

how to make steel efficiently—but that doesn't prevent them from producing their own and that means they won't buy steel from us!

I believe in free trade. After all, I've been an economist for 20 years. But the Eximbank subsidizes our competition. We're exporting hundreds of billions of dollars in capital a year. We should be spending that on pollution control and flood control at home. Instead, we're handing it over to the elites in these underdeveloped countries. They ought to be helping their little farmers, giving them little plows for their little plots. But, instead, they're buying big tractors and combines and forcing the little devils off the farm and into the cities...

*The AFL Will Help Us*

I don't think we'll be able to kill Exim...most export industries want it to go on giving out money. The farmers

are a problem too. But we can sure do certain things to make life difficult for it! We'll make sure it doesn't give loans to the Soviets, or export nuclear technology or steel plant equipment...

We'll be working closely with the Congressional steel caucus on this. Also, the AFL will definitely help us. They've already helped us kill OPIC (*the Overseas Private Investment Corp.—ed.*)...If they go against Exim completely, that'll really do it in. But I don't think labor will go all the way on this — there are still too many elements in the AFL who work in export industries....

Don't get me wrong, though. I'm not all that sympathetic to labor. They're to blame for the mess they're in. They've shoved up their wages to the point where they're no longer competitive. I'm very reluctant to protect them...But they depend on me too much for other things, so they don't ask questions about why I don't vote for higher tariffs and things like that...

## Slanders Backfire; NAACP Gathers New Support

A month of press slanders and attempts to isolate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for advocating the development of nuclear power has backfired. The Association's energy policy gathered still more support last week, with statements from the labor and industry grouping, the Michigan Committee for Jobs and Energy, and the president of that state's major utility, Consumers Power.

In Chicago, NAACP Board Chairman Margaret Bush Wilson and NAACP President Dr. Benjamin L. Hooks made it clear that the Association's commitment to its energy policy had not been shaken by either the flagrant distortions appearing in many newspapers, or their blackout of the actual content of the policy.

The NAACP leaders' statements resulted in accurate coverage Feb. 7 in both the *Chicago Sun Times* and the *Chicago Daily Defender*, headlined "Critics of NAACP Energy Views Hit" and "NAACP Assails Critics."

At a speaking engagement, Hooks indicated that the support of organized labor may be forthcoming. "The labor movement is split on deregulation. But William Oliver of the United Auto Workers is on our board, and he supports our energy policy, (UAW president) Doug Fraser is on our board, and I haven't heard any comments, so I guess he is endorsing our program."

William Oliver verified his support for the NAACP's progrowth energy stance Feb. 6, when he told the audience at a dinner honoring lecturer Dick Gregory "The history of the labor movement has depended on the fight for jobs and energy production, ... they are tied together."

*That the NAACP had not been isolated by the criticism of its former "liberal" backers was the theme of an editorial-page feature in the Wall Street Journal Feb. 7. In a piece titled "Free At Last," Journal editor Jude*

*Wanniski detailed the twisted interpretation of the NAACP energy program printed in such "publications of record" as the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the New Republic. Portions of the Wall Street Journal editorial appear below.*

There is no question about it. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has torn free of the liberal labor coalition that it joined in the early New Deal days. Is it too strong to suggest "Free at Last" as the NAACP's statement of liberation from the rigid dogma of the liberal coalition?

"Use it," said Benjamin Hooks, the NAACP's executive director, when I suggested it as the title of this piece when we discussed it over lunch in Manhattan a few days ago. "It's perfect."

"Yes, yes, it fits," said Margaret Bush Wilson, chairman of the NAACP's board, when I visited her in St. Louis last week. "That's how we feel."

The divorce has been brewing for quite a while, but the formal break came a month ago when the 69-year-old organization withdrew support from President Carter's energy policy on the grounds that it emphasized conservation instead of energy growth. Confusion followed amid conflicting reports on whether or not there was an explicit endorsement of oil and gas price deregulation (there was no specific stance either way).

What is clearly of paramount importance, though, is the fact that its dissent is part of a broader policy shift. The NAACP has thrown itself open to alternative ideas in a conscious reassessment of philosophy. No longer will it unquestioningly accept as its own public policy gospel as developed by the labor liberals....

Which is not to say either Mr. Hooks or Ms. Wilson expects a wholesale reversal of policies or a new coalition with "conservatives." Rather, the NAACP has

simply decided it's going to make up its own mind on a range of public questions previously assumed to be beyond its purview as a civil-rights organization. "It isn't where we came out on the energy deregulation issue that's important," says Mr. Hooks, "but the dialogue itself. This is what's caused these terrible shock waves — the horrible thought that the NAACP is actually confronting alternatives."

The experience has been educational and, if anything, has put a frost on any chance of reconciliation for the moment. Ms. Wilson is more or less amused at the implications that she's been bought, but she admits to irritation at the other reactions, which she found condescending. It is Ben Hooks, though, who really gets steamed up.

"There is a white elitist assumption that we don't have sense enough to know about things like energy and shouldn't say anything about them. But President Carter says energy is our No. 1 problem. Which tells us we have to look at it...."

#### *A Parting of Ways?*

All this suggests a parting of ways with the National Urban League and its leader, Vernon Jordan Jr. The Urban League stresses expansion of the public sector to enhance black economic welfare. "Except in the very short run," says Mr. Hooks, "only the private sector can provide the kinds of jobs we must have," and that's where the NAACP's emphasis will be.

The strain showed when the NAACP joined the New Detroit Coalition and Detroit Urban League in opposing the federal government's new fuel standards for light trucks and vans, on the grounds that this kind of government intervention will hurt black employment and won't save energy, immediately forcing the closing of a Detroit inner-city assembly plant that employs 3,000 blacks.

Vernon Jordan not only did not join in the opposition, although requested to do so by Francis Kornegay, president of his Detroit affiliate. He also called this newspaper and demanded a correction when it mistakenly reported that the Urban League as a whole was part of the Detroit coalition....

*The Board of Directors of the Michigan Committee for Jobs and Energy commended the NAACP for its recent "statement of position on a national energy policy," in a letter to NAACP President Benjamin Hooks dated Jan. 23.*

In its sober, temperate and well-reasoned statement adopted Jan. 9, the NAACP rightly recognizes that jobs depend on energy, that energy supply depends on energy development, and that prevention of energy shortages is the only sure way to prevent widespread unemployment and economic disaster for all who work and wish to work. In urging the Carter Administration to adopt a more positive attitude toward the development of energy sources, the NAACP also rightly recognizes that a limited-growth policy works its greatest hardships upon those lowest on the economic scale.

The Michigan Committee for Jobs and Energy also opposes no-growth policies because of their disastrous effect on jobs and the economy. Our committee agrees

that energy conservation, which trims wasteful fat but does not cut the productive muscle of our economy, should be an essential element of national energy policy. But just as much and even more emphasis should be placed on energy development — further exploration and development of existing domestic oil and natural gas resources, greater reliance on coal and uranium, our most abundant and economic domestic fuels, production of more synthetic oil and gas substitutes from coal and other available sources, and accelerated development of alternate energy sources such as biomass, solar, wind, geothermal and nuclear fusion.

It was to be expected that the NAACP energy statement would be strenuously attacked by those who do not agree and will never agree. But the Michigan Committee for Jobs and Energy urges the NAACP board of directors to stand firm. Total environmental purity at the expense of economic security does not fulfill the American promise of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.

(signed)

Stanford D. Arnold, Chairman  
Michigan Committee for Jobs and Energy

### Power Spokesman Praises NAACP Energy Policy

*John Selby, President of the Michigan Utility Consumers Power Company, praised the NAACP's support of nuclear energy in a speech before the Engineering Society of Detroit Feb. 3. Selby proposed that engineers also take on the challenge "of answering the critics" of nuclear energy by publicly endorsing the NAACP's policy. Here is a portion of Selby's speech.*

...As I have already indicated, in this country the no-growth advocates, and the ardent environmentalists are determined to strip us of the coal and nuclear options.

The result would be economic chaos, yet there are many among us who indicate just about every day that they think this would be a good thing.

The more restrictions on the use of energy, they say, the better we will all be. I certainly join the Sakharovs and the Dinnings on the side of an independent and strong America, and I find it discouraging that a large vocal minority of antienergy activists so easily manages to drown out exponents of a more prudent approach to meeting the needs of our society and the needs of its allies in other parts of the world....

...The (NAACP) statement was reasoned, carefully constructed and very politely phrased, but its message was clear:

An energy program which does not recognize the needs of the poor and does not reflect the ever-present job requirements of more and more Americans is no energy plan at all. It is an issue of doctrine shaped to please the people who would rather experiment with society in pursuit of various selfish personal or political goals under the guise of preserving our natural environment. Well, as Edward Teller once said, poverty is the worst pollutant of all.

...I believe I have the duty as an engineer to suggest we engineers can do more, as the NAACP has done, along

the lines of exposing to public view the deficiencies and the hazards of subscribing no-energy policies which are thinly disguised no-growth no-progress policies.

... We were encouraged with the NAACP statement, for example, on nuclear power. Recognizing the debate, and the problems the debate centers around, their conclusion was that nuclear problems can be solved through the dedicated efforts of government, the scientific community, and industry working cooperatively.

I have stated many times, and to many groups, that there is no nuclear problem in the commercial power generation field that has not only been solved, but solved again and again. Except one. We haven't gotten the message through to the opponents!

...Gentlemen, I suggest that you bring your forces to bear in that battle for a better tomorrow, bring your

sake get somebody to listen to you!

If you remain silent our Soviet friend Sakharov, and our English friend, Mr. Dinning, might one day have to wonder why in the world we surrendered so quietly, and to so few.

### Hooks: We Don't Want Handouts

Margaret Bush Wilson and Benjamin Hooks condemned the media for their near boycott of a press conference held by the two civil rights leaders Feb. 7 in Chicago. "We can mobilize the troops," Wilson said, but "a blackout is being used to keep the word from spreading."

The question asked by the lone CBS Radio reporter present and answer by both Hooks and Wilson appear below.

*CBS: What is the controversy that has developed over the energy report you released this past weekend?"*

Hooks: Bleeding hearts want to keep the NAACP tied to government handouts and WPA jobs ... and now have generated monumental silence on the NAACP energy policy...Energy shortages will result in all the major industries shutting down...When Blacks start talking about energy, liberals begin to freak out... the liberal press has made a conscious effort to black out the NAACP... They have contempt for what we stand for... The press has pursued a form of overt racism — if we supported deregulation, we would have said that...we can spell deregulation. The liberals will support us as long as we walk in step with them... they'll pat us on the head... You don't see the media attacking Jewish groups who supported a similar energy policy."

Mrs. Wilson: I am shocked at the 'hysterical overkill' used by the media to try to stop our organizing drive by individual attacks as a cover for avoiding the real energy issues...

*Asked if he was considering resigning, Hooks replied:*

You could say that I've thought about dying but I'm not dead yet...I've got the full support of the board...

Hooks also announced a new educational program to be launched in Chicago on Feb. 12 called Afro-American Cultural Technological and Scientific Olympics, commemorating both the birthday of Abraham Lincoln and the anniversary of their founding. This will enter the leading black scholars in high schools and colleges in

competition for excellence in learning. Hooks stated on education: "I am very proud that in the USA there are 1 million black students in college — double the number of the entire white student enrollment in England. We need to develop brain power ... We need to turn every church basement into the 'sandlot of the mind' for our youth. We need to develop black peer pressure to model themselves on the outstanding student, not the stompers and hooligans, that are so often supported by the media.

### The Press Has Confused the Issue

*Margaret Bush Wilson attacked reporters and environmentalists responsible for distortions of the NAACP's energy policy in remarks she made before the Black Writers Association.*

I find it interesting that Vernon Jarrett from *Chicago Tribune* described the NAACP's energy report as "controversial." It isn't, although it has generated a great deal of hysterical reaction.

Certain columnists have implied or clearly stated that the subject of energy is not involved with civil rights. I disagree with this approach. I find this fallacious and slightly dangerous.

...Nowhere in the (NAACP energy policy) document is there a reference to deregulation. I think certain columnists of national syndication are trying to create confusion by attacking us for something we haven't said. I think it is actually an attempt to confuse the public and redirect the real issue.

### Reuss: 'Every City Needs A Rohatyn'

*In a speech at De Paul University Feb. 6, Congressman Henry Reuss, the head of the House Banking Committee, criticized the Carter Administration for its lack of social economic policies. In his speech, excerpted below, Reuss outlined a program of hyperinflationary public works to cure the U.S. economy's ills.*

The cities and the poor who live in them have been thrown on the back burner... We need a massive attack on structural unemployment as the core of our economic policy... Closed factories should be reopened to manufacture solar energy equipment. Unemployed blacks should be put to work at local conservation projects, like the old Civilian Conservation Corp... (The black unemployed) could also renovate old buildings into daycare centers... These are the types of labor-intensive, job-creating projects we should begin....

We need a czar for a "jobs now" kind of program in each of the 30 major cities, someone like Felix Rohatyn (the Lazard Freres financier who headed New York's Big MAC—ed.)...The jobs czar would tally up the structurally unemployed and put them back to work...

(Federal Reserve chairman-nominee) William Miller has demonstrated his interest in such an attack on