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

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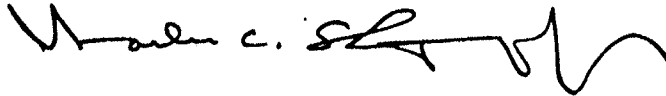
March 25, 1971

Dear Friend:

The Congressional Black Caucus is meeting with President Nixon today at 5:00 p.m. The other 12 Black Congressmen have asked me to tell you that they are sending you copies of their Opening Statement and Recommendations. They are recommending action by this Administration to improve the conditions of Black and poor Americans in the general areas of Economic Security and Economic Opportunity, Community and Human Development, Justice and Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs.

The Caucus would appreciate your comments, both to us and to your local press. Any inquiries should be directed to me at the Rayburn address listed above.

Sincerely,



CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
Chairman
Congressional Black Caucus

P. S. Please pardon the unpersonalized form I am forced to use, but we are terribly rushed and I wanted you to have a copy of our document as soon as it came from the printer.

CCD

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STATEMENT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

U.S. Congress. House. **BY**
THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS.

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 25, 1971

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MSW 2/18/71

1 PART I. OPENING STATEMENT

2

3 We sought this meeting, Mr. President, out of a deep
4 conviction that large numbers of citizens are being subjected
5 to intense hardship, are denied their basic rights, and are suf-
6 fering irreparable harm as a result of current policies.

7 As you may know, all of us were elected by substantial
8 majorities. We were given clear and unmistakable mandates
9 to articulate the problems of our constituents and to work for
10 prompt and effective solutions to them. Most of the districts
11 that we represent are predominantly black, though our con-
12 stituencies also include whites, Spanish-speaking, Indians,
13 Japanese-Americans, and Chinese-Americans, some subur-
14 banites as well as residents of the central cities, poor, middle
15 income, and even some well-to-do Americans.

16 But our concerns and obligations as Members of Con-
17 gress do not stop at the boundaries of our districts; our con-
18 cerns are national and international in scope. We are petitioned
19 daily by citizens living hundreds of miles from our districts who
20 look on us as Congressmen-at-large for black people and poor
21 people in the United States. Even though we think first of those
22 we were directly elected to serve, we cannot, in good con-
23 science think only of them -- for what affects one black

1 community, one poor community, one urban community, affects
2 all.

3 We think it of singular significance that the leaders of
4 national and local civil rights and human rights organizations,
5 and hundreds of private citizens from all walks of life, have
6 asked us to express their general and specific concerns. They
7 share our hope that this is no pro forma, one-time exchange.

8 Like us, they believe this must be only the beginning of
9 a continuing exchange aimed at permanently changing, through
10 persistent and far-reaching action, the harsh conditions under
11 which all too many poor, black, and other oppressed Americans
12 are forced to live.

13 We recommend that by the end of this meeting we agree
14 on a mechanism for insuring continued productive liaison be-
15 tween the President and this Caucus.

16 Since you assumed office, we have spent billions on war,
17 while over 2 million Americans have been added to the ranks of
18 unemployed, and 2.5 million more are now on ever-mounting
19 relief rolls. Inflation is reducing our standard of living, and
20 most cities face bankruptcy. The racist policies of public and
21 private U. S. institutions insure that blacks and other oppressed
22 peoples suffer much more than others, whether in good times
23 or bad. Economic recovery -- not now in sight -- cannot possibly

1 secure rights and opportunities that millions of citizens never
2 had. In our view, the quest for economic stability cannot be
3 separated from the basic need for a redistribution of wealth
4 and income, so that there is no longer destitution amid opulence.
5 Nor can we easily repair the damage done to our children by
6 inferior schools, hunger, and ill-health.

7 We would be less than honest, Mr. President, if we did
8 not reflect a view widely shared among a majority of the citi-
9 zens we represent. That view is that the representatives of
10 this Administration, by word and deed, have at crucial points
11 retreated from the national commitment to make Americans of
12 all races and cultures equal in the eyes of their government --
13 to make equal the poor as well as the rich, urban and rural
14 dwellers as well as those who live in the suburbs.

15 Our people are no longer asking for equality as a rhe-
16 torical promise. They are demanding from the national Ad-
17 ministration, and from elected officials without regard to party
18 affiliation, the only kind of equality that ultimately has any real
19 meaning -- equality of results.

20 If we are in fact to be equal in this country, then the
21 government must help us achieve these results:

22 -- the eradication of racism within the United States
23 and in its dealings with other nations;

1 -- the earning of a decent living, or the means to sur-
2 vive in dignity when work is not available;

3 -- decent housing for our families and equal access to
4 the total housing market;

5 -- fair and impartial justice and adequate protection
6 against drug abuse and crime;

7 -- the enforcement of civil rights and other constitutional
8 guarantees through vigorous affirmative action by the govern-
9 ment;

10 -- a fair share of the public funds used to support busi-
11 ness and community development and full participation in de-
12 termining how tax dollars are spent in our communities;

13 -- the guarantee by the federal government of ample
14 health care for all citizens;

15 -- the protection of federal standards and guarantees
16 in programs financed by federal funds; and

17 -- the full participation by the members of our communi-
18 ties in the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of our
19 government at every level.

20 The results we pursue as achievable goals are those
21 whose affirmation we have often missed in the words and deeds
22 of many who represent this Administration. And be assured
23 that those for whom we speak cannot afford the luxury of criticism

1 as a mere expression of partisanship. Indeed, when you have
2 proposed long-needed, if inadequate, welfare reforms, or when
3 Secretary Romney has argued against restricting low and moder-
4 ate income housing to the inner cities, our people felt a momen-
5 tary quickening of hope that perhaps the federal government was
6 prepared to respond to their desperate needs.

7 But all too often we have heard discomfoting references
8 to "forced integration," or to the need to "broaden" the Voting
9 Rights Act in ways which would have rendered it less effective.
10 "Voluntarism" has been proposed as a means of achieving com-
11 pliance with federal law by those with a history of callously
12 flouting such laws. The principle of equal justice under law has
13 been clouded over by ambiguous pronouncements on "law and
14 order" and "crime in the streets."

15 Though the Office of Economic Opportunity is to be ex-
16 tended, it seems clear that current plans for reorganization and
17 revenue sharing will result in the dismantling and eventual de-
18 struction of the one agency whose primary mission is to give
19 an effective voice to the poor, the near poor, and minorities.

20 But we are not here merely to recite the disappointments
21 of the past. We are here to present the first of a series of con-
22 structive proposals for the immediate relief of our communities,
23 and for making America in the 1970's a whole and healthy nation.

1 We do not underestimate the power of the presidency in
2 achieving progressive change. Every sector of our society
3 tends to look to the White House for cues to the direction that
4 the society is taking. When those cues seem negative, contra-
5 dictory or half-hearted, then citizens take that as evidence of
6 a lack of national commitment to their well-being. If equality
7 for all Americans is to be a reality, it must have the unequivocal
8 commitment of the Chief Executive. Every official in each fed-
9 eral department in Washington and the regional offices, every
10 governor, mayor, county official, and local school board mem-
11 ber must understand the clear direction in which the Adminis-
12 tration is headed. If equal job opportunity in the private sector
13 is to be real, then equal job opportunity in the federal system
14 -- from initial entry to upgrading -- must provide a clearcut
15 example for others to emulate. If the vast federal bureaucracy
16 is to administer the laws of the land so that the poor, the black
17 and the Mexican-American, the Puerto Rican and the Indian,
18 the Japanese-American and the Chinese-American do not suf-
19 fer inequities, then it must be clearly evident that the President
20 of the United States demands it.

21 In fact, as you well know, having served in Congress,
22 the success or failure of progressive legislation often depends
23 on whether or not the Chief Executive is willing to make a

1 sufficiently strong fight for it.

2 Lastly, black Americans and many of our constituents,
3 without regard to income or color, would want us to make plain
4 our alarm at the devastation to four Indochinese nations. We
5 say this out of deep concern for the untold misery suffered by
6 the people of Indochina, for American families which should
7 not have to suffer further, and for the continued draining away
8 in this futile conflict of the human and financial resources
9 needed to rebuild this society. All U. S. military forces, and
10 related civilian personnel should be withdrawn from all nations
11 of Indochina promptly.

12 The recommendations which follow represent our own
13 deep concerns and the expressed concerns of organizations and
14 individuals from all over the country. We have not attempted
15 to rank them in any order of priority. We feel that they are
16 all essential to the long overdue task of making America one
17 nation. We do not claim that they represent a comprehensive
18 agenda of needs and remedial actions. We do believe that they
19 represent more than merely a good beginning. In the days,
20 weeks and months that lie ahead, we hope to remain in touch
21 with you and the members of your Administration on this agenda.

22 In discussing these recommendations with you, we will
23 be focusing on executive action that can be taken immediately,

1 as well as legislative programs whose success may depend on
2 the nature and intensity of the support they receive from the
3 White House.

4

5

PART II. RECOMMENDATIONS

6

A. Economic Security and Economic Development

7

1. Manpower and Employment Rights

8

RECOMMENDATION 1: Within the framework of a

9 comprehensive manpower planning program, this Administra-
10 tion should provide permanent job creation programs -- with
11 jobs in the public sector targeted to the areas of persistent un-
12 employment and underemployment without regard to national
13 employment rates. These jobs must be useful and desirable
14 and have adequate wages and supportive services. Present
15 manpower programs fail to deal adequately with the gaps be-
16 tween national rates and the critically higher jobless rates for
17 blacks and other minorities in urban and rural ghettos.

18

RECOMMENDATION 2: A federal job creation program

19 in the public service fields must be adopted. Such a program
20 should initially provide a minimum of 500,000 productive jobs
21 during the first six months of operation, and 600,000 in the
22 second six months in this one program alone, with additional
23 jobs in other programs to meet the unemployment crisis.

1 RECOMMENDATION 3: A minimum of 1 million NYC
2 jobs should be provided for in-school youth during the summer.
3 Present planning in this area is totally inadequate. The jobs
4 should be provided by the federal government with no local
5 matching fund requirement and should be for 10-32 hour weeks
6 at not less than \$1.60 an hour. This program must be under-
7 stood to be no substitute for the needs addressed in Recommen-
8 dation 1.

9 RECOMMENDATION 4: Basic changes must be made
10 in federal recruitment, testing, and promotion policies and
11 day-to-day Administration to insure blacks and other oppressed
12 minority peoples equal results to whites in the middle and upper
13 levels of federal employment.

14 RECOMMENDATION 5: Executive Order 11246 must be
15 enforced, requiring affirmative action by government contrac-
16 tors and subcontractors to provide equal employment opportuni-
17 ties and to extend the requirement of goals and timetables for
18 achievement to all government contractors and subcontractors.

19 RECOMMENDATION 6: We call for vigorous support
20 for expansion of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to provide cease
21 and desist power to the Equal Employment Opportunity Com-
22 mission, coverage of employers of eight or more persons, and
23 to eliminate the present exemption of state and local governments,

1 and educational institutions.

2 RECOMMENDATION 7: At a time when blacks are fight-
3 ing and dying in disproportionate numbers in Indochina, we urge
4 the White House to initiate a thorough investigation of the status
5 of blacks and other minorities in the Veterans Administration
6 -- 90 per cent of whose black classified employees are in grades
7 GS-8 or below. The investigation and the remedial action which
8 must follow should include not only equal employment opportunity
9 within the Veterans Administration, but should focus on closing
10 the critically wide gap between the needs of black veterans and
11 the inadequate and uncoordinated existing programs of the
12 Veterans Administration, the Department of Labor, Housing and
13 Urban Development, and other federal agencies.

14 2. Welfare Reform

15 RECOMMENDATION 1: We recommend that the present
16 welfare system be replaced by a guaranteed adequate income
17 system. We oppose any welfare reform which fails to estab-
18 lish a satisfactory timetable for reaching a guaranteed adequate
19 income system of a minimum of \$6,500 a year for a family of
20 four from cash assistance, wages or both.

21 RECOMMENDATION 2: Any federalization of existing
22 welfare programs must have as an ultimate objective the reali-
23 zation of individual economic self-sufficiency. The federalized

1 programs should guarantee the standardization of eligibility re-
2 quirements, the establishment of adequate payment standards,
3 the elimination of abusive and degrading administrative prac-
4 tices, and the provision of suitable work opportunities which
5 maximize individual freedom of choice and self-respect.

6 RECOMMENDATION 3: Until a fully operational cash
7 assistance program is established, we urge you, Mr. President,
8 to direct the appropriate federal agencies to overhaul the food
9 assistance delivery system, so that the minimum standards
10 and goals of existing legislation can be guaranteed. Further,
11 the necessary budgetary revisions (or supplemental budget re-
12 quests) should be made so that the needs of all children eligible
13 for free or reduced-price school breakfast or lunch programs
14 by 1972 are met.

15 3. Federal Assistance to State and Local Government

16 The Caucus recognizes that the concept of revenue shar-
17 ing is already operative and that the issue is really one of block
18 grants versus categorical grants. The federal government has
19 been sharing federally-collected tax money revenue with states,
20 cities, counties, and individuals for the past forty years. The
21 Caucus would, however, support a form of federal assistance
22 to state and local governments with the following provisions:

23 (1) Assurance that the funds will be spent in ways or

1 in the amounts that will benefit the poor and the minorities who
2 are least able to prevail in the inevitable contests at the local
3 level that are bound to be waged over such expenditures.

4 (2) Allowance for the participation of neighborhood and
5 other community units in planning and in the decisions about
6 how funds will be spent.

7 (3) Enforcement of civil rights laws with respect to the
8 expenditure of federal funds.

9 (4) Incentives for states to shift from forms of taxation
10 that fall most heavily on low-income families to more progres-
11 sive income taxes.

12 RECOMMENDATION 1: Immediate, short-term finan-
13 cial assistance should be afforded local communities by releas-
14 ing frozen funds for development projects, closing the growing
15 authorization/appropriations gap, and by expeditiously propos-
16 ing and strongly supporting an emergency public service em-
17 ployment bill.

18 RECOMMENDATION 2: We strongly recommend that
19 the program of welfare nationalization and reform called for in
20 Recommendations 1 and 2 under Welfare Reform should not be
21 considered as an alternative to the Administration's general
22 "revenue-sharing" proposal.

23 RECOMMENDATION 3: The population-based distribution

1 formula in the Administration's "revenue-sharing" bill must be
2 altered to more accurately target the funds to places of maxi-
3 mum need. Specifically, we would recommend that one per
4 cent (1%) of the individual tax base be distributed to all cate-
5 gorized welfare disbursing units on a basis reflecting the pro-
6 portion of national welfare costs paid by that unit during 1970,
7 providing that the unit maintains its 1970 welfare effort.

8 RECOMMENDATION 4: The distribution apparatus of
9 the present proposal for "revenue-sharing" must be changed to
10 funnel more funds to major urban centers, i. e., .5% of the
11 individual tax base be distributed to all local units not sharing
12 in Recommendation 3 above and which have a population of 50,000
13 or more.

14 RECOMMENDATION 5: The civil rights guidelines set
15 forth in the Administration's "revenue-sharing" package must
16 be greatly strengthened, particularly in regard to equal employ-
17 ment hiring, and an effective compliance program.

18 RECOMMENDATION 6: Although we support general
19 "revenue-sharing" to states and localities, under the conditions
20 set forth above, to assist in the provision of basic services, we
21 are opposed to the apparent abandonment of national leadership
22 in such areas as education, housing, etc. that would result from
23 proposed program "revenue-sharing." While states and localities

1 can be given more flexibility in administering federal grants,
2 national priorities requiring accountability for delivering
3 services to those most in need of them must be maintained.

4 4. Minority Economic Development

5 RECOMMENDATION 1: An independent agency should
6 be organized as a non-profit quasi-public, publicly-funded de-
7 velopment bank for consolidation of present programs intended
8 to assist minority business, and should receive an initial annual
9 appropriation of 1 billion dollars. This agency should be un-
10 der the direction of a board with broadly representative minority
11 membership.

12 RECOMMENDATION 2: A federally-financed guarantee
13 organization similar to the Government National Mortgage As-
14 sociation should be created to insure securities and obligations
15 of community development corporations -- firms providing em-
16 ployment for and owned by residents of low-income areas.

17 RECOMMENDATION 3: In addition to increased federal
18 support and employment of direct set-aside programs for all
19 procurement, we urge you to support the enactment of legisla-
20 tion requiring that contractors working on federally-assisted
21 and financed projects, set aside a specified percentage of their
22 subcontract work for minority firms.

23 RECOMMENDATION 4: Federal management and technical

1 assistance should be increased and made more broadly available
2 to minority trade associations, development corporations, and
3 other organizations of minority businessmen, with assistance
4 provided more as an aid than as an audit.

5 RECOMMENDATION 5: Funding for Community Develop-
6 ment Corporations should be increased to at least 50 million
7 dollars for the development of community-based minority busi-
8 ness ownership.

9 RECOMMENDATION 6: The Federal Deposit Insurance
10 Corporation should be authorized and directed, by specific
11 legislation, to use some of its assets to provide technical as-
12 sistance to minority banks. No federal or quasi-federal agency
13 presently provides technical assistance to these institutions,
14 with the result that other kinds of programs (such as the \$100
15 million deposit program) are less effective than they would be
16 otherwise.

17 5. Poverty Programming

18 RECOMMENDATION 1: We urge the Administration to
19 abandon any plans -- now or two years hence -- which will
20 weaken the programs now under the aegis of the Office of Eco-
21 nomic Opportunity and submerge them in existing agencies or
22 in a broader plan for government reorganization. We believe
23 that converting the Office of Economic Opportunity to a research

1 and evaluation organization will deprive the poor of an advocate
2 agency in Washington. Further, we recommend the restoration
3 of the \$116 million by which the Economic Opportunity Act was
4 reduced in the fiscal year 1972, and a substantial increase in
5 anti-poverty funds for the following fiscal year, and the elimi-
6 nation of the matching requirement which makes it impossible
7 for some communities to participate in the program.

8 RECOMMENDATION 2: We support the continued exist-
9 ence and expansion of the OEO legal services. We urge that
10 new guidelines be drawn and new legislation be proposed which
11 would limit the power of state and local authorities to intervene
12 politically in the operation of these programs. Should this prove
13 infeasible, we recommend that every low income American
14 citizen be guaranteed access to free, quality legal assistance
15 through the establishment of a National Legal Services Corpora-
16 tion.

17 B. Community and Human Development

18 1. Education

19 RECOMMENDATION 1: We urge you, Mr. President,
20 to initiate (and/or support) such child development legislation
21 and to require the promulgations of such administrative regu-
22 lations for existing child development programs, which incor-
23 porate the following principles: a) significant expansion of

1 child development services; b) developmental rather than cus-
2 todial programming; c) child development services provided
3 as a right rather than as mandatory eligibility requirements;
4 d) encouragement of educational innovation and reform;
5 e) the validity of programs designed by and in accordance with
6 the special needs of minority groups; and f) consumer control.

7 In conjunction with the support of minority business
8 enterprises, special assistance should be provided to minori-
9 ties for the development of day care and other child develop-
10 ment programs. The grant system should be adopted, as
11 opposed to the voucher system. Further, the federal govern-
12 ment should issue grant and/or funds directly to day care
13 institutions.

14 RECOMMENDATION 2: We recommend a strong
15 program which enforces the priorities established by Congress
16 under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of
17 1965. In addition we recommend that this title be fully funded
18 in advance so that educational systems may plan a continuing
19 program of high quality as was true during the time of the
20 Morrill Land Grant Act of 100 years ago.

21 RECOMMENDATION 3: We specifically urge that the
22 Administration abandon its plans to consolidate federal educa-
23 tion legislation into a program of block grants.

1 RECOMMENDATION 4: We urge this Administration to
2 support pending legislation that is designed to provide quality
3 integration education so that the concept of equal educational
4 opportunity will become a reality for blacks and others among
5 the oppressed in the country.

6 RECOMMENDATION 5: We support and call on the
7 Administration to make real its own announced commitment
8 to universal literacy for every American in this decade.

9 Because illiteracy will be even more crippling for our
10 citizens in the 1970's and 1980's than at any previous time in
11 our history, we urge that the Administration revive and strongly
12 fund and support a national "Right to Read" program like that
13 originally proposed by your own first Commissioner of
14 Education.

15 RECOMMENDATION 6: We specifically urge that the
16 federal government increase substantially its financial support
17 for predominantly black institutions of higher education in order
18 to insure their growth and expansion. For immediate relief
19 of black colleges we recommend the full funding of \$91 million
20 authorized in the Developing Institutions Program of Title III
21 of the Higher Education Act of 1965, and the elimination of
22 the matching fund requirement.

23

1 RECOMMENDATION 7: We recommend, Mr. President,
2 that you arrange to convene a meeting of the officials of black
3 institutions of higher education with the heads of major federal
4 agencies and departments such as the National Science Founda-
5 tion, Department of Labor, Department of Agriculture, HUD,
6 and HEW, to consider how black colleges may have greater
7 access to the funds, programs and technical assistance of
8 those agencies.

9 RECOMMENDATION 8: While we would support a
10 request for 70 percent increase in student aids in grant and
11 work study over the previous fiscal year, we would strongly
12 request reconsideration of the change in formula which
13 reduces from approximately \$1,800 to \$1,000, the amount
14 of grant and work study funds. A high proportion of black
15 students now attending or hoping to enter our colleges, would
16 not be able to sustain the financial burden of the loans now
17 being proposed. We would support the proposed increase in
18 the availability of subsidized grants to students whose family
19 incomes are less than \$10,000 per annum. We would recom-
20 mend, however, (1) that existing grant and loan programs for
21 student financial assistance be continued at least at current
22 levels until the proposed programs become operational;
23 (2) the ceiling in terms of family incomes be raised to \$15,000

1 per annum; and (3) that interest rates on the available loans be
2 stabilized.

3 Student financial aid for most black students must
4 assume little or no family financial aid. They need money for
5 almost all their costs. We therefore believe that the major
6 emphasis should be placed on grants rather than loans in sup-
7 porting their education.

8 RECOMMENDATION 9: We recommend that the Admin-
9 istration give strong support to the establishment and mainte-
10 nance of community colleges. We ask you to direct the Depart-
11 ment of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of
12 Labor, and the Office of Economic Opportunity to work with the
13 appropriate public officials and private citizens to restructure
14 vocational, technical, and post-secondary education for the
15 70's and 80's. A critical aspect of this mission must be making
16 certain that community colleges do not become dumping grounds
17 for the children of the poor and near-poor. We are concerned
18 that community colleges develop into one of the strongest and
19 most flexible links in the continuing education in which millions
20 of our people must be involved at various stages in their lives
21 if they are not to be crippled by dead-end or unmarketable
22 skills, or by undeveloped capacities as citizens and human
23 beings.

1 2. Housing and Urban Development

2 RECOMMENDATION 1: We call for the immediate re-
3 lease of supplemental FY 1971 funds of \$150 million for public
4 housing. This can be accomplished immediately by Presidential
5 action.

6 RECOMMENDATION 2: We recommend the implementa-
7 tion of the Uniform Relocation Act to insure an adequate stock
8 of low and moderate income housing for displaced persons.
9 Immediate action by the President could achieve the imple-
10 mentation.

11 RECOMMENDATION 3: We urge you to support legis-
12 lation to amend the Housing Act so that urban renewal money
13 may be used for housing development projects other than new
14 construction.

15 RECOMMENDATION 4: The Department of Housing
16 and Urban Development should institute and enforce a uniform
17 policy of site selection applicable to all of its departmental
18 programs. The current regulations of the Department of
19 Housing and Urban Development affecting site selections apply
20 only to low rent housing. All other Housing and Urban Devel-
21 opment programs, including Sections 235 and 236, should be
22 brought under this policy to insure that they expand opportuni-
23 ties for black citizens and avoid reinforcement of segregation.

1 Immediate executive action in this area is possible.

2 RECOMMENDATION 5: We strongly urge the amend-
3 ment of Executive Order 11512 (1970) concerning the selection
4 of sites for federal installations, in accordance with the U.S.
5 Commission on Civil Rights' recommendation on "Federal In-
6 stallations and Equal Housing Opportunity" to assure that com-
7 munities are, in fact, open to all economic and racial groups
8 as a condition of eligibility for location of federal installations.

9 RECOMMENDATION 6: Tax legislation providing
10 favorable treatment of investment in new and rehabilitated
11 housing should be broadened to provide identical preference to
12 investment in any inner-city real property development, spon-
13 sored or substantially-owned by a community development
14 corporation or other organization of minority or low-income
15 citizens.

16 3. The Drug Crisis

17 RECOMMENDATION 1: We strongly urge that drug
18 abuse and addiction be declared a major national crisis. We
19 call upon this Administration to use all existing resources to
20 stop the illegal entry of drugs into the United States, including
21 suspension of economic and military assistance to any country
22 which fails to take appropriate steps to prevent narcotic drugs
23 produced or processed in that country from entering the

1 United States unlawfully.

2 RECOMMENDATION 2: We recommend that funds be
3 made available to every major city for the establishment of
4 ambulatory detoxification and rehabilitation centers. Federal
5 financial support should likewise be extended to reinforce the
6 local initiatives developed in many communities to address this
7 problem.

8 RECOMMENDATION 3: Amphetamine abuse programs,
9 beginning with Food and Drug Administration restraints on
10 present overproduction and overuse, should be upgraded sub-
11 stantially. Special emphasis should be given cooperatively by
12 the FDA and the Office of Education to restraint of the applica-
13 tion of amphetamine drugs to control school children. We are
14 concerned about the danger that such drugs might be given to
15 children not adequately diagnosed as hyperkinetic.

16 RECOMMENDATION 4: Substantial federal funds should
17 be made available to study the long-range social and physiologi-
18 cal effects of the broad use of methadone as an alternative to
19 heroin addiction. The Food and Drug Administration of the
20 Department of Health, Education and Welfare should take the
21 initiative in establishing safeguards which will eliminate the
22 careless, and often unsupervised, dispensing of methadone.

23

1 RECOMMENDATION 5: Since organized crime is the
2 principal distributive mechanism of hard narcotics, we urge
3 that Justice Department manpower for investigation and prose-
4 cution in that area be substantially increased.

5 RECOMMENDATION 6: A cabinet level federal task
6 force on drug abuse should be appointed, with broad repre-
7 sentation, including the Justice Department, the Department of
8 State, HEW and other federal agencies relevant to this problem.
9 This task force should be mandated to design a government-
10 wide action strategy for eliminating drug abuse. A task force
11 report should be made public, and implementation begun within
12 six months.

13 C. Justice and Civil Rights

14 1. Criminal Justice

15 RECOMMENDATION 1: We urge that the President and
16 the Attorney General direct the Law Enforcement Assistance
17 Administration (LEAA) to do the following: (1) support law
18 reform and basic changes in the present system rather than
19 the excessive purchase of weapons and equipment; (2) insure
20 adequate minority, urban and community-level representation
21 on planning boards at all levels; (3) guarantee vigorous Title
22 VI enforcement in regard to grantees; and (4) make certain
23 that urban areas, particularly inner-city communities, are

1 assisted in developing effective and fair criminal justice systems.

2 RECOMMENDATION 2: We urge you, Mr. President,

3 to appoint black federal judges and other legal officials, in-

4 cluding U.S. Attorneys, U.S. Marshals, federal correctional

5 officers, and other Justice Department employees in every

6 region of the country. We note with considerable concern that

7 you have appointed only one black judge outside the District of

8 Columbia. We feel it is especially important that black federal

9 judges be appointed in the South.

10 RECOMMENDATION 3: We are disturbed that the D. C.

11 Court Reform and Criminal Procedure Act of 1970 has been

12 advertised as a model for the nation, inasmuch as we feel that

13 some of its provisions clearly impinge on the constitutional

14 rights of suspects and defendants. Such other laws with simi-

15 larly constitutionally odious provisions are the Organized

16 Crime Control Act of 1970. None of these ought to be so ad-

17 vertised as models, and we strongly urge that the Administra-

18 tion sponsor legislation to repeal such sections of those acts

19 as the "no-knock" and preventive detention provisions as

20 inimical to the interests of a free society.

21 2. Civil Rights

22 RECOMMENDATION 1: We call for the full implementa-

23 tion of the 1970 Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,

1 and request that the findings derived from the White House
2 inquiries of the 26 federal agencies be shared with the Black
3 Caucus as well as with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

4 RECOMMENDATION 2: We urge you, Mr. President,
5 to instruct the Attorney General to move promptly to investigate
6 and take corrective action on efforts to disenfranchise blacks
7 and other minorities in the South and Southwest -- especially
8 in thirty-three counties in Mississippi. In addition, we urge
9 that you instruct the Attorney General to take prompt and
10 decisive action to investigate and take remedial action con-
11 cerning allegations of attempted vote fraud in Gary, Indiana,
12 and that similar action be taken wherever attempts are made
13 to disadvantage and disenfranchise minority voters.

14 RECOMMENDATION 3: We recommend that you instruct
15 the Office of Management and Budget to establish an adequately
16 staffed division on civil rights with properly trained persons,
17 which would monitor every department and agency to insure
18 that all civil rights legislation and executive policies are im-
19 plemented. Further, this agency should issue periodic public
20 reports of its findings.

21 RECOMMENDATION 4: We recommend that the regulations
22 now being formulated by the Justice Department to implement
23 Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act require the Attorney General



1 to object to submitted voting law changes unless he makes
2 a finding that the change has no discriminatory purpose or
3 effect.

4 3. Veterans' Affairs

5 RECOMMENDATION 1: We recommend, Mr. President,
6 that you direct the Departments of Defense, Justice, and State
7 -- assisted by selected members of the bar, including minority
8 representatives--to investigate the quality of justice meted out
9 to black and other minority servicemen. The investigation
10 should also examine the conditions under which blacks and other
11 minority servicemen are incarcerated in military prisons here
12 and abroad. The resulting report and recommendations for
13 action should be submitted to you, the appropriate committees
14 of Congress, and the public.

15 RECOMMENDATION 2: We urge the Administration to
16 recommend and support legislation to establish a Civil Rights
17 Division within the Department of Defense and to prescribe by
18 law the personnel, funding, and procedure for handling com-
19 plaints of racial discrimination against military personnel,
20 both on and off base, in the United States and abroad.

21 4. District of Columbia

22 RECOMMENDATION 1: We urge you, Mr. President,
23 to lend the vigorous support of your Administration to legislation

1 providing for:

2 (1) full Congressional voting representation for the

3 District of Columbia;

4 (2) Home Rule for the District, including an elected

5 Mayor and City Council; and

6 (3) a just and adequate automatic federal payment

7 formula to provide revenues necessary to make the District

8 of Columbia a model for the nation.

9 D. Foreign Policy

10 RECOMMENDATION 1: We call upon you to effect dis-
11 engagement from Southeast Asia as soon as possible, preferably
12 by the end of 1971, and definitely within the life of the 92nd
13 Congress.

14 RECOMMENDATION 2: We call for drastic reduction
15 in our military expenditures, and the redirection of these funds
16 to finance much needed domestic programs -- such as economic
17 security and economic development, community and urban de-
18 velopment, justice and civil rights, and many other unfulfilled
19 interests of the black community.

20 RECOMMENDATION 3: Mr. President, following World
21 War II Europe was the recipient of massive aid through the
22 Marshall Plan and Japan was rebuilt essentially through
23 American assistance. In the sixties the Alliance for Progress

1 was conceived and funded for the benefit of Latin America, and
2 the Middle East continues to receive a significant input of our
3 resources. We feel strongly that Africa's turn is overdue.
4 Africa must be given priority and attention on an equal basis
5 with other parts of the world. Over the past few years, Africa
6 has received only 8.5% of American aid; we believe this percent-
7 age should be increased significantly -- to at least 15%.

8 We recommend that a special Task Force be created in
9 the Executive Branch, composed of ranking members of the
10 Departments of State, Commerce, Defense, and other pertinent
11 agencies, where the variety of American policies dealing with
12 Africa can be reviewed in a comprehensive manner and whose
13 recommendations would be effectively implemented. In addi-
14 tion, several recognized experts of long time interest in this
15 continent should be included, (e. g. , Members of Congress,
16 academicians, journalists, and businessmen.)

17 U. S. representatives to the World Bank, the Inter-
18 national Monetary Fund and the International Development
19 Association should request those organizations to allocate
20 increasing shares of multi-lateral resources for Africa.

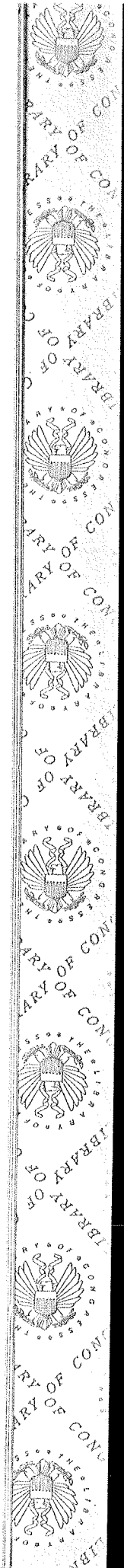
21 We support broader U. S. participation in the African
22 Development Bank and we urge that our government provide
23 soft funds with other donors for the Bank.

1 RECOMMENDATION 4: United States relations with
2 Southern Africa are in need of a major overhaul. This country
3 should take the lead in isolating the Republic of South Africa,
4 the world's most racist nation. Disincentives should be de-
5 veloped to discourage the expansion of further private American
6 investment there. On the other hand, private American enter-
7 prise should be encouraged to seriously examine the potential
8 for profitable investment in other parts of Africa.

9 We urge the Administration to actively support legis-
10 lation proposing the withdrawal of the United States sugar quota
11 for the Republic of South Africa, and its reallocation to other
12 African countries. We further urge the Administration to im-
13 plement the United States pronouncements in the United Nations
14 to help liberate the remaining areas under colonial rule in
15 Africa.

16 The House Subcommittee on Africa submitted a compre-
17 hensive report on Southern Africa to the Administration as
18 a result of its extensive travels and hearings. The recommen-
19 dations of this report and others it has rendered should be
20 seriously considered.

21 RECOMMENDATION 5: Of all major industrial nations,
22 the United States has for years allocated less proportionately
23 for international development efforts. We propose that the



1 United States direct at least 1% of its annual gross national
2 product for international aid, with priority attention to Africa.
3 (It must be noted that about 75% of all United States foreign aid
4 funds have been spent for U. S. goods and services.)

5 RECOMMENDATION 6: We urge that blacks and other
6 minorities be given a greater role in the making of foreign policy
7 We also ask the Administration to increase its recruitment of
8 minority Americans for foreign policy positions, as well as to
9 improve the upgrading procedures regarding minorities within
10 the State Department and related agencies.

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March 25, 1971

Mr. President:

As we indicated earlier, we have not at this time placed before you the full range of concerns which we and those we represent believe to be subject to amelioration by the federal government of which you are the duly elected head. We look forward to the opportunity to work cooperatively with you and with other representatives of your Administration on the issues we have laid before you today, and on others which we hope to consider with you in the future.

Respectfully submitted,

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

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