THE NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL AGENDA

Honorable Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.
Honorary Chairman

Honorable Charles C. Dingo, Jr.
Co-Chairman

Honorable Richard G. Hatcher
Co-Chairman

Imamu Amiri Baraka
Co-Chairman
NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL AGENDA

This document, the National Black Political Agenda, is the official issue out of the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana on March 10 - 12, 1972. The revisions herein are based on testimony received by the Platform Committee from representatives of State Caucuses and national organizations, as well as individuals, during extended hearings on March 10 - 12, 1972. Materials herein also include the concerns presented to the Resolutions Committee on March 10 - 12, 1972, as well as action taken by the National Black Political Convention Steering Committee.

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# National Black Political Agenda

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The Black Agenda is addressed primarily to Black people in America. It rises naturally out of the bloody decades and centuries of our people’s struggle on these shores. It flows from the most recent surgings of our own cultural and political consciousness. It is our attempt to define some of the essential changes which must take place in this land as we and our children move to self-determination and true independence.

The Black Agenda assumes that no truly basic change for our benefit takes place in Black or white America unless we Black people organize to initiate that change. It assumes that we must have some essential agreement on overall goals, even though we may differ on many specific strategies.

Therefore, this is an initial statement of goals and directions for our own generation, some first definitions of crucial issues around which Black people must organize and move in 1972 and beyond. Anyone who claims to be serious about the survival and liberation of Black people must be serious about the implementation of the Black Agenda.

What Time Is It?

We come to Gary in an hour of great crisis and tremendous promise for Black America. While the white nation hovers on the brink of chaos, while its politicians offer no hope of real change, we stand on the edge of history and are faced with an amazing and frightening choice: We may choose in 1972 to slip back into decadent white politics of American life, or we may press forward, moving relentlessly from Gary to the creation of our own Black life. The choice is large, but the time is very short.

Let there be no mistake. We come to Gary in a time of unrelieved crisis for our people. From every rural community in Alabama to the high-rise compounds of Chicago, we bring to this Convention the agonies of the masses of our people. From the sprawling Black cities of Watts and Nairobi in the West to the decay of Harlem and Roxbury in the East, the testimony we bear is the same. We are the witnesses to social disaster.

Our cities are crime-haunted dying grounds. Huge sectors of our youth — and countless others — face permanent unemployment. Those of us who work find our paychecks able to purchase less and less. Neither the courts nor the prisons contribute to anything resembling justice or reformation. The schools are unable — or unwilling — to educate our children for the real world of our struggles. Meanwhile, the officially approved epidemic of drugs threatens to wipe out the minds and strength of our best young warriors.

Economic, cultural, and spiritual depression stalk Black America, and the price for survival often appears to be more than we are able to pay. On every side, in every area of our lives, the American institutions in which we have placed our trust are unable to cope with the crises they have created by their single-minded dedication to profits for some and white supremacy above all.

Beyond These Shores

And beyond these shores there is more of the same. For while we are pressed down under all the dying weight of a bloated, inwardly decaying white civilization, many of our brothers in Africa and the rest of the Third World have fallen prey to the same powers of exploitation and deceit. Wherever America faces the unorganized, politically powerless forces of the non-white world, its goal is domination by any means necessary — as if to hide from itself the crumbling of its own systems of life and work.

But Americans cannot hide. They can run to China and the moon and to the edges of consciousness, but they cannot hide. The crises we face as Black people are the crises of the entire society. They go deep, to the very bones and marrow, to the essential nature of America’s economic, political, and cultural systems.
They are the natural end-product of a society built on the twin foundations of white racism and white capitalism.

So, let it be clear to us now: The desperation of our people, the agonies of our cities, the desolation of our countryside, the pollution of the air and the water — these things will not be significantly affected by new faces in the old places in Washington, D.C. This is the truth we must face here in Gary if we are to join our people everywhere in the movement forward toward liberation.

White Realities, Black Choice

A Black political convention, indeed all truly Black politics must begin from this truth: The American system does not work for the masses of our people, and it cannot be made to work without radical fundamental change. (Indeed, this system does not really work in favor of the humanity of anyone in America.)

In light of such realities, we come to Gary and are confronted with a choice. Will we believe the truth that history presses into our face — or will we, too, try to hide? Will the small favors some of us have received blind us to the larger sufferings of our people, or open our eyes to the testimony of our history in America?

For more than a century we have followed the path of political dependence on white men and their systems. From the Liberty Party in the decades before the Civil War to the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln, we trusted in white men and white politics as our deliverers. Sixty years ago, W.E.B. DuBois said he would give the Democrats their “last chance” to prove their sincere commitment to equality for Black people — and he was given white riots and official segregation in peace and in war.

Nevertheless, some twenty years later we became Democrats in the name of Franklin Roosevelt, then supported his successor Harry Truman, and even tried a “non-partisan” Republican General of the Army named Eisenhower. We were wooed like many others by the superficial liberalism of John F. Kennedy and the make-believe populism of Lyndon Johnson. Let there be no more of that.

Both Parties Have Betrayed Us

Here at Gary, let us never forget that while the times and the names and the parties have continually changed, one truth has faced us insistently, never changing: Both parties have betrayed us whenever their interests conflicted with ours (which was most of the time), and whenever our forces were unorganized and dependent, quiescent and compliant. Nor should this be surprising, for by now we must know that the American political system, like all other white institutions in America, was designed to operate for the benefit of the white race: It was never meant to do anything else.

That is the truth that we must face at Gary. If white “liberalism” could have solved our problems, then Lincoln and Roosevelt and Kennedy would have done so. But they did not solve ours nor the rest of the nation’s. If America’s problems could have been solved by forceful, politically skilled and aggressive individuals, then Lyndon Johnson would have retained the presidency. If the true “American Way” of unbridled monopoly capitalism, combined with a ruthless military imperialism could do it, then Nixon would not be running around the world, or making speeches comparing his nation’s decadence to that of Greece and Rome.

If we have never faced it before, let us face it at Gary: The profound crisis of Black people and the disaster of America are not simply caused by men nor will they be solved by men alone. These crises are the crises of basically flawed economics and politics, and of cultural degradation. None of the Democratic candidates and none of the Republican candidates — regardless of their vague promises to us or to their white constituencies — can solve our problems or the problems of this country without radically changing the systems by which it operates.
Politics of Social Transformation

So we come to Gary confronted with a choice. But it is not the old convention question of which candidate shall we support, the pointless question of who is to preside over a decaying and unsalvageable system. No, if we come to Gary out of the realities of the Black communities of this land, then the only real choice for us is whether or not we will live by the truth we know, whether we will move to organize independently, move to struggle for fundamental transformation, for the creation of new directions, towards a concern for the life and the meaning of Man. Social transformation or social destruction, those are our only real choices.

If we have come to Gary on behalf of our people in America, in the rest of this hemisphere, and in the Homeland — if we have come for our own best ambitions — then a new Black Politics must come to birth. If we are serious, the Black Politics of Gary must accept major responsibility for creating both the atmosphere and the program for fundamental, far-ranging change in America. Such responsibility is ours because it is our people who are most deeply hurt and ravaged by the present systems of society. That responsibility for leading the change is ours because we live in a society where few other men really believe in the responsibility of a truly humane society for anyone anywhere.

We Are The Vanguard

The challenge is thrown to us here in Gary. It is the challenge to consolidate and organize our own Black role as the vanguard in the struggle for a new society. To accept that challenge is to move independent Black politics. There can be no equivocation on that issue. History leaves us no other choice. White politics has not and cannot bring the changes we need.

We come to Gary and are faced with a challenge. The challenge is to transform ourselves from favoring vassals and loud-talking, “militant” pawns, and to take up the role that the organized masses of our people have attempted to play ever since we came to these shores: That of harbingers of true justice and humanity, leaders in the struggle for liberation.

A major part of the challenge we must accept is that of redefining the functions and operations of all levels of American government, for the existing governing structures — from Washington to the smallest county — are obsolescent. That is part of the reason why nothing works and why corruption rages throughout public life. For white politics seeks not to serve but to dominate and manipulate.

We will have joined the true movement of history if at Gary we grasp the opportunity to press Man forward as the first consideration of politics. Here at Gary we are faithful to the best hopes of our fathers and our people if we move for nothing less than a politics which places community before individualism, love before sexual exploitation, a living environment before profits, peace before war, justice before unjust “order”, and morality before expediency.

This is the society we need, but we delude ourselves here at Gary if we think that change can be achieved without organizing the power, the determined national Black power, which is necessary to insist upon such change, to create such change, to seize change.

Towards A Black Agenda

So when we turn to a Black Agenda for the seventies, we move in the truth of history, in the reality of the moment. We move recognizing that no one else is going to represent our interests but ourselves. The society we seek cannot come unless Black people organize to advance its coming. We lift up a Black Agenda recognizing that white America moves towards the abyss created by its own racist arrogance, misplaced priorities, rampant materialism, and ethical bankruptcy. Therefore, we are certain that the Agenda we now seek for in Gary is not only for the future of Black humanity, but is probably the only way the rest of America can save itself from the harvest of its criminal past.

So, Brothers and Sisters of our developing Black nation, we now stand at Gary as people whose time has
come. From every corner of Black America, from all liberation movements of the Third World, from the graves of our fathers and the coming world of our children, we are faced with a challenge and a call: Though the moment is perilous we must not despair. We must seize the time, for the time is ours.

We begin here and now in Gary. We begin with an independent Black political movement, an independent Black Political Agenda, an independent Black spirit. Nothing less will do. We must build for our people. We must build for our world. We stand on the edge of history. We cannot turn back.
ACTION AGENDA FOR BLACK PEOPLE

It is clear that officials can only deal with a portion of the problems which face us as Black people. The remainder of the task falls to us, acting as political units, as community organizations and as committed persons.

We advance these programmatic ideas with no real notion that white politics can endorse their direction. That is up to us. These ideas and the many thousands more that will arise from the specific conditions of our people are the evolving power, hope, and future of the National Black Political Agenda. For them to become real, we must organize to demand them, not as temporary protest or pressure group faction, but as a new political force in American life whose time has come.

We recommend that each state convention and each local convention seek to implement this agenda by every means necessary. This will mean that each local or state convention must clearly define its responsibilities and establish subcommittees or standing committees to assure that the collective Black will is carried out.
POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

The Problem and the Choice

The bondage of Black people in America has been sanctioned and perpetuated by the American political system — for the American political system is one of politics dedicated to the preservation of white power.

It was white politics that enslaved Black people and disfranchised them without a second thought.

It was white politics that enlisted Black men into the Union Army in the Civil War and then cruelly betrayed them when the white Republic was restored.

It was white politics that marauded Mexico and plundered the Philippines, raped Latin America and sought and still seeks greedily to possess Africa and subjected Asia to its will. It is white politics that daily exposes itself as a politics of bribery, corruption, special privilege and moral dishonor. And it is white politics that now has brought America to being sneered at and despised by the majority of the world's people.

White politics is the politics of racism. It cannot be made to work on behalf of the aspirations and ideals of humane justice; it can only be a politics of racism. It cannot deliver Blacks from the clutches of Babylon.

At this moment in history then, Black people must decide whose side they are on. Are they for or against this system? This is the question of our future and of America's which Blacks must honestly face with all its implications and with all its meanings.

The Direction

The plight of Black people is the result of the workings of the American system. Our political agenda then must transcend this system; it must speak boldly and without reservation to the problems of Black people in the '70s.

The Black politics we need goes far beyond electoral politics and far beyond 1972. WE NEED PERMANENT POLITICAL MOVEMENT THAT ADDRESSES ITSELF TO THE BASIC CONTROL AND RESHAPING OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS THAT CURRENTLY EXPLOIT BLACK AMERICA AND THREATEN THE WHOLE SOCIETY. The unifying objective of this political movement must be the empowerment of the Black community, not simply its representatives. It must offer basic alternatives to all the existing American political, economic and cultural systems.

POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT — ACTION AGENDA FOR BLACK PEOPLE

Assigned for Implementation to:
BPC Committee: __________
Organization: __________
Individual: ________

Assigned for Implementation to:
BPC Committee: __________
Organization: __________
Individual: ________

1. The National Black Political Convention should create a structure to be called the National Black Assembly and an election process to that body to continue permanently after the National Black Political Convention.

2. The National Black Assembly should establish a national research arm to provide the on-going structure with the capacity to develop information, positions and data necessary for achieving Black empowerment.
3. The National Black Assembly should pledge itself to organize and mobilize such a community-based movement towards amassing the needed resources and power to achieve full Black empowerment.

4. The National Black Assembly should create a Black Commission to study reapportionment and redistricting and develop and implement strategies for striking down gerrymandering by whites designed to destroy Black political power.

5. The National Black Assembly should initiate a national voter education and registration drive among Black voters.

6. The National Black Assembly should dedicate itself to developing meaningful ways to extend political empowerment to poor Black people so that they can collectively and as individuals have major input into all decision-making processes that affect their lives. (See Appendix for National Welfare Rights Organization Poor People’s Platform.)

7. There must be two-way Black political accountability in which the Black community gives financial support to Black candidates and they, in turn, when elected, promise faithfully to represent the Black community. Black delegates and candidates must account for themselves and their policies to functioning and duly authorized structures of the national, state or local Black Political Convention structures. (See Appendix for Model Pledges.)

8. There must be political education and political action programs at the local, precinct, municipal, state and national levels designed to:
   
   (a) educate and activate Black people toward political empowerment at all levels;
   
   (b) equip Black people to use balance-of-power politics effectively;
   
   (c) create a thorough understanding and use of available political power;
   
   (d) encourage the complete mastery of the use and application of voting and other political power tools to achieve the interests of Black people locally and beyond the local sphere;
   
   (e) encourage involvement in election campaigns of black candidates.

This education and activation should especially involve Black youth. The learn-by-doing method should be basic to these programs. Practical politics should be taught in the public schools and political discovery forces be established at local levels.
9. There should be support of the right of the Government of the Republic of New Africa to hold plebiscites in the predominately Black counties of the Deep South, to determine whether the inhabitants of these areas wish their counties and themselves to be part of an independent New African Nation (Republic of New Africa) or wish to remain under the captive sovereignty of the United States.

10. The National Black Assembly has the right and responsibility to have observers present at the time and place of all aforementioned independence and self-determination plebiscites in order to insure that they are justly and peacefully administered.

11. Black action groups should be formed to demand the removal from office of all officials of the illegal government of Wilmington, North Carolina, and technical support should be offered to the Wilmington Black community. The National Black Assembly should move to exert national pressure to bring the plight of Blacks in Wilmington, North Carolina before the eyes and ears of African people everywhere.

12. Blacks throughout the nation should receive political education in such a way that we recognize evidence of genocide against our people. Recent actions against Black people in Cairo, Illinois, among other examples, should be ample evidence of the practice of genocide against black people. Black action groups should be formed to support the Black people of Cairo, Illinois.
ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

The economic impoverishment of the Black community in America is clearly traceable to the historic enslavement of our people and to the racist discrimination to which we have been subjected since "emancipation." Indeed, much of the unprecedented economic wealth and power of American capitalism has obviously been built upon this exploitation of Black people.

Therefore, an incalculable social indebtedness has been generated, a debt which is owed to Black people by the general American society. So, while the moral horrors of slavery and the human indignities visited upon our people by racial discrimination can never really be compensated for – we must not rest until American society has recognized our valid, historic right to reparations, to a massive claim on the financial assets of the American economy. At the same time, it is necessary that Black people realize that full economic development for us cannot take place without radical transformation of the economic system which has so clearly exploited us these many years.

It is against the background of such realities that we move to a Black Agenda for Economic Empowerment.

ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT – ACTION AGENDA FOR BLACK PEOPLE

1. Establish a national Black commission (chosen by the National Black Assembly) to determine a procedure for calculating a reparations schedule in terms of land, capital and cash, and to explore the ways in which the Black community prefers to have this payment implemented.

2. Establish a Black United Fund with regional and representative Black leadership. All Black persons will be solicited to contribute toward this fund in proportion to their annual income, with the proceeds to be used for Black charitable and development purposes.

3. Encourage Black consumers to spend as much of their purchasing power as possible in Black-owned and operated stores, and to avoid firms having negative impact on the Black community. Form a national Black consumer protective committee. This committee would monitor and evaluate goods and services used by the Black community.

4. Establish, where racial discrimination exists in labor unions, Black parallel unions which are automatically afforded the same privileges as those enjoyed by the discriminatory unions.

5. Encourage exploration of alternative forms of economic organization and development of an economic system that promotes self-reliance, cooperative economics, and people ownership and control of means of production and distribution of goods.
6. Initiate Black community-based efforts to pressure churches, educational institutions and corporations to make more meaningful investments in Black-controlled community development projects.

7. Initiate Black community-based efforts against specific churches and educational institutions which are involved in the exploitation of Black people here and abroad.
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

In every phase of our history in America, the Human Development of the Black community has been seriously impeded because of the essential commitment in the general society, and because we did not control the instruments and institutions for our social, cultural and educational development. We have been — and are now — a colony, living in the midst of a society committed to values other than the development of the human spirit.

Therefore, if the development of the Black community is to lead to the creation of new levels of Black humanity, we must break the bonds of our colonization, we must create and direct new institutions, and we must wrest control of some existing institutions from the hands of white America. We must define the human development we need, and we must move to create the necessary conditions for its realization.

With such goals in mind, we put forward these elements of an Agenda for Black Human Development, recognizing the centrality of the Black Family to all aspects of our growth.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT — ACTION AGENDA FOR BLACK PEOPLE

Assigned for Implementation to:
BPC Committee: ____________________________
Organization: ____________________________
Individual: ________________________________

1. Act to develop mechanisms for Black control of the schools where Black children are educated, moving beyond the sterile issue of “busing” to the basic issue of the redistribution of educational wealth and control. (Please note the following positions that were resolved and passed on this issue)

a. We condemn forced racial integration of schools as a bankrupt, suicidal method of desegregating schools, based on the false notion that Black children are unable to learn unless they are in the same setting as white children. As an alternative to busing of Black children to achieve racial balance, we demand quality education in the Black community through control of our school systems, school districts and a guarantee of an equal share of that money. (Submitted by South Carolina)

b. The CORE community controlled school plan be endorsed by this Black Convention as a viable alternative to erase this whole integration tactic to destroy Black schools. That this Convention go on record as being opposed to busing continuation. (Submitted by Florida)

c. We request that this Convention diametrically oppose the dissolving of Black institutions of higher education by merger, merging our Black schools to white schools. (Submitted by Florida)

d. Be it resolved that this Convention support the Black colleges and universities in their struggle for existence and attention of their identity. (Submitted by Tennessee)

e. The Black Political Convention reaffirm this position that the Nixon Administration is a racist Administration, and although we also reject the concept which he rejects, forced busing to achieve racial balance, we do so for different reasons. We demand that all monies that would be used for busing rather be spent in Black communities to achieve quality education. For the President to deny the furnishing of resources to Black communities and to leave intact the present system of white-controlled Black schools
which simultaneously deny Black children the right to bus to white schools, demonstrates the highest form of immorality. This is the current American posture. (Submitted by New York)

f. We would like to clarify the position that some of the Blacks find themselves in. It is a reality in many Southern rural communities and indeed some Southern urban communities, that without the benefit of some device such as busing, that it will be impossible to achieve desegregated schools on one hand and oppose the powers of the white racist political structures on the other hand, it is impossible for the Black communities to have community control, which in many northern sections it is possible. We... go on record to be in favor of busing where the circumstances demand that... (Submitted by Alabama)

g. Busing is not the real issue in American education today, and we condemn the dishonesty of the Nixon Administration and other forces in making busing an issue when, in fact, busing has officially been used to maintain segregation for many years in many sections of the country. The real educational issue for the Black community is how do we get supreme quality education for all our youngsters.

We condemn as false the notion that Black children are unable to learn unless they are in the same setting with white children; and further, we disassociate ourselves from the positions put forth by Nixon and Wallace.

We cannot have Blacks disintegrated out of political power achieved recently by: (1) Nixon’s plan to take us back to Plessy vs. Ferguson; or (2) the court’s disintegration of our children into white-dominated school boards, budgets, curricula, etc.

Our politics is that we must have control of our own education, with the options of transportation and any other tools which guarantee superior quality education and also protects all rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment. (Addition to Gary Resolution on Education, March 24, 1972)

2. Establish drug information programs geared toward Black youth and controlled by the Black community.

3. Establish support mechanisms for a National Black Youth Political Lobby, a Political and Social Research Information Clearinghouse, and an Opportunity Clearinghouse for apprising Black youth of educational, economic and other opportunities open to them.

4. The establishment of local and state units of the National Black Political Convention or its successor body to formulate appropriate structures to investigate disciplinary action taken against Black students to protect their right to due process.
5. Act to constitute investigative teams of Black citizens to systematically review the treatment and legal status of Black people within mental institutions and prisons (civilian and military) to ensure that basic human rights are not infringed, and that treatment is fair and equitable.

6. Establish concrete programs controlled by the Black community educating the Black community as to the nature and transmission of Sickle Cell Anemia. This should include free periodic tests of Black children, the production of literature, pre-marital testing, and all other appropriate measures in the interest of the Black community.

7. Oppose the present plans for a National 1976 Bicentennial and all other anti-human events celebrated by white American society. The millions of dollars now available and being directed toward this "Giant Birthday Party" should be directed toward the provision of adequate housing, jobs, quality education and sufficient food and jobs for Black people.

8. Support the concept of the Grievance Procedures established by the National Tenant Organization for the accumulation and processing of tenant complaints.

9. Establish within the National Black Assembly a Committee on the Black Elderly to begin to deal with those of us who are doubly oppressed — both by virtue of race and age. Such a committee should be composed of the aged, Black officials and Black community organization representatives, and be charged with correcting inequities in welfare, social security and nursing homes, and the establishment of adequate housing for the older person to enable him to remain in the community as a part of it and care for himself. Young Black people must never allow their elders to be at the mercy of oppressive white institutions and agencies.
INTERNATIONAL POLICY AND BLACK PEOPLE

The Problem

Because the history and culture of Black people is fundamentally related to our African birthright, we are concerned about the movement of colonized African countries from subjugation to independence and from neo-colonized states to fully independent ones. In the southern African areas of Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa), Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, African people are dominated, exploited and brutalized by Europeans, and particularly the NATO powers — headed by the United States. This situation manifests itself not only in Africa but also in Vietnam, the Middle East, the Caribbean and other places in the Third and Pan-African World. It is world-wide military imperialism.

The Causes

This situation of global white oppression arises because the European countries, supported by the United States, need to expand their control of sources of cheap labor and raw materials into Africa and the Third World in order to continue to reap profits. These white countries seek to protect their domination and exploitation by the establishment of treaties which provide for military bases and communication facilities used to suppress Africa and Third World revolutions and maintain the racist status quo.

Therefore: Black people will no longer abdicate their international responsibilities but will support an international policy agenda designed to:

1. Further the progress of provisional governments and the revolutionary movements in Africa, especially in Azania, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Guinea Bissau, and to assist other African countries in their movement toward meaningful political independence.

2. Promote African economic independence and help these countries achieve self-sufficiency, thus ending their role as the suppliers of labor and raw materials for European, American and other imperialists.

3. Effect the world-wide disintegration of the economic and political control and racist exploitation of African and Third World peoples by Europeans and Americans.

In order to make such a policy operational, we establish the following:

INTERNATIONAL POLICY – ACTION AGENDA FOR BLACK PEOPLE

Assigned for Implementation to: BPC Committee: Organization: Individual:

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1. Demand that the United States in all theatres of international action, cease its complicity with European countries seeking to control, politically or economically, African and Third World peoples.

2. Resist vigorously all attempts by the United States policy-makers or corporations to use the talents of Black people to perpetuate the exploitation and subjugation of Africa and the Third World.

4. Demand that the United States Government withdraw from southern Africa and other African and Third World countries communication facilities, military bases and material which contribute to the dehumanization or subjugation of those countries’ citizens. This process must include the development of conventional and innovative programs and institutions to communicate the realities of Black life in America to our people in Africa, the Caribbean and around the world.

5. Recognize the importance of the models provided by Tanzania and the Peoples Republic of China for fundamental political and economic transformation of African and Third World states.

6. Support the complete self-determination of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands and the elimination of overt and covert intervention by the United States into the domestic affairs of the Caribbean countries.

7. Organize Black action groups to demand that the United States end economic and political sanctions against Cuba and ends its occupation of Guantanamo Bay.

8. Organize Black action groups to demand economic sanctions against the products of specific companies, national and international, which are involved in the exploitation of Black people here and abroad.


10. Organize Black action groups to support the ratification of the United Nations Convention on Genocide.

11. Educate Blacks in the community about international policy affecting Africa, and about how Africa relates to the Black community; the National Black Assembly should seek Observer Status in the Organization of African Unity, and accreditation as a Non-Governmental Organization of the United Nations.


a. Whereas, as an African People we fully support the struggle of oppressed peoples against their oppressors, and

b. Whereas, we recognize that there is a crisis in the Middle East involving the oppressed people of North Africa, and

c. Whereas, we support the O.A.U. as the representative body
which speaks for our brothers on the continent, and recognize that the positions of the O.A.U. and the U.N. Commission on Human Rights are valid and fair; Therefore, be it resolved that the Convention go on record as being in agreement with the O.A.U. positions that call for:

1. The Israeli Government to be condemned for her expansionist policy and forceful occupation of the sovereign territory of another state.

2. Measures to be taken to alleviate the suffering and improve the position of Palestinian people in Israel.

b. The National Black Political Convention resolves to support the struggle of Palestine for self-determination.

c. The National Black Political Convention concurs also with the U.N. position that Israel rescind and desist from all practice affecting the demographic structure or physical character of occupied Arab territories and the rights of their inhabitants.

COMMUNICATIONS

From the beginning, those who enslaved us understood that by controlling communications they could control our minds. Over the years, as the white communications forces continued to tell the world lies about us, the Black newspaper became our primary agent of communication. From its inception in 1827, it kept us informed about ourselves, because we owned it. It brought us pouring into northern cities and it helped us keep in touch with our brothers and sisters who had not left the South; it told us about lynchings and our treatment in the Army, and it fought to preserve our culture.

Then four years ago the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders told the country what we already knew: The white-controlled mass media had not been responsive to our needs. The changes since have been minimal. A few more token Blacks in visible positions here; a few more news stories or entertainment programs involving Blacks there. As the Congressional Black Caucus has said; "... it is still impossible to find in the media anything like an adequate picture of Black culture and Black lifestyles." With these realities in mind, we move toward a Black Agenda for Communications:

COMMUNICATIONS – ACTION AGENDA FOR BLACK PEOPLE

1. Move to control television and radio outlets. Of the approximately 355 Black-programmed radio stations in America, 345 are owned by whites, some of whom have been millionaires through the exploitation of the Black public. At this stage, there are no Black-owned television stations in the country.

2. Form media watchdog committees to document unfair media practices in hiring, news coverage, entertainment and advertising. Black lawyers working closely with such watchdog committees should file lawsuits to challenge the racist use of the public airwaves, newspapers and magazines. As we work to control our own communications, we must also convince the white-owned mass media they can no longer invade our communities and lie about us at will.

3. See to it that no cable television comes into our communities unless we control it. Our minds and the minds of our children are at stake. Cable television offers a relatively low-cost way both to control information coming into our communities and to channel what would have been white profits into community development.

4. Move to transfer certain local and national radio and television properties (including cable TV) to Black community control. Insist on the hiring of Blacks in all print, radio and TV media in proportion to population figures. We have been the main sufferers from white racist communications and the chief creators of profitable alternatives. We must develop and control as well as create. We must tell our own story to our own people.

5. Black people must organize to achieve federal and private support of cable TV system ownership by Blacks as well as federal recognition of response to Black communications watchdog organizations.
6. Blacks must organize to insure that the FCC develops an Ombudsman Program to advise and assist Blacks attempting to obtain access to, control of and influence on communications media through such actions as petitions to deny licenses, complaints and lawsuits.

7. The Congressional Black Caucus should introduce legislation allowing non-profit community organizations to receive from HEW’s Educational Television Funds 75 per cent of the money necessary for funding community television production centers.
RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural Blacks have historically been subjected to the lash of Southern oppression and terror. We live under a political and economic system which limits rights of political and economic participation, and circumscribes our capacity for growth and development. Governmental policy and practice has historically sought to repress our self-determination, manage and control our rate of progress, and often deny our very existence. Our material environment is characterized by the worst the American social system has to offer.

Our housing is poor and structurally unsound and we control none of the housing production process. We are mainly tenants rather than owners. Even the land we toiled for centuries has seldom been ours to own, control, or pass on to our heirs. Health services, when they are available, are of low quality, high cost and outside the control of our communities.

The rather recent technological revolution in agriculture has been particularly vexing for Black agricultural labor. This labor, long a valued commodity, has been rendered virtually useless. When other jobs are available for Blacks, they are generally low-waged, debasing, and short-lived. Many of us are without any income at all.

Faced with these conditions, we are left with few real options. Millions have fled in a forced exodus from the rural South, seeking refuge in Northern cities. Others, perhaps a quarter of the nation's Black population, have remained to eke out a living as a landless class with no rights that are respected by the dominant society.

Causes:

The "human condition" of Blacks existing in rural America is a product of racism and aggravated by economic dependency. The absence of sovereignty and a land base also contribute substantially to our condition of powerlessness, and powerlessness leads to serious disparities in the allocation of capital resources, services, and social overhead investments to Black communities.

While much of what constitutes our condition is clearly the work, design, and capriciousness of our oppressors, we must not totally remove ourselves from blame. Far too often we choose to support economically White enterprises, ideas, plans and programs which are detrimental to our own self-interest as a people. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to organize and mobilize to develop and support our own enterprises. Nothing less than our total resolve, resources, and energy is required to save and rebuild our Black communities.

**RURAL DEVELOPMENT – ACTION AGENDA FOR BLACK PEOPLE**

| Assigned for Implementation to: | 1. The erosion of black land ownership in the South is a serious danger to rural Black people. The National Black Assembly should assist in developing a consultative body to assist Blacks in the process of land sales and acquisitions. As a general principle, it is recommended that Blacks when selling land should first offer it to other Blacks. |
| BPC Committee: | |
| Organization: | |
| Individual: | |

| Assigned for Implementation to: | 2. Encourage and expand linkages between Blacks in rural and urban areas in the conduct of their common struggle. In this regard, a vertically integrated food processing and distribution network with an education and land bank component should be developed. |
| BPC Committee: | |
| Organization: | |
| Individual: | |
3. Act to provide financial and political support for the further development by Blacks of new communities in rural areas.

4. Act to establish Land Banks to assure continual Black ownership and control of land to be used for cooperative crop production, soil fertilization research and animal husbandry.

5. The National Black Assembly to create a Council on Rural Development to lend technical assistance to Black farm owners, to create cooperative marketing ventures, to develop ways of creating food processing plants in the South, to conduct research into modern farming methods, and to plan a national design for rural development.

6. Encourage young Blacks through scholarships and other aids to pursue careers and training in food technology, parasitology, bio-medical research, and agricultural management to provide the technicians for the Council on Rural Development.

7. Mount a major organizational effort to develop cooperative farms across the country in conjunction with Black groups and organizations functioning in rural areas.
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

The critical impact of environmental pollutants — noise, air, solid waste, sewage, rodents and pests, and lead poisoning — on Black inner-city residents has not yet been fully recognized. So far, the major thrust of the ecology movement has been directed toward environmental issues that do not adequately protect the health and life of Black urban dwellers.

The major consequence of the present policies and practices of industrial plants, slumlords, and governmental agencies is the powerful pollute, while the powerless suffer the atrocities of the pollution. For example, a child living within 200 feet of a high frequency traffic area or a freeway could get lead poisoning by swallowing daily less than one-sixth of a gram of atmospheric particulate fallout, an amount of soot and dirt equal to one-twenty-fourth of a teaspoonsul. The residue from leaded gasoline as emitted by motor vehicles accounts for more than 90 per cent of the carbon monoxide found in cities. Carbon monoxide blood poisoning can result from the continuous inhalation of such pollutants.

City street noise, which has been increasing at the rate of one decibel a year, often exceeds the minimal safety levels set for industrial workers.

Inadequate and irregular solid waste disposal frequently forces inner-city residents to use pesticides to kill roaches, flies, and other pests. DDT, a basic element in most pesticides, is subsequently ingested by the household occupants and remains in their tissues at levels which may eventually lead to death.

Food products with excessive chemical additives are among the standard items in the nutritionally limited low-income diets.

The automobile is clearly the major producer of the air and noise pollution dumped on the inner-city. As much as 60 per cent of these two types of automobile pollutants come from “outside” traffic.

Rat bite fever, salmonellosis and murine typhus, rather common among the inhabitants of inner-city areas, are indeed alien to residents of the suburban areas.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION — ACTION AGENDA FOR BLACK PEOPLE

1. Educate Black Community residents on the causes and effects of pollution.

2. Set community standards for air pollution, water effluent discharges, noise levels and other sources of pollutants separately and in combination with each other.

3. Guarantee the authority, either independently or in conjunction with local governments, to ban all through traffic from inner-city streets whenever air pollution levels approach dangerous heights.

4. Provide technical training and public service employment in solid waste management, sanitation engineering, sanitation services, environmental health and air pollution control for the optimal number of Black community residents. Such a measure would foster their timely entry into Environmental Protection occupations and facilitate their employment in community-
controlled programs which improve the quality of life through environment protection activities.

5. Assist individuals who bring suit against corporations and other entities which suspected of environmentals that pollute.

6. Organize Black action groups to demand that cease and desist orders be enforced by the courts against major polluters.
DETERMINATION FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Problem

nearly 800,000 residents of our Nation’s Capital have that dual distinction of being the only citizens nation who are by law denied the right to self-government (the last colony) and the only major city country with a 72 per cent Black population. There two facts are not unrelated.

National Black Political Agenda would be complete without a call to the entire Black Nation to rally support of the Black majority population of Washington, D.C. in their efforts to achieve full government and voting representation in the Congress of the United States.

The cause has been achieved considerably high visibility this year. The city has its first Delegate, albeit, in the U.S. House of Representatives in nearly one hundred years. He is a Black man and a member of the Congressional Black Caucus. Since coming to office he has developed with the people of the city a series of hearings held in each of the city’s eight wards a “People’s Home Rule Bill.” That bill was introduced in this the 92nd Congress and on October 12, 1971 the Senate passed a home rule bill similar to it by the largest margin ever given a home rule proposal. Moreover, a bill granting full voting representation in the Congress to the citizens of the Nation’s Capital, with two Senators and two Representatives has passed the House Judiciary Committee and awaits action by the full House and the Senate. But these initiatives toward liberating our majority-Black Capital are menaced by the same racist monitory forces that have doomed earlier legislation.

By an affirmative vote by a majority of the members of both Houses of the Congress and affirmative vote by a President of the United States will wrest from Southern-dominated Committees of the Congress dictatorial authority over the lives of this Black majority population and free them from the tyranny of representation.”

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

ACTION AGENDA FOR BLACK PEOPLE

1. Blacks across the Nation should obtain commitments from all presidential, senatorial and congressional candidates seeking their votes that they will, if elected, support legislation proposed by the citizens of Washington, D.C. for self-determination.

2. Commitments should also be secured to support as an interim measure the Washington Agenda prepared by the citizens of the District of Columbia, their Congressman and the District of Columbia Delegation to the National Black Political Convention. (See Action Agenda for Political Office Holders and Seekers pages 40 thru 47)
ACTION AGENDA FOR POLITICAL OFFICE HOLDERS AND SEEKERS

American politics is not now, nor has it ever been, truly accountable to Black people — so there is no longer any logical or historical reason for Black people to support political office holders and seekers who do not, as a fundamental requirement, utilize their office in behalf of our interests.

The problems that we face are concrete and sufficient. They require specific redress. Our support, now and in the future, can only be given to those political office holders and seekers who support these specific demands.
POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

ACTION AGENDA FOR POLITICAL OFFICE HOLDERS AND SEEKERS

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representatives:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

State and Local Officials:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

All Officials:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

1. Introduce or support legislation on a constitutional amendment providing for a minimum of 66 Representatives and 15 Senators; and until such time as the House and Senate represent Black people fairly, our due seats are to be filled by persons elected at-large by the national Black community. The same principle shall obtain for state and local governments. Black Congressional representation should be in proportion to our presence in the national population. We are at least 15 per cent of the population.

2. Assure by appointment and merit hiring practices, proportionate Black employment and policy control at every level of federal, state and local government — including the judicial system.

3. Bring about community control over the police, schools and other institutions that affect the lives of Black people, and the establishment of residence requirements for officials and employees of the same.

4. Establish and implement a Bill of Rights for all Black people caught in inequities of America’s criminal justice system, guarantee of trial by a jury of peers, right of lawyer of choice to be paid for by the state, extension of federal wage laws to cover prisoners, establishment of prisoners’ unions, the right to a speedy trial, the right to have court proceedings conducted in the mother tongue of the defendant and in English, the right to bail procedures — to include release on personal recognition in most cases, and in those rare instances where bail is necessary, such bail should be as low as possible without requiring the accused to purchase surety bonds, full human rights while in jail and prison, full restoration of all rights upon release from incarceration. The release of all Black political prisoners, including Angela Davis, H. Rap Brown, Imari Obadele, and all Black draft resisters. Grant unconditional amnesty to all Black draft resisters, whether in exile or otherwise.

5. Support the elimination of capital punishment for any and all crimes and the remanding of Blacks convicted of criminal offenses to penal rehabilitation centers housed in or near the Black community. The establishment of local community control over courts and prisons.

6. Support the abolition of the “no-knock” provision and practices where they appear in national and state legislation.

All Officials:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

All Officials:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

Political Office Holder or Seeker: ____________________________

Name
President, U.S. Senator,  
U.S. Representative:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator,  
U.S. Representative:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator,  
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President, U.S. Senator,  
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President, U.S. Senator,  
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President, U.S. Senator,  
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All Officials:

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President, U.S. Senator,  
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President, U.S. Senator,  
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President, U.S. Senator,  
U.S. Representative:

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President, U.S. Senator,  
U.S. Representative:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

11. Establish political guarantees that regional and metropolitan governmental arrangements do not disenfranchise or deny majority Black cities and Blacks in other jurisdictions the right of self-government, self-determination and control of their communities and of federal and state resources provided within metropolitan areas.


13. Support Voter Registration Bill S2574 or similar legislation concerning voter registration by mail. (See Appendix C for outline of bill.)
ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

ACTION AGENDA FOR POLITICAL OFFICE HOLDERS AND SEEKERS

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:
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I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:
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President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:
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President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:
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All Officials:
I will [ ]
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President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:
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President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

1. Support the establishment of an independent, non-profit, publicly-funded National Black Development Agency under Black leadership and control for the purpose of facilitating business and service enterprises now serving the Black community. This is to include but not be limited to public transportation, communications, health, housing, day care, educational, commercial and financial institutions. Further, that this new effort should be supported with multi-year funding and an initial budget of $2 billion for each of the five years commencing in 1973.

2. Act to support the Community Self-Determination Bill of 1968 (HR 18715) or similar legislation as a massive program for Black economic development as it does not contradict other segments of the National Black Political Agenda. (See Appendix D for outline of the bill.)

3. Offer and support legislation to create a new Homestead Act, to make use of the billions of dollars worth of land now owned by federal, state, and local governments. This property must not move into hands of private, for-profit developers when there is such drastic need for human housing and land use where Black people live. Further, the Federal Government shall use its power of eminent domain to acquire land for Black people.

4. Support legislation for a Black-controlled Community Development Bank to be established to facilitate the planning and building of a substantial amount of medium density, low-to moderate-income housing with maximum provision for open space; community facilities for education, recreation and personal services; “clean”/light industrial development; and rapid transit in the major urban areas.

5. Act to see that pension funds holding sizeable Black assets be required to place a reasonable percentage of Black persons in positions which exercise control over the use of these assets, or alternatively to place a reasonable percentage of their assets under the direct control of Black persons exclusively. A reasonable proportion of the total deposits must be maintained in Black banks.

6. Offer and support legislation to see that private foundations (exceeding $500,000 in assets) shall be obligated by law to disburse at least 8 per cent of their assets annually, with no less than half of the 8 per cent directed to the Black community.
7. Rigidly support and enforce federal requirement that Black employees as a proportion of the total on all federally supported construction projects be at least equal to their ratio to the total population in the local-government jurisdiction.

8. Support a government guaranteed minimum annual income of $6,500 for a family of four with an automatic cost-of-living escalator clause. This will be implemented by raising the minimum wage to $3.13 per hour for all workers combined with a guaranteed suitable job for every employable worker. Those unable to work will receive this sum as an income allotment. Within three years the support level and minimum wage will be raised to provide every American family of four with an income not less than that defined as the Lower Standard Budget at that time (currently $7,200).

9. Act to curtail the defense and space budgets by a minimum of fifty per cent and transfer savings to programs of social, education, economic and political development.

10. Act to see that the enormous welfare programs given to big agriculture and big business be selectively reduced by roughly fifty per cent.

11. Act to see that there be a national commitment to the development and implementation of efficient, effective mass-transit systems throughout the land; that existing transit systems be refurbished and operated for the benefit of Black people; that where necessary new mass transit systems be developed to insure that Black people everywhere are able to travel efficiently and inexpensively; that selection of routes for any such systems must be approved by the Black communities that are to be affected. Act to see that fares on mass transit systems so vital to Blacks in reaching jobs, where they are available, be lowered to token levels, or subsidized to permit free public transportation.

12. Act to close loopholes in the federal tax law and thoroughly reform its provisions as to render the overall tax structure favorable to the Black community's development, abolishing tax obligations for those whose gross income falls below $4,500 plus $750 per child or other dependent, and insuring that all those whose income exceeds $25,000 per year must bear some part of the federal tax burden.

   a. To this end a steeply progressive income tax coupled with the above-mentioned minimum guaranteed income must be enacted both to insure a fair tax burden according to ability to pay and to pursue a long-run policy of redistribution of wealth, while sustaining aggregate demand above recession levels.
b. Further there should be no reliance on regressive taxes, especially the so-called value-added tax (a disguised national sales tax) because the lower one's income the greater the burden.

c. Further still, consistent with closing tax loopholes, all income including capital gains must be taxed at the same rate and exemptions and allowances for deductions which favor special interests must be substantially eliminated (e.g., mineral and oil depletion allowances, and deductions for corporate advertising costs).

13. Act to see that the estate and gift tax be increased to a maximum rate of 90 per cent, ending forever the intergenerational perpetuation of the ownership of unearned white fortunes. Taxpayers shall be allowed a full federal income tax credit for inheritance and gift taxes paid to the state.

14. Act to see that a much expanded system of federal grants-in-aid be made directly to local governments, largely in the form of grants tied to enforceable agreements requiring that all funds be based on local human needs and not be contingent on matching state and local funds.

15. Act to see that expanded anti-trust legislation is enacted and effectively enforced, with provision made for transferring the ownership and control of divested companies to Blacks and other minority groups.

16. Offer and support legislation to enable tax deduction incentive be given to corporations with minority employment equal to or in excess of the minority make-up of the surrounding community.

17. Act to defeat HR-1 or similar legislation. No patchwork amendments can change its repressive character and anti-poor intent. HR-1 and its accompanying amendments constitute a brutal attack upon the children of this country, particularly Black children, and it must be stopped.

18. Act to see that the unemployed and so-called "unemployables" in poor Black communities receive new job opportunities by the drafting and passage of Manpower Legislation with adequate funding for Black-created and Black-controlled national training systems.
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

ACTION AGENDA FOR POLITICAL OFFICE HOLDERS AND SEEKERS

1. Act to establish a National Commission/Foundation for Black Education, funded from public and private sources (including funds generated, controlled and disbursed by Black people), to develop and encourage national and local research, planning and experimentation toward the creation of a National Philosophy of Black Education, growing out of the experience of the Black Family.

2. Act to establish free academic and technical education for all Black people up to their highest attainable level. Special federal support for Black-controlled higher and pre-college education (public and non-public) at a level of at least 20 per cent of the annual expenditures in this area. Funds to be granted to Black college students based on the per capita income of the students and/or their families.

3. Act to establish mechanisms to prevent “mergers” or takeovers of predominately Black institutions of higher learning which result in the displacement of Black educators and the cultural, educational and identity genocide against Black students. Similar mechanisms to be established for the protection of Black high school and elementary school students.

4. Act to establish a system of National Health Insurance for all citizens from birth until death, with free medical care for all families with incomes of less than $10,000.

5. Utilize the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees of an “equal educational opportunity” for each child, regardless of his/her race, national origin or economic circumstances in providing quality education.

6. Act to establish community-oriented programs and policies supportive of Black parents who take the responsibility for the development of a strong Black identity and the understanding of the Black struggle prior to enrolling their children in school.

7. Act to secure a minimum increase of 100 per cent in Social Security benefits for all persons with the availability of full benefits at age 50.

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

All Officials:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

All Officials:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

State and Local Officials:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

Political Office Holder or Seeker: ____________________________  Name: ____________________________
President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

All Officials:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

8. Act to establish a national network of community health centers to deal with the problems of the delivery of health care services to Black communities. Funding and training of a cadre of "street medics", medically-trained mid-wives and other paraprofessionals, in order to deal with emergencies and the shortage of health personnel in Black communities. Provide funds for immediate, comprehensive professional training programs for Blacks in the various health fields.

9. Act to develop mechanisms for Black control of the schools where Black children are educated, moving beyond the sterile issue of "busing" to the basic issue of the redistribution of educational wealth and control. (You are asked to take note of the following positions on this issue)

a. We condemn forced racial integration of schools as a bankrupt, suicidal method of desegregating schools, based on the false notion that Black children are unable to learn unless they are in the same setting as white children. As an alternative to busing of Black children to achieve racial balance, we demand quality education in the Black community through control of our school systems, school districts and a guarantee of an equal share of that money. (Submitted by South Carolina)

b. The CORE community controlled school plan be endorsed by this Black Convention as a viable alternative to erase this whole integration tactic to destroy Black schools. That this Convention go on record as being opposed to busing continuation. (Submitted by Florida)

c. We request that this Convention diametrically oppose the dissolving of Black institutions of higher education by merger, merging our Black schools to white schools. (Submitted by Florida)

d. Be it resolved that this Convention support the Black colleges and universities in their struggle for existence and attention of their identity. (Submitted by Tennessee)

e. The Black Political Convention reaffirm this position that the Nixon Administration is a racist Administration, and although we also reject the concept which he rejects, forced busing to achieve racial balance, we do so for different reasons. We demand that all monies that would be used for busing rather be spent in Black communities to achieve quality education. For the President to deny the furnishing of resources to Black communities and to leave intact the present system of white-controlled Black schools which simultaneously deny Black children the right to bus to white schools, demonstrates the highest form of immorality. This is the current American posture. (Submitted by New York)

f. We would like to clarify the position that some of the Blacks find themselves in. It is a reality in many Southern
rural communities and indeed some Southern urban communities, that without the benefit of some device such as busing, that it will be impossible to achieve desegregated schools on one hand and oppose the powers of the white racist political structures on the other hand, it is impossible for the Black communities to have community control, which in many northern sections it is possible. We . . . go on record to be in favor of busing where the circumstances demand that . . . (Submitted by Alabama)

Busing is not the real issue in American education today, and we condemn the dishonesty of the Nixon Administration and other forces in making busing an issue when, in fact, busing has officially been used to maintain segregation for many years in many sections of the country. The real educational issue for the Black community is how do we get supreme quality education for all our youngsters.

We condemn as false the notion that Black children are unable to learn unless they are in the same setting with white children; and further, we disassociate ourselves from the positions put forth by Nixon and Wallace.

We cannot have Blacks disintegrated out of political power achieved recently by: (1) Nixon's plan to take us back to Plessy vs. Ferguson; or (2) the court's disintegration of our children into white-dominated school boards, budgets, curricula, etc.

Our politics is that we must have control of our own education, with the options of transportation and any other tools which guarantee superior quality education and also protests all rights guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment. (Addition to Gary Resolution on Education, March 24, 1972.)

10. Act to create comprehensive, Black-controlled publicly-funded 24-hour day-care centers with provisions for nutritional services, family consultation, diagnostic and treatment programs and facilities for creative play and education.

11. Act to let it be known that all Black children are legitimate, and that the status of "illegitimate" as conferred on many Black children by white laws and agencies be eliminated in law and custom. It is inconsistent with the Black struggle for justice and equality and serves only to further racist and discriminatory practices against Black people.

12. Act to adjust eligibility standards for social security pension and retirement funds for Blacks so that they are based on the life expectancy of Blacks, rather than that of whites.

All Officials:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

Political Office Holder or Seeker: ___________________________________ Name
13. Develop educational programs for Black people in prisons, other correctional institutions, and other kinds of institutions that are meaningful both to them and to the Black communities to which they must return.

14. Act to establish drug education and treatment programs geared toward Black youth and controlled by the Black community.

15. Act to establish job development programs for Black youth with meaningful employment in the community all year round, not just during the "hot summer."
INTERNATIONAL POLICY AND BLACK PEOPLE

ACTION AGENDA FOR POLITICAL OFFICE HOLDERS AND SEEKERS

President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
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I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
I will [ ]
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President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
I will [ ]
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President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
I will [ ]
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President, U.S. Senator,
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I will [ ]
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President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
I will [ ]
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President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
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President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
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President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

1. Support the African provisional governments and the revolutionary movements, including the utilization of Black resources and the adherence to the 1971 Organization of African Unity position opposing dialogue with South Africa.

2. Act to see that the United States in all theatres of international action, ceases its complicity with European countries seeking to politically or economically control African and Third World peoples.

3. Support the development of economic programs designed to restore the wealth of Africa, especially the Africanization of management and joint local participation in foreign corporate investments in Africa.

4. Act to see that the United States Government withdraw from southern Africa and other African Third World countries the corporations, communication facilities, military bases and material which contribute to the dehumanization or subjugation of those countries' citizens.

5. Recognize the importance of the models provided by Tanzania, Guinea and the Peoples Republic of China for fundamental political and economic transformation of African and other Third World states.

6. Support a policy of massive economic assistance to Africa, the Caribbean and Black populations of Latin America and the development of Black technical assistance programs to cooperate with these countries.

7. Support the complete self-determination of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands and the elimination of overt and covert intervention by the United States into the domestic affairs of the Caribbean countries.

8. Act to end the war in Vietnam and withdraw all foreign troops from African and Asian soil immediately.

Political Office Holder or Seeker: ____________________________
Name: ____________________________
9. Act to deny U.S. sugar quota allocations to South Africa and, instead, establish a sugar quota arrangement with the Black nation of Zambia.

10. Act to bring the U.S. government into compliance with United Nations sanctions on the purchase and the importation of Rhodesian chromium and other products.


(a) Whereas, as an African People we fully support the struggle of oppressed peoples against their oppressors, and

   Whereas, we recognize that there is a crisis in the Middle East involving the oppressed people of North Africa, and

   Whereas, we support the O.A.U. as the representative body which speaks for our brothers on the continent, and recognize that the positions of the O.A.U. and the U.N. Commission on Human Rights are valid and fair;

Therefore, be it resolved that the Convention go on record as being in agreement with the O.A.U. positions that call for:

1. The Israeli Government to be condemned for her expansionist policy and forceful occupation of the sovereign territory of another state.

2. Measures to be taken to alleviate the suffering and improve the position of Palestinian people in Israel.

(b) The National Black Political Convention resolves to support the struggle of Palestine for self-determination.

(c) The National Black Political Convention concurs also with the U.N. position that Israel rescind and desist from all practices affecting the demographic structure or physical character of occupied Arab territories and the rights of their inhabitants.
COMMUNICATIONS

ACTION AGENDA FOR POLITICAL OFFICE HOLDERS AND SEEKERS

President:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

1. Appoint at least three Black persons selected from a list recommended by the National Black Assembly to the Federal Communications Commission. The media should not be allowed to operate without serious Black monitoring.

All Officials:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

2. Move towards the transfer of local and national radio and television properties (including cable TV) which service the Black community to Black community control through appropriate government action. Insist upon the hiring of Blacks in all print, radio and TV media in proportion to population figures.

All Officials:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

3. Act to guarantee Black peoples access to the control of their own modern communications media. In a country having the technological capability of the United States, the right of free speech is meaningless unless Black people are not only able to say what they want to say but also have genuine access to the tools for communicating with themselves and with others. The Federal Government has the responsibility to insure that right. To date, it has failed in that responsibility.

President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

4. Act to amend the 1932 Communications Act which gave the FCC the job of regulating the broadcast media to make networks and all program producers of licensed stations abide by the Fairness Doctrine and FCC’s Equal Employment Practices.

All Officials:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

5. Support legislation allowing non-profit community organizations to receive from HEW’s Educational Television Funds 75 per cent of the money necessary for funding community television production centers.

President, U.S. Senator,
U.S. Representative:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

6. Act to insure that the United States Information Agency discontinue its operations in the countries of Africa and the Third World; donate all equipment located in those countries to the free, provisional or permanent non-white governments or liberation movements of the nations of Africa and the Third World; and relinquish all transmission rights to the governments in question.

Political Office Holder or Seeker: ________________________
Name: ________________________
RURAL DEVELOPMENT

ACTION AGENDA FOR POLITICAL OFFICE HOLDERS AND SEEKERS

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representatives:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representatives:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representatives:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representatives:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representatives:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representatives:
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

All Officials
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

All Officials
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

1. Act to establish a national policy and program of land reform for Blacks, providing tracts of sufficient size to be economically viable.

2. Act to reorganize the U.S. Department of Agriculture with a réorientation to solving problems confronting small and medium-sized farms and cooperatives.

3. Adopt and implement a National System of Health Insurance for all citizens, providing free and adequate medical care. A redress must be given for those not receiving adequate care.

4. Act to provide the allocation of sufficient funds for training adequate numbers of Black medical and para-medical personnel to expand health delivery systems controlled by Black people in their communities.

5. Act to provide a sound, safe and sanitary home for every rural family on the basis of need rather than ability to pay, whether they are tenants, renters or home owners.

6. Act to establish a Tennessee Valley Authority-type vehicle to function as a planning, coordinating and management structure for a rural industrial development program in the Black Belt. This institution should be publicly funded, Black-controlled and emphasize cooperative-type ventures.

7. Act to assure proportional representation of Blacks in all rural governmental and quasi-governmental institutions at every level.

8. Act to provide financial and political support for the further development by Blacks of new communities in rural areas.

Political Office Holder or Seeker: ___________________________ Name
President, U.S. Senator,  
U.S. Representatives:

I will [  ]  
I will not [  ]

All Officials

I will [  ]  
I will not [  ]

President, U.S. Senator,  
U.S. Representatives:

I will [  ]  
I will not [  ]

9. Adopt and implement a national program of financial support and vocational training for those Blacks who are/were displaced by rural technology.

10. Act to establish Land Banks to assure continual Black ownership and control of land to be used for cooperative crop production, soil fertilization research and animal husbandry.

11. Encourage young Blacks through scholarships, fellowships and other aids to pursue career training in food technology, parasitology, bio-medical research and agricultural management to provide the technicians for the Council on Rural Development.
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

ACTION AGENDA FOR POLITICAL OFFICER HOLDERS AND SEEKERS

Principal Action:

President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative:

I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

Act to establish a quasi-public corporation under Black management control, capitalized with Environmental Protection Agency funds and matched by the Black nation on a 99 to 1 basis (i.e., for every $1 from the Black community, $99 would be provided by the government). The corporation should:

A. Educate Black community residents on the causes and effects of pollution.

B. Set community standards for air pollution, water effluent discharges, noise levels and other sources of pollution with a focus on the “special impact of all such pollutants separately and in combination with each other.”

C. Guarantee the authority, either independently or in conjunction with local governments, to ban all through traffic from inner-city streets whenever air pollution levels approach dangerous heights.

D. Provide technical training and public service employment in solid waste management, sanitation engineering, sanitation services, environmental health and air pollution control for the optimal number of Black community residents. Such a measure would foster their timely entry into Environment Protection occupations and facilitate their employment in community-controlled programs which improve the quality of life through environment protection activities.

E. Assist individuals who bring suit against corporations and other entities that pollute.

F. Issue cease and desist orders enforced by the courts against major polluters.

Political Office Holder or Seeker: __________________________ Name: __________________________
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

ACTION AGENDA FOR POLITICAL OFFICER HOLDERS AND SEEKERS

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E. Assist individuals who bring suit against corporations and other entities that pollute.

F. Issue cease and desist orders enforced by the courts against major polluters.

Political Office Holder or Seeker: ________________________

Name: ________________________
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

ACTION AGENDA FOR POLITICAL OFFICER HOLDERS AND SEEKERS

I. SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

1. Support a D.C. Self-determination Bill with the following ingredients:
   a. An elected Mayor-City Council form of government for the District of Columbia.
   b. Broad legislative power delegated to the city government, together with complete control over the city's budget, including authority to impose a commuter tax.
   c. Provision for an automatic federal payment to the city each year based on a fixed percentage of locally derived revenues.
   d. Authority for the elected Mayor to appoint local judges and all other local appointive offices and commissions, with the advice and consent of the Council.

2. Support a Bill that would grant to the District of Columbia two Senators and as many Representatives as it would be entitled to if it were a state.

ADVICE AND CONSENT

As an interim measure until home rule is secured, submit to the appropriate party committees in the District of Columbia for advice and consent the names of Presidential appointees to local positions. This would include the appointment of such offices as, among others: the Mayor, City Council, local judges, the Public Service Commission, the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia.

In addition, consult with the local party committee on federal appointees who have authority over District programs such as the chief of the local Small Business Administration Office and the local Federal Housing Administration Office. In addition, the President should consult with local party officials on the appointment of regional directors with responsibility over the District for the various federal departments.

II. HEALTH

1. By executive action:
   a. Order HEW, under existing programs, to establish and fund an experimental free health maintenance organization under community control in Anacostia which must include funds for construction of a hospital at Bolling Field, neighborhood clinics and a community health education program.

Political Office Holder or Seeker: ___________________________  Name: ___________________________
b. Order HEW and Justice Departments to provide the funds and the resources necessary to make the District drug and alcohol treatment programs a national model of effectiveness. Further, narcotic addiction should be declared an illness and a drug-free treatment program established which includes a patient, psychiatrist, laymen, and social worker team providing a coordinated approach to all of the addict’s ills.

c. Explore the transfer of St. Elizabeth’s Hospital to the District Government with funding sufficient to make it a national model of an urban mental health center.

2. Legislation:

a. Support a program and funding to link WTI, FCC, D.C. Teachers College, and Howard in a medical professional and paraprofessional education program which will provide career opportunities for District residents and the needed health workers for the District. This program should include grants to military medics returning to civilian life to work in the District and continuing their education.

b. Support a 100 per cent increase in the funding of indigent hospital bed care in District hospitals and a $5 million increase in appropriation for D.C. General Hospital.

III. CRIMINAL JUSTICE

1. By executive direction:

a. Order the Defense Department to use D.C. area military facilities to treat and rehabilitate narcotic addicts who are or intend to be D.C. residents before releasing them to civilian life.

b. Direct judges to require a social service report before imposing sentence for any misdemeanor.

c. Establish a federal-local “strike force” to intensify efforts to combat organized crime in the District of Columbia.

2. Legislation:

a. Support funds to establish for D.C. a juvenile training home, a new D.C. jail facility, a new women’s facility and a reformatory separate from Lorton and include in these institutions effective rehabilitation programs.
I will [ ]
I will not [ ]

b. Support an amendment to D.C. criminal law repealing the oppressive “no-knock” and “preventive detention” provisions.

c. Support amendments to the Youth Act to require that the juvenile facility be divided into a junior and senior facility so that youth 16 and under are separated from those 17 and over and that such separation shall apply to both male and female.

d. Support legislation for full medical compensation, and where necessary, income support for victims of crime.

e. Support a bill asking for enough judges for the D.C. court system and for the funding of new courtroom facilities to insure trial within 30 days of arrest.

f. Support a community legal aid program physically integrated with social services and health services programs.

IV. HOUSING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

President: *  

1. By executive action:

   a. Transfer all local planning and urban renewal functions from the National Capital Planning Commission to the District Government, leaving to N.C.P.C. the role of planning only for Federal facilities and federal interest in the region.

   b. Establish a government-wide policy requiring the location of government facilities in the District of Columbia to be planned to maximize the economic development of downtown, the central city, and Anacostia, particularly in connection with Metro stations.

   c. Order the development of the Anacostia River Valley, using surplus government land for mixed-income housing and employment centers, commercial and recreational uses.

   d. Designate the District of Columbia as a national urban experimentation area, and request HUD, HEW, DOT, and the Department of Labor to develop special innovative urban programs as a model for the Nation.

   e. Commit the full resources of the Federal Government to rebuilding the still-scarred riot corridors in the District, focusing on housing for those who live in the neighborhoods now. In carrying out urban renewal plans, including Fort Lincoln, the community should retain a share of ownership in new development.

Political Office Holder or Seeker: ________________________
Name: ____________________________
f. Set aside a fixed percentage of contracts in Federal government building projects, and of acquisition in District of Columbia projects for D.C.-based minority contractors suppliers.

2. Legislation:

Support a bill creating an Urban Development Corporation in the District of Columbia, such as that proposed in H.R. 12301 introduced by Congressman Fauntroy. Such a corporation, with the authority to issue federally guaranteed bonds, would draw upon the combined talents and resources of the District Government, private enterprise and the Federal Government to plan and develop the desperately needed units of low and moderate income housing that we need in the District. The Corporation would have the authority to promote balanced housing projects, as well as industrial, commercial, recreational and public service projects.

V. THE ENVIRONMENT AND TRANSPORTATION

1. By executive action:

a. Continue to press for the completion of the METRO on schedule in order to spur economic development in the city and to reduce pollution on city streets.

b. Continue Democratic Presidential support for the City Council – N.C.P.C. Transportation Plan of January, 1969, which established a policy of no new gateways to the city. This plan expressly opposes the building of the Three Sisters Bridge and the North Central Freeway.

c. Declare it to be the policy of the Federal Government to make the Potomac and the Anacostia Rivers safe for recreational use, including swimming and fishing, by 1976, the year of the bicentennial. An important element under such a policy would be the implementation of the Kingman Lake concept.

d. Support programs which would severely reduce commuters coming into the city by automobile, reducing such traffic by 25 per cent or more by 1975. This would include executive actions—severely limiting parking for federal employees, increasing the use of federal lands for fringe parking with government supported shuttle service to the heart of the city, and curtailing automobile traffic in the downtown area.
2. Support Legislation:
   a. Providing for take over and operation of D.C. Transit by public agencies and public ownership and management of all regional mass transit. Such legislation should include provisions for the ultimate elimination of fares in recognition of the fact that transportation is an urgent public service, like education and police service, that should be provided free of charge to the user.
   b. Transferring ownership of the local airports to a region-wide authority with the stipulation that National Airport be phased out and its operations transferred to Dulles Airport, with assurance of high-speed, low-cost rail connection between the District and Dulles.

VI. ELDERLY

1. By executive action:
   a. Support the establishment of a joint Feder-District of Columbia Commission on the Elderly that would have primary responsibility for coordinating local and federal services and programs for the elderly in the District of Columbia.
   b. Order the Department of HUD to provide the District of Columbia every available assistance in increasing the supply of subsidized housing for the elderly two-fold in the next five years and in remaining in decent condition the housing for the elderly we now have.
   c. Support a program for the "well" aged to provide eye glasses, teeth, and hearing aids and a special diet food program to provide the medically indigent with special diet food.
   d. Seek funds for the establishment of programs for home care of the elderly who do not wish or need to be institutionalized, including the provision of homemaking assistance, home-delivered food service, and health aides.

2. Support legislation:
   a. Establishing a reduced bus fare subsidy program for the elderly that would make it possible for the elderly to use public transit at a cost that will not unreasonably eat into their income, as is true now. Such a program shall operate on an interim basis until public ownership legislation is enacted into law. Special provision should be made to insure that public transportation can be used by the handicapped.
b. Creating a property tax exemption for the elderly who own their own homes and a special rent supplement payment in lieu of the exemption for the elderly who rent, to insure that the reduced incomes faced by the elderly are not eaten up by inflation.

**VII. JOBS AND INCOME**

1. By executive action:
   a. Direct the Department of Labor and other Federal agencies having jurisdiction to provide Federal funding to assist the District in providing 50,000 summer jobs and 20,000 after-school jobs for all youth who desire to work.

2. Legislation:
   a. While income maintenance is a matter that only the Federal Government has the resources to deal with, there is no more important issue facing this city than the provision of an adequate income. Consequently, this agenda would not be complete if it did not urge support of the position of the Congressional Black Caucus and NWRO in favor of a national guaranteed annual income system providing $8,500 minimum for a family of four in cash assistance, wages or both.
   b. Support legislation requiring all District of Columbia employees to live in the district, and creating a mortgage fund to aid D.C. employees to purchase homes in the District.

**VIII. EDUCATION**

1. By executive action:
   a. Restore funding of the Anacostia Community School Project and support other community school programs where requested by the Board of Education.
   b. Support the establishment of career skills centers around the city so that vocation programs can become part of the regular school program where that is appropriate. This is in addition to the establishment of a vocational high school.

2. Support legislation:
   a. Creating a District of Columbia college scholarship program that would allow D.C. high school graduates to receive grants-in-aid to any college or university in the nation. The scholarships should be granted based on a city-
wide scholastic competition and the ability of the family
to pay for a college education.

b. Establishing a comprehensive vocational high school in the
District of Columbia that would be career oriented and
directed to providing skills that will be useful in today's
employment market.

c. Creating a preschool program for every child under the age
of four in the District of Columbia.

d. Securing financing for D.C. school capital expenditures on
a five year basis.

e. Providing for financing by the Federal Government of the
permanent campuses for the Washington Technical Insti-
tute and Federal City College.

IX. CIVIL RIGHTS

1. By executive action:

a. Expand the efforts of the Federal Government in rooting
out discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, or
sex in the Federal and District Governments, including the
imposition of affirmative action plans to correct the
effects of past discrimination.

b. Encourage the District Government to establish programs
on a bilingual basis, where appropriate to serve our
Spanish-speaking citizens, and seek the establishment of a
special Spanish affairs office in the District Government.

c. Insure that a far greater number of Presidential
appointments to District of Columbia positions go to
women and press for equal status for women in all aspects
of government operation.

2. Support legislation:

Easing Hatch Act restrictions so that the thousands of D.C.
residents who are now prohibited from taking part in
political activity can, on a voluntary basis, participate in
the election of local officials and Congressional representa-
tives.

X. LABOR RELATIONS

1. By executive action:

a. Establishment of basic collective bargaining arrangements
for all District of Columbia Government employees.
b. Establishment of collective bargaining rights for all Board of Education employees, especially food service workers, parallel to those of D.C. government employees.

c. Order a study of alien workers in the District of Columbia service industry and the conditions under which they work.


2. Support Legislation:

Bringing household workers and alien service employees under minimum wage and working conditions enjoyed by most other D.C. employees.
RESOLUTIONS

1. RESOLUTION on Hon. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Submitted by the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women, Inc.

   Whereas, Adam Clayton Powell was the only elected Congressman from Harlem for over two decades, during which period he was the most dominant Black spokesman in the United States; moreover, he served the disenfranchised Blacks throughout the South and other areas of the United States; and

   Whereas, for a period of six years he served as Chairman of the Committee of Education and Labor, House of Representatives, U.S. Congress and established a record of being the most productive Chairman in the history of the United States Congress. During this time legislation in the sum of several billions of dollars were introduced in his Committee and enacted into law to the benefit of millions of Black people; and

   Whereas he became the most powerful federal Black instrumentality of his militant commitment to the interest of oppressed Black people, he was wrongfully, maliciously, violently and ignominiously destroyed by powerful white interests.

   Now, therefore, be it resolved that this Convention express its firm and unshakeable faith in the impact of the great and courageous leadership he has given to Black people throughout the world.

2. RESOLUTION on Convention Reprisals

   Be it resolved that any physical, political or economic reprisals against the leadership and participants of this convention shall be considered as an attack against all Black people in general. Should any participants come under such reprisals, then other NBPC participants must mobilize all community, political, and economic resources under their command and under their influence in aiding those who suffer from such reprisals.
NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION POOR PEOPLE'S PLATFORM

I. The Family Assistance Plan as proposed in H.R.-1 must be defeated. No patchwork amendments can change its repressive character and anti-poor intent. HR-1 and its accompanying amendments constitute a brutal attack upon children of this country and must be stopped.

II. All Americans must be guaranteed the right to an adequate income (calculated by the Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics at $8,500 for a family of four) as proposed in the NWRO adequate income plan. Every child must have the right to a decent home, an adequate diet, clothing, health care and the other basic necessities of life. Every child must be assured at least minimal protections of a guaranteed adequate income.

III. Poor people must be represented in the national nominating conventions in proportion to their number in the general population. All candidates must be committed to taking every affirmative action possible to insure that their delegate slates are so balanced. The Democratic Party must extend the new guidelines guaranteeing "previously discriminated against groups" (enumerated therein as "women, young people and minorities") proportional representation to specifically include poor people.

IV. All Americans should have their economic security assured through a comprehensive program which includes broadening of the minimum wage requirements, creation of meaningful public service jobs, institution of a system of supplementary payments for those whose wages do not provide an adequate income and provision for payment of an adequate income for all those unable to work.

V. All American children must be assured creative and continuing child welfare programs designed to support and supplement every aspect of a child's life: a nutritious diet, a decent home, adequate clothing, quality medical treatment, preventive health care, dental care and the benefits of life within a family structure.

VI. Co-operation with organized groups of poor people must be recognized as the legitimate means of involving poor communities. Political parties, candidates, and the government institutions at all levels must be committed to working with and supporting poor people's organizations and end tokenism and co-option that has characterized past dealings.

VII. The myths about poor people and welfare must actively be exposed and combatted. Those who wish the support of poor people and their friends must begin leading the fight against such slanders as that the reason for welfare is that some people simply do not wish to work; that most welfare recipients are Black people who have moved to urban areas in order to draw welfare; that all welfare mothers do is have illegitimate children; that welfare is the good life of color TV's and cadillacs; that most welfare recipients are cheaters; or that most of the tax revenues go to welfare. Those lies must be shown for what they are, and the truth told: that the welfare system is a cruel hoax that helps perpetuate the misery of poor people and guarantees that the children forced to rely on it will never have a chance in life.
MODEL PLEDGE

For Black Candidates

As a Candidate seeking the approval of the National Black Political Convention:

I pledge, that as I campaign, and if I am elected, I will conduct the daily affairs and decision making of my activity, and/or office, so as to reflect the actual, explicit desires and concerns of the Black Community beyond question. In this manner I will constantly act out my accountability to the manifest interests of the Black Community, as revealed, at present, through the National Black Political Convention and whatever instrument(s) this Convention will establish as a means of follow-through.

In regard to this pledge, I will do the following:

1. Without fear I will raise controversial issues, when the raising of such issues will serve the needs and interests of the Black Community.

2. I will constantly seek to expose the corrupt aspects of the system, as such exposure will raise the level of awareness in the Black Community.

3. I will take any steps necessary to increase power for the Black Community when such steps are not in conflict with this Convention's Agenda and the programs of its follow-up mechanisms.

4. I will support the right of the Black Community to control its own areas and the institutions thereof as this principle of control relates to Political Empowerment, Economic Empowerment, Human Development, International Policy and Black People, Communications, Rural Development, Environmental Protection and Self-determination for the District of Columbia.

I make this pledge in dedication to a commitment to serve the Black Community, of which I am unquestionably a part, and I do so without reservation or intimidation.

____________________  ________________
Witness                     Date

____________________
Signature
MODEL PLEDGE

For Non-Black Candidates

As a Candidate seeking the approval of the National Black Political Convention:

I pledge, that as I campaign, and if I am elected, I will conduct the daily affairs and decision making of my activity, and/or office, so as to reflect the actual, explicit desires and concerns of the Black Community beyond question. In this manner I will constantly act out my accountability to the manifest interests of the Black Community, as revealed, at present, through the National Black Political Convention and whatever instrument(s) this Convention will establish as means of follow-through.

In regard to this pledge, I will do the following:

1. Without fear I will raise controversial issues, when the raising of such issues will serve the needs and interests of the Black Community.

2. I will constantly seek to expose the corrupt aspects of the system, as such exposure will raise the level of awareness in the Black Community.

3. I will take any steps necessary to increase power for the Black Community when such steps are not in conflict with this Convention’s Agenda and the programs of its follow-up mechanisms.

4. I will support the right of the Black Community to control its own areas and the institutions thereof as this principle of control relates to Political Empowerment, Economic Empowerment, Human Development, International Policy and Black People, Communications, Rural Development, Environmental Protection and Self-determination for the District of Columbia.

I make this pledge in dedication to a commitment to serve the Black Community.

Witness

Date

Signature
OUTLINE OF VOTER REGISTRATION BILL

S. 2574

NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION ADMINISTRATION - within the Bureau of the Census - to run the program - president appoints the Senate confirms one Administrator and two Associate Administrators for four-year terms.

POSTCARD REGISTRATION – between 45 and 30 days before the close of registration, the Postal Service shall deliver postcard registration forms to every household - citizens may register for voting in Federal elections by mailing these cards to their local election official.

DURATIONAL RESIDENCY REQUIREMENT – for voting in all Federal elections, citizens must be able to register up to at least 30 days before the election if he is a resident of that state on the day that registration closes.

INCENTIVES FOR STATE AND LOCAL ELECTIONS – The Voter Registration Administration will reimburse state and local registration officials for each postcard registration form processed by the state. If a state adopts the postcard registration form for state and local elections, the NVRA will pay the state an additional 15 per cent over and above the normal reimbursement. If the state also allows citizens to register for state and local elections up to at least 30 days before the election, the NVRA will give the state an additional 15 per cent of the amount the state is already receiving for the processing of the cards.
COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION BILL –
A NATIONAL PLAN FOR BLACK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(Prepared for presentation at the National Black Enterprise Conference – Community Enterprise – Chairman, Robert Brown)

Even though the productivity of Black America can be measured at $40-billion, it is a lot less than it should be. This is because Black people are not able to maximize the impact of our capital in the American economy through financial institutions that can circulate and recirculate that capital to generate its further growth. As of now, there are only 25 Black-owned banks in the United States. These have total assets of some $350-million, compared with the assets of approximately $205-billion held by the 25 largest white-owned banks. Black people have plenty of entrepreneurship, but are not able to break into the proper markets to capitalize on our talent. We have very little land, and most of the land we live on is owned by somebody else. Labor is our greatest resource, but we do have a shortage of managers.

The Community Self-Determination Bill of 1968 is the instrument through which CORE intends to help achieve economic independence for Black Americans. It is Phase I (short-range) of CORE’s three-part program for the liberation of Black people in America. It provides for the creation of community corporations—a unit in a community designed to stimulate Black economic development. A business corporation will be involved in all its planning phases, and it will utilize basic and applied research as well as all the other sophisticated techniques of contemporary industrial management, production, and marketing. The bill calls for the establishment of special tax incentives to encourage the development of industries in the Black community. It also charters special banks to deal with the problem of credit.

Section 3 of the 180-page Bill states that it is the purpose of the legislation to “provide for the establishment of community development corporations, community development banks, and other supporting programs and provisions in order to mobilize the talent and resources of the people of this ‘nation within a nation’ to help them play a more meaningful and rewarding role in building better, stronger, and more confident Black communities in America. The Bill also has provisions for ‘turnkey contracts’ which would be entered into between a community development corporation and one or more other persons or organizations, providing for the sale to the Community Development Corporation of any plant, installation, store, factory, facility or other real property, including such provision for managerial, technical, promotional, and training expertise and assistance as may be agreed upon. With the passage of the Bill Black communities would have at their disposal independent economic instruments that could be used to advance their uplift.
1. Diagram one represents segregation whether it be defacto or dejure. It has been ruled unconstitutional by the Brown decision.

2. Diagram two represents integration. It is one “legal” way of desegregating schools but not the exclusive or most desirable way.

3. Diagram three represents desegregation via the CORE Plan. It deals with the two critical elements of segregation: white power monopoly and racial exclusivity.

   It allows for Black communities to control their schools by constituting state school districts.

   It guarantees an equitable share of all educational funds on a per capita formula.

   The plan is consistent with the Brown decision and would be an expansion of the Fourteenth Amendment.
To those who say that such an Agenda is "visionary", "utopian", and "impossible", we say that the keepers of conventional white politics have always viewed our situation and our real needs as beyond the realm of their wildest imaginations. At every critical moment of our struggle in America we have had to press relentlessly against the limits of the "realistic" to create new realities for the life of our people.

This is our challenge at Gary and beyond, for a new Black politics demands new vision, new hope and new definitions of the possible. Our time has come. These things are necessary. All things are possible.
WE WANT BLACK POWER