And the strong keep a comin'.
"The Constitution Warrants it; the Supreme Court Sanctions it; Justice demands it"

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

The fighting came to an abrupt halt when the Black vs. White, Democrat vs. Republican war came to a showdown in the 1876 presidential contest between Republican Hayes and Democrat Tilden. The resolution of the contest rested with questionable election results in Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina. To win the election, Hayes struck a bargain behind closed doors that created states rights. This agreement, subsequently reduced to writing, sounded the death knell for Black politics, marking the end of an era. More than forty years passed before another Black was elected to the House of Representatives. Not until 1928 under the Hoover administration was Oscar De Priest, a Chicagoan, elected to Congress.

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

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

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

The Present Caucus

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

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

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

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

William L. Clay, Missouri
Bill Clay, who represents St. Louis’ 1st C.D., brought to the Caucus twenty years of political expertise. During this time, he was deeply involved in legislation that yielded increased employment opportunities for Blacks, most significant of which was his sponsorship of the Fair Employment Bill. Clay is the treasurer of the CBC and has worked tirelessly to establish and maintain its organizational stability. He sits on the House Education and Labor Committee and the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Ralph H. Metcalfe**, Illinois
With the same lightening speed that took him to the Olympics, Ralph Metcalfe moved on to become a Ward Democratic Committeeeman, an Alderman in 1969, and President pro tempore of the Chicago City Council. In 1970 he was elected to Congress representing Chicago's first Congressional District. Rep. Metcalfe is a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

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

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

**Charles B. Rangel**, New York
Harlem native, Charles B. Rangel, was appointed Assistant U.S. Attorney for New York's Southern District in 1961. After serving two years as Assemblyman, in 1970, Rangel was elected to Congress for New York's 18th Congressional District, comprising Central Harlem. He serves on the House District of Columbia Committee and the Judiciary Committee. Charles Rangel has been a moving force in the fight for anti-drug legislation.

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

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

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

- Reps. Chisholm and Dellums aired racism and repression in the military in November, 1971. A special task force was formed to study judicial problems from the field to the Pentagon.
- An alliance was formed between Black elected officials and media specialists to eliminate discriminatory practices, challenge licenses and renewals and file suits when necessary, after Rep. Wm. Clay held hearings in Washington, March, 1972, on mass media and the Black community.
Rep. Louis Stokes chaired a Black elected officials conference, November 1972, where delegates examined vital issues to include in a national Black political agenda. Alternatives on Blacks in education were heard in March, 1972 when the Caucus co-sponsored hearings with Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Metropolitan Applied Research Center, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, National Urban League, et al.


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

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

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

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

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

It is predicted that the Congressional Black Caucus will grow to 50 by 1980.

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

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

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

The leadership role of the Congressional Black Caucus emerges at a time when poverty and hopelessness, the henchmen of long standing discrimination, are hard at work. The Caucus flexes its muscles in the aftermath of a controversial war and the stench of Watergate. The Caucus is Black, urban, and Democratic. Although these three groups currently share mutual aims and interests, Caucus Chairman Louis Stokes cautions, “it has no permanent enemies, no permanent friends — only permanent interests.”

In a sense, the survival of this new black bloc, with the support of other urban representatives, has the potential to shape decisively the future of all urban life. So it is of no wonder that the Caucus’ interests to support legislation related to the survival of urban cities — i.e., housing, mass transportation, taxation, environmental improvement — is of top priority.

Today, Black people in America may be without jobs. Today Black people may be without decent living environments. Today Black people may find themselves without adequate health care, and with limited educational opportunities — tangibles that make or break the chance for the Good Life in 20th Century America. But Black Americans can find hope in their newly-retrieved political power, a potential that the Congressional Black Caucus will utilize and exhaust until every family in America can live with economic security and dignity.
The annual Congressional Black Caucus Dinner was established as a tradition three years ago. We are still guided by the eloquent words spoken by Ossie Davis, speaker at the Caucus' first dinner: "It's Not the Man, But the Plan Not the Rap, But the Map."

Funds raised from this year's dinner will enable the Caucus to support an able staff, and maintain an office. Thus enabling the Caucus to continue its legislative research, and establish effective communications between key groups involved in the legislative process.
Mayor Thomas Bradley
The Congressional Black Caucus pays a special tribute to Tom Bradley, first Black Mayor of Los Angeles, America's second largest city. A former police officer and member of the Los Angeles City Council, Bradley is confident that he can make the system of city government work to eliminate poverty and fear. Mayor Thomas Bradley was elected in a city where Blacks are not in the majority. A city where Mexican Americans and Blacks have long been the victims of discrimination. It is significant that that city elected a Black Mayor and may be the herald of things to come.

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

Presiding
Harvey C Russell,
Nancy Wilson, Leonard Woodcock

"Lift Every Voice"
Led by Nancy Wilson

Invocation
Dr W Sterling Cary

Introduction of Caucus Members
Ms Dorothy I Height

Welcome
Mayor Walter Washington

On Behalf of The Caucus
Rep Charles B Rangel, New York

Presentations
Adam Clayton Powell Award
George W Collins Memorial Award

Reading
Ruby Dee

Honoree
Tom Bradley,
Mayor of Los Angeles

Guest Speaker
Edward W Brooke
Senator from Massachusetts

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

Don Cornelius, Host

The Dells, dynamic soul group

Melba Moore, singer-actress

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

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

Nancy Wilson, Chairwoman

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

Harold R. Sims, Coordinator

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

Leonard Woodcock, Chairman

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

Assistants: (alphabetically)
Elvira “Baby” Davis
Erma DuPree
Eleanor Haynes
Ruth Innes
Sharon Kennon
Elly Piela
Sylvia Quarker
Lou Willard

Consultant:
William R. Simms, New York

Secretaries:
Shelia Cox
Cheryl Goggins

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

Souvenir Program:
Raymond Petrie Advertising Inc.,
New York

Printing:

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

The Dells:
Courtesy of Chess/Janus Records

Guest of Honor Reception:
Courtesy of PepsiCo. Inc.

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

Augustus A. Adair (Gus)
Executive Director, Congressional
Black Caucus

The newly appointed executive director comes to the Caucus from an academic background with an excellent knowledge of practical politics. Since 1963, Gus has been professor of political science at Morgan State College in Baltimore, Md. In addition to his teaching duties, he has been an active adviser to candidates and elected officials in Maryland and throughout the country since 1966.
They dragged you from homeland,
The strong men git stronger
They chained you in coffles,
They bought off some of your leaders
They huddled you spoon-fashion in
filthy hatches,
You stumbled, as blind men will
They sold you to give a few gentlemen
They coaxed you, unwontedly soft- ease
They broke you in like oxen,
You followed a way
They scourged you
Then laughed as usual
They branded you,
Unadmitting a deeper terror
They made your women breeders,
The strong men keep a-comin' on
They swelled your numbers with
Gittin' stronger
bastards.
What, from the slums
They taught you the religion they
Where they have hemmed you,
disgraced
What, from the tiny huts
You sang
They could not keep from you—
‘Kepp a inchin' along
What reaches them
Lak a po' inch worm .
Making them ill at ease, fearful?
You sang:
Today they shout prohibition at you
‘Bye and bye
“The strong men keep a-comin' on
I'm gonna lay down dis heaby load .
The strong men git stronger
You sang
They point with pride to the roads you
Walk togedder, chillin',
built for them,
Don'tcha git weary
They ride in comfort over the rails you
'The strong men keep a-comin' on
Laid for them.
The strong men git stronger
They put hammers in your hands
You sang—’Drive so much before
And said—’ Ain't no hammah
sundown
In dis lan'
Strikes lak mine, bebby,
Strikes lak mine
They cooped you in their kitchens,
The strong men coming on
They penned you in their factories,
The strong men gittin' stronger
They gave you the jobs that they were
Strong men
too good for;
STRONGER
By shunting dirt and misery to you
You sang
You sang
Me an' muh baby gonna shine,
Men an' muh baby gonna shine,
Me an' muh baby gonna shine.
The strong men keep a-comin' on
Sterling A. Brown's STRONG MEN
Credits

Augustus A. Adair (Gus)
Executive Director
Congressional Black Caucus.

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

Ms. Madeen Broughton
President, Madeen Enterprises

Ms. Broughton, the promoter and coordinator of the 1973 and 1974 Congressional Black Caucus Dinners has had a very impressive business career. She has had her own Public Relations Firm, with clients like Aretha Franklin, Ray Charles, The Dells, The Reflections, and The Persuaders, founded her own music publishing firm, has acted as personal manager for several groups, as well as the late King Curtis. Armed with tremendous energy, beauty, and poise, she is a testimonial to the fact that women can make good administrators.

Assistant Dinner Coordinator
Cynthia Goggin

Assistant Concert Producer
Elvira Piela

Assistant
Elvira Davis
Shadiah Howell
La Willard

Special Consultant
Harold Sims

Workshop Coordinators
Congressional Black Caucus
The John Center for Political Studies

Honorees Award, Creation & Design
La Willard for LuRick
Artwork
Steve Pouchette

Souvenir Dinner Brochure
Raymond Petrie Advertising, Inc.
New York, New York

Concept
Raymond Petrie

Copy
Madelyn Andrews

Art Direction
Andres Gonzalez

Printing
Shane Business Forms, Inc.
New York, New York

Travel Arrangements
Mrs. Eleanor Haynes for
Good Service & Group Travel, Inc.
Jamaica, New York