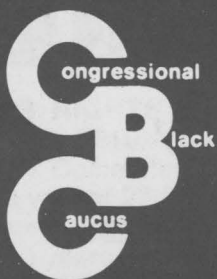


The original documents are located in Box 3, folder “Black Caucus - General, 1974-1975” of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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for the people

MEMBERS:

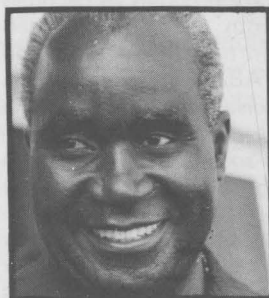
Yvonne B. Burke, Calif.	William Clay, Mo.	Ronald Dellums, Calif.	Augustus Hawkins, Calif.	Robert N. C. Nix, Pa.
Shirley Chisholm, N.Y.	Cardiss Collins, Ill.	Charles Diggs, Mich.	Barbara Jordan, Texas	Charles Rangel, N.Y.
	John Conyers, Mich.	Walter Fauntroy, D.C.	Ralph Metcalfe, Ill.	Louis Stokes, Ohio
		Harold Ford, Tenn.	Parren Mitchell, Md.	Andrew Young, Ga.

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Meeting with President Kaunda, Republic of Zambia

On April 20th, members of the Congressional Black Caucus met with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, and expressed their support of the



President Kaunda

towards Africa may, in the view of the Caucus, "mark the beginning of a new era of U.S. sensitivity to the struggle for self-determination and majority rule by the people of Southern Africa."

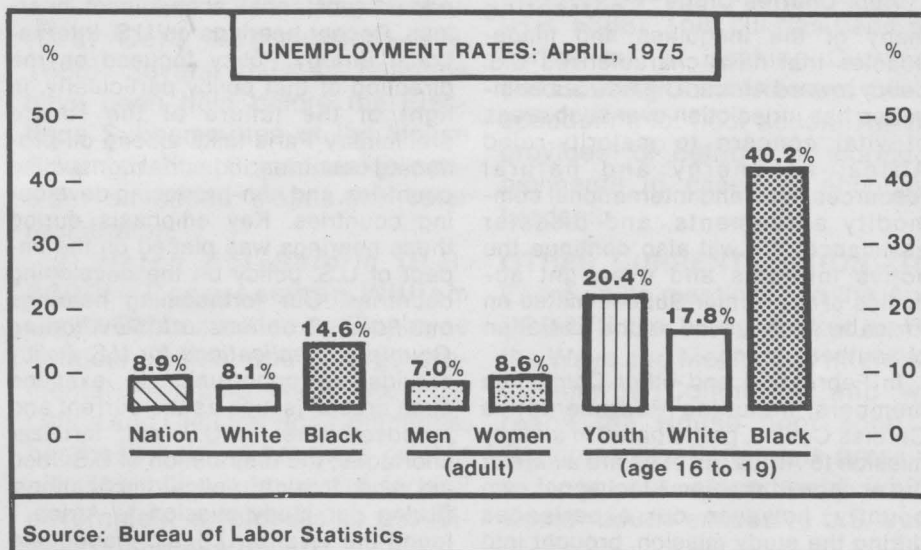
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Full Employment Forum in Final Planning

In June, thousands of potential new workers will leave high schools and colleges to enter the labor force. How will the economy accomodate this influx? Will there be jobs for these new young workers at a time when many of their parents are unemployed? The chart below depicts the critical unemployment situation faced by the nation. Clearly, the goal of full employment—meaningful jobs, at a

mothers and fathers who can support their families through work, not through inadequate and frequently demeaning government assistance programs. Full employment means an economy operating at full capacity, using the talents and skills of all its citizens.

The Congressional Black Caucus and the Joint Center for Political Studies, recognizing the crucial role of the jobs issue in



fair wage, for every citizen who is willing and able to work—can no longer be buried under a haze of misgivings, misinformation and inaction.

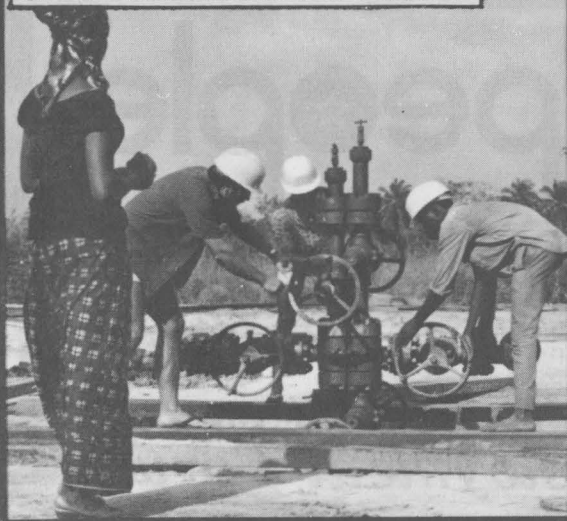
The Congressional Black Caucus believes that the time has come to focus on the question of a full employment economy. Full employment means a job for those willing and able to work. It means

developing a plan for national economic recovery, are co-sponsoring a major forum: TOWARD FULL EMPLOYMENT, A VIABLE ECONOMIC GOAL. The forum will be held May 20th in the Rayburn House Office Building, Washington D.C.

How do we move the nation toward full employment? What will

Continued on page 5

CBC MEMBERS FORUM



U.S. Policy Toward Africa: The Role of Congress

By Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr.

As a member of the House Committee on International Relations and chairman of its Subcommittee on International Resources, Food and Energy, I have placed particular emphasis on addressing the problems of African nations—and correcting many of the inequities and inadequacies that have characterized U.S. policy toward Africa. The new subcommittee has jurisdiction over such areas of vital concern to majority-ruled Africa, as energy and natural resources, food and international commodity agreements, and disaster assistance. We will also continue the active interests and oversight activities of the former Subcommittee on Africa in such issues as the liberation of southern Africa.



Rep. Charles Diggs

In February, I and other Committee members, including Representative Cardiss Collins, participated in a study mission to Africa. All of us are aware of the economic problems facing our own country; however, our experiences during the study mission, brought into sharp focus the critical issues of starvation and food shortage which are matters of survival for Africa. Key events in our study included meetings with heads of government and leaders of liberation movements to review U.S. policy toward these nations; to discuss development and assistance needs; to assess the impact of the drought and global inflation.

In Zaire, President Sese Seku Mobutu conveyed his opposition, and that of a number of African leaders, to President Ford's nomination of Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. Mr. Davis, incidentally, was recently appointed, despite the vigorous protests of the Congressional Black Caucus (Vol. 1, No. 1 **FOR THE PEOPLE**, pg 6) and the growing constituency for Africa in this country. Other African countries and soon-to-be-independent areas visited during the mission included Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland, Tanzania, Somalia and Kenya.

The Subcommittee on International Resources, Food and Energy has planned a substantial schedule of hearings. Recent hearings on U.S. International Energy Policy focused on the direction of that policy particularly, in light of the failure of the recent preliminary Paris talks among oil-producing countries, industrial consuming countries, and non-producing developing countries. Key emphasis during these hearings was placed on the impact of U.S. policy on the developing countries. Our forthcoming hearings on *Food Problems of Developing Countries: Implications for U.S. Policy* provide an opportunity to examine such crucial issues as the current and proposed level of U.S. aid; fertilizer shortages; the distribution of U.S. food aid and foreign policy implications. During our study mission to Africa, I found the level of U.S. aid inadequate in comparison to actual assistance needs and the level of aid accorded non-African states.

Future hearings will focus specifically on *U.S. Policy and Relations with South Africa*. In that regard, I have recently introduced a bill to prohibit the sale, exchange or transfer (direct or indirect) of nuclear materials or technology to any country which has not ratified the *Treaty on Non-Proliferation Of Nuclear Weapons* (NPT). Last year, the U.S. Nuclear

Regulatory Commission authorized the shipment of 83.4 pounds of highly enriched uranium to South Africa—one of 37 countries that has neither signed, nor ratified the NPT. South Africa now possesses enough uranium to produce seven nuclear bombs!

The principle objective of the NPT is to prevent an increase in the number of states possessing nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. As a basic step toward keeping this number in check, the NPT provides for strict safeguards to prevent diversion of nuclear fuel and reactors from peaceful uses—these are administered by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

IN SUMMARY: With respect to countries not party to NPT, safeguards apply only to the extent that the nation supplying nuclear materials is covered by them. The crucial question is whether all nuclear activities in South Africa are adequately safeguarded. If, for example, a government decides to divert nuclear materials from civilian to a military program, as becomes more possible with the growing international traffic in nuclear materials and technology, the IAEA inspections process may not yield clear-cut evidence of a violation. The legislation I have introduced, aimed specifically at those countries which have not yet ratified the NPT, would avert the danger of proliferation and dissemination of nuclear materials and technology, even for peaceful purposes, to those countries which are not party to the Treaty. The bill does provide for an exception, whereby the President can determine that the sale or transfer of nuclear materials or technology is essential to the national security of the U.S.—a determination that Congress must approve by concurrent resolution.

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HOUSE BUDGET RESOLUTION (H. Con. Res. 218)—The first Concurrent Budget Resolution passed the House on May 1 by a vote of 200-196. The resolution sets as a goal, an unemployment rate of 7.4 percent by the end of June, 1976. The Caucus views this goal as wholly inadequate and has been critical of the resolution's failure to make substantive changes in such areas as closing tax loopholes and reduction of the military budget. An amendment by Congressman Henry Reuss (D-Wis) calls for closing \$3 billion in tax loopholes.

IN SUMMARY:

The House Budget Resolution projects fiscal 1976 spending at \$368.2 billion, compared to \$349.4 billion in outlays proposed by the Ford Administration's budget. Several members of the Caucus (Reps. Parren Mitchell, and Louis Stokes of the Budget Committee and Rep. John Conyers) have

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

VOTING RIGHTS ACT EXTENSION (H.R. 6219)—The full House Judiciary Committee has reported out by a vote of 27-7 a bill to extend the Voting Rights Act for an additional 10 years. The bill would also permanently ban literacy tests and broaden coverage to include many Spanish-speaking and other minorities. The Congressional Black Caucus has unanimously supported the provisions of this bill, which Congresswoman Barbara Jordan played a key role in drafting. The major issue, when the bill reaches the House floor, will be an amendment by Congressman Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) to add a new "bail-out" provision which would make it easier for States and localities to be exempted from the Act's requirements, and another amendment to remove coverage of Spanish-speaking. The Caucus opposes both amendments. In the Senate, the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights is presently holding hearings on the bill. It is important for citizens to inform their representatives, both in the House and the Senate, of their views on this legislation.

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vigorously protested Congress' seeming timidity in the face of President Ford's deficit scare rhetoric. The House and Senate budget figures must be reconciled in conference. A second budget resolution will be considered in October.

EMPLOYMENT—The *Public Services and Employment Act* (H.R. 4481) passed the House on March 12th and the Senate on April 25th with amendments. This legislation provides for \$5.94 billion for public service jobs and summer youth employment (\$6.1 billion in the Senate version). The Director of the Office of Management and the Budget, James Lynn, has stated that he will recommend a Presidential veto. In that event, support for a veto override by Congress will be needed.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS—Hearings have begun on several Caucus legislative agenda items, in addition to those on gun control and full employment mentioned in the April **UPDATE**, these include:

1) *Universal Voter Registration* (post Card Registration—H.R. 1686). Several days of hearings have been held before the Elections Subcommittee of the House Administration Committee to consider simplified means for voter registration.

2) *Hatch Act Reform* (H.R. 3000)—Congressman William Clay's Subcommittee on Employee Political Rights and Intergovernmental Programs under the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has been holding hearings on this bill. The bill would permit federal government employees to participate in partisan politics.

3) *Mobile Health Units Act* (H.R. 2304). Two days of hearings have been completed on Representative Yvonne Burke's bill to provide health services for medically underserved areas. The hearings were before the Health and Environment Subcommittee of Interstate and Foreign Commerce. In addition, Congressman Andrew Young has introduced major health care legislation. The *Comprehensive National Health Care Act of 1975* (H.R. 6283). It provides a national health care system with broad benefit coverages for every person in the U.S. and would be financed through a 5% tax on unearned income (such as stock dividends) and on self-employment earnings; a 6% tax on employers' payroll; a 2% payroll tax on employees' wages.

A third health bill, *The Health Revenue Sharing Act* (H.R. 4925), has been reported out of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

4) *Mortgage Payment Deferral* (H.R. 5388). This bill has been reported out of Banking Currency and Housing Committee and awaits scheduling for floor action. The bill provides for deferral of mortgage payments in cases of economic hardship.

OTHER CURRENT ACTION—The Energy bills mentioned in the April **UPDATE** are being marked up by the Ways and Means and Interstate Commerce Committee and will reach the House floor soon.... Congressman Dellums is pressing a troop cut amendment which would reduce excessive U.S. troop levels.

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Mail to Congressional Black Caucus, 306 House Annex,
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Hawkins Hearings:

A First-Hand View of Unemployment

On February 25, Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities, began the first of a series of hearings throughout the nation that focus on full employment. The hearings have provided Representative Hawkins and other members of his Subcommittee with a first-hand view of the devastating impact of unemployment in cities across the country. Hawkins has noted that the major objectives of the hearings are "to explain the concept of full employment as envisioned in legislation I have introduced (H.R. 50 The Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act) and to examine the socio-economic implications of full employment and its immediate applicability in resolving the present economic crisis."

To date, hearing sites have included:

Washington D.C.	— February 25 and March 18
Detroit, Mich.	— March 24
Los Angeles, Calif.	— March 26
Atlanta, Ga.	— April 4
Philadelphia, Pa.	— April 11
Santa Fe, NM.	— May 2

In each city, a diverse array of witnesses (including labor representatives, elected officials, civic

and civil rights groups, economists, and public administrators) have testified on the scope of income deprivation and the growing social problems created by massive unemployment. During the Atlanta hearings, Reverend Arthur Langford, President of the United Youth Adult Conference, testified that: "A job, any kind of job helps keep our youth on the path of responsibility to themselves and their community.... Full employment of youth is essential to the concept of a healthy community. Note the sharp increases in crime rates among youthful offenders. Yet, for \$600, we can employ a youth during the summer and for \$5,000 during the entire year." Langford noted that the estimated cost of incarcerating a youthful offender is \$12,000 per year. The National League of Cities has recently estimated that cities will require \$706 million to employ 1.2 million youth this summer. House-passed supplemental appropriations would provide \$412.7 million for summer youth employment.

Detroit Mayor, Coleman Young testified that, "While the rest of the nation worries about recession, about six or seven or eight percent unemployment, Detroit looks



Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins

squarely at depression, capital 'D' DEPRESSION, with 25 percent unemployment.... Back in the 1930s the nation mobilized its resources to deal with an agricultural crisis that made wasteland of rich farming country and uprooted whole populations from the countryside. We can do no less for our cities in the 1970s. A full employment, job guarantee program that provides meaningful work for our people is a critical step."

Inquiries on Congressman Hawkins' full employment hearings and legislation should be directed to the Equal Opportunities Subcommittee of the Education and Labor Committee, Rm. 619, U.S. House of Representatives Annex Bldg., Washington 20515 D.C.

advocate for the Caucus, conveyed his high, personal regard for each member.

On May 10th, Stevie Wonder was honored by the Washington D.C. community in its Fourth Annual Human Kindness Day. The event, hosted by Congressman Ronald V. Dellums and his wife Roscoe, focused on Stevie Wonder as an artist who actively works to advance the interests of black people. Mrs. Roscoe Dellums stated, "Stevie Wonder, a gentle and beautiful black man, has become an institution to the world of music. He is a symbol of courage to a people socialized in an arena of false vanity and greed. He has brought profound dignity, sensitivity and humanity to an often exploitive industry. He has made a proud black people even prouder, and his talent has forced America to stand up and applaud."



Stevie Wonder

Tribute to Stevie Wonder

On May 12th, the Congressional Black Caucus held a private tribute luncheon in honor of Stevie Wonder, noted black singer, composer, musician. Stevie Wonder is one of many artists who have generously donated their time and talents in support of the Caucus. Wonder was presented a plaque containing the embossed, autographed pictures of Caucus members. In addition, he received oral and written tributes.

Congressman Charles B. Rangel, chairman of the Caucus noted that, "Stevie Wonder has expressed, through his dedication and music, the kind of humanism we seek to protect in the Congress." Stevie Wonder, a vigorous

CAUCUS NOTES

Rep. Ronald V. Dellums, a member of the recently created Select Committee on Intelligence, in examining the CIA noted that: "Each of us must be very concerned with the delicate nature of the Central Intelligence Agency's role and I certainly have no wish to interfere with, or expose legitimate functions. However, I believe that any abuses must be corrected and there are legislative measures that must be taken to insure the proper safeguards, established to preclude action beyond Congressional mandate." Dellums, also a member of the House Armed Services Committee, has introduced legislation to strengthen Congressional oversight of the CIA (HR 343—Central Intelligence Agency Control Act, and HR 1267—Central Intelligence Disclosure Act. Both in the Armed Services Subcommittee on Investigations).

Rep. Robert N. C. Nix, has been named chairman of the International Economic Policy Subcommittee of the International Relations Committee. The Chairmanship will provide Nix an oppor-

tunity to examine the impact of international economic conditions on the American economy. "The Subcommittee will give special emphasis to examining: the role and impact of multi-national corporations on jobs and prices in the U.S.; foreign investments in the U.S.; and discriminatory practices in international finances", says Nix.

Rep. Yvonne Burke in a recent statement on the evacuation of 130,000 Vietnamese to the U.S. observed: "We also want to know what plans the Administration has for assimilating these evacuees in the economy... And what are these Vietnamese going to do for jobs, when eight million U.S. citizens are presently looking for work with no relief in sight... We watched the war on poverty turn to ashes because of Vietnam and Blacks have suffered most from the ravaging inflation started by that war."

Rep. Ralph Metcalfe, Chairman of the Panama Canal Subcommittee returned, on April 9, from a four-day fact finding mission in the Canal Zone. The U.S. and Panama are presently engaged in treaty negotiations on the future of the Zone. In oversight hearings conducted April 21 and 22, Metcalfe expressed optimism on continued close relationships between the U.S. and Panama. However, he voiced a number of concerns about improvement of working and living conditions for Panamanians residing in the Zone.

The Joanne Little Case

Representatives Yvonne B. Burke, Shirley Chisholm and John Conyers have called for Justice Department intervention in the murder prosecution of Joanne Little. Ms. Little, a 20-year-old black woman, is accused of the fatal stabbing of her Beaufort, North Carolina jailer, Clarence Aligood. Ms. Little maintains that her actions were in self-defense against a rape attempt by Aligood. The Beaufort County Superior Court has denied a pre-trial motion to quash the murder indictment. Ms. Little faces the death penalty.

Representative John Conyers, chairman of the House Judiciary's Subcommittee on Crime has labelled the North Carolina legal system as, "perhaps one of the

most oppressive in the entire country. Nearly 35% of the nation prisoners on death row await execution in North Carolina, and the overwhelming majority of these inmates are black." Representative Chisholm, in a statement of members of the media on April 15, said: "A woman's right to defend herself during sexual attack, whether she is incarcerated or not, must be examined in light of such cases as Joanne Little's". Representative Burke noted, "We cannot consciously ignore Joanne Little's assertions of self-defense, nor the allegations that other women have been subjected to sexual abuse while incarcerated. We believe there is sufficient reason to justify an inquiry into this situation."

Forum—

Continued from page 1

it cost to bring about full employment? What are the social costs and implications of our current continuing high unemployment? What are the political chances, realistically, for passage of a Full Employment Act *this year*? These and other issues will be addressed by participants in the Forum.

Now in its final planning stages, the forum will be organized as an Ad Hoc Congressional Hearing. The two major objectives of this event are: 1) to present media decision makers and the working press with a more detailed perspective on who is really hurt by unemployment and a clear understanding of the economic, legislative and political implications of full employment; 2) to project the issue of full employment as a viable alternative to the nation's current and devastating joblessness levels.

The Hearing Panels will include members of the Congressional Black Caucus, other members of Congress in both the House and Senate, representatives of the Joint Center for Political Studies and several noted publishers and editors. Invited witnesses include: Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit; William Lucy, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Murray Finley, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Eleanor Holmes Norton, Commissioner, Human Rights Commission of New York; Clarence Mitchell, NAACP; Renault Robinson, Afro-American Patrolmen's League, Chicago; Dr. James Comer, Psychiatrist, Yale University; Dr. Bernard Anderson, Economist, Wharton School of Business; Luncheon Speaker, Vice President Nelson Rockefeller.

The Congressional Black Caucus is currently assembling a comprehensive listing of technical, public interest, community action and local political organizations. Constituent interest, input and action are vital for responsive legislation. If you wish to be included in the Network, fill out the form on page 3.

The Recession and Minority Enterprises

In June 1971, the Presidential Advisory Council on Minority Business Enterprise reported that, "Some black businessmen have, despite severe handicaps, been able to initiate and maintain successful businesses. But the overall picture is bleak, with blacks owning only a small percentage of American business assets—and not even a significant percentage of trade or service businesses in their own communities." Over the last six years, since the creation of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise within the Commerce Department, black ownership in business has increased. However, proportional representation of minority entrepreneurs remains an illusive goal.

The combined assets of all minority banks in the nation are *less than 10 percent* of the assets of *any one* of the twenty largest non-minority banks in the U.S. While the failure rate for all corporate firms in the country averages 0.5 percent per year, that of small and minority businesses is much higher. For example, using liabilities as a measure of size, we find that in 1973 only 3.7 percent of the firms with liabilities in excess of \$1 million went out of business. However, 26 percent of the firms with liabilities ranging from \$5,000 to \$25,000 failed that year and nearly 42 percent of those firms with liabilities ranging between \$25,000 and \$100,000 went under. Needless to say, many small and minority firms are clustered in debt levels ranging from \$5,000 to \$100,000.

The current economic crisis has taken its greatest toll on those least able to bear the burdens and the black business community is no exception to that rule. According to a recent survey conducted by the Black Economic Research Center (BERC) in New York City, the

*"Proportional representation
of minority entrepreneurs
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illusive goal."*

average failure rate for black businesses during 1972-1975 may be 40.2 percent. The Research Center also estimated that over one-third of the black-owned firms operating over 1972 to date were less profitable in 1974 than in 1973 and many more will be on the brink of failure by the end of 1975.

Black businesses, both in the North and South, are still concentrated in relatively low growth markets such as personal services and retail trade. Less than 8 percent of the non-minority-owned enterprises are concentrated in these areas, compared to nearly two-thirds of the minority businesses. In 1972, the Census Bureau reported that over 21,000 of the 32,000 'counted' minority-owned businesses in the nation were in retail trade or selected services.

The Congressional Black Caucus recognizes the crucial role of minority entrepreneurship in fostering positive economic development for the black community. Representative Parren Mitchell is introducing legislation that would *place a moratorium on repayment of principle and interest on Small Business Administration loans*. The moratorium is designed to assist many small businesses facing failure because of the current inflation and recession. The legislation encompasses all loans made after January 1, 1970 and the

moratorium would be in effect over a two year period, or until such time as the President reasonably declares we are no longer in a period of recession. Parren Mitchell is also among several co-sponsors of H.R. 5059, a bill designed to provide tax relief for small businesses—now before the House Ways and Means Committee.

A number of Caucus members (Representatives Yvonne Burke, Ronald Dellums, Shirley Chisholm, Charles Rangel, Harold Ford and Parren Mitchell) are among the co-sponsors of H.R. 4888, designed to provide financial assistance for rent or purchase of replacement quarters by small businesses that must move because of federal or federally-assisted programs. This legislation, introduced by Joseph Addabbo (D-NY), is currently before the Small Business Administration Subcommittee. Status reports on legislation affecting minority economic development will be reported in future issues of **FOR THE PEOPLE**.

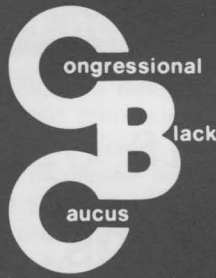
Kaunda—

Continued from page 1

President Kaunda requested the meeting with the Black Caucus members to renew old friendships and inform black America of the purpose of his visit. A broad range of issues were discussed, including President Kaunda's recent contacts with the South African and Rhodesian regimes, the position of the Organization of African Unity vis-a-vis the liberation movement, the linkage between the OAU and black Americans, Zambia's economic conditions, U.S. foreign assistance to Zambia, and the role of the U.S. business interests in shaping U.S. foreign policy towards South Africa.

Meetings with African dignitaries and State representatives are part of the Caucus' on-going support of African liberation and progress.

FOR THE PEOPLE is a publication of the Congressional Black Caucus. The newsletter will be published monthly when Congress is in session. **Officers:** Representative Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.), Chairman; Representative Yvonne B. Burke (Calif.), Vice Chairperson; Representative Andrew Young, (Ga.) Treasurer; Representative Walter Fauntroy (D.C.) Secretary. **Editor:** Alicia Christian. **Production Consultants:** Roger Kranz Associates. Please direct all inquiries to **Editor, For The People**, Congressional Black Caucus, 306 House of Representatives Annex, Washington, D.C. 20515, (202) 225-1691



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Caucus Successful In Blocking F.E.C. Appointment by Ford

In a letter to President Ford on January 28, 1975, the Congressional Black Caucus strongly protested the rumored nomination of former Mississippi Governor John Bell Williams to sit as a member of the Federal Elections Commission.

The Caucus letter pointed to Williams' outspoken opposition to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, his approval of Mississippi laws found to be racially discriminatory by the U.S. Attorney General under that Act, and his praise and close ties to the White Citizens Council.

The Caucus protest was apparently successful, as the two presidential nominations did not include Mr. Williams. However, none of the six Federal Elections Commission nominees, including two each from the House and Senate, is black.

Caucus Announces Legislative Agenda and Economic Priorities

On February 27, the Caucus presented its first formal Legislative Agenda, outlining its priorities for the First Session of the 94th Congress. A copy of the full Agenda is included with this issue of the newsletter. Top priorities include: legislation on full employment and tax reduction in response to the economic crisis; legislation to increase voter participation by removing existing barriers; reordering of national priorities and reduction of the military budget.

no tolerable level of unemployment."

- Tax reform, including repeal of the oil depletion allowance, enactment of a minimum tax, and restructuring of capital gains provisions.
- Extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for 10 years and passage of a universal voter participation law.
- A searching re-examination of the general revenue sharing program



Participating in a special press briefing on the Legislative Agenda were, from left to right, Representatives William Clay, Louis Stokes, Charles Rangel, Ronald Dellums, Yvonne Burke, Harold Ford, Augustus Hawkins (not shown), and Walter Fauntroy.

In addition, the Agenda takes a position on forty major legislative initiatives by individual Caucus members that are aimed at specific problems faced by both the black community and the nation generally. The Legislative priorities include:

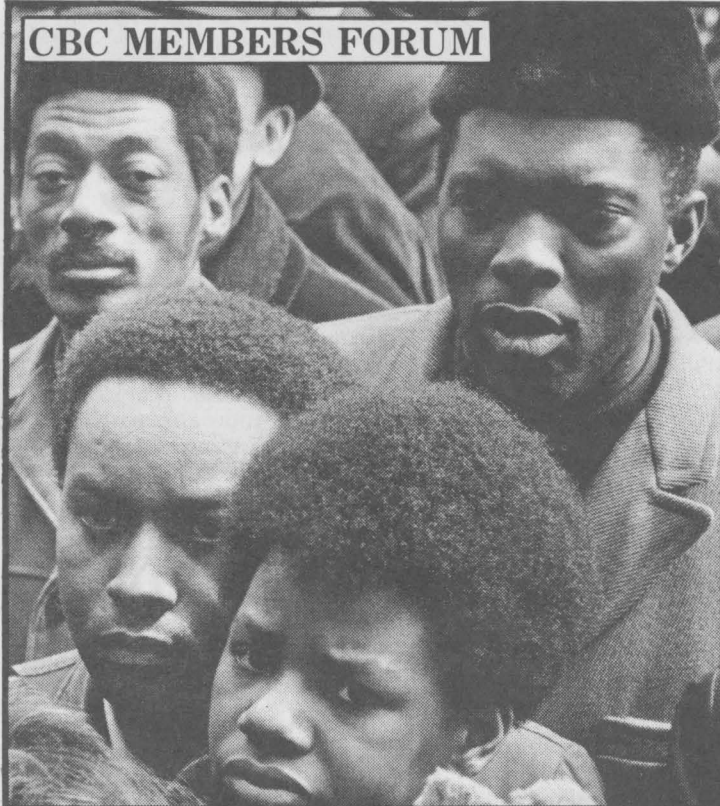
- Passage of comprehensive full employment legislation which incorporates the concept that "there is

with respect to its impact on blacks and the poor, and consideration of both program changes and alternative and complementary programs.

- Reform of social insurance programs, particularly welfare, and passage of a comprehensive health care act.

Continued on page 3

CBC MEMBERS FORUM



No Boots or Bootstraps: The Recession and the Black Community

By Rep. Charles B. Rangel
CBC Chairman

It has been sadly, but truthfully stated that when the American economy catches a cold, its poor and minority communities get pneumonia. The current recession and high inflation that is ravaging the nation, has been most severely felt in the Black community.

While government officials and others have expressed alarm at a national unemployment rate of over 8 percent (some 7.5 million "officially reported" jobless people), they have failed to place similar weight on the fact that Black unemployment has not been below 8 percent since 1969. In February 1975, the joblessness rate for Blacks stood at nearly 14 percent.

In addition, as we have pointed out for some time, there are basic weaknesses in the unemployment measures used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). A large number of people—discouraged workers, no longer seeking jobs; part-time workers, unable to find full-time jobs; and women, frustrated in their attempts to enter the labor market—are not adequately counted in the unemployment statistics. In many poor communities, one-third to one-half of the adult workforce is out of a job and without hope.

Millions of dollars have been allocated to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and yet the measures and procedures they use for determining unemploy-

ment are grossly inadequate. Unemployment figures for our major urban cities—areas where there is a high concentration of black citizens—are generally distorted and diluted by use of figures based on the Standard Metropolitan Area (SMSA). In many instances, no effort is made to determine or cite joblessness data for black adult and teenage workers. In recent hearings held by the Manpower, Compensation, and Health and Safety Subcommittee of the Education and Labor Committee, Department of Labor officials were hardpressed to come up with a satisfactory answer on this data "short-fall".

Title III of the Concentrated Employment and Training Act (CETA) explicitly requires the Department of Labor to improve its system and procedures for reporting unemployment in state, local and poverty areas. Rep. Augustus Hawkins and other members of the Manpower, Compensation, Health and Safety Subcommittee are actively monitoring and urging the Department of Labor's full compliance with CETA Title III.

Miscalculations and undercounts notwithstanding, Black workers remain the front line victims of the nation's current economic down-turn. Many of the hard fought and hard won battles in the 1960's for adequate employment and income opportunities have fallen by the wayside. It appears that our

nominal gains in the sixties were the result of temporary, "knee-jerk" concessions by a government fearful of the spread of summer rebellions.

Black teenagers have yet to be significantly aided in their employment status. Over the last fifteen years, unemployment among black youth has *never been below 25 percent*. In January, 1975, the joblessness rate for black youth (16 to 19) stood at 41.1 percent and dropped to 36.7 percent in February, 1975. This slight decline was chiefly attributable to the fact that many of our youth grew discouraged and simply stopped looking for work—and were, therefore, no longer counted in the unemployment statistics.

The Ford Administration expects us to accept the notion that stronger federal initiatives against unemployment and poverty would "fuel the fires of inflation". However, common sense tells us that *the only buffer poor and moderate income families have against inflation is a job*.

One of the highest priorities of the Congressional Black Caucus is the passage of comprehensive legislation that guarantees the right to useful, meaningful employment for all Americans who are willing and able to work. The major thrust will center on legislation introduced by Representative Augustus Hawkins—H.R. 50, The Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act of 1975.

Energy, Taxes, and the People

In an effort to reduce energy consumption and stimulate programs for energy independence, the President proposed *increased energy taxes* (in excess of \$30 billion) on imported oil, domestic crude oil and natural gas. The Administration also proposed a series of *tax adjustments* (increasing the standard deduction for individuals and families; lowering tax rates for individuals, families and corporations; making modest payments to poor non-taxpayers). The tax adjustments, totalling over \$30 billion were designed to offset, or "neutralize", the detrimental impact of the Administration's energy taxes.

The Caucus has challenged the Administration's assertion that tax adjustments would offset the impact of the energy taxes. Even the conservative estimates of the Federal Energy Administration concede that President Ford's plan would boost the annual fuel and utility costs of poor and moderate income families by \$200 to \$300—while the offsetting factor of tax adjustments only offer savings that range between \$182 and \$292.

PRESIDENT'S TAX REBATE VIEWED AS INADEQUATE STIMULUS:

The Caucus has criticized President Ford's \$16 billion tax rebate proposal (\$12 billion to individuals and \$4 billion to corporations). The President's proposed rebate plan calls for a return of 12 percent of the 1974 tax payments of individuals and families, with the maximum return of \$1,000 going to families earning above \$40,000 a year. A family of four with an annual income of \$7,500 would receive a rebate of only \$58. In terms of impact, families with incomes of \$25,000 and over—about 5 percent of all taxpayers—would receive about one-third of the rebates. Expenditures by lower income consumers, as a stimulus for the economy, are generally neglected in the President's proposal.

The Caucus members worked closely with other Members of Congress in developing an alternative to the Administration's tax rebate package—one that is more responsive to the needs of low and moderate income families.

AGENDA—

Continued from front page

- The forty or so specific legislative proposals by Caucus members including such categories as 1) child care, 2) civil and political rights and liberties, 3) criminal justice, 4) consumer protection, 5) foreign affairs, 6) governmental structure and responsibility, 7) women's rights, 8) housing, 9) health care.

In addition to working for passage of its Legislative Agenda, the Caucus plans to expand its oversight of federal activities, continuously evaluating the impact of federal programs on its constituents, reviewing civil rights enforcement, affirmative action and substantive program effectiveness and equity. The Caucus also plans a more vigorous scrutiny of nominees for federal appointive posts, examining their suitability, experience and positions on issues affecting the Black community.

Hearings on Criminal Justice and Blacks

On February 27, a special ad hoc panel including Representative John Conyers (Chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime), Representative Ronald Dellums, and Representative Walter Fauntroy, began

the first of a series of hearings on the unequal treatment of Blacks in the criminal justice system. The first hearing, held in the District of Columbia, focused on the Attica Prison revolt, the North Carolina criminal case of the "Wilmington Ten", and the Republic of New Africa's conflict with Jackson Mississippi police. Many of the accused involved and convicted in these cases charge that they have been denied due process and are victims of racial injustice.



Representative Conyers noted, after four hours of testimony from lawyers and clients, that the goal of the hearings was a thorough exposition of circumstances and alleged abuses in each case; the development of corrective legislation and legal action; and the focusing of national attention of abuses within the courts and prisons.

Other members of the panel include: New York City Criminal Court Judge William Booth; Mississippi civil rights leader Dr. Aaron Henry; Dr. Charles Cobb, President of the National Committee of Black Churchmen; and Dr. Ronald Walters, professor in Howard University's Political Science Dept.

A second hearing is scheduled in Jackson Mississippi. Future hearing dates will be listed in upcoming issues of **For The People**.

PLANS FOR ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE WORKSHOP BEGIN

The Congressional Black Caucus has begun planning activity for the annual legislative workshop involving Black elected officials and other key participants. The workshop, which has been traditionally held the same weekend as the Caucus Annual Dinner, is tentatively scheduled for **Friday, September 26, 1975**. The workshop will focus on political and legislative challenges facing the Black community, 1975-1976. Mark your calendars and watch upcoming issues of **FOR THE PEOPLE** for details.

FOR THE PEOPLE is a publication of the Congressional Black Caucus. The newsletter will be published monthly when Congress is in session. **Officers:** Representative Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.), Chairman; Representative Yvonne B. Burke (Calif.), Vice Chairperson; Representative Andrew Young, (Ga.) Treasurer, Representative Walter Fauntroy (D.C.) Secretary. **Editor:** Alicia Christian. **Production Consultants:** Roger Kranz Associates. Please direct all inquiries to **Editor, For The People**, Congressional Black Caucus, 306 House of Representatives Annex, Washington, D.C. 20515, (202) 225-1691

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

TAX REBATE: Tax Reduction Act of 1975 (H.R. 2166), from Ways and Means Committee—On February 27, the House of Representatives passed a tax rebate bill under which an amount up to \$200 would be returned to individuals and families from their 1974 tax payment (a total of \$16.6 billion to individuals and \$5.1 billion to businesses). The bill is progressive in that the amount of increase declines for those with higher incomes (above \$20,000/year). Also, the minimum standard deduction is increased to \$2500/year for joint returns and \$1900/year for single taxpayers, which frees a larger group of low-income persons from any tax; the minimum standard deduction is presently at \$1300/year for all taxpayers.

As passed by the House, the bill eliminates the oil depletion allowance, as called for in the Caucus' Legislative Agenda, but this provision may be removed in the Senate. Members of the Caucus voted for the bill on final passage. While H.R. 2166 is more progressive than the Administration's proposal in returning a larger share to lower-income persons, this concept can certainly be extended further in future legislation.

FOOD STAMPS: To amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964 (H.R. 1589), from Agriculture Committee—An Administration proposal to increase the cost of food stamps was blocked by a bill passed overwhelmingly by both Houses (and not vetoed, though not signed, by the President). The new law simply prohibits the Agriculture Department from raising food stamp prices above their January 1, 1975 level. However, it is only binding through December 21, 1975, during which time the Congress will hold new hearings on the law.

The Congressional action blocking food stamp price increase protects the roughly 5 million blacks, as well as the roughly 10 million whites and others who use food stamps. Persons interested in making their views known on further changes in the food stamp program should contact the Congressional Black Caucus.

ENERGY: (H.R. 2633, H.R. 2650) Ways and Means Committee is presently holding hearings on energy conservation, and discussions are taking

place with the White House as to a possible compromise position on an energy program. The Congress passed a bill which would delay for 90 days the President's executive action increasing oil import taxes, but the bill has been vetoed by the President. A veto override vote is being held up pending the possible compromise.

Even the congressional Democrats' energy package would include a five cent a gallon increase in gasoline taxes, which could increase an additional 6 or 7 cents a gallon above that point. For Blacks of lower incomes, this would cause additional hardship, particularly where automobile use is necessary. Congressman Louis Stokes' bill providing for an energy cost rebate to persons of lower incomes—the F.U.E.L. plan, has been referred to the Subcommittee on Energy and Power of the House Interstate and Commerce Committee. Letters of support should be

sent to Congressman John Dingell the Subcommittee Chairman.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS: Several major bills on the Caucus' Agenda, are now in the hearing stage before subcommittees. This, of course, is a crucial stage in the development of legislation. Following is a partial list of current hearings: 1) Extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights); 2) Full Employment Act (House Education and Labor Committee, Equal Opportunities Subcommittee); 3) Gun Control (House Judiciary Committee, Crime Subcommittee); 4) Appropriations Committee hearings for federal agencies including Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, and Defense.

Persons interested in making an input on these or other topics should contact the relevant committee or the Congressional Black Caucus.

Congressman Harold Ford: Newest CBC Member

Representative Harold E. Ford (D-Tenn.), 29, is the newest member of the Congressional Black Caucus. Congressman Ford is the first Black Congressional Representative from Tennessee since the Reconstruction era. Harold Ford graduated from Tennessee State University and also has an Associate Degree in Mortuary Science from John Gupton College in Nashville.

No novice in elective politics, Ford was elected in 1970 to the Tennessee State Legislature. During his first term in the 87th General Assembly, Ford was named Majority Whip for the House. In his successful congressional campaign against incumbent Republican Dan Kuykendall, Ford stressed accountability and accessibility by elected officials. In keeping with that theme, he is an active participant in local developments and is conducting "Town Hall Meetings" with his constituency.

Congressman Ford, a vigorous consumer advocate, has introduced legislation that would require all packaged consumer commodities to be labeled to show their selling price. He is also concerned about jobs, the role of utilities and the development of economic in-



Representative Harold E. Ford

itatives that would assist poor and moderate income consumers during this period of inflation and recession.

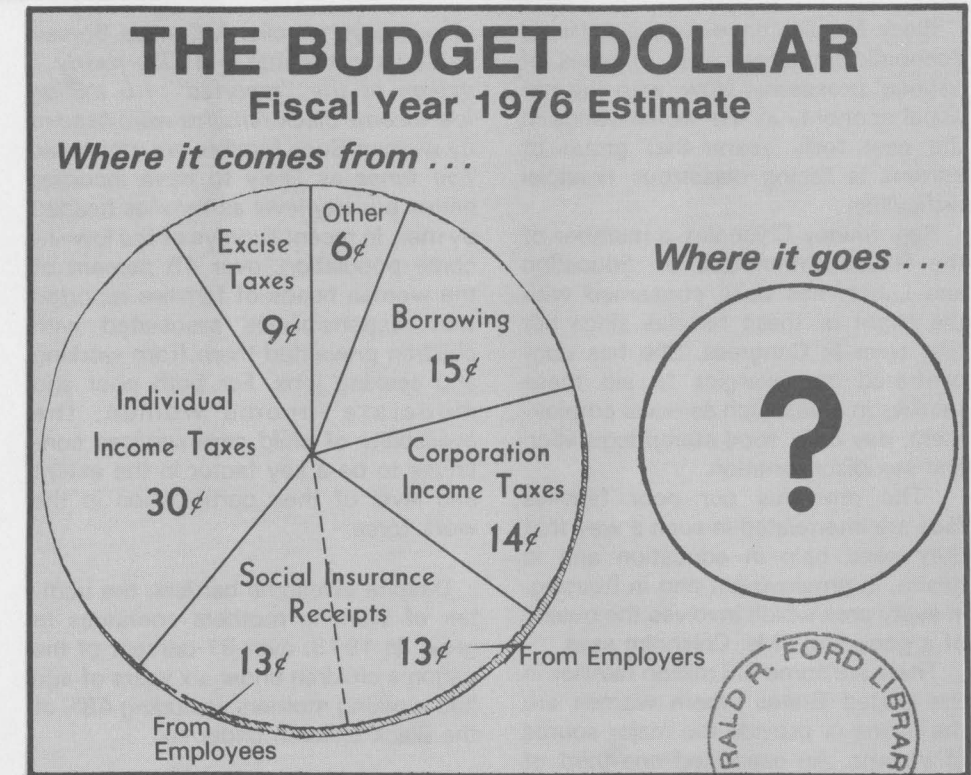
Committee assignments of Congressman Ford include: Banking, Currency and Housing Committee; Select Committee on Aging; and the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

Briefing Held on the FY 1976 Federal Budget

On February 3, in response to a Caucus request, key executives from the Office of Management and the Budget provided a special budget briefing for Congressional Black Caucus members and their staffs. Such briefings are part of an on-going Caucus analysis of the Ford Administration's economic and budget proposals, and the development of Caucus position papers for cabinet officials and the general public.

The President's FY 1976 Budget proposed \$349.4 billion in outlays, with a deficit of nearly \$52 billion. The President expressed dismay at the deficit level and seeks to contain it through \$17 billion in proposed spending limitations, reductions, and cuts. Many of the proposed cuts affect key domestic programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Child Nutrition, public assistance, and education.

The President's Budget accepts projections of a national unemployment rate in excess of 8 percent in 1975 and 7.9 percent in 1976. Already, however, several economists have projected unemployment levels as high as 10 percent before the end of this year, along with a continuing rapid rise in the



cost of living. These conditions place devastating pressures on Black and poor communities.

Caucus members have been sharply

critical of inequitable provisions in the President's budget and will continue active deliberations on the budget and appropriations process.

Chess Janus Records Presents Check to Caucus

Over 400 invited guests attended a major reception on February 19, sponsored by Chess Janus Records, to honor the company's presentation of a \$50,000 check to the Congressional Black Caucus. The check was presented as an advance on the anticipated sales of the recorded First Annual CBC Benefit Concert. The Concert was held September 25, 1974 at the Capitol Center. The record album includes performances by WAR, CURTIS MAYFIELD, KOOL AND THE GANG, GLADYS KNIGHT AND THE PIPS, AND JIMMY WITHERSPOON.



Participating in the formal presentation, above from left to right are: Congressman Charles B. Rangel; Gene Friedman, Manhattan Advertising; Congressman William Clay; Mr. Marvin Schlachter, President of Chess Janus Records; Congressman Harold Ford; Congressman Ronald Dellums; Mr. Nathan McCulla, President of Shakat Records; Mr. Tom Bonetti, GRT Corporation; Congressman Louis Stokes; and Congressman Walter Fauntroy.

Women, Children and the Family

Black families have always suffered economic hardships even in times of national prosperity. Now, with the national economy in the worse straits in the past forty years, that group of citizens is facing disastrous financial difficulties.

Rep. Shirley Chisholm, a member of the House Committee on Education and Labor, has been concerned with the plight of these families since her first term in Congress. She has concentrated her energies to aid these families in areas such as equal employment, day care, food stamp legislation and sex discrimination.

"The problems our poor families face are interrelated in such a way that they need help in education and in health, in employment and in housing, in every area which involves the quality of a good life," Ms. Chisholm says.

There are some 6.6 million families in the United States where women are the heads or provide the major source of income. An estimated one-third of these families were reported living below poverty level in 1973. The current economic down-turn and spiralling cost of living serve to reinforce the fact that for many women, participation in the labor force is *crucial*, not incidental, to the economic well being of their families.

Black women and other minority women constitute a major proportion

of our poverty rolls. A Census Bureau study indicates that in 1973, *nearly 1 million of the "reported" 1.5 million low income Black families were headed by women.* Such families are more than five times as likely to have incomes below poverty level as families headed by men. In recent surveys of the low-income population, over 45 percent of the women heads of families reported that responsibilities associated with children prevented them from working and seeking jobs. For both poor and moderate income women, the availability of child care services continues to be a key factor in the extent and level of their participation in the work force.

Despite awesome barriers, the number of working mothers continues to grow. In 1973, over 31 percent of the nation's children under six years of age had working mothers, including 48% of the Black children under six.

The incidence of unemployment among women has been consistently higher than that of men, and the combined national average. For example, in January 1975, the unemployment rate for Black women over twenty years of age was 11.0%, compared to 7.7% for white women and 5.5% for white men. Even those women with jobs have appreciably lower salaries than men and



are concentrated in less skilled job categories.

Rep. Chisholm is currently developing a Child Care bill that would establish federally aided child development programs and service for children under six with definite priorities for poor children—including children of working mothers and single-parent families. Rep. Chisholm has noted that: "Day care must not be considered a *custodial* service. It will obviously be a help to women who want and need the opportunity to achieve their full employment potential For (the children) the primary importance will be as an *educational* environment."

New Congressional Black Caucus Staff

The Congressional Black Caucus, in December 1974, appointed **Ms. Barbara J. Williams** as **Executive Director**. Ms. Williams served previously as Director of the Coalition for Human Needs And Budget Priorities, and prior to that, was Administrative Assistant to Congressman Ronald V. Dellums.

As Caucus Executive Director, Ms. Williams will coordinate administrative, organizational and research supports

needed to realize the legislative goals and priorities of Caucus members. She heads a seven-member staff team that includes: **Kenneth Colburn**, *Legislative Coordinator*; **Alicia Christian**, *Research/Resources Coordinator*; **David Ruffin**, *Organizations and Federal Agencies Coordinator*; **Beryl Bridges**, *Administrative Assistant*; **Darcus L. Smith**, *Public Affairs Assistant*.

Nathaniel Davis Appointed, Despite Caucus Protests

Despite the vigorous objections of the Congressional Black Caucus, the Senate, on March 11, approved the appointment of Nathaniel Davis to the post of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Caucus members objected to the appointment, citing Davis' inexperience in African affairs, and questions surrounding his actions as former Ambassador to Chile, during the alleged U.S. complicity in the overthrow of Salvador Allende.

The Caucus was deeply disappointed at the Senate's failure to respond to the protests and plans to press its views even more forcefully on similar matters.

NOTICE

The following information is available through the Caucus:

The Legislative Agenda of the Congressional Black Caucus
CBC Preliminary Analysis of the Proposed FY 1976 Federal Budget.
Caucus Committee and Sub-committee Assignments

If you wish to be placed on the Caucus mailing list
please write: Congressional Black Caucus, 306
House Annex, Washington, D.C. 20515.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 27, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MARSH
THROUGH: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
FROM: VERN LOEN *VL*
SUBJECT: Black Caucus

As a follow-up to the telephone call Russ Rourke received from Dr. James Cowan of the Department of Defense, members of our staff and Stan Scott met with Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY), Chairman of the Black Caucus, last week.

The purpose was to establish dialogue and improve liaison with the Caucus.

Mr. Rangel was extremely pleased and made no specific requests other than he be informed of issues affecting the black community. He would have appreciated advance notification of the nomination of William Coleman as DOT Secretary since he is a black.

We shall attempt to maintain liaison with Mr. Rangel and the secretary to the Black Caucus, Barbara Williams, in conjunction with Stan Scott.

bcc: Stan Scott ✓
Doug Bennett
Charley Leppert



STATEMENT OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS
ON THE NOMINATION OF NATHANIEL DAVIS TO BE ASSISTANT
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY 26, 1975



The Congressional Black Caucus, as elected Representatives of the U.S. Government and as ad-hoc representatives of African-Americans throughout the U.S., deeply deplore and renounce the position taken by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in a letter to His Excellency William A. Eteki Mboumoua, Secretary General of the Organization for African Unity, regarding the nomination of Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Secretary Kissinger, in that letter, chided the OAU for publicly acknowledging its dismay over the nomination. "The selection of senior officials for posts in the U.S. Government," Kissinger said, "is a function of American sovereignty.... (T)he selection of Assistant Secretaries of State remains a purely internal, domestic concern."

The Congressional Black Caucus believes that Secretary Kissinger has reacted to the OAU statement with arrogance and insensitivity.

The nations of Africa need no defense of their action in condemning the nomination of Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. Contrary to what Secretary Kissinger wrote, this is not an internal State Department matter; this is a nomination to a post of international consequence, reflecting as well as making policy toward Africa and relating to the interests of both the U.S. and African nations.

As illustrated in the New York Times article of Saturday, February 22, the OAU Council of Ministers is not the only official reaction to this nomination; South Africa, dominated by a white super-racist minority, has demonstrated that it is more than pleased with the nomination. And yet Secretary Kissinger chose not to interpret their expression of support as interference in "internal" U.S. affairs.

Kissinger's assertion that the nomination is "purely internal" is purely nonsense. No appointment at that level of the foreign affairs branch of our government or any other government involves only the government making the choices. The Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs must effectively deal with and represent the unique problems of more than forty countries on the African continent, one-third of the world family of nations. To do so, such an Assistant Secretary must have the trust and cooperation of those with whom relations must be maintained. Mr. Davis does not have that trust and cooperation; more importantly, we believe that he can never achieve it. Our feelings on this question are clear: An Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs cannot be credible if Africa wants no part of him.

The OAU Council of Ministers has made clear, just as President Mobutu of Zaire did as he opened the Conference of African and American Representatives in Kinshasa on the 20th of January, that the Davis nomination is a dangerous benchmark in demonstrating the future of U.S. policy toward the nations of Africa.

We in the Black Caucus believe that several points in Secretary Kissinger's letter must be examined and translated into the real terms they convey.

Kissinger's reference to the position of Assistant Secretary as an "important position" is heartening to note. We hope that Secretary Kissinger is as consistent in viewing this issue as important; indeed, if through our opposition to this nomination we have at least helped to clarify the importance of this post and compel the Secretary to reveal his attitude toward African affairs, we will feel that we have accomplished something of value.

This nomination is not for Assistant Secretary of State for Administration; it is for Assistant Secretary of State for Africa; and the name of the title itself implies the responsibility for close working relationships with the highest-level personnel of other governments, as well as Ambassadors to the U.S. & to the U.N., and African groups within and outside U.S. borders.

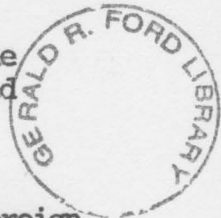
Is it then Kissinger's place to condemn our friends on the African continent who warn us that we have erred, that this man is not trusted and will not command the respect due that office?

Is it wrong for our friends on the African continent to ask that their interests be represented by the best possible individual available? The Congressional Black Caucus believes that the U.S. Government should heed our friends' warnings and withdraw this nomination.

Secretary Kissinger, in his letter to the OAU, states that the U.S. Government "would never comment publicly upon the choices of other sovereign governments in filling any of their public offices." We find this statement extraordinary. Of course the U.S. does not comment publicly on such nominations. But are we to believe that the U.S. Government plays no part in the selection process of government officials in other countries? Are we to believe that there are no covert pressures, no diplomatic "hints" given when the U.S. interests are involved in selection of foreign officials? Are we to forget the Diem regime and the Thieu regime in Vietnam, the overthrow of President Allende in Chile, and untold other episodes of U.S. "hands-off" policy??

It seems more than ironic and totally inconsistent for the U.S., which still must answer for its actions in Chile and elsewhere, to cite "international decency" as the standard by which the OAU action must be measured. Does Secretary Kissinger mean to imply that the OAU, by taking a stand on this nomination, is "indecent"? Or that U.S. policy making and management is to be taken as the world's standard of decency? Kissinger also refers to the OAU as a group the U.S. has "regarded as friends", intimating that friends are those who keep still in the face of diplomatic faux-pas.

References are made to Secretary Kissinger's consternation at learning of the OAU action from "the press." We would point out to the Secretary of State, in case he has forgotten, that the position taken by the OAU



had been espoused for several weeks among the African diplomatic community; it was reiterated in the remarks of an African Chief of State; and it was specifically cited in the telegram from Congressman Charles Diggs of the Caucus to the President on January 20 -- a telegram which Mr. Kissinger personally answered. We suggest that, if the Secretary had listened, he would have heard the voices of Africa raised in protest long ago.

Secretary Kissinger goes into much detail concerning Mr. Davis' background. The Congressional Black Caucus does not question Mr. Davis' credentials as a Foreign Service officer of high competence in certain areas.

However, Mr. Davis' competence is not the issue. His credibility is. Given the opposition of those with whom he would have to work both here and abroad, can Mr. Davis possibly be effective? We believe not.

Secretary Kissinger's fleeting reference to Mr. Davis' tenure as Ambassador to Chile is indicative of the cavalier way this very serious episode is being treated by the Department of State. To gloss over this controversial service as simply one assignment, despite the testimony of Sen. Frank Church, Congressman Michael Harrington and others, is an act of folly.

Secretary Kissinger notes that "Mr. Davis was selected in order to give new impetus and inspiration to our African policy." We wonder what happened to that same rhetoric which introduced us to Donald Easum, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs who was unceremoniously dumped less than one year after the promises were made? The State Department had led us to believe over the past nine months of Assistant Secretary Easum's tenure that we were moving in new and inspiring directions. Now, while trying to explain an unwanted appointment, State has also to explain the abrupt department of Mr. Easum, whose enthusiasm and interest were winning lasting friendships on the African continent.

Secretary Kissinger cites his confidence in Mr. Davis, and that of President Ford. We submit that his confidence is not enough; unless confidence is forthcoming from those in the African governments, Mr. Davis will be viewed with only mistrust and misgivings.

The Black Caucus takes offense at Secretary Kissinger's comment that "I am certain that the African statesmen (emphasis added) with whom he will be dealing will learn to respect him as I do." The implications of this statement are clear: those who are true "statesmen" on the African continent and around the world will recognize the inherent right in the State Department decision. Secretary Kissinger again overlooks the already-voiced opposition of one of the most respected statesmen in Africa.

As Black Members of the House of Representatives, we particularly resent Secretary Kissinger's attempts to portray Nathaniel Davis as a great civil rights leader. While his activities are a commendable manifestation of his interests in racial harmony, they are far from being a justification for a nomination of this importance. If Secretary Kissinger were interested in sending a civil rights leader to this position, he would be recommending Martha Griffiths, Roy Wilkins or Cesar Chavez. To assume that an interest in domestic civil rights implies expertise in U.S.-African relations is absurd.

Kissinger accuses the OAU of "besmirching" the reputation of Nathaniel Davis by its opposition.

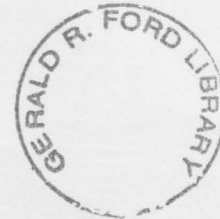
We suggest that Secretary Kissinger himself besmirches Mr. Davis' reputation



by attempting to jam his appointment down the throats of African nations who have made it clear they want no part of it. He has made Mr. Davis a symbol, through his intransigence on the issue, of U.S. imperialism and arrogance in foreign policy. If there is damage done to the reputation or career of Nathaniel Davis as a result of this nomination, it is Secretary of State Kissinger, and not the OAU, who is responsible.

Secretary Kissinger's closing entreaty to the Council of Ministers to make known his letter to their respective Heads of State will, we believe, change nothing of the OAU position. The Black Caucus is well aware, as we are sure Secretary Kissinger is also, that the Council of Ministers would not have taken such a public stand without some indication from their respective governments as to their official positions.

The Congressional Black Caucus reiterates its position, as stated in the accompanying documents, that the nomination of Nathaniel Davis is detrimental to the interests of the U.S., and further repeats its demand that the nomination be withdrawn.



TEXT OF LETTER FROM CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS TO PRESIDENT FORD
RE: NATHANIEL DAVIS NOMINATION FEBRUARY 25, 1975

PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing on behalf of the Congressional Black Caucus to respectfully request that you withdraw the nomination of Nathaniel Davis for the post of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. As you may know, the Caucus expressed its concern over this nomination in a letter to Chairman John J. Sparkman and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 6, 1975. Since that time, there has been a groundswell of opposition to the nomination, most significantly by the Organization of African Unity and by African leaders such as President Sese Seku Mobutu of Zaire. Both Congressman Charles Diggs in a recent cable to you from Africa and Congressman Andrew Young testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee expressed their concern over an Ambassadorial nomination to a country despite the protest of the people of that country.

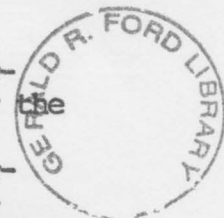
Our opposition to Mr. Davis for this post is not one of personality, but one of policy. As Ambassador to Chile during the overthrow of President Salvador Allende, one might easily assume that Mr. Davis may have been involved with the unfortunate United States complicity in the overthrow. A sensitivity toward concerns of developing African nations over subversion by the major powers makes even the appearance of participation in those activities unacceptable. Mr. Davis' lack of experience in African affairs only heightens the inappropriateness of his selection for the African Affairs position.

Of equal importance is the priority which this country places on Africa in its overall foreign policy. This country cannot afford the diplomatic liability of this nomination as we move toward an era of increased political and economic interdependence with the African nations. Initiatives by the other major powers on that continent, which have been neglected for too long, make the credibility of our African policy even more crucial. As more nations, such as Mozambique, Angola and eventually Rhodesia and Namibia achieve self-determination in Southern Africa, the U.S. must not suffer the disability of suspect diplomatic liaison.

Nathaniel Davis may be an able diplomat. However, at this time, and under present circumstances, it would be a fundamental error to have him assume the position as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

We would like to offer our assistance in identifying a suitable candidate for this most important position and express our willingness to work closely with that person.

CHARLES B. RANGEL
Chairman, Congressional Black Caucus



TEXT OF LETTER
FROM THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER
SECRETARY OF STATE
TO HIS EXCELLENCY WILLIAM A. ETEH MBOUMOUA
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR AFRICAN UNITY
REGARDING THE NOMINATION OF NATHANIEL DAVIS
AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

The text of the "Consensus Resolution" of the OAU Council of Ministers commenting upon the nomination by the President of the United States of Nathaniel Davis to the important position of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs has been brought to my attention by press accounts.



The selection of senior officials for posts in the United States Government is a function of American sovereignty. Unlike the established procedures for accrediting Ambassadors for whom agreement is sought, the selection of Assistant Secretaries of State remains a purely internal, domestic concern. The United States Government would never comment publicly upon the choices of other sovereign governments in filling any of their public offices. Under commonly accepted principles of international decency it has the right to expect the same of other governments, particularly of those whom it has regarded as friends. You will understand, Mr. Secretary General, the depth of my dismay in learning from the press of this unprecedented and harmful act of the council.

Ambassador Davis, as you know, is a brilliant career officer in our Foreign Service. President Ford and I repose particular trust and confidence in him. Indeed, he has served with great distinction in high posts in our public service under Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon as Deputy Associate Director of the Peace Corps, Minister to Bulgaria, Ambassador to Guatemala, Ambassador to Chile and as Director General of the Foreign Service. He is not yet fifty years old. The post to which he has been nominated by the President is one to which we attach very great importance. Mr. Davis was selected in order to give new impetus and inspiration to our African policy. I have full confidence in his ability to fill this vital position with distinction. I am certain that the African statesmen with whom he will be dealing will learn to respect him as I do.

I cannot believe, Mr. Secretary General, that the members of the Council were aware that Ambassador Davis, while serving in the Peace Corps under President Kennedy, traveled widely in Africa, that he was a marshal in the great 1963 Civil Rights March in Washington led by Dr. Martin Luther King, that he has served for periods totaling five years as an Assistant Professor at Washington's leading black institution, Howard University, and that he has devoted many years of his spare time as a volunteer worker among the disadvantaged black citizens of Washington. I am truly saddened to learn of the manner in which the Council has besmirched the reputation of this outstanding man who was selected precisely because we believed that he possessed the breadth of view and the compassionate understanding for a new approach to this vital position. To suggest that such a man has a mission to "destabilize" Africa, a continent with which we have enjoyed excellent relations and in whose development it is our policy to assist is unacceptable and offensive.

(I might also add that the word "destablize" is one coined by a newspaper reporter, not one ever used by any U.S. official to describe our activities in any country.)

I would ask you to communicate to the African heads of State at the earliest possible moment the text of this message in order that the regret felt in the United States over this unfortunate and unfair action is well understood.



TEXT OF TELEGRAM FROM CONGRESSMAN CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR. TO
PRESIDENT FORD RE: NATHANIEL DAVIS NOMINATION FEBRUARY 23, 1975

ACTION JUST TAKEN BY OAU MINISTERS CONFERENCE IN ADDIS REGARDING
DAVIS APPOINTMENT RECONFIRMED COMMENTS MADE IN MY CABLE TO YOU FROM
AFRICAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE IN KINSHASA LAST MONTH AND REINFORCED
AT EVERY STOP DURING MY RECENT ITINERARY. YOUR ADVISORS DISPLAY
AN INCREDIBLE COMBINATION OF IGNORANCE AND ARROGANCE TO INSIST
UPON THIS NOMINATION UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. NO GEOGRAPHIC
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE-DESIGNATE SHOULD SURVIVE SUCH OPPOSITION.
URGENTLY REITERATE MY STRONG BELIEF THAT IT IS BETTER TO SAVE FACE
BY WITHDRAWING THE DAVIS NOMINATION THAN FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO
SUFFER CONSEQUENCES OF AN IMPAIRED ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR AFRICA WHO IS ONLY PUBLICLY SUPPORTED AS OF TODAY BY THE SUPER-
RACISTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. RESPECTFULLY.

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
MEMBER OF CONGRESS



January 20, 1975

Dear Mr. Stokes:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President



The Honorable Louis Stokes
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.

bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki

January 20, 1973

Dear Mr. Rangel:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President



The Honorable Charles Rangel
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki

January 20, 1975

Dear Mr. Nix:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President



The Honorable Robert Nix
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki

January 20, 1975

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Parren Mitchell
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki



January 20, 1975

Dear Mr. Metcalfe:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Ralph Metcalfe
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki



January 20, 1975

Dear Miss Jordan:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Barbara Jordan
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki



January 20, 1975

Dear Mr. Hawkins:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Augustus Hawkins
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki



January 20, 1975

Dear Mr. Ford:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Harold Ford
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.

bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki



January 20, 1975

Dear Andy:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President



The Honorable Andrew Young
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki

January 20, 1975

Dear Mrs. Collins:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President



The Honorable Cardiss Collins
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EP:VO:kl

January 20, 1975

Dear Mr. Fauntroy:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Walter Fauntroy
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.

bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki

January 20, 1975

Dear Mr. Diggs:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Charles Diggs, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki

January 20, 1975

Dear Mr. Dellums:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Ronald Dellums
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:kl

January 20, 1975

Dear Mr. Clay:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable William Clay
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki

January 20, 1975

Dear Mrs. Chisholm:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Shirley Chisholm
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.
bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ML-clay

January 20, 1975

Dear Mrs. Burke:

Thank you for the January 16 letter to the President which you cosigned as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

I know the President will appreciate having your comments on his State of the Union address and the alternative suggestions you and your colleagues have made.

I want to assure you that your letter will be called to the President's attention without delay. In addition, copies will be shared with his energy and economic policy advisers. I am confident your presentation will be studied very carefully.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Vernon C. Loen
Deputy Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Yvonne Burke
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

bcc: w/incoming to William Seidman for DIRECT REPLY --
for the President's signature if appropriate.

bcc: w/incoming to Stan Scott - for your information

VCL:EF:VO:ki



Congressional Black Caucus

306-307 U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES-ANNEX
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515 (202) 225-1691

January 16, 1975

President Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D.C.



JAN 17 1975

Dear Mr. President:

Your address to the Congress on the State of the Union was commendable in its recognition of the necessity to extend the 1965 Voting Rights Act. We view this as an important public acknowledgement of your positive attitude toward the voting rights of minority Americans.

We were, however, disappointed in major aspects of your economic proposals. For, once again, your Administration appears preoccupied with current symptoms of economic unrest, rather with the basic systemic causes which have brought about this period of continuing economic dislocation.

We are concerned that you neglected some of the most critical possible actions that should be taken to begin substantive, long range economic turn-around, and to measurably improve conditions for millions of low and moderate income families and individuals.

When we last met at the White House, the Congressional Black Caucus proposed policies and programs we felt necessary to move the economy toward long-term stability and equity.

- There must be major tax reforms. Studies indicate that close to \$50 billion in new revenues can be generated by closing existing tax loopholes -- loopholes which largely benefit higher income groups, wealthy individuals and the corporate sector.
- There must be expanded government job creation programs keeping pace with mushrooming unemployment. In August, 1974, we proposed that a minimum of one million public service jobs be federally subsidized -- and at that time unemployment in the Black community averaged 9.4 percent. Today, Black unemployment is at 12.8 percent. We repeat the call for at least one million public service jobs. We also reiterate last year's mandate for full employment programs.
- There must be not only an expansion and extension of unemployment compensation benefits, but also increases in benefit levels. Average weekly benefits, in all too many states, are not even sufficient to bring recipients up to the poverty level.

- There must be a commitment to instituting a vigorous anti-trust program and to full implementation of existing anti-trust statutes. Many experts have acknowledged that the exorbitant, and frequently extortionist pricing policies of monopolistic industries are robbing millions of Americans of purchasing power.
- There must be a concerted effort to curb the ever-rising military budget. In the last weeks, Administration spokespersons have indicated that they would be requesting nearly \$100 billion in defense spending for the next fiscal year. In the face of current economic dislocation there is clearly a need to re-examine our national economic priorities.
- There must be fulfillment of the mandate of the Housing Act which calls for "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family". Today, fully 75% of American families with annual incomes of less than \$15,000 annually, are effectively priced out of the housing market and over 13.1 million families live in substandard, overcrowded housing or pay an excessive portion of their income for rent. Full implementation of existing housing programs and development of new initiatives is long overdue.
- There must be a substantive reduction of interest rates. Monetary authorities are still pursuing a tight money policy which is causing mortgage and other long range interest rates to remain close to all time record highs.
- There must be some plan to develop meaningful price controls, fairly administered and comprehensive enough to cover all forms of income -- including profits, interest, dividends, rents and other non-earned income.
- There must be a strong effort to relieve moderate and low income consumers of the relentless burden of the high cost of food. Low and moderate income families have been hardest hit by escalating food costs and some experts have reported that increases in food prices alone, in 1974, contributed to an 8 to 10 percent cut in the real income of poor families. In addition, monopoly concentration in the food processing and retail industry has fostered scurrilous pricing policies. The Food Stamp Program, a needed support for working poor and unemployed, through lack of vigorous implementation, is still being underutilized. We call for an accelerated Food Stamp outreach effort and reasonable coupon levels.
- There must be an increase in current transfer and income support programs that have failed to keep pace with inflation. Your call for a moratorium on increased spending and your request that substantive increases in social security benefits be halted is ill-advised and would, in effect, force the low and moderate income families to foot the bill and bear an excessive burden for your economic policy. We call for the Administration's



support of a comprehensive welfare reform package.

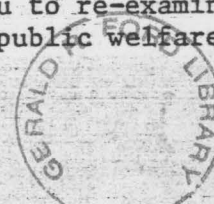
- There must be new relief measures for low-income and non-taxpaying consumers burdened by the multiplier effect of the increased cost in goods and services that will be the result of your proposed oil taxes and tariffs.
- --There must be Federal action to compel energy industries to plow high profits into productive expansion.
- There must be a commitment for the United States to re-examine its energy sources in Africa and elsewhere and to seriously re-evaluate its foreign policies in these areas vis a vis emerging majority governments, in view of their enormous potential as future suppliers of energy sources.

Your have offered a \$16 billion tax cut (\$12 billion for individuals and \$4 billion for business) as an initial stimulus and for that we commend you. Yet even this proposal is replete with inequities and biases toward higher income groups. You mentioned that this initial tax cut could provide rebates this year of \$1,000 for individual taxpayers. But you failed to note that only those in higher income brackets --with annual incomes of about \$40,000 per year or more-- could receive a significant rebate. Under your proposal, a low or moderate income family would receive a rebate that is little more than \$2 per week or about \$150 total. Families with incomes in excess of \$25,000 -- 6% of the families in the U.S. -- would get more than a third of the rebates from this tax cut.

It has also been determined that a \$16 billion stimulus is clearly not enough to reverse the current economic down-turn. Ten years ago, President Johnson proposed a \$12 billion tax cut, when the GNP was scarcely half the rate it is today.

Your future proposal for raising the low income allowance and reducing the tax rates represents a welcomed effort to bring equity and progressivity to our tax system. However, even under this plan the savings to individuals hardly represents enough to recover from the devastating erosion of the purchasing power of their incomes. A married taxpayer with an income of \$8,000 may hope to save \$210 under your proposal. (a) But the \$210 does not begin to recapture the \$800 loss in purchasing power as a result of double-digit inflation in 1974, and (b) your proposal places new burdens on those least able to shoulder the cost. Yet the energy taxes you plan would completely wipe out that saving. Increases in gasoline prices would mean an additional \$100 per year to the average consumer. Another \$100 in increases would result from escalating utility costs. This does not incorporate the multiplier effect of increases in the costs of goods and services dependent on fuel suppliers.

We are concerned with a plan that would provide new tax breaks to the oil industry --as chief perpetuator of many of our current energy problems. Experts in the energy field have come up with a host of alternative plans to effectively increase domestic productively and foreign exploration. We encourage you to re-examine these and to develop an energy plan that is more supportive of the public welfare--not the profits of oil interests.

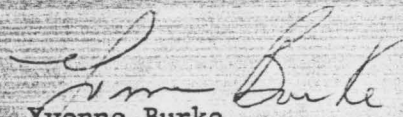


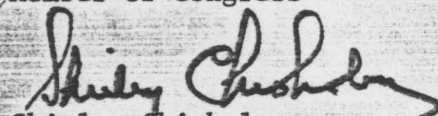
President Gerald R. Ford
January 16, 1975
page 4

The task of revitalizing our nation's economy and providing meaningful jobs and adequate income for Americans is awesome indeed. We are pleased that you have recognized the need for taking action to combat recession. While we are concerned about the scope and direction of your overall economic proposals, the Congressional Black Caucus, is prepared to assist you in the development of creative approaches to critical issues facing us all.

While large segments of the Black community and the poor of every race suffer most during periods of economic dislocation, all Americans -- consumers, workers, the elderly and small businesses want a more stable and prosperous economy. We would appreciate your response to the issues we have raised.

Respectfully,

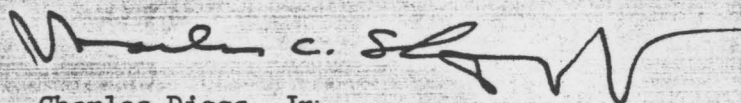

Yvonne Burke
Member of Congress

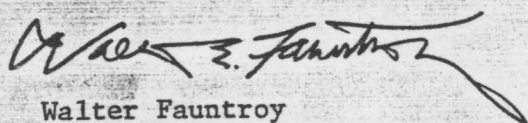

Shirley Chisholm
Member of Congress

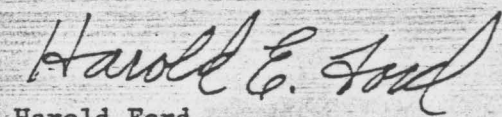

William Clay
Member of Congress

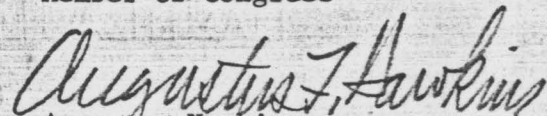

John Conyers, Jr.
Member of Congress

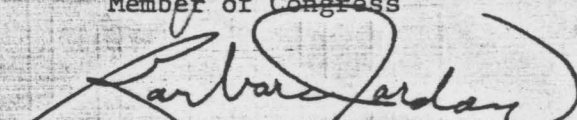

Ronald Dellums
Member of Congress

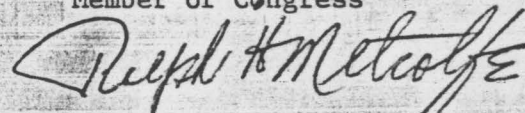

Charles Diggs, Jr.
Member of Congress

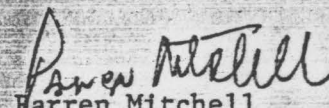

Walter Fauntroy
Member of Congress

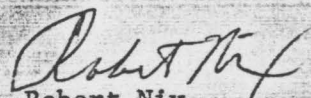

Harold Ford
Member of Congress

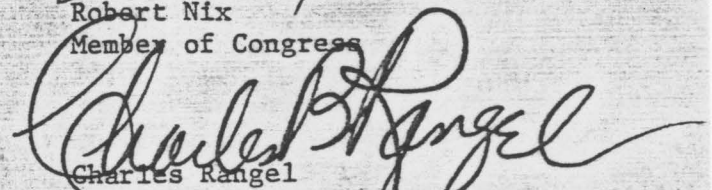

Augustus Hawkins
Member of Congress


Barbara Jordan
Member of Congress


Ralph Metcalfe
Member of Congress

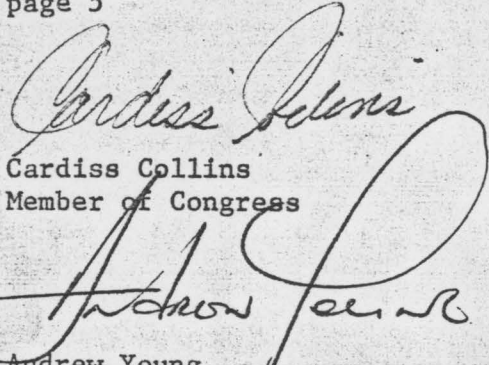

Warren Mitchell
Member of Congress

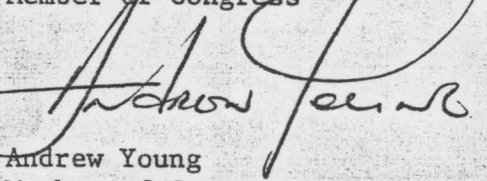

Robert Nix
Member of Congress

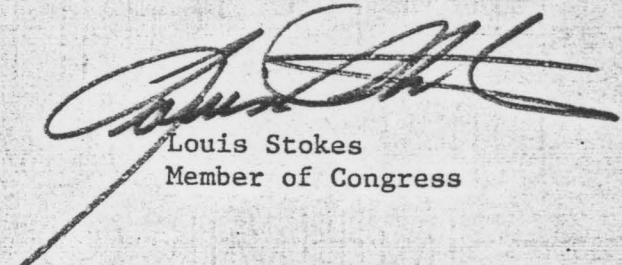

Charles Rangel
Member of Congress



President Gerald R. Ford
January 16, 1975
page 5


Cardiss Collins
Member of Congress


Andrew Young
Member of Congress

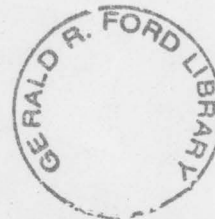

Louis Stokes
Member of Congress



File

SS

Black Caucus



January 27, 1975

Dear Congressman Rangel:

This will acknowledge with thanks your letter to the President of January 24, 1975 requesting a briefing for the Caucus on the 1976 budget.

The President plans to brief the Bipartisan Leadership on Monday, February 3, and there will also be a general briefing for all Members of Congress on that day.

With regard to your request for a briefing for the Caucus, you will be contacted by Mr. Robert Bonatati who is the Congressional Relations assistant for the Office of Management and Budget, to arrange a special briefing for the Caucus on February 3.

We will work out this schedule for your convenience and make the appropriate Administration officials available to give you all of the necessary available information and answer questions.

We are delighted to be able to give you this special briefing.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Max L. Friederodorf
Assistant to the President

Honorable Charles B. Rangel
Chairman, Black Congressional Caucus
306-307 U.S. House of Representatives-Annex
Washington, D.C. 20515

MLF:jg

bcc: Bob Bonatati
✓ Stan Scott
Roy Ash
Paul O'Neill

Congressional Black Caucus

306-307 U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES-ANNEX
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515 (202) 225-1691

January 24, 1975

President Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

In our meeting of August, 1974, you indicated a willingness to consult and meet with members of the Congressional Black Caucus in order to review our concerns about the critical economic and social problems facing the nation. As you prepare to present your FY 1976 Federal Budget Proposals to Congress and to the American people, we would like an opportunity to gain full understanding of the budget prior to its formal presentation.

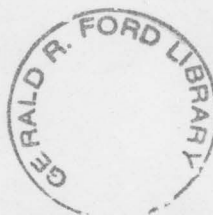
We would like to have a budget briefing for Congressional Black Caucus members and key staff by senior White House officials working in the areas of budget policy, at a convenient time, hopefully by February 3rd. This briefing would permit Caucus members a timely opportunity to examine budget proposals and develop a preliminary assessment of their responsiveness to the domestic concerns and priorities of the Black community, the cities, and the nation as a whole. We believe that this session would be in keeping with the spirit of cooperation and "open door" policy you announced in our meeting last August.

We look forward to your favorable response.

Sincerely,

Signed by CCR 1/23/75

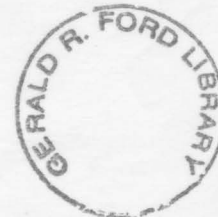
Charles B. Rangel
Chairman of the Black Congressional Caucus



*O'Neil
STAN SCOTT*

January 31, 1975

Honorable Charles Rangel
Chairman
Black Caucus
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



Dear Congressman Rangel:

We are pleased that we can provide you and the Members of the Black Caucus with a special briefing on the FY 1976 Budget.

According to the arrangement made with Barbara Williams, we will plan to be in the Speaker's Dining Room (Room H-122 of the Capitol) at 3 p.m. on Tuesday, February 4.

The briefing will be conducted by OMB Deputy Director Paul O'Neill with assistance from the OMB Associate Directors.

Please let me know if I can be of any further assistance.

Very sincerely,

Robert F. Bonitati
Assistant to the Director
for Congressional Relations

WALTER E. FAUNTROY
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

COMMITTEES:
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
BANKING AND CURRENCY

CHAIRMAN, JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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(202) 225-8050

DISTRICT OFFICE:
GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE BUILDING
441 G STREET NW.
SUITE 1002
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20548
(202) 962-3266

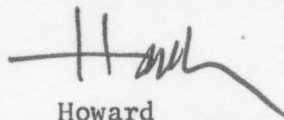
November 26, 1974

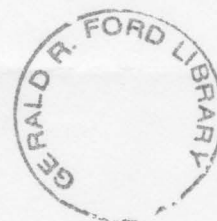
Stan . . .

I have enclosed a copy of the letter which was circulated to each member of the caucus.

It should contain all the data which you would need; however, if you want info from the departmental level, you may contact Burt Levine on the ROC desk at 632 2209. He is aware of the plans and has already advised our mission of the possible visit.

With thanks


Howard



WALTER E. FAUNTROY
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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November 21, 1974

X
X
X

Dear xx:

A representative of the Embassy of the Government of the Republic of China on Taiwan, Minister S. K. Hu, has requested that I extend to you the invitation of the Pacific Cultural Foundation to visit that country as guests of the Foundation.

As you may know, four Members of the Caucus have already visited this country at the invitation of the Foundation. Their names are available upon request to my office.

It is my recommendation that the invitation be accepted by the Caucus for an educational visit during the early part of January, 1975. Since the program which the Foundation would plan for the Members requires approximately five days in Taiwan, it is recommended that Members depart the United States on Friday, January 3, 1975, and return on Monday, January 13, 1975.

Those who would like to visit British Hong Kong or elsewhere may make arrangements to do so during the return flight. You may find it useful to view the various refugee camps and discuss with Hong Kong officials the plight of those who are entering or residing there. Since most Members will, I am sure, want to be in the United States for the opening of the Ninety-Fourth Congress, I doubt that any extensive amount of time will be available for Members to remain elsewhere in East Asia.

Your attention is called to Advisory Opinion No. 3 of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, which has advised that it is of the opinion that acceptance of travel or living expenses in specie or in kind by a Member from a foreign government is not consented thereto by any construction of 5 USC 7342.



My inquiries have determined that the Foundation on whose behalf the invitation has been extended does not fall within the prohibition described in 5 USC 7342, wherein Section (a)(2) defines "foreign government" as a "foreign government and an official agent, or representative thereof" by reason that it is a private educational institution funded through private sources and is not an agent or an official representative of the Government of the Republic of China.

As a Member of the Congress, you are entitled to possess an "Official" United States Passport which you can obtain for this trip. All other arrangements can be made through my office except those concerning the following inoculations which can be made through the Capitol Physician, Dr. Freeman H. Cary, M.D.; Smallpox and Chollera are required; Polio, typhoid, tetanus and gamma globulin are recommended. You should begin all of these inoculations as soon as possible.

If you anticipate a stopover at any country enroute between the Republic of China and the United States, you may need a visa which can be obtained from the Embassy of the country through the Department of State. I'll be pleased to assist you in making any arrangements you may need.

Please understand that my extension of the invitation is in no way an endorsement of the policies or goals of any committee, foundation, or country; nor is it an endorsement of any particularized policy of the United States. Neither would your acceptance or regret be construed to be an endorsement or rejection of any policy of any of these institutions as the invitation is extended for purely educational reasons.

I would like to advise the Minister and our own Department of State of the plans of the Caucus Members no later than December 16, 1974. If you would like to accept the invitation of the Foundation, please so indicate on the attached sheet and return it to my office as soon as possible. Additional information can be secured from my Legislative Assistant, Howard Lee, at 5-8050.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER E. FAUNTROY
Member of Congress



ATTACHMENT

November 20, 1974

Dear Mr. Fauntroy:

(1) I would be pleased to accept the invitation of the Pacific Cultural Foundation to visit in the Republic of China on Taiwan from approximately Friday, January 3, 1975 to Monday, January 13, 1975.

I (____ will) (____ will NOT) be accompanied by my spouse, whose name is: _____.

(2) I would be pleased to accept the invitation of the Pacific Cultural Foundation to visit in the Republic of China. The suggested dates are not, however, available to me. I would prefer to visit during the following times: _____.

I (____ will) (____ will NOT) be accompanied by my spouse, whose name is: _____.

(3) I regret that I will be unable to accept the invitation of the Pacific Cultural Foundation to visit in the Republic of China at this time.

I would like you to make the following additional arrangements for me: _____.

Sincerely,

Members Signature

Date



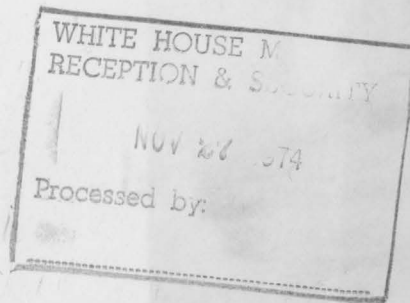
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Mr. Stanley Scott
The White House
Washington, D. C.

==room 179==

Walter E. Fauntroy
M.C.

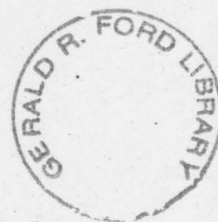




X-55/BT

SCANNER READY COPY
INSIDE LABOR
By Victor Riesel

Release on Receipt
Dispatched 11/7/74



Action in the House:

Black Caucus Planning Tough New
Demands on Democrats' 'Establishment'

NEW YORK--There's no more tightly knit operating group than the congressional Black Caucus. All one needs do to understand it is to talk with Rep. Charles Rangel when he returns home to Harlem. Then you learn the caucus is going into retreat so it can plunge strongly ahead in the new Congress.

By retreat, chairman Rangel means seclusion. Somewhere "on the outskirts of Washington in sort of a resort," the caucus's 17 members and a few selected staffers will confer for two days beginning Nov. 15 or 16. They've done their homework. They know their strength. They want more than a piece of the action. They want action. They're set to take on the "party organization" (they're all Democrats) and even the labor establishment.

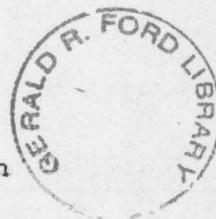
They want think time to work out strategy for what they believe is due them from their own political compatriots. For the Black Caucus believes it has the balance of power in the House when the vote over key legislation gets tight.

And they believe a lot of Congressmen represent black, Chicano and "poor white" citizenry--and rarely vote "in their interests."

Further, the caucus wants its people on "every important committee." And for a start Charley Rangel is being pushed for a seat on the crucial House Ways and Means Committee. That should startle even the imperturbable Wilbur Mills, its chairman.

There's a vacancy now that the Kennedean Hugh Carey won the New York governorship. Rangel says the caucus research reveals there's never been a black on the 25-member committee--through which passes (or doesn't pass) some of the most critical social legislation. History could be made here. And not just for the in-politics crowd.

Charley runs in the 19th congressional District known to the world as Harlem. It's a safe sea. Once it was held by Adam Clayton Powell. And once, only half jesting, I threatened to run against Adam. Not jesting, Powell said he'd handicap me, or anybody, 100,000 votes.



Rangel is 44 and has lots of time for seniority. Thus, he could work up that ladder to the Ways and Means Committee chairmanship as Powell did a generation ago in the House Education and Labor Committee. Powell would still be there if he hadn't passed on.

Yes, indeed, the caucus has done its homework. It sees itself extending, election after election, into the rural areas, out of the inner cities, out of the ghettos, out of the North's seething, industrial New York-Detroit-type megalopolises. Rangel points to the black Congress people from Texas and Atlanta and now from Memphis, Tenn. He speaks of the caucus having an even greater constituency--"poor white" people.

The caucus, says he, will represent "all low-income folk," Chicanos, Spanish-surnamed, and low-income minorities. He chuckles when he conjures up what many believe to be the image of the new black Congress people. He points to the 38-year-old Congresswoman from Texas, Barbara Jordan, a lawyer and magna cum laude; and to the 42-year-old Congressman Rev. Andrew Young from Georgia, college and theological seminary graduate.



x x x graduate.

Rangel himself is a dean's list lawyer, a volunteer black soldier who got the Purple Heart, the Bronze Star and other battle decorations for fighting in Korea.

So the Democratic establishment isn't going to brush off this caucus with an expansive pat on its collective back. For three reasons: first, the caucus expects to add another 10 House members in 1976 and, with its white allies from the big cities such as this town, swing a big bloc vote.

Second, it's done its research in preparation for the retreat. It has studied the narrow margins by which the liberal-labor-Democratic congressional force has pushed its bills through an almost evenly divided Congress. And it will show the results to the party's majority leader and whip to prove that the Black Caucus has been the balance of power.

True the new Congress hardly is evenly divided. But many of the newcomers "inspire" Rangel. And he believes they will be with the caucus and against the establishment on social issues.

Third, the caucus has done demographic and economic

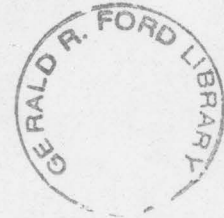


x x x economic

studies of scores of congressional districts. For the first time, caucus leaders will be able to go to white colleagues and say, look, you have so many blacks, Chicanos, and low-income constituents. Vote for them. There's always another election day.

Thus, the new era will see a new, new politics directed by a tough-minded, didactic phalanx of black legislators who see their horizons rising beyond race or color and bound only by a common economic creed.

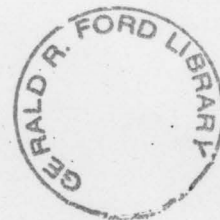
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G. I. Watkins
10/18/74

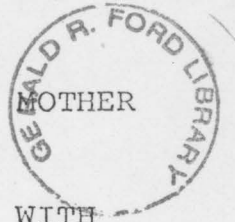
"ROCK OF AGES"

SPEECH BY MAYOR MAYNARD JACKSON
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS DINNER
WASHINGTON, D.C.
SEPTEMBER 28, 1974



OVER THREE AND ONE-HALF CENTURIES AGO, AN OLD, GRAY-HAIRED MOTHER
STOOD ON THE SHORES OF THE MIGHTY AFRICAN CONTINENT AND WATCHED WITH
STRAINED GAZE A SMALL SHIP SLOWLY FADE FROM VIEW. AS THAT VESSEL OF EVIL
DISTURBED THE SERENITY OF THAT TRANQUIL SEA, SHE ENDURED THE PAIN OF
RECALLING THAT HER SONS AND DAUGHTERS HAD BEEN STOLEN, BEATEN, CHAINED AND
SOLD INTO A SYSTEM SO PERVERSE THAT IT CHALLENGED HER UNDERSTANDING. SHE
KNEW NOTHING OF THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS OF THAT DAY. WORDS SUCH
AS MERCANTILISM AND IMPERIALISM MEANT NOTHING TO HER; BUT IN HER HEART SHE KNEW
THAT SOMETHING HAD JUST MADE AN ATTACK UPON THE SOUL OF HER PEOPLE. ALTHOUGH
SHE WAS LEFT BEHIND, TOO OLD TO BE PRIVY TO THE PLUNDER, SHE FELT THE TREMOR
WHEN THAT ENSLAVED BLACK HUMANITY, WHICH THERETOFORE HAD THRIVED UNDER THE
MOON AND STARS OF FREEDOM, SURVIVED THE MIDDLE PASSAGE AND WAS SPEWED ONTO
THE DOCKS OF JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA, TO MAKE COTTON KING AND THE KING CORRUPT.

AS WE WERE DEFINED AS CHATTEL, SOLD LIKE A HORSE, WORKED LIKE A MULE,
MATED LIKE CATTLE AND TREATED LIKE A DOG, THE SPIRIT OF THAT OLD WOMAN
PRESIDED OVER US. SHE SAW US EMANCIPATED INTO A SYSTEM OF FREEDOM WHERE
EVERYBODY WAS FREE BUT US. SHE CONSOLED US WHILE WE ENDURED PELLAGRA,
BOLL WEEVIL EXPLOITATION, LYNCHING, CASTRATION AND RACISM SO BARBARIC THAT



ITS VESTIGES PLAGUE THE OPPRESSED AND THE OPPRESSOR EVEN A CENTURY LATER.

Margaret Young
Mrs M King
Mrs Margaret Evers

TODAY, AS WE REMEMBER OUR COMMON ROOTS, WE HONOR THESE FOUR MATRIARCHS OF THE MOVEMENT AND THE STRENGTH, INTELLIGENCE AND COMPASSION OF UNIVERSAL BLACK WOMANHOOD WHICH THEY REPRESENT. WE CELEBRATE THE BLACK WOMAN AS OUR "ROCK OF AGES", THAT TOWER OF POWER, SUGGESTED BY 'ERNIE BARNES' PAINTING, WHO IS SO OFTEN SEEN STANDING AT THE BUS STOP, CLOTHED IN THE RAINMENTS OF POVERTY, SURROUNDED BY RUMPLED SHOPPING BAGS, WAITING FOR HER RIDE HOME AFTER A HARD DAY'S WORK FOR TOO LITTLE MONEY. HERS IS NOT THE SMOOTH CONTOUR OF THE VENUS DE MILO, THE MYSTERIOUS SMILE OF THE MONA LISA OR THE LANGUID BEAUTY OF A PAUL GAUGHIN POLYNESIAN BATHER. SHE BULGES FROM TOO MANY STARCHES SHE GRIMACES FROM CORNS AND BUNIONS THAT VIE FOR POSITION ON WEARY FEET. SHE IS WEATHERED BY EXPERIENCE AND WITHERED BY THE HEAVY BURDEN OF BEING OVERWORKED, OPPRESSED AND IGNORED. BUT SHE'S OUR ROCK OF AGES, STANDING STEADFAST AGAINST THE TIDES OF TROUBLE, THE RANCOR OF RACISM AND THE BITTER WINDS OF BENIGN NEGLECT.



WHILE SHE REMEMBERS US, SHE WONDERS NOW WHETHER WE REMEMBER HER. SHE TAUGHT US TO STICK TOGETHER, YET SHE SAW THE ANTI-BLACK ELECTED OFFICIAL, SELF-CONSUMING, PARANOID DISUNITY OF A NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION

IN LITTLE ROCK THAT FIDDLER AROUND WHILE HOME WAS BURNING.

SHE TAUGHT US TO LOVE ONE ANOTHER, YET THE SPIRALING INCIDENCE OF BLACK-ON-BLACK CRIME MAKES HER WAIL THE WORDS FROM GENESIS, "THE VOICE OF YOUR BROTHER'S BLOOD IS CRYING TO YOU FROM THE GROUND."

SHE TAUGHT US TO SURVIVE ON LITTLE IN A LAND OF PLENTY. YET, NOW SHE STANDS IN MUTE AMAZEMENT AT AN AMERICA WHERE THE THING THAT IS FED THE BEST IS INFLATION, AND IT IS PARTIAL TO DARK MEAT.

OUR ROCK OF AGES TAUGHT US THAT IF WE DID RIGHT, OBEYED THE LAW AND LOVED THE LORD, WE, TOO, COULD WALK AMERICA'S GLORY ROAD UP TO CANAAN LAND. YET, SHE NOW SEES THAT WHEN AMERICA CATCHES A COLD, BLACK AMERICA CATCHES PNEUMONIA.

--THE BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS DOUBLE THAT OF WHITES, 20%

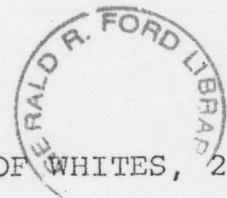
IN SOME INNERCITY NEIGHBORHOODS AND 36% AMONG BLACK TEENAGERS.

--THE BLACK HIGH SCHOOL DROP OUT RATE IS TWICE THE NATIONAL

AVERAGE AND BLACK COLLEGE GRADUATES OFTEN EARN LESS THAN THE

WHITE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE.

--THE CHANCES THAT A BLACK AMERICAN WILL DIE BEFORE THE AGE

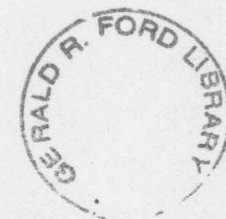


OF 35 ARE FOUR TIMES GREATER THAN IF ONE WERE WHITE; AND OF
THE BLACK CHILDREN UNDER 14 YEARS OF AGE WHO WERE BORN IN A
PUBLIC HOSPITAL, 60% HAVE NEVER SEEN A DENTIST.

--IF YOU ARE A BLACK AMERICAN, THE CHANCES THAT YOU WILL BE
ROBBED ARE TRIPLE THOSE IF YOU WERE WHITE; THE CHANCES THAT
YOU WILL BE BURGLARIZED AND HAVE YOUR CAR STOLEN ARE ALMOST
DOUBLE. IF YOU MAKE LESS THAN \$3,000, YOUR CHANCES OF BEING
ROBBED ARE FIVE TIMES HIGHER THAN IF YOUR INCOME IS OVER \$10,000.
A BLACK, POOR WOMAN'S CHANCES OF BEING RAPED ARE FOUR TIMES
AS HIGH.

IF RICHARD NIXON WERE BLACK, HE WOULD BE CATCHING SO MUCH HELL HE
WOULD RATHER BE IN JAIL.

OUR ROCK OF AGES SEES US HERE TONIGHT IN OUR FINERY AT \$100 PER
PLATE AND REPRESENTING 3,000 BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS, BUT HER REALITY
NEVERTHELESS IS ROCKED BY THE TRUTH OF LANGSTON HUGHES' PLAINTIVE CRY
OF THE MASSES,



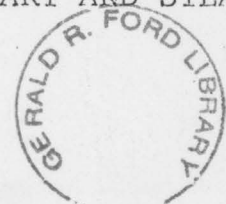
"I SWEAR TO THE LORD

I JUST CAN'T SEE

WHY DEMOCRACY MEANS

EVERYBODY BUT ME."

SHE TAUGHT US TO DO UNTO OTHERS AS WE WOULD HAVE OTHERS DO UNTO
=US. BUT NOW SHE DISCOVERS THAT RICHARD NIXON RE-WROTE THAT PROVERB SO
THAT IN THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE NEW TESTAMENT BOOK OF WATERGATE IT NOW
READS, " DO UNTO OTHERS BEFORE THEY DO UNTO YOU." NOW SHE DISCOVERS THAT,
WHILE SHE URGED US TO BE BOY SCOUTS AND GIRL SCOUTS, NIXON WAS RE-WRITING THE
OATH TO READ, " ON MY HONOR I WILL DO MY BEST TO GET MY PART AND STEAL
THE REST."



OUR ROCK OF AGES TAUGHT US, LIKE ALBERT CAMUS, THAT CHANGE AND LOVE CAN
REDEEM OUR LIVES AND PREVENT THEM FROM BECOMING NOTHING MORE THAN ABSURD
CARICATURES OF MEANDERING MEANINGLESSNESS. YET NOW SHE SEES THAT, AFTER
AMERICA HAS SPENT MILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND MILLIONS OF HOURS OF MANPOWER
ON CHURCHES AND OTHER PLACES OF WORSHIP, SENSITIVITY SESSIONS, STUDIES,
CONFERENCES, SEMINARS, RESEARCH, ANALYSIS AND SUMMIT MEETINGS, WE STILL
LIVE IN AN ERA OF MORE HATE THAN LOVE, MORE DISCORD THAN UNITY, MORE

IGNORANCE THAN ENLIGHTENMENT, MORE POVERTY THAN WEALTH, MORE DESPAIR THAN
HOPE, MORE NEGLECT THAN ATTENTION, MORE PROBLEMS THAN SOLUTIONS, MORE
DOWN THAN UP.

SHE TAUGHT US TO REMEMBER OUR ROOTS, REMEMBER OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS
WHO ARE STILL LOCKED IN THE DUNGEONS OF DEPRIVATION. YET, TODAY SHE SEES
SOME BLACK PEOPLE WHO HAVE ESCAPED FROM POVERTY (FOR THE TIME BEING) AND
WHO ALSO ARE TRYING TO ESCAPE THEIR DUTY TO THE POOR. SOME BLACK AMERICANS
HAVE GOTTEN SO BIG THAT THEY ARE SO BIG THAT THEY ARE SO BIG THAT THEY ARE
SO BIG THAT THEY DON'T HAVE TIME FOR THE FOLKS WHO MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR THEM
TO BE SO BIG.

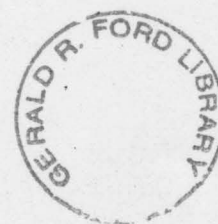
WATCH OUT, AMERICA! YOU ARE CHIPPING AWAY AT THE ROCK OF AGES AND WE,
HER SONS AND DAUGHTERS, WILL NOT SIMPLY LET THE CHIPS FALL WHERE THEY MAY.
SHE IS US, AMERICA, AND WE ARE YOU, AND WE MUST STAND TOGETHER LEST WE FALL
APART! NO MORE HYPOCRISY, AMERICA! NO MORE

"PEOPLE WALKING UP TO YA

SINGING 'GLORY HALLELUJAH',

AND ALL THE WHILE THEY'RE TRYING TO SOCK IT TO YA

IN THE NAME OF THE LORD."

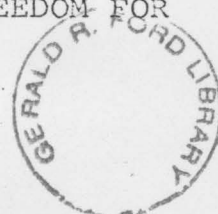


NO MORE WEeping AND A' WAILING! OUR ROCK OF AGES TAUGHT US TO BE TOUGH, AND WHEN THE GOING GETS TOUGH, THE TOUGH GET GOING. WE CANNOT TOLERATE THE MISTAKEN BELIEF THAT THE TIME FOR GROUP STRUGGLE IS OVER AND THAT THE 1970'S ARE A PERIOD FOR INDIVIDUAL PURSUITS AND MATERIALISTIC GAINS. WE STILL MUST HAVE THE UNITY AND GROUP IDENTIFICATION THAT MADE CIVIL RIGHTS A MOVEMENT.



WE MUST SEEK ALLIES REGARDLESS OF COLOR. OUR PROTRACTED STRUGGLE MUST BE ONE OF GOOD PEOPLE AGAINST BAD IDEAS. WE MUST REMEMBER THAT THE ROCK OF AGES TAUGHT MARTIN LUTHER KING, MALCOLM X; WHITNEY YOUNG, MEDGAR EVERS AND THEIR WOMEN THAT, IN ITS ULTIMATE DIMENSIONS, THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION IS A BATTLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, BLACK AND WHITE. IF WE ARE TO CHANGE OUR NATIONAL POLICIES, WE MUST BE A BROAD-BASED POLITICAL FORCE THAT CAN CHANGE THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE THE POLICIES. SO, LET BLACK AMERICA BE UNITED, BUT LET US ALSO REACH OUT, AS WE DID IN THE 1960'S, AND INCLUDE OUR WHITE BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF GOOD HEART. AS JULIAN BOND REMINDS US, " WHEN YOUR HOUSE IS ON FIRE AND SOMEBODY RUNS UP WITH A BUCKET OF WATER, DON'T ASK HIM WHO HE IS. DON'T ASK HIM WHERE HE GOT IT. JUST MAKE SURE IT'S NOT GASOLINE, AND POUR IT ON."

THESE FOUR MARTYRS DID NOT LEAVE THEIR WIVES WIDOWS JUST TO ELECT 110
BLACK MAYORS ACROSS THIS NATION; THE FIGHT IS FOR FREEDOM. THE FIGHT WAS NOT
JUST TO SEND A THOUSAND BLACK STUDENTS TO IVY LEAGUE SCHOOLS; THE FIGHT IS
FOR FREEDOM. THE FIGHT WAS NOT JUST TO OPEN UP A HANDFUL OF \$20,000-A-YEAR
JOBS IN BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT; THE FIGHT IS FOR FREEDOM---FREEDOM FOR
ALL FROM ECONOMIC AND RACIAL OPPRESSION.



SO, WE MUST REDEFINE OUR STRATEGIES, SHARPEN OUR POLITICAL TOOLS AND
STICK TO OUR GOALS IF WE ARE TO PROVE OURSELVES WORTHY OF THE FAITH OF OUR
ROCK OF AGES. SHE TAUGHT US THAT THE ESSENCE OF BLACK PEOPLE IS WILL,
PERSISTENCE, AND A DOGGED DETERMINATION TO SURVIVE. WE MUST HAVE THE WILL
TO KEEP OUR EYES ON THE GOAL AND NOT BECOME DISILLUSIONED WITH THE PROCESS.

BLACK MEN MUST LOOK TO OURSELVES AND EACH OTHER FOR STRENGTH, BUT
BLACK MEN ALSO MUST DRAW STRENGTH AND INSPIRATION FROM THE BLACK WOMAN, OUR
ROCK OF AGES. WE MUST NOT ALLOW THE TENSIONS AND PRESSURES OF OUR STRUGGLE
TO TURN US AGAINST EACH OTHER. WE MUST NOT ALLOW THE FALSE DICHOTOMY
BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S
LIBERATION TO DIVIDE US ALONG BIOLOGICAL LINES. WE MUST USE OUR STRUGGLES
FOR COMPLETE HUMAN LIBERATION AS A BASIS FOR INCREASED UNITY. WITHOUT COMPL

TRUST IN EACH OTHER, WE CAN ONLY DEFEAT OURSELVES.

FINALLY, I COME TO YOU TONIGHT TO SAY THAT I HAVE FAITH THAT WE WILL
MAKE IT. WE WILL WIN OUR HUMAN STRUGGLE FOR OURSELVES AND FOR GENERATIONS YET
UNBORN BECAUSE THE ROCK OF AGES HAS GIVEN US THE WILL TO DO WHEN OTHERS
DON'T, THE WILL TO KEEP ON KEEPING ON. AS ELLA WHEELER WILCOX SAID:

"THERE IS NO CHANCE, NO DESTINY, NO FATE

CAN CIRCUMVENT OR HINDER OR CONTROL

THE FIRM RESOLVE OF A DETERMINED SOUL.

GIFTS COUNT FOR NOTHING;

WILL ALONE IS GREAT,

AND ALL THINGS FALL BEFORE IT SOON OR LATE.

WHAT MIGHTY FORCE CAN STAY THE SEA-SEEKING RIVER IN

ITS COURSE,

OR TURN THE ASCENDING ORB OF DAY INTO NIGHT?

EACH WELL-BORN SOUL MUST WIN WHAT IT DESERVES.

LET THE FOOL PRATE OF LUCK;

THE FORTUNATE IS HE

WHOSE EARNEST PURPOSE NEVER SWERVES,



WHOSE EVERY ACTION OR INACTION SERVES

THE ONE GREAT AIM.

AND EVEN DEATH WILL STAND STILL

AND WAIT AN HOUR, SOMETIMES MORE,

ON SUCH A WILL."



A CALL FOR ACTION

FROM THE BLACK ECONOMIC SUMMIT MEETING

On Saturday, September 21st, and Sunday, September 22nd, approximately 60 individuals from various black organizations met in Washington, D.C. to formulate a Black Economic Position Paper. This meeting was not called by the Government. Instead, it was conceived and implemented entirely by the black community as a method of addressing basic economic issues of special concern to that community.

This Call For Action was developed at the weekend meeting and forwarded to the President, prior to his Economic Summit Meeting on Inflation. In view of the widespread indifference and lack of knowledge about the depression gripping black Americans, we present excerpts from our Call For Action so that the public may become better informed about the crucial economic issues facing the poor of this nation.



THE CALL

The President of the United States, in convening an economic summit meeting on inflation, indicated that he is looking for action that is "practical, possible and as rapid in its effects as we can possibly expect." Participants in the Black Economic Summit Conference would like to believe that the President is sincerely committed to that purpose and to implementing whatever progressive action suggestions and policy recommendations may surface in his summit meeting.

Bold and creative approaches will be required to adequately meet human needs and to ease the burden of inflation on the American consumer—particularly on blacks, other minorities, and the poor. The economic crisis now gripping this nation calls for the implementation of anti-inflationary alternatives which address the problems of black and minority people.

THE PRINCIPLES

The American economy belongs to the American people. The burden of halting inflation must not be placed on those least able to shoulder the costs—consumers, workers, the working poor, and the poor. While economists debate whether or not we are in a recession, the black community, which historically has been economically deprived, is enmeshed in a depression of the first magnitude.

It is therefore crucial that the President's Economic Summit not serve as a mechanism for burying the economic plight of blacks under distorted economic theories and policies. Such theories and policies serve only to maintain the economic imbalances that fall, all too heavily, on the poor.

The Black Economic Summit proceeded from the following principles:

- There is no tolerable level of unemployment. One of the success measures of any economy or system of government is its ability to provide meaningful jobs in the public and private sector at an equitable and adequate wage for all citizens who are willing and able to work. Full employment is our goal.
- Social programs have traditionally enhanced the participation of blacks in America's economy. It is imperative that these programs not be cut.
- The military budget is not sacrosanct. There must be immediate reduction in wasteful, inefficient military expenditures.
- The present federal monetary and tax policies serve to perpetuate imbalances in our economy. They result in amassing and concentrating most of our economic resources in the hands of a powerful few through special tax shelters, loopholes and massive subsidies for wealthy corporations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Tax Reform and Reordered Budget Priorities.

We are alarmed at official pronouncements that suggest social programs must be cut in order to trim the federal budget. It is clear that a budget in the vicinity of \$305 billion is not in itself inflationary and that federal expenditures in relation to overall national spending are relatively stable.

Social needs can be met by: reordering budget priorities, including shifting funds from a swollen \$90.5 billion Defense budget (FY 75); thoroughgoing reform of income, Social Security and property taxes; erasing inequities created by tax loopholes and subsidies (such as capital gains taxes, agricultural subsidies, and oil depletion allowances) for individuals and corporations.

Pending the enactment of thoroughgoing tax reform, we urge the prompt adoption of fiscal legislation which will relieve inflationary pressures on the economy while easing the effects of inflation in those low income sectors which bear its burden disproportionately.

As immediate steps we recommend:

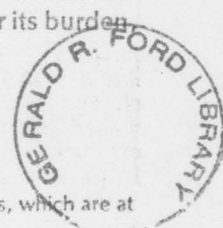
- Sharply-increased taxes on excess profits, which are at record levels.
- A surtax on upper-income recipients.
- Direct tax relief to the lower-income wage earners in the form of an increase in the personal exemption or replacement of the exemption by a tax credit.

2. Full Employment.

We strongly support the concept and implementation of a full employment economy which provides a job with an adequate income for every person willing and able to work. This concept must be embedded in fiscal and monetary policies for economic expansion and must be sustained and supported by measures that include tax incentives for industry.

We recommend the immediate establishment of a public service employment program providing no less than 1 million jobs. The program we envision should be a first step toward a broader, permanent program of national public service employment to meet unmet needs in the public sector. It should include the following crucial aspects:

- Jobs created should carry decent salaries, provide opportunities for career advancement, and include a training component. Consistent with the provisions of the Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act of 1976, as introduced by Congressman Augustus Hawkins and co-sponsored by 60 other Congressmen, we demand that job placement provisions be an integral part of the total job training component.



- The program should be national in scope, but allocation of "job-creation" funds should be concentrated in local areas of high unemployment, including inner-city neighborhoods. Strong federal guidelines should be set and enforced. In addition to the funds allocated to municipalities, there should be provisions for the direct delivery of some federal funds to the impacted communities for the creation and distribution of jobs.
- Strong anti-discrimination provisions must be an integral part of the program and minority representation in the program should be extensive enough to offset the high levels of non-white unemployment. We further call for the vigorous enforcement of all existing anti-discriminatory laws, executive orders and agency regulations.
- Jobs created should absorb both skilled and unskilled workers.
- Public service employment will not only respond to the need for jobs but will also enhance the ability of hard-pressed cities to provide necessary public services in the areas of recreation, environmental control, public safety, health care, child welfare, and manpower. Entities such as Community Action Programs and Community Development Corporations located in and serving low-income communities should also be used as vehicles to implement a public service employment program.
- We strongly oppose the Administration's concept embodied in the recently-published Labor Department's Work Incentive Regulations. To require recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program grants to be forced into menial jobs is not an answer to true welfare reform.
- Current eligibility requirements for federally-supported child care services effectively discriminate against those families with incomes marginally above the low-income level and those with moderate incomes. This forces women out of the job market. We urge the elimination of these unjustly stringent requirements and the implementation of universal free child care.
- We urge the establishment of employment training programs which will address the needs of the 200,000 black veterans who have received less than honorable discharges.
- We recommend the establishment of meaningful training programs to provide ex-offenders with the skills necessary to obtain gainful employment.

3. Housing and Community Development

We propose that immediate steps be taken to address the serious community development and housing crisis affecting black and poor communities with particular emphasis on:

- Targeting to minority communities an equitable amount of the funds authorized under the Comprehensive Planning Assistance Program and Community Development Block Grants.
- Utilizing all contract authorities for the construction of housing for low and moderate income families.
- Making funds available for the rehabilitation of existing housing units so as to bring them within the reach of low and moderate income families.

- Assuring that blacks and other minorities participate in all aspects and levels of housing delivery systems.
- Utilizing Housing and Urban Development (HUD) programs consistent with a national full employment policy.

4. Lower Interest Rates and Monetary Policy.

Under the guise of fighting inflation, the tight money policy has become a major inflationary factor. It has increased financing costs of cities and special purpose government borrowing, thus adding to the future tax burden in an unproductive way. It also has crippled the housing industry, while artificially increasing the costs of renting and buying homes. But lowering interest rates per se will not assure that scarce credit resources will be allocated to priority sectors of the economy. We propose that lower interest rates be tied to releasing credit for the housing industry and other priority needs while at the same time restricting loans for non-priority business and consumer credit. The institution of capital controls to restrict dollar outflows by multi-national corporations to overseas markets should be a major part of an effective monetary policy.

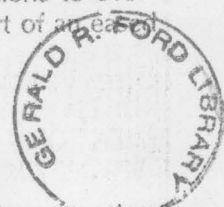
5. Price Controls.

The outrageous rise in prices requires attention and relief. We call for an immediate rollback and firm controls to keep prices from rising.

6. Replacement of Food Stamps by Cash.

The rise in food prices which has had a devastating effect on the poor and on low-income families cannot be tolerated. The food stamp program offers one approach to lessening the unfair burden on such families. But it is now too restricted in eligibility and purchase stipulations. Only about a third of currently-eligible persons participate in the program because of the high cost of the stamps, the failure of authorities to adequately publicize the program, and the stigma of participation.

We propose that a cash allowance with built-in inflation indices be added to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments in lieu of the present food stamp program. Benefits should be increased and eligibility expanded. We also call for a similar cash allowance for all persons who although not on AFDC are eligible for participation in the current food stamp program.



7. Economic Development and Aid to Minority Businesses.

Presently, many minority businesses are being liquidated because of the inability to repay federal loans. We recommend a one-year moratorium on federal loan repayments. There should be a significant increase in set-asides and subsidies to minority businessmen.

A system of tax concessions for financial institutions and other investors should be developed immediately. Such loans and investments should be made available for business development and mortgage financing in black and other poverty communities.

There are several federal programs that have begun to work effectively in minority communities to aid in the economic and business development of rural and urban low-income communities. Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Corporations (MESBICs) and Community Development Corporations (CDCs) have been primary mechanisms for providing an economic base for these areas. A commitment must be given to these enterprises in order that they may play a greater role in resolving the dual problems of inflation and unemployment. Immediate consideration should be given also to the creation of a domestic development bank for the purpose of aiding in the redevelopment of rural and urban depressed areas.

8. Participation in Decision-making.

We strongly urge the President to appoint black and other minority men and women to key decision-making positions in all areas which affect national economic affairs, including the Council of Economic Advisors, the Office of Management and Budget, the Federal Reserve Board, and the Domestic Council.

Continued economic policies that tolerate high rates of inflation and of unemployment have dire consequences not only for our economy, but for our society as a whole. Unfair burdens have been placed on the backs of those least able to bear them, and the continuation or worsening of this condition may well snap the tender threads that bind our society. The spectre of widespread misery and bitter competition for scarce jobs can only increase social and racial tensions to an unbearable degree. The coming bi-Centennial year could thus find our Republic breaking apart as it celebrates the historic event of its coming together.

Our analysis of the economic situation reveals that the economic status of black people has deteriorated to an alarming degree, and that the people most disadvantaged have been the very ones chosen to bear the brunt of the nation's economic distress. Our recommendations draw a clear path out of the tangled jungle of economic problems and into the open fields of an equitable and just prosperity. On the eve of the Summit that will discuss alternatives, we ask that our suggestions be followed, for the sake of black people, for the sake of low and moderate-income families of all races, and for the sake of the nation.



CONVENERS

Dorothy Height,
President
National Council of Negro Women

Maynard Jackson,
President-Elect
National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.,
Executive Director
National Urban League

PARTICIPANTS

Luthernae E. Adams
Gamma Phi Delta
Lillian Benbow
Delta Sigma Theta
Berkeley G. Burrell
National Business League
Marion H. Bluit
Phi Delta Kappa
Wiley Branton
Sigma Pi Phi Boule
Juanita Brown
National Association of
Colored Women's Clubs
Dr. Robert Browne
Black Economic Research Center

Willie Brown
National Association of
Black Accountants
Harold Cook
Omega Psi Phi
Malcolm L. Corrin
Interracial Council for
Business Opportunities
Thelma Dailey
Trade Union Women of
African Heritage, Inc.
Christopher F. Edley
United Negro College Fund
Pauline A. Ellison
The Links, Inc.
Faith Evans
National Welfare Rights
Organization

Gleason Glover
Council of Urban League
Executive Directors
Jack Gloster
Opportunity Funding Corp.
Earl H. Gray
Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order,
Nobles of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine
Junius Hayes, III
National Association of
Black Manufacturers
Vivian Henderson
Clark College
Norman Hill
A. Phillip Randolph Institute
M. Carl Holman
National Urban Coalition

Charles P. Howard, Jr.
National Bar Association
H. H. Holloway
Kappa Alpha Psi
Rev. Jesse Jackson
Operation PUSH
Philip Johnson
National Congress for Community
Economic Development
Janice Kissner
Zeta Phi Beta
Rev. Bernard S. Lee
Southern Christian Leader-
ship Conference
Theresa Leeke
Sigma Gamma Rho, Inc.
John Lewis
Voter Education Project

Charles B. Rangel,
Chairman
Black Congressional Caucus

Roy Wilkins,
Executive Director
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People

William Lucy
Coalition of Black
Trade Unionists
Dr. Charles Lyons, Jr.
National Association for
Equal Opportunity in
Higher Education
Rosalie MacGuire
Negro Business and
Professional Women
Dr. B.T. McGraw
National Association of
Real Estate Brokers
Dr. Charles A. Moore, Jr.
Frontiers International
Evelyn K. Moore
Black Child Development
Institute

Phyllis Rogers
Lambda Kappa Mu
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Household Employment
Maceo Sloan
National Insurance Association
Rev. Imagee Stewart
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Church Renewal
French F. Stone
American Savings and
Loan League
Bernice Sumlin
Alpha Kappa Alpha

William A. Walker
Alpha Phi Alpha
Gladys L. Welch
Iota Phi Lambda
Dr. Harvey Webb, Jr.
National Dental Association
Eddie Williams
Joint Center for
Political Studies
Fran Womack
National Association of
Minority Contractors
Robert White
National Alliance of Postal
and Federal Employees
Rose Wylie
National Tenants Organization



For information contact:
James Williams,
55 E. 52 St.,
New York City.

Westinghouse Electric Corporation



1801 K Street N W
Washington D C 20006

September 23, 1974

Mr. Stanley Scott
Special Assistant to the President
Room 179, Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Stan:

Enclosed are the tickets for the Annual Congressional
Black Caucus Dinner on Saturday, September 28th, at the
Washington Hilton Hotel.

You will note that the tickets for you and John Calhoun
are not at the same table. However, they are only one table
apart.

I will look forward to seeing you there.

Sincerely,

Tom

Tom Hart



August 12, 1974



MEMORANDUM FOR: HONORABLE ROBERT T. HARTMANN
FROM: STANLEY S. SCOTT
SUBJECT: Congressional Black Caucus

New York Rep. Charles Rangel, head of the so-called Congressional Black Caucus, personally called to inform President Ford that "he has my support." Rangel added that Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm expressed the consensus of the Caucus when she urged all Americans, black and white, to rally behind the President.

Rangel, as he put it, sees in the President "a new opportunity for blacks and other minorities to become a part of the American system."

The Harlem Congressman requested that we assure the President that he (Rangel) would urge that all members of the Congressional Black Caucus attend tonight's Presidential speech to the Congress. This same group, you will recall, boycotted President Nixon's initial address to the Congress.

I would highly recommend that the President include in tonight's speech a few excerpts from his address to the National Urban League to demonstrate Presidential interest in the needs and frustrations of minority and disadvantaged Americans.

It's also my firm belief that an early meeting with a representative group of black leaders would well serve the President and the country in erasing the unwarranted gap that has existed during the past five and one half years between minorities and the Administration. I will prepare a schedule proposal for your consideration of such a meeting.

Bob, finally, I take this opportunity to express sincere congratulations on your appointment as Counselor to the President. I know that you will serve the President and our country well in the trying months ahead. Best of luck.

*Pres. Ford called Rangel
at 11 am today to
discuss this
I very much
appreciate*

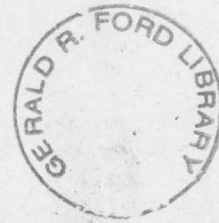
cc: R. Johnson (Jet)
M. Broughton
A Cooper
2/13/74
A Adair - 4/5/74

TO: The Honorable Charles B. Rangel,
Chairman, Congressional Black Caucus

FROM: Harold R. Sims, Coordinator Third Annual
Congressional Black Caucus Dinner, 1973

SUBJECT: Suggested Thoughts on the Future of the Congressional
Black Caucus

DATE: February 11, 1974



Dear Charlie,

First, let me again congratulate you on your recent election as the third chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. Your ascendancy comes at a critical and opportune time in the Caucus' evolution.

As a result of the efforts surrounding the third annual Congressional Black Caucus banquet and the first annual black elected officials legislative weekend, black political power has achieved new heights and new respect in the annals of the American experience.

In order to sustain and accelerate these efforts, we believe the Caucus must now move under your leadership to consolidate its gain, communicate with its emerging new constituency (namely the people at the dinner), communicate with the world's public in bi-partisan, responsive, progressive ways and move to creatively be an impact upon the American environment.

Some things which we recommend be considered in this evolutionary immediacy are the following:

1. The Caucus must move, with due haste, to create a not-for-profit tax exempt structure. There is absolutely no need for the staff of the Caucus to be a political organization when the individual congresspersons already have the right to impact upon political decisions. The big need now is in-depth research, federal analysis and broad general support from the mainstream of urban and rural black America which will allow the Caucus to make informed judgements upon objective research.

2. The Caucus must use the Friends of the Caucus as a supporting arm in creating an independent body, working in relationship to the staff, called, if you will, if not the "friends of the Congressional Black Caucus," really the "black caucus urban and legislative study group, research group," which would be non-profit.

The principal effort then of the executive director of the Caucus must move from nitty-gritty staff rapport (which is less needed and may be less important to the aspirations of the Caucus as a major legislative organization) to broad coordination of all the resources throughout black America in academia, in business, in labor, in human rights, in education, etc., necessary to provide the kind of input, the kind of research, the kind of data to crystallize and exploit the untapped experience and skill now available and eager in these various publics and institutions.

3. The treasurer of the Caucus must become a non-member of the Caucus, preferably a very wealthy person or a banker of impeccable trust within the black community in Washington or some nearby location. This position should not belong to a member of the Caucus itself, in view of the post Watergate fallout.
4. The leadership of the Caucus, as another way of looking at its potential, must somehow reveal itself through some non-political arm so that the Caucus as a group can be separated from the congresspersons as an individual and that the bi-partisan, multi-racial, two-sex coalition nature of the Caucus as an experience begins to take form.
5. The use of Modeen Enterprises or someone comparable should be retained on a continuing basis to perpetually promote the dinner, to communicate through newsletters, and what have you, with various bodies of thoughtmakers in America, particularly the various publics and businesses, in labor, academia, etc., but also the black community itself throughout the continental United States, Hawaii and Alaska.



The Honorable Charles B. Rangel

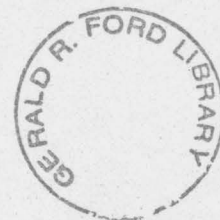
February 11, 1974

6. The dinner should be projected over a three-year span. The theme of the dinner for 1974 should be on the contributions of black women to American society, particularly to our political power. For 1975, all of the black mayors elected in this country from 1960 should be highlighted and all should be present to sit on the dais. 1976 should highlight and have on the dais every major black organization, individual and/or widow, widower who made significant contributions to black political power in America, as well as the entire human rights struggle--to include white folks and black folks, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, etc.
7. If concurred in, the first press conference held by you should reflect all of the above, a report on finances and a projection of the dinner specifics and personalities for this year.
8. The 1976 dinner should be part of a year-round strategy aimed at mobilizing a black centennial movement, highlighting its contributions. (See attachment.)
9. The Congressional Record must be used as a major tool by the Caucus in its effort to circumvent the negative views on black folks currently published. Robert Johnson, of JET magazine, should head a task force.

NOTE: These recommendations are supplemental to my letter to Augustus Hawkins, dated 2/15/73. (See attachment #2)

Harold R. Sims

Attachment #1 - Thoughts on the Future of the CBC

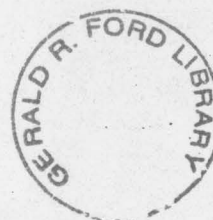


THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

1. To accelerate and sustain a year-round black history focus aimed at using America's national holidays to celebrate and highlight the inadequately publicized history of black men in the American reality-- so that our exclusion in 1976 will be impossible, if not improbable, such as:

- (a) An Independence Day Celebration at our various city monuments -- to honor the black sons and daughters and request the Daughters of the American Revolution recognize the heirs of same.
- (b) Memorial Day Ceremonies at military cemeteries around the nation-- to pay tribute to contemporary and past black and brown G.I.'s, dead and wounded, including their pre-service story and their after-service plight.
- (c) Thanksgiving Day dinners for our poor black youth--to highlight the plight of poverty and hunger in the great towns and cities of an America with unprecedented richness and technological potential.
- (d) Veterans Day tributes with our black veterans groups--to honor and highlight the contributions of the countless blacks, by battle, place and heroism, who have fought gallantly for the fruits of a freedom still denied them at home.

- (e) Pre-Christmastime public meetings -- to plea for the permanent birth of liberty without christian contradictions and the recognition of a multi-colored, color-blind Christ.
- (f) New Year's Eve multi-racial coalition parties -- to celebrate the passing of the racist Old Year and the coming birth through personal resolutions of a coming American New Year.
- (g) Continuing Afro-American history week programs -- to bring together and further develop "The Black Man's Meaning for America Theme," through interpretations of our past, present and future in every field.
- (h) Valentine's Day programs -- to honor the birthday of Frederick Douglass, by actively seeking to publicly interpret and attain his dream for an America without caste but with charity. To seek national holiday recognition from the President for declaration of Valentine's Day as Frederick Douglass Day.
- (i) Easter Sunrise Services -- commemorating the resurrection of the spirit, purpose and hate-free body of Brother Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Brother Whitney Moore Young, Jr.





- (j) Major black history thrust -- aimed at increasing the number of physical monuments to black heroes in the Capitol, House and Senate buildings, the cities' parks, the cemetery at Arlington, Virginia, etc.
2. To create an Afro-American business and manpower study committee which will serve as a devil's advocate, information source and program developer in this area, with a mandate to explore and recommend community opportunities for financial investment growth, minority job needs and services. Examples: Martin Luther King, Jr. Poor Peoples Investment Center; John Houston Legal Training and Services Corporation; or the establishment of a Whitney M. Young, Jr. community bank, aimed at maximizing and improving the financial services available to black, brown, red and poor white citizens of our various cities.
3. To create a third world cultural and diplomatic center which will seek exchange and cooperative alliances with the Embassies of Africa, Asia, Central and Latin America and the non-white races of the United States, in order to focus more creatively on the unique contributions of non-Europeans to contemporary man; to create an independent source for evaluation of American policy in these areas; to evaluate the historical



and present relationships between non-white America and these areas; to showcase third world art and culture; and to develop a sustained mechanism for discourse between non-white Americans and non-white visitors.

4. To recognize, publicize and honor the unique past and present contributions of the black woman to America.
5. To form a sports committee which will undertake a continuous examination of the black athlete's plight in America and make every effort to press for his proper recognition in a manner similar to whites. To highlight the extra dimensions of his struggle and to sponsor or support programs and efforts in his behalf.
6. To form a public administration and political education advisory committee which will link into the Black Caucus and the National Urban League and focus on the unique history, role, problems and potential of the black American as a public servant and elected official, whether civilian or military. An award could be given as an annual award to the public official who has done the most to further the cause of mankind through justice.

7. To create a community safety and communications committee which will seek to alter the distortions of the Afro-American image in the white press and which will seek improved ways and cooperative projects with the various black, united fronts, the Black Panthers and Muslims, the NAACP and Urban League, etc., in order to minimize or stop black people--especially our young--from killing, fighting, maiming, raping and otherwise destroying each other. This should be a higher priority for us than police/community relations.

* * * * *

