

interview with West German newsmen that the U.S. had no right to interfere in the USSR's internal affairs and said the U.S. should look for ways to broaden, not to narrow, areas of U.S.-Soviet cooperation. He also denied any intention to follow the Brzezinski line of "using the China lever against the USSR," adding: "That would not be in our interest, and not in the interest of the Chinese or the Soviet peoples."

Some of Washington's more experienced and better informed observers, however, feel that the cumulative impact of the Carter Administration handling of both the Soviets and the Senate, during its 18 months in office, was coming to a head around the Shcharansky affair — in ways which might override the President's recently asserted desire to emphasize the "underlying stability" of the U.S.-Soviet relationship.

## The NAACP Champions Development, Exports, And Nuclear Power

*What the press didn't tell you about the NAACP convention*

*Exclusive to the Executive Intelligence Review*

It went virtually unnoticed in the nation's press, but the 69th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), held in Portland July 3-7, took a number of steps to establish the NAACP as an international spokesman for rapid nuclear

founded the NAACP in 1909 and played a revolutionary role in "transforming the fabric of America." To rebut the press slanders against her and the NAACP of the last six months — begun by the *New York Times* in a racist editorial in January, "Does Civil Rights Include Energy?" — Wilson departed from her prepared speech to underline: "Leadership does not have to be popular. It has to be correct."

Wilson also delivered an indictment of National Security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski's attempts to get a "superpower" confrontation going in Africa.

Wilson used her speech to shape the dominant anti-zero-growth theme of the convention, reaffirming in the strongest terms the organization's Energy Policy as the only alternative to zero-growth or slow-growth policies that "will never be in the best interests of black Americans."

Practically, the three most important developments of the convention, for which Wilson's policy speech set the framework, were the proceedings of the Energy Panel, including the decision to create a standing Energy Office in Washington, D.C.; the formation of an Economic Advisory Committee to be headed by former Federal Reserve Governor Dr. Andrew Brimmer; and the elaboration of the NAACP's Africa policy by members of the just-created Africa task force.

### Energy Panel: No to Zero Growth

The Energy Panel was chaired by NAACP Energy Committee member James Stewart of Oklahoma City. Panelists included Keith Bodden of Allied Chemical in New Jersey, who will head up the NAACP permanent Energy Office, Rufus McKinney, a Vice President of Southern California Gas Company, Kenneth Guscott, a Federal Reserve board member in Boston and president of Kenneth Guscott Associates, and Clarke Watson, the head of the Denver-based American Association of Blacks in Energy and a longtime NAACP energy advisor.

McKinney began his remarks:

I think this energy policy is the most significant thing done by the NAACP . . . . The release of our policy has generated a huge national debate among members and others . . . . We have received invitations to speak from

### LABOR & INDUSTRY

energy development and expanded American industrial production and exports.

Despite the fact that the *New York Times*, from which other press took their cue, covered only the convention's supposedly adverse reaction to the Supreme Court Bakke decision, and the NAACP's disappointing *formal* policy of economic sanctions against South Africa, that was not the news from Portland.

In a press conference on the convention's opening day, Executive Board Chairman Margaret Bush Wilson undercut media efforts to imply a split in the NAACP leadership over Bakke and other issues: "We will not get involved in pitting black against white. The Bakke decision reaffirmed affirmative action; Proposition 13 (the recent California "tax revolt" referendum — ed.) was not primarily racially motivated; people are fed up with tax increases."

Under the leadership of Wilson — who personally led the organizing drive which culminated in the NAACP's adoption last December of a pronuclear, progrowth official Energy Policy — the convention's 4,000 delegates, who represented 420,000 members, affirmed the NAACP's commitment to mobilize more broadly for that energy policy; formed an Economic Advisory Committee to put forward economic growth policies; and announced a decisive break with the zero-growth outlook of "our former allies, the liberals."

Wilson's keynote address to the convention (excerpts of which are reprinted here) called on NAACP members to trace their roots to 19th century black leader Frederick Douglass, who organized for the industrialization policies of the Lincoln Republicans, and to the "small group of intellectuals led by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois" who

Indonesia, Japan, and many of the countries in Europe . . . .  
. . . The *New York Times* ran an editorial suggesting that the NAACP has no business having a view of this issue (energy — ed.) . . .

McKinney then explained that the NAACP intervened in the energy issue because the Carter Administration's "limits to growth" orientation would lead to rationing and discrimination against America's poor. "No-growth energy and economic policy poses a danger to blacks who have just begun to advance their economic situation."

*Guscott elaborated the same theme:*

We are very familiar with the proposals of zero growth coming out of the Carter Administration and we are not going to accept zero growth for this country. You know that the Carter Administration is vacillating. Last week there was a demonstration of the Clamshell Alliance (antinuclear Naderites in New England — ed.) and now the Seabrook reactor is shut down (by a recent Nuclear Regulatory Commission ruling—ed.) It was a political, not a technical, decision. This is politics, and politics is what the NAACP knows very well.

#### *The Alliance with Liberals Over*

Clarke Watson began his speech with a blast against Malthusian liberalism:

It's July 4th and America's romance with the liberals is over. The NAACP's alliance with liberals is over. We're in an economic slowdown; its first hit was the energy slowdown in 1973. This threatens among other things a white backlash and an economic crisis. We're running faster to stay in the same place — and I don't think being in the same place is good enough for blacks. The NRC (Nuclear Regulatory Commission) bent to the elitist environmentalists and cancelled the Seabrook reactor. This is now going to cost the consumers a half a million dollars a day, and 1,800 workers were laid off — many of them minorities. If we tolerate further delays in the development of oil and nuclear energy they will be made up by further oil imports and price increases.

There is concern that our policies depend on liberals who supported us in the past . . . The environmentalists, liberals, intellectuals, and socialists were with us in the past. But then they turned around on domestic energy. Meanwhile, our people are still crying for jobs.

To ensure these progrowth policies are adopted, the panel announced formation of the Washington, D.C. Energy Office, whose role will be to exert pressure on a reluctant Administration and Congressional Black Caucus.

Equally important, the panel announced a policy of encouraging NAACP local leaders to organize for state energy conferences which NAACP national leaders would address. This is the first time the national organization has sought to involve the NAACP base directly in mobilizing behind the official policy.

#### **Economic Advisory Committee: For Expansion**

The formation of an Economic Advisory Committee, announced by Wilson and NAACP Executive Director Dr. Benjamin Hooks, is an initiative coming out of the convention which has enormous implications for the NAACP's emerging role as a national spokesman and — as Rufus McKinney pointed out — an international spokesman for energy expansion and economic growth.

The committee Dr. Brimmer will head up includes as other members Nixon economic adviser Dr. Paul McCracken; Dr. Phyllis Wallace of MIT; Dr. Robert S. Brown of the Black Economic Research Committee in New York City; Dr. Huntington J. Bryce, Academy of Contemporary Problems in Washington, D.C.; and Dr. Bernard E. Anderson of Philadelphia's Wharton School.

In a joint press conference with Director Hooks July 6, Dr. Brimmer made clear the committee is conceived as an organizing vehicle for overall industrial growth:

In my view, the next horizon for the NAACP is an economic development horizon . . . . It is my view that the Carter Administration should avoid further contraction and avoid further inflation . . . . A vigorous policy of growth is the best way . . . . We have to expand energy growth to expand employment.

Dr. Brimmer then told the press: "I do not favor boycotts (against South Africa — ed.) — they are a posture for the benefit of audiences in the U.S." He characterized the only impact of boycotts and U.S. economic withdrawal from South Africa as mass unemployment and misery for black workers there.

### **Black Newspaper Assails IMF Role in Africa**

*Excerpted below is an Op Ed column titled "Zaire Government Part II," which appeared in the July 11 issue of the Baltimore-based Afro-American newspaper chain, one of the largest circulation black newspapers in the United States. The column was written by William Worthy.*

Out of the June 13 Brussels meeting of Western powers came these audacious recolonization measures worthy of the 19th century:

A representative of the IMF becomes the principal director of the Central Bank of Zaire. He will direct and exercise veto power over all government spending at the bank.

Still another IMF representative will be placed at the Treasury...

In return for these nifty power arrangements Western governments are lending \$1 billion to the badly deteriorated government of President Mobutu.

Who will determine how the bailout loan gets allocated and spent? The IMF...

...Today the currency of bankrupt Zaire with a 75 percent rate of inflation is worthless on the international money exchanges. In real political terms, the IMF 'descends like a vulture' on a Chile, an Indonesia, a Zaire, once the CIA, Pentagon and NATO have established effective Western control over a supposedly independent nation.

By cutting down on already limited expenditures for social welfare and public expenses, and by enforcing harsh 'austerity' measures, the IMF sweats out of the 'natives' the money and natural resources needed to pay off usurious loans from banks in New York, London, Paris, Brussels, Tokyo and elsewhere...

### Africa Report: A Mixed Bag

As Dr. Brimmer's remarks indicated, the official NAACP policy of organizing boycotts against the Republic of South Africa is very much open to change in emphasis if not, for the moment, official change.

The NAACP *Task Force on Africa Report and Recommendations* was issued June 1, and presented to the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid by Dr. Hooks at that time. The report itself, based on a visit by a delegation of NAACP members to Africa in March 1977, launched a new permanent Africa Task Force within the NAACP, to be headed by Dr. Broadus Butler of the Roger Morton Institute, who led the delegation to Africa.

The report, although it repeatedly emphasized African economic development as in the best interest of the United States, and stressed that approach as the only sound alternative to Brzezinski-style "confrontationism" over Africa, was disappointing in its failure to distinguish between Henry Kissinger's infamous "shuttle diplomacy" — which the report praised as efforts to bring about a "peaceful solution" to problems in Africa — and the best efforts of UN Ambassador Andrew Young and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, based on a development orientation, to solve manipulated racial conflicts in southern Africa. The report and Task Force itself grew out of NAACP discussion with Vance.

By failing to distinguish between the outlaw and brutally racist Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia, and the Republic of South Africa, whose leadership includes some prodevelopment figures, the report also uncritically calls for boycotts against South Africa which in fact would serve only to perpetuate apartheid by forcing the 75,000 black workers employed there by American corporations back into poverty and oppression.

However, during the course of the convention, it became increasingly clear that that official posture need not determine the practical policies of the Task Force. In the Africa Panel itself Dr. Butler stressed the absolute necessity of U.S. involvement in African economic development, as did Wilson's keynote, and privately commented that "political sanctions don't mean a thing — development is the only key for changing Africa."

The leadership of the Africa Task Force has made it clear that the role they foresee for the task force is one of policy input into Vance's State Department in order to emphasize economic development. The task force is also intended to be an operation link to the southern African front-line states.

A similar approach has been put forward recently by Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League, who has reiterated that a U.S. boycott of South Africa, while it might assuage "white guilt," would mean emiseration of black South Africans.

—Molly Kronberg

## Wilson: 'Jobs Come From Economic Growth'

*Presented here are excerpts of the keynote address delivered to the 69th annual NAACP convention in Portland, Oregon, by Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson, NAACP National Board of Directors chairman:*

... Earlier this year on the campus of a great university not too many miles from here, I participated in a symposium on "Prospects for Reform in America."

Your chairman of the board stood alone among the speakers in contending that the American system can provide a satisfactory way of life for all our people including Black Americans.

If America cannot do it, where else can we go to find these opportunities?

The other participants were stubbornly pessimistic, they argued:

• "American capitalism cannot survive without exploiting the labor of poor people either in this country or elsewhere in the world.

• "American society as now constituted can never be a just and peaceful society.

• "American capitalism will never concede more than the minimum reforms needed to insure its temporary survival, and they pointed to the painful fact that black family income in America had remained consistently at about three fifths of white income for as long as statistics have been collected.

• "That the black middle class has, and will continue to

profit from civil rights reforms while the black masses will see little change in their lives."

But most devastating of all, they argued that the NAACP can never produce more than modest improvements in the lives of black people because the NAACP has only the power to appeal to power, and it is totally dependent upon the powers that it hopes to reform.

Their alternate argument, or course, was that a just society can never be based on economic competition between individuals or classes or nations.

That is defeatism and we could never have come this far if our parents and grandparents had taken that attitude.

What Americans must never forget is that it is the black middle class who provided the leadership that brought about the most revolutionary peaceful changes in the social fabric of this nation.

Basically our roots in the NAACP can be traced back to Frederick Douglas and other nineteenth century black leaders who believed that change must come, but they retained a faith that those in power must first be convinced of the rightness of change.

No better example of this leadership can be found than that which was provided by a small group of intellectuals, led by Dr. William E. B. Du Bois, who met in Niagara Falls in 1905 to develop a strategy for racial and social change in this country. From this core of leadership the NAACP was born.

And we are proud to declare today that it was the

NAACP which provided the leadership at critical junctures in our society, that resulted in the most profound social changes — changes that are benefitting those who criticize us the loudest.

We should be aware that there are risks in leadership, and leaders are not always popular. So to be wide and bold, you must continue to develop sound and imaginable strategies for meeting not only the challenges we face today, but also those that lie ahead in the next century.

We should note, therefore, that one of the greatest challenges we face today is the widespread attempts to destroy our faith in the ability of this nation to develop the programs and means to permit all of us to enter the mainstream of society. The road over which we must now travel is not as direct as in the past when we fought the battles against Jim Crow and other forms of blatant racism. Instead, it is complex and interwoven with many currents that cannot be directly linked to racial discrimination. . . .

. . . By now we would hope that every branch leader and every delegate at this convention has had an opportunity to read and understand the real import of the NAACP energy statement which the national board of directors adopted in January of 1978. In the face of widespread and outright, deliberate misrepresentation, the NAACP National Board of Directors reaffirmed this statement at its April meeting in Atlanta by a vote of 29 to 6.

The thrust of this statement is that unless America is assured of ample and reasonably priced energy supplies in the future, the economy will not expand at the rate required to provide a job for every person willing and able to work. A no-growth economic policy is not and never will be in the best interest of black Americans. A slow-growth economic policy will hardly be better. It will only continue to foredoom black Americans to the wastelands of idleness and poverty.

For these reasons, the energy statement calls for a realistic energy pricing policy that will ensure the development of adequate energy supplies. The energy statement does not take a stand on regulation or deregulation of natural gas. It never was the intention of the Board of Directors to address this issue . . . .

. . . Thus, the principal challenge for black leaders today is to alert our people to these new dimensions. New jobs come from economic growth in the private sector. Nine out of ten new jobs in this country were provided by private industry last year. Government alone cannot be viewed as providing jobs. It is in our interests to ensure that the president and congress pursue an economic policy that does not deliberately curtail growth. . . .

. . . U.S. industry is still the world's most efficient. But it has fallen behind in productivity growth. Among the nine major industrialized countries, Japan leads with a rate of 6.8 per cent. The U.S. is at the very bottom with a rate of 2.3 per cent, well behind Denmark, West

Germany, Italy, France, Sweden and Canada.

This is a very ominous sign. Because the question of productivity, like energy prices, stands at the very heart of the nation's inflation crisis. America is laboring under old machinery, old techniques — and old prejudices. . . .

. . . A year ago, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance appeared before this convention to address the burning issue of racial strife in southern Africa. The NAACP task force on Africa had visited several countries on the continent and had submitted its recommendations to the board of directors for study and review.

We were encouraged that Mr. Vance had chosen the NAACP for this major presentation, because the gesture demonstrated a willingness within the Carter Administration to seek the support of the nation's oldest, largest and most influential civil rights organization as it proceeded to develop its African policy. As of less than two weeks ago, Secretary Vance, who seems to be on the positive side of the issue, again forged ahead. Within the next several months leading up to the 1980 Presidential election, rest assured that Africa will become an even bigger foreign policy issue than it has been since last fall. . . .

. . . For those of you who are not convinced of black America's need for Africa, let me present you a few pertinent realities.

Black Americans, like Africans, are a developing people, who are exposed to the common problems of racism and economic exploitation.

One out of every eight manufacturing jobs in the U.S. goes to producing goods for export. Each year, more of these goods are exported to the developing countries of Africa and the Caribbean. U.S. exports to these areas have tripled over the last five years. Furthermore, one-third of U.S. farm products is now exported, and much of it too is going to Africa and the other developing countries.

These realities alone, provide enough reasons for black Americans to increase their involvement and concern for the destiny of Africa.

So, as the tug-of-war continues within the White House, the State Department and the Congress, let us declare today that Africa must not be made the pawn in East-West ideological conflicts.

Africa must not become the battle ground for either French troops, American troops, Soviet troops, Cuban troops or even African troops working at the will of some neocolonial power in Paris or Brussels.

The NAACP deplors most strongly recent suggestions from within the Carter Administration that the CIA should be set loose in Africa once more to destroy people and governments. The pretext has been the presence of Soviet and Cuban military personnel in some countries. But, what about the thousands of French troops throughout Africa? . . .

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