently vice president for Community Affairs at Pepsi Co, Inc., has long been noted for his active interest and participation in community, civic, and national affairs. He now serves such organizations as the National Manpower Advisory Committee, the United States Department of Labor, the New York State Board of Social Welfare, the African-American Institute, and the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity.



Leonard Woodcock, Chairman

Mr. Woodcock, serving his fourth year as President of the United Auto Workers Union, has been active in the labor movement since 1933. He has also been active in political campaign planning for more than 30 years. He has earned a solid reputation as a leader in the fight to end discrimination in employment, housing, and other social and economic barriers faced by the poor and disadvantaged.

Nancy Wilson, Chairwoman

The entertainment world recognizes Nancy Wilson as one of its top female vocalists. She has received plaudits and praise from audiences, the press, and industry in America and abroad. Despite her active work schedule, Ms. Wilson manages to find time for worthy causes, particularly high school drop-out prevention. To broaden the scope of her involvement, she became co-chairman of the TEACH Foundation with television star Lorne Green in 1967.



Harold R. Sims, Coordinator

At 38, Harold R. Sims, coordinator for the Third Annual CBC Dinner, has won much deserved national recognition for achieving major breakthroughs, benefiting millions of Black and non-whites in international affairs, civil rights, the military, academia, government, and the arts. A native of Memphis, Tennessee, he received his BA cum laude from Southern University of Louisiana and his MA from George Washington U. As the deputy of the late Whitney M. Young, Jr., he won world-wide respect and admiration for his leadership as the National Urban League's Acting Executive Director during the tragic months following Whitney's death. For his performance, he received an outstanding service and achievement citation from the National Urban League Board of Directors. Mr. Sims' other outstanding honors include membership in Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities, recipient of the U.S. Presidential Commendation, the Bronze Star, and the Army Commendation Medal with Cluster. He is currently Director of Corporate Affairs for Johnson and Johnson.



Mr I W Abel , *President*
United Steelworkers of America

Mr E G Abner, Jr *President*
Motown Record Corp

Mr Joe Adams, *Exec Vice Pres*
Ray Charles Enterprises

Dr Augustus Adair, *Exec Dir*
Congressional Black Caucus

Mr Clifford Alexander, Jr
Arnold and Porter

Mr William M Alexander
Golden Oak Inc

Dr Farrow R Allen

Mr Donald E Anderson
Nat'l Cable TV Ass'n

Mr M. J. Anderson
Federation of Masons of the World

Mr Robert O Anderson, *Chairman*
Atlantic Richfield Co

Mayor George A Athanson
Hartford Connecticut

Mr Clarence Avant, *President*
Sussex Records Inc /Interior Music Corp

Mr Arthur H. Barnes, *Vice President*
Institute for Mediation & Conflict Resolution

Msgr Geno Baroni
National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs

Mr Marshall B Bass, *Corporate Manager*
R J Reynolds Industries Inc

Mr Edwin H Baumer
Uniroyal Inc

Mr Joseph A Beirne, *President*
Communication Workers of America (AFL CIO)

Mr Al Bell, *Exec Vice Pres*
Stax Record Co Inc

Dr Lloyd H Bell, *Ph D*
University of Pittsburgh

Mr Robert E Bell
Alliance Food Corp

Ms Haley Bell, *President*
Bell Broadcasting Co Inc

Mr Henri A Belfon
Bd of Education NYC

Ms Fay Bennett, *Exec Dir*
National Share Cropper Fund

Mr Lerone Bennett, Jr
Author—Historian

Ms Lucy Wilson Benson, *Pres*
League of Women Voters of the United States

Mr Brook Benton

Mr Lee S Bickmore, *Chairman*
Nabisco Inc

Mr John Bingham, *President*
National Association of Minority Contractors

Ms Janet S Birch
Tennessee Voters Council

Mr Jimmy Bishop
Radio Station WDAS

Mr Ed Bivins
Hallmark Cards Inc

Mr Howard A Blackston, *Pres*
Dandy French Cleaners Inc

Ms Lydia E Blakely
Price Waterhouse & Co

Mr Allen J Bloom, *Senior Vice Pres*
Ringling Brothers Barnum & Bailey Circus

Mr Neil Bogart, *President*
Buddah Records

The Hon. Julian Bond

Mr Hyman Bookbinder
American Jewish Committee

Ms Ruth Bowen, *President*
Queen Booking Agency Inc

Ms L Boyd, *Imperial Commandress*
Daughters of ISIS

Thomas Detrick Boyd
Thomas Detrick Boyd & Associates Inc

Ms Jo Bridges
We Produce Inc

Mr H Floyd Britton, *President*
Mark V Associates Inc

Mr David A Brody
Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Ms Modeen Broughton

Mr W Harmon Brown
Harmon Holding Corporation

Mr Lloyd Brown
Rust Brown Restaurant

Mr Robert J Brown, *Chairman*
B and C Associates Inc

Dr Roscoe C Brown, Jr, *Director*
Afro American Institute NYU

Mr Tony Brown, *Producer*
Black Journal TV Show

Mr R Bry, *Vice President*
Otic Elevator Company

Mr Charles Buchanan, *President*
United Mutual Life Insurance Co

Mr John P Burditt
ACF Industries Inc

Mr Michael Burke, *President*
Madison Square Garden Center

Mr Walter J Burke, *Sec y/Treas*
United Steelworkers of America

Mr John H Bustamante

Mr Edward J Cade
First Pennsylvania Bank

Reverend Eugene S Callender, *Exec Dir*
New York Urban Coalition

Dr William Calloway

Mr Wendell J Campbell, *Pres*
Campbell & Mascari Architects

Reverend Sterling Carey, *Pres*
National Council of Churches

Mr W Beverly Carter, Jr
U.S. Dept. of State

Mr Chester Carter
Capitol City Liquor Co Inc

Mr Matthew G Carter
Hoffman LaRoche Inc

Dr Vernal G Cave,
Nat'l Medical Ass'n

Ms Julius M Cayson, Jr

Mr John M Chapman
The Bendix Corp

Mr Walker L Cisler, *Chmn*
The Detroit Editor Co

Dr Preston Clark
Harlem Hospital

Mr Richard Clark
Richard Clark Associates Inc

Ms Xernona Clayton

Ms Patricia Cobb

Mr Samuel M Convisser, *Director*
Urban Affairs RCA

Ms Aldrage Cooper
Johnson and Johnson

Mr Mark F Cooper, *Vice Pres*
Salsco Corporation

Mr Don Cornelius, *Exec Producer*
Soul Train

Dr Wendell Cox
Radio Station WCHB WCHD

Mr Edward P Curtis, Jr *Vice Pres*
Rochester Institute of Technology

Mr Willie L Daniels
Daniels and Bell Inc

Ms Louise M Dargans

Ms Emma Darnell, Esq

Dean Ronald Davenport
Duchess University Law School

Mr Ossie Davis, *Actor Producer*

Mr Ovid R Davis, *Vice Pres*
Coca Cola Company

Ms Sammy Davis, Sr

Ms Ruby Dee, *Actress*

Ms Ophelia Devore
Ophelia Devore Charm School

Mr F S Dickinson, Jr, *Chairman*
Becton Dickinson & Co

Mr David N Dinkins
Paterson Michael and Dinkins

Mr Ray Dones, *President*
Trans Bay Engineers & Builders Inc

Mr Lawrence P Doss
New Detroit Inc

Mr Philip T Drotning,
Standard Oil Company (Indiana)

Mr Lancelot E Drummond
Drummond Distributing Co Inc

Mr Ofield Dukes
Ofield Dukes & Assoc Inc

Mr Albert J Dunmore, *Director Urban Affairs*
Chrysler Corporation

Mr Waymon Dunn
Con Edison

Mr William Dyal, *President*
Inter American Foundation

Mr John W Edghill
Imperial Potentate A E A O N M S

Ms Esther G Edwards, *Vice President*
Motown Records Corporation

Mr Ahmet Ertegun, *President*
Atlantic Recording Corp

Mr W Leonard Evans, Jr *President*
Tuesday Magazine

Mr Gene Roland Esquerre
Grumman Aerospace Corp

Mr George Esser, Jr *Director*
Southern Regional Council

Mayor Charles Evers

Mr Frederick W Eversley, *President*
F W Eversley & Co Inc

Mr Dan H Fenn, Jr *Director*
John F Kennedy Library

Mr Francis F Filby, *President*
American Postal Workers (AFL CIO)

Mr Syd Finley
Argonne National Laboratory

Mr Chester L Fisher, Jr *Vice President*
Metropolitan Life Ins Co

Mr Clarence E Fitch
Office of Congressman Stokes

Mr Naylor Fitzhugh, *Vice Pres*
Pepsi Cola Company

Mr Abram Flaxer
Wiltwyck School for Boys

Mr Carl J Fleps *Vice President*
Greyhound Lines Inc

Mr Henry Ford II, *Chairman*
Ford Motor Company

The Hon Thomas R Fortune
New York Assembly

Dr Luther Foster, *President*
Tuskegee Institute

Ms Leha Francis
Unity State Bank

Congressman Donald M Fraser

Mr Thomas A Gee
The Boston Company Inc

Mr Bern L Gentry
United States Jaycees

Mr D Parke Gibson
D Parke Gibson Associates Inc

Mayor Kenneth Gibson
Newark New Jersey

Ms Nikki Giovanni, *Poetress*

Mr James H Gilliam, Sr *Vice Pres*
Leola N Weiner & Assoc Inc

Ms Gertrude Gipson
I. A. Sentinel Newspaper

Mr Zachary Gluckman, *President*
Kwaza Records

Mr Russell L Goings, Jr, *Chairman*
First Harlem Securities Corp

Dr Carlton B Goodlett, *President*
National Newspaper Publishers Assoc

Mr Earl G Graves
Earl G Graves Publishing Co Inc

Mr Arthur E Green, *Assistant Commissioner*
N.Y.S. Dept Mental Hygiene

Mr Dick Gregory

Mr Enoch Gregory
Radio Station WWRL

Mr Robert J Grey
A H Robins Co

Mr A F Grosprion, *President*
Oil Workers International Union

Mr C G Hammond
Columbus & Southern Ohio Electric Co

Mr George Hardy, *President*
Service Employees Int'l (AFL CIO)

Mr John D Harper, *Chairman*
Alcoa

Ms LaDonna Harris
Americans for Indian Opportunity

Mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher
Gary Indiana

Mr D J Haughton, *Chairman*
Lockheed Aircraft Corp

Ms Eleanor Haynes, *Columnist*
N.Y. Voice Newspaper

Mr Stanley P Hebert
Bank of America

Ms Dorothy I Height, *Pres*
National Council of Negro Women Inc

Mr Andrew Heiskell, *Chairman*
Time Inc

Dr Vivian W Henderson, *Pres*
Clark College

Mr David Hepburn
WNEW TV

Mr Terry Herndon
National Education Assoc

Dr Arthur Hertzberg, *President*
American Jewish Congress

Mr James Hicks, *Editor*
The Amsterdam News

Ms C Davis Hinton

Mr Stan Hoffman, *Vice Pres*
Chess/Janus Records

Mr Philip B Hofmann
Johnson and Johnson

Mr M Carl Holman, *President*
National Urban Coalition

Mr Donald H Holt
East Ohio Gas Company

Mr Robert Hooks, *Actor*

Mr James T Housewright, *Pres*
Retail Clerks Int'l Assn (AFL CIO)

Mr B S Howell, Jr *President*
Nashboro Record Co

Mr Norman Houston
Gold State Mutual Life Ins Co

Mr William R Hudgins, *Pres*
Pan African Corp

Ms Anthony Hudson

Mr Jerome W Hull, *Pres*
The Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co

Mr M A Hutcheson, *Pres*
Carpenters Union (AFL CIO)

Mr P A Hutcheson
Gulf Oil Corporation

Ms Ruth Inniss

Mr Hal Jackson
Radio Station WLBI

The Hon Maynard Jackson
Vice Mayor of Atlanta

Ms Millie Jackson

Reverend Jesse Jackson
Operation PUSH

Mr William Fred Jackson, *Publisher*
The Weekly Bulletin

Mr Warren H Jacobs
Warren Drug Store

Mr David W Jasper, Sr , *Vice Pres*
Carnier Corporation

Ms Elaine B Jenkins
One America Inc

Mr John H Johnson, *President*
Johnson Publishing Co Inc

Mr Paul Jennings, *President*
IUE (AFL CIO) CLC

Mr George E Johnson, *Chairman*
Johnson Products Co Inc

Lonnie L Johnson
Nat'l P.O. Mail Handlers Union

Mr Clarence Jones, *Publisher*
The Amsterdam News

Mr George Jones

Mr Quincy Jones
A & M Records

Mr Vernon E Jordan, *Exec Dir*
National Urban League

Mr Nathan Katz
Pocketbook Workers Local #1 (AFL CIO)

Mr Roy K Kelley, *Vice President*
Nabisco Inc

Mr Theodore Kheel

Ms Jonetta Walker Kelso

Mr Donald M Kendall, *Chairman*
Pepsico Inc

Mr Richard C Kennard, Jr, *President*
Capital Formation Inc

Mr Brady Keys, Jr
All Pro Enterprises Inc

Ms Coretta Scott King, *President*
Martin Luther King Jr Center Int'l Social Change

Mr E B Knauff
Aerona Life & Casualty

Mr R M Lagnebra
RCA Records

Ms Natalie S Lang
Scotz, Allen & Hamilton Inc

Mr Bertram M Lee, Geneva Printing & Publishing Inc Boston

Mr Malcolm H Lee
Agronne National Laboratory

Mr Reggie Levon
Radio Station WNBC

Mr Ted Ledbetter

Mr Ed Lewis, *Publisher*
Essence Magazine

Ms Ida Lewis, *Publisher, Editor*
Encore Magazine

Mr E H Lindsay
Broadway Bank & Trust Co

Mr Peter Long, *Producer*

Mr Allard K Lowenstein
ADA Board/SCLC Board

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N Y C Fire Department

Ms LaRue Manns
Queen Booking Corporation

Mr Gavin K MacBain, *Chairman*
Bristol Myers Company

Mr Obs J Martin, *President*
Superior Tool Inc

Mr Anthony Mazzocchi
Oil Chemical & Atomic Workers

Mr Olvin McBarnette, *President*
Foundation for Res & Ed in Sickle Cell Disease

Reverend Carl McCall, *President*
Radio Station WLII

Mr Nathan McCalla
Promo Records Distributing Co

Mr William H McClennan, *President*
International Assoc of Fire Fighters (AFL CIO)

Mr Pete McDougal
McDougal Equipment Company

Mr William M McGhee, Jr
Fighting Inc

Mr Stanley J McFarland
National Education Association

Mr Donald H McGannon, *President*
Westinghouse Broadcasting Co

Mr Maurice W McIntosh
Wilson McIntosh Buick Inc

Dr Leon R McKinney

Mr James W McSwiney, *Chairman*
The Mead Corporation

Mr Robert P Madison
Madison & Madison International

The Hon Robert J Mangum
N Y S Court of Claims

Mr Joseph Mann
New York Health & Hospital Corp

Mr Darrell Martin

Ms Mary Mason
Radio Station WHAT

Mr Frederick E Miller, *Pres*
Progress Aerospace Enterprises Inc

Mr Chuck Moore, *Exec Dir*
Third World Media News

Mr Jerome S Moss, *President*
A & M Records

Mr John H Murphy, *President*
Airo American Newspapers

Ms Janet Muse, *Secretary*
McBroe Township

Mr Robert L Myers, Jr, *Pres*
Century Chevrolet Inc

Mr Joseph Napolitan
Joseph Napolitan Assoc Inc

Mr Johnny Nash

Ms Margaret "Cissy" Nash

Mr Albert L Nellum
A L Nellum Associates Inc

Mr Elmer L Nicholson, *Chairman*
CNA Financial Corporation

Mr G E Norford, *Vice President*
Group W Westinghouse Broadcasting Co

Mr Freddie North, *Vice Pres*
Nashboro Records

Mr Richard Novik, *General Mgr*
Radio Station WBLS

Mr Eddie O'Jay Radio Station WLII

Mr E V Olson, *Chairman*
Carnation Company

Mr Frederick O'Neal, *President*
Associated Actors & Artists of America

Mr Leroy Ozanne
Ozanne Construction Co

Mr David Packard, *Chairman*
Hewlett Packard Co

Mr Melvin Patnick Melpat Associates

Mr William T Patnick
American Telephone & Telegraph

Hon Basil Pateson, *President*
Center for Conflict Resolution

Mr W Fredenck Peniston
Borden Inc

Mr Raymond Petne
Raymond Petne Advertising Inc

Mr Bruce A Petsche, *President*
Peerless Metal Fabricators Inc

Mr Terry Philips, *President*
Perception Records

Mr Wilson Pickett

Ms Esther Phillips

Ms Ersa H Poston
N Y S Civil Service Commission

Mr Grady Poulard
The Independent Foundation

Mr Lloyd Price GSF Record Inc

Ms Yvonne Price
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Ms Ernesta Procope
E G Bowman Co Inc

Mr John L Procope
New York Amsterdam News

Ms Sylvia Quarker
Courtesy Travel Agency

Mr Sanford A Ramras, *Coordinator*
Xerox Corporation

Mr Joseph L Rauh, Jr *General Counsel*
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Mr Robert Renfro
Rennuth Inc

Mr Charles M Reynolds, *President*
Citizens Trust Company

Mr Hobson R Reynolds
Grand Exalted Ruler IBPOEW

Mr Robert L Riedel, *Vice Pres*
Marine Midland Bank

Mr Mark E Rivers, Jr

Ms Rachel Robinson, *President*
Jackie Robinson Development Corp

Mr James T Robinson, Jr *Director*
F & R Lazarus & Co

Mr Richard W Robinson
Dept of Social Services N Y C

Mr Richard H Rodefer
The Greater Wheeling Community Development Council

William L Rowe
Louis Rowe Enterprises

Mr James Roseboro
Nationwide Insurance

Mr Eugene F Rowan
J C Penney

Mr Herman J Russell
H J Russell & Company

Mr Nathaniel S Russell
P B Development Company

Mr Art Rust, Jr
Rust Brown Restaurant

Mr Elbert Sampson
Nat'l Assn of Broadcasters

The Hon Terry Sanford, *President*
Duke University

Mr Henry M Schachte, *Chairman*
J Walter Thompson Co

Mr Marvin Schlachter, *President*
Chess Janus Records

Mr Jerry Schoenbaum, *President*
Polydor Inc

Mr Raymond Scruggs, *Project Chairman*
AT & T

Mr Richard B Sellars, *Chairman*
Johnson & Johnson

Mr Martin E Segal
Martin E Segal & Co Inc

Mr David Seiden, *President*
American Federation of Teachers

Ms Betty Shabazz

Mr Del Shields, *Exec Vice Pres*
Avart Garde Broadcasting

Mr Harry A Shuford, *Chairman*
First National Bank in Dallas

Mr William Sidell, *President*
United Brotherhood of Carpenters (AFL CIO)

Mr William R Simms
National Urban League

Mr Billy Simpson

Mr Louis Simon
ACWA AFL CIO

Dr Eddie G Smith Jr

Mr Joe Smith, *President*
Warner Bros Records

Mr Carlton E Spitzer, *Vice Pres*
Borden Inc

Mr George Spitzer, *President*
Services Employees Int'l Union

Mr William Spoor, *Chairman*
Pillsbury Co

Mr Frank L Stanley, Sr, *Editor*
Louisville Defender

Mr Peter Stark

Mr Frank Steele
Johnson and Johnson

Mr Herbert Stephenson
Friendly Chrysler Plymouth

Mr E Thomas Stonecipher, *Vice President*
Avco Int'l Services Division

Mr Chuck Sterling, *Exec Dir*
The Development Council

Mr H Paul Stuber
Reynolds Metal Co

Mr Donald Stull
Stull Associates Inc

Rev Leon Sullivan, *Chairman*
Opportunities Industrialization Center

The Hon Percy Sutton
Borough President of Manhattan

Mr Edward Sylvester, Jr *President*
The Cooperative Assistance Fund

Ms Margante Syphax
W T Syphax Engineering & Construction Company

Mr Arthur Talmadge, *President*
Musicor Dynamo Records

Ms Joyce Ware Thomas Operation PUSH East

Mr Charles B Thornton, *Chairman*
Lifton Industries Inc

Mr James R Tobin, *Director*
Becton Dickinson & Co

Mr William H Toles
ITT Continental Baking Co

Mr Eugene A Toomer
Alexanders Inc

Mr Dempsey J Travis Travis Realty Company

Mr Cecil J Troy, *President*
Grove Fresh Distributors Inc

Mr Chris Turner
Radio Station WHAT

Mr Cyril D Tyson, *Vice Pres*
Optimum Systems

Mr Abe Venable
General Motors Corporation

Mr George R Vila, *Chairman*
Uniroyal Inc

Mr Rich Willard
Atlantic Records

Mr Joseph W Williams
Loews Corp

Mr J J Williams
J W M Corporation

Mr Buz Wilms, *Vice Pres*
Polydor Inc

Ms Fran Wormark

Mr George Woods
Radio Station WDAS

Mr Ben Wright
Clairol

Mr A Gordon Wright
Wright Ford Sales Inc

Mr Hugh Wyatt, *Columnist*
New York Daily News

Ms Etelle G Wachs
Pepsico Inc

Ms Albertina Walker

Mr James V Walker
Warner Lambert Co

Ms Jewel Ward
N Y Urban Coalition

Mr Charles R Warde, *President*
Baylyn Martin & Fay Inc

Mr Chester L Washington, *Publisher*
Central News Wave Publications Inc

Dr Benjamin Watkins
Mayor of Harlem

Mr Bruce R Watkins
Freedom Inc

Mr Robert D Watkins
Nat'l Medical Assn

Mr William H Watson
The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co Inc

Mr William W Waymer, *Exec Director*
Aibany Urban League

Mr Frederick S Weaver, *Chairman*
Public Relations Ent Inc

Mr Ralph A Weller, *Pres*
Ons Elevator Company

Dr Aaron Wells

Mr Logan H Westbrooks
Columbia Records

Mr John H Wheeler
Mechanics & Farmers Bank

Dr Kate E Whickam
Nat'l Beauty Culturists League Inc

Mr Robert L White, *Nat'l Pres*
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees

Mr Roy Wilkins, *Exec Dir* NAACP

Ms Lu Willard
Lunick Ventures

Mr Buddy Young
The National Football League

Ms Margaret B Young
Whitney M Young Jr Memorial Foundation Inc

Ms Bruce Zenkel

Mr Dwight R Zook
Rockwell International Co

Credits

Public Relations and Promotion:
Modeen Enterprises, Inc., New York

Assistants: (alphabetically)

Elvira "Baby" Davis
Erma DuPree
Eleanor Haynes
Ruth Innes
Sharon Kennon
Elly Piela
Sylvia Quarker
Lou Willard

Consultant:
William R. Simms, New York

Secretaries:
Shiela Cox
Cheryl Goggins

Hostesses:
Precola DeVore School of Charm,
Washington, D.C.

Souvenir Program:
Raymond Petrie Advertising Inc.,
New York

Printing:
Geneva Printing & Publishing, Inc., Boston

Production:
Logan H. Westbrook and Buz Willis
Associate Producer: Jo Bridges

The Dells:
Courtesy of Chess/Janus Records

Guest of Honor Reception:
Courtesy of PepsiCo. Inc.

New York Press Party:
Courtesy Amsterdam News and
Radio Station WLIR

Augustus A. Adair (Gus)

Executive Director, Congressional
Black Caucus



The newly appointed executive director comes to the Caucus from an academic background with an excellent knowledge of practical politics. Since 1963, Gus has been professor of political science at Morgan State College in Baltimore, Md. In addition to his teaching duties, he has been an active adviser to candidates and elected officials in Maryland and throughout the country since 1966.

They dragged you from homeland,
They chained you in coffles,
They huddled you spoon-fashion in
filthy hatches,
They sold you to give a few gentlemen
ease

They broke you in like oxen,
They scourged you
They branded you,
They made your women breeders,
They swelled your numbers with
bastards..
They taught you the religion they
disgraced

You sang
Kepp a inchin' along
Lak a po' inch worm .

You sang:
Bye and bye
I'm gonna lay down dis heaby load .

You sang
Walk togedder, chillen,
Dontcha git weary
The strong men keep a-comin' on
The strong men git stronger

They point with pride to the roads you
built for them,
They ride in comfort over the rails you
laid for them
They put hammers in your hands
And said — Drive so much before
sundown

You sang
Ain't no hammah
In dis lan'
Strikes lak mine, bebbby,
Strikes lak mine

They cooped you in their kitchens,
They penned you in their factories,
They gave you the jobs that they were
too good for,

By shunting dirt and misery to you

You sang
Me an' muh baby gonna shine,
shine
Me an' muh baby gonna shine.
The strong men keep a-comin' on

The strong men git stronger
They bought off some of your leaders
You stumbled, as blind men will
They coaxed you, unwontedly soft-
voiced
You followed a way
Then laughed as usual

They heard the laugh and wondered,
Uncomfortable,
Unadmitting a deeper terror
The strong men keep a-comin' on
Gittin' stronger

What, from the slums
Where they have hemmed you,
What, from the tiny huts
They could not keep from you —
What reaches them
Making them ill at ease, fearful?
Today they shout prohibition at you
"Thou shalt not this"
"Thou shalt not that"
"Reserved for whites only"
You laugh

One thing they cannot prohibit —
The strong men coming on
The strong men gittin' stronger
Strong men
STRONGER .

Sterling A Brown's STRONG MEN