



for the people

MEMBERS:

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|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
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| Cardiss Collins, Ill. | Harold Ford, Tenn. | Parren Mitchell, Md | Andrew Young, Ga |
| John Conyers, Mich. | | | |

INSIDE:

- CBC Members Forum..... 2
- Legislative Update 3
- A First-Hand View of Unemployment..... 4
- Tribute to Stevie Wonder..... 4
- Caucus Notes 5
- The Joanne Little Case 5
- The Recession and Minority Enterprises..... 6

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

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

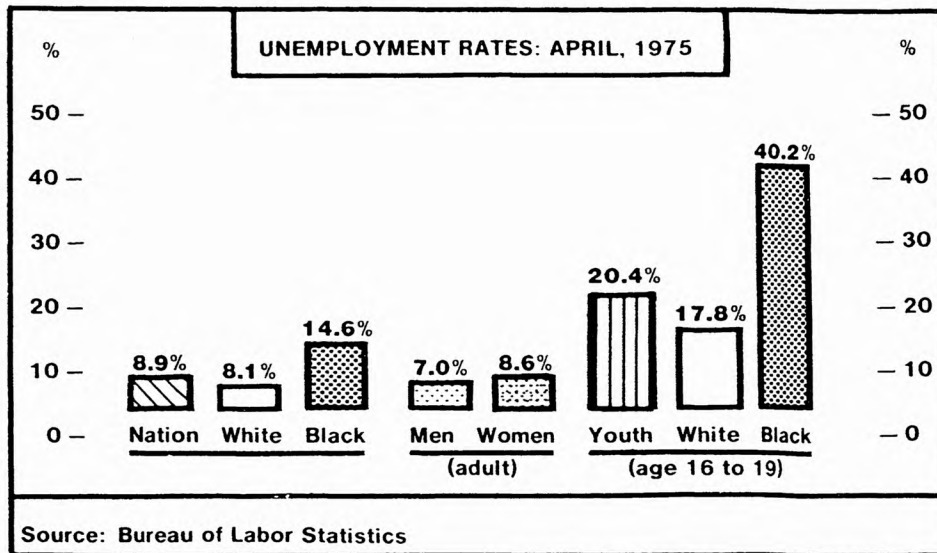
frank speech delivered by President Kaunda during a White House dinner in his honor on April 19th. President Kaunda's candor about iniquities in U.S. policy



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."

Continued on page 6



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.

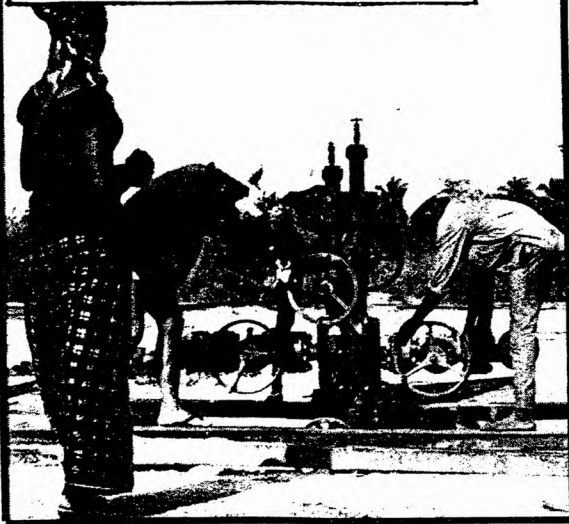
The Congressional Black Caucus believes that the time has come to focus on the question of a full employment economy. Full employment means a job for those willing and able to work. It means

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



Rep. Charles Diggs

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.

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.

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.

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.

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

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.

RESOURCE NETWORK

Name _____
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 City _____ State _____ Zip _____
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 Organization: _____

CHECK

Education , Housing ,
 Health , Media , Africa ,
 Labor/Jobs , Tax Reform ,
 Affirmative Action , Day
 Care , Business ,
 Elected Officials .

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.

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



Stevie Wonder

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."

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 conscionably 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

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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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