

## BLACKS

## NAACP's Wilkins bows out

This year's NAACP convention that just ended in St. Louis contained more hoopla and got more press coverage than any NAACP national confab has in decades. The occasion this time was the exodus—albeit a forced retirement—of the “grand old man” Roy Wilkins as executive secretary.

After years of speculation over what he would do—or be compelled to do—Wilkins stubbornly wrung one concession out of his board: If he was to be kicked into forcible retirement, he wanted to go out in grand style in St. Louis, his home town. The board consented.

Wilkins played out his role like the old civil rights pro he is. The night of June 28 he was the object of almost four hours of teary praise from civil rights veterans and even President Carter. Afterwards, Wilkins himself made an emotion-charged speech in which he pledged continued fidelity to the cause, and took a parting shot at his detractors inside the Association, particularly some of the more powerful staff members.

The organist blared; the overflow crowd stomped, cried and cheered. And Roy Wilkins was gone. Officially, his resignation becomes effective Aug. 1. But for all practical or political purposes, Benjamin Hooks is now NAACP executive secretary. After years of internal struggle, a majority of board members (and probably the rank and file also) had triumphed. The most obstinate symbol of the NAACP's old guard had been displaced by a younger man, not handicapped by an image as a slow, plodding civil rights traditionalist.

Wilkins had been with the NAACP since 1931. He served as executive secretary 22 years, and had been constantly under fire from critics inside and outside the association who wanted the NAACP to adopt new strategies and tactics to fit the changing times. Always, he and his old guard allies resisted, labeling the critics as

militants or misinformed idiots who couldn't appreciate the NAACP's impressive history of civil rights struggle.

The NAACP is the oldest and largest of the civil rights organizations. For a long time—until the coming of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957—it was the only national organization that fought for civil rights for black people. The National Urban League was founded in 1909—the same year as the NAACP—but it's regarded as a social service, rather than civil rights organization, though the missions of the two sometimes overlap.

## What will Hooks do?

How much of a difference will Hooks make to the NAACP? Was his selection a victory for the “militants?” It's difficult to tell at this point what Hooks' direction will be. Surely, he'll be no carbon-copy Roy Wilkins, but neither will he be a firebrand radical. At the close of the convention Hooks made a slam-bang speech reaffirming his support for the approach that brought the NAACP to where it is today: court suits, pursuing racial integration wherever possible, direct action and quiet persuasion.

This was no revolutionary manifesto, but a changing of the traditional liberal guard. Hooks will probably make more of a difference in style than in substance.

He is a Memphis Baptist minister, a lawyer and banker, whom Richard Nixon named the first black commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission in 1972. His sponsor for that job was Howard Baker, a Tennessee conservative whose standing among the Republican moderates shot up dramatically with his activity on the Senate Watergate Committee.

Ben Hooks is no black conservative or Uncle Tom, but a civil rights liberal who, in many ways, is an ideal choice to succeed Wilkins. He is tremendously popular

nationally as a speaker to church, civic, fraternal and social organizations—the bedrock support of the NAACP. On the FCC he worked consistently to get more blacks and minorities into broadcasting and to improve the quality of programming. But Hooks is the first to admit that basic structural or program changes in broadcasting and television will never be brought on by the FCC.

During a conversation with this writer following our joint appearance on the

The new head, Benjamin Hooks, will probably make more of a difference in style than in substance.

MacNeil-Lehrer Report, Hooks bragged that the NAACP had outlasted all of its critics on the left, and was still the champion civil rights organization. This could be interpreted as vindication of the NAACP's past course, or as a sign of structural debilitating weakness within the black liberation struggle. The militancy of the 1960s is gone; so is the thrust from the black left on the campuses and in

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Roy Wilkins, retiring NAACP head.

By Steve Connolly  
Exposing the internal workings of the police department can be a risky proposition, five respected criminologists in California are finding out.

The five—Dr. Richard R. Korn, executive director of the Center for the Study of Criminal Justice, Berkeley; retired police lieutenant Dante Andreotti, founding director of the San Francisco Police Department's Community Relations Division; professor John Webster, a former police chief and recently a consultant of the California State Office of Criminal Justice Planning; and Dr. James Robinson, director of Social Issues Research Associates, Berkeley—are being sued for more than a half million dollars by one-time Los Angeles Police Department Narcotics Squad head Commander Joe Gunn.

The suit stems from the fact that on March 11, 1976, the five criminologists distributed a transcript of an April 1974 speech given by Gunn to police officials attending an annual meeting of the California Narcotics Information Network (CNIN). In his speech Gunn candidly described the coerced recruitment of drug suspects and parolees as police informers.

Gunn maintains that the speech was made at “a closed meeting of a private association,” and that no one had the right to infringe upon his privacy and distribute it.

The five defendants argue that the CNIN is not a private association, but an arm of California government, supported by public funds and that Gunn's controversial remarks were recorded openly on video tape by an authorized camera crew for the purpose of using the speech for a police training film. They assert they had a legitimate right to the transcript of the speech.

Gunn's speech, entitled “Management, Control and Utilization of Informants,” is nothing if not candid. In it he is reported to have said:

## CRIME

## Exposed narc sues five criminologists

They expose forced recruitment of drug suspects and parolees as informers.

• **On Pressuring Suspects:** “...When you have your spurs into a guy, this is when you really get the good trade-off. You would be remiss if you didn't get at least three good cases. If the guy doesn't want to do it, what's his option? State prison. And then you ought to actively make sure that he goes to state prison, if that's the kind of guy he is. If you got your hooks into him good, though, if it's a good sales case to an officer, don't let him off the hook by conning you into an easy trade.

“Another thing—don't let attorneys come into the [deal] meeting. I had one guy show up one time with his attorney and say, ‘I brought my attorney with me. We want to set up the deal.’ What is that? You're sitting down to negotiate for a new house or something? Attorneys are out. This is something between you and the informant and I don't want to get tied down with a bunch of legal jingle-jangle. Keep your hooks into him and don't let him off.

“...I don't like to see a guy get off scott free on a good case. If anything, he's going to plead to something. If it was a good sales case, then we're going to cop him out to a good possession case and where you make the deal is on the sentence. There's

no jail time, but you put the probation on him and, if you can, you put the terms of probation in there. Keep in mind—two years from now this guy may not be working for you anymore.”

• **On Informants Who Continue to Deal in Drugs:** “You have to emphasize to an informant that as long as he works for you he can no longer deal. Now you know that's a bunch of bull, and I know that's a bunch of bull because he's going to deal—that's the way he makes his living. That's not important, though. The important thing is that you put your agency on record as telling this guy that he does not get immunity just because he happens to be an informant and if someone comes along and wants to bust him, more power to them. I'm a firm believer that a good informant goes to jail once every two years anyway—it makes them better informants.

“Now, I would not expect the individual officers to arrest their own informants. I would tell someone else to do it. But what's wrong with putting them in jail? It spurs them on to greater heights!”

• **On Withholding Information to Judges:** “...You don't mention it on any reports

and I think when you deal with informants it's the same as when you go to court now and the judge demands that you reveal the informant. What's your option? Your option is say, ‘No,’ and they dismiss the case. It's as simple as that. I made my decision personally—having a cabinet with about three hundred informant packages—that there was no way I was going to surrender that to a court. I'm not going to be responsible for that many executions.”

The five defendants believe that Gunn's views, attitudes and practices accurately reflect the attitudes and practices of the L.A.P.D. and its head, Chief Ed Davis. All five believe that only when society decriminalizes narcotic drug use will solutions be found for dealing with the problem of rampant drug abuse.

Two groups who share unflinching opposition to this view are the organized police establishment and the Mafia, says Korn. People must become aware, he says, that profits flowing into the coffers of organized criminals provide an almost inexhaustible fund for the corruption of government. Most vulnerable of all have been the police officers—especially “vice” and “narcotics” police squads.

By calling public attention to police practices, the criminologists hope that the narcotics squad modus operandi will be seriously examined and discontinued. They say they are not interested in stopping the cops from doing their work. “We want to stop them from following practices that encourage the very crimes they say they want to clean up,” says Korn.

“The whole point of the matter,” he continues, “is that we have no motives other than the good of the community. If the police share our goals then there is no reason why they should not be open about their practices.”

Steve Connolly is a California freelance journalist.

## NEWS ANALYSIS

# Carter energy plan: higher prices key

**W**ASHINGTON When James Schlesinger came to the Senate in May to defend President Carter's energy package he began with a bold flourish from Winston Churchill: "Make no small plans. They have an magic to stir the souls of men." To follow that with a description of the administrative trivia that goes by the name of an energy policy these days must have taxed even Mr. Schlesinger's powers to infuse appearances.

Then, and the very unmagical processes of Congress have revealed the Carter plan to be an arbitrary collection of proposals hanging from the same thread that hung President Ford's energy policy—higher prices.

Unhappily, however, the fact that Ford was a Republican with a Democratic Congress was what hung the Ford policy—not its contents. The party label, while not a guarantee of success, does give Carter the edge over his predecessor.

When it comes right down to it, however, there is relatively little that Congress can do about the thrust of federal energy policy. Carter's package does little more than embellish policies that are already in place. It presents few new directions. Congressional actions will affect individual situations, but they will not change the basic thrust. Even if Congress were to scuttle the whole thing, existing funding and authorization permit the adoption of the main outlines of the plan.

## Raising the price.

The cornerstone of the Carter plan is the raising of the price of existing fuels to the highest replacement cost—in this case that of imported oil. The catch is that this price has nothing to do with production costs, either in the Middle East or in the U.S.

Over the next 10 or 20 years high energy prices will protect the profits of the energy companies as they deplete their cheap reserves. They can thus market their very high cost oil and gas alongside older, cheaper production, making a tidy profit on both.

At the same time, the "replacement" price concept serves as a floor to enable the big conglomerates to develop capital intensive alternatives like transforming coal into gas or intensified oil extraction—that would otherwise be far too costly to compete with existing oil and gas companies. (As if the high prices weren't enough, the companies benefit from direct federal subsidies for research and development from the Energy Research and Development Administration—some \$500 million for coal-related research alone in Fiscal Year 77, not to mention another \$2 billion in continued subsidies for nuclear research, demonstration and development.)

Using the ability to pay high prices as the means to determine who gets how much energy also ensures that those corporations who can easiest afford to pay higher prices will be the most secure in their supply, reducing possible dangers from future "shortages."

## Conservation not addressed.

The conservation components of the Pres-

# NAACP

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the cities. Indeed, there is ominous quiet all along the left.

In the absence of a challenge from the left, the NAACP fills the void, and then proclaims its progress because it is all that remains of the old alliances of the '60s. SNCC went out of business years ago; CORE is barely a shell of its old self; the SCLC is hanging on, though only in a few cities in the South and one or two in the North.

ident's plan which both left and right have been at such great pains to applaud, are not substantial. These proposals would merely ease immediate tight supply situations in the same way that a fat man starves on the day of a big event in order to ease the belt on his good trousers without losing weight. It takes the edge off the pressure for real change.

Assessments by at least three legislative agencies indicate that Carter overestimated—by a million barrels of oil per day—the saving associated with his initiatives in insulation, solar equipment, tax credits to industry, and penalties for gas guzzlers. Current consumption is the equivalent of 30 million barrels per day.

More to the point, however, the waste Carter has targeted represents negligible overflow from the way we do things. Real waste in areas like fertilizer-intensive agriculture, petrochemical production, packaging, planned obsolescence is not addressed.

The Carter package, in the form of the Energy Bill, has been referred to seven committees in the House of Representatives and two in the Senate. The House's tight timetable calls for final action before the summer recess begins on August 5.

The Senate Energy Committee intends to consider the sections on natural gas pricing, conservation measures and substitution of coal for oil and gas over the next month. But the Senate Finance committee must wait to begin its deliberations until the House sends over the taxation portions of the bill, which will make it at least October before final passage of the bill would occur.

If the actions of the House committees so far are any guide, natural gas prices will be higher than the President proposed, taxes on crude oil produced in this country will remain, and the tax on gas guzzling cars will exist in name only. (Ways and Means committee members compromised on a definition that leaves only the Chrysler Imperial in the guzzler category.)

The complex schedule of taxes that Carter hoped would motivate companies to switch to coal or install more efficient equipment has been watered down. Tax credits for homeowners who install insulation, solar equipment or other conservation measures have been criticized as ineffective, but have been retained.

## Confrontations to come over bill.

Major confrontations could still occur over whether to achieve higher prices through stiff taxation (as the President proposes), or to do so by ending federal regulation and allowing all oil and gas prices to rise to the level set by OPEC.

The President proposed to retain the regulation of natural gas and oil, but on a new basis unrelated to costs of production. He would also have given his new energy secretary power to set the price of gas and oil on a "political" basis at his own discretion.

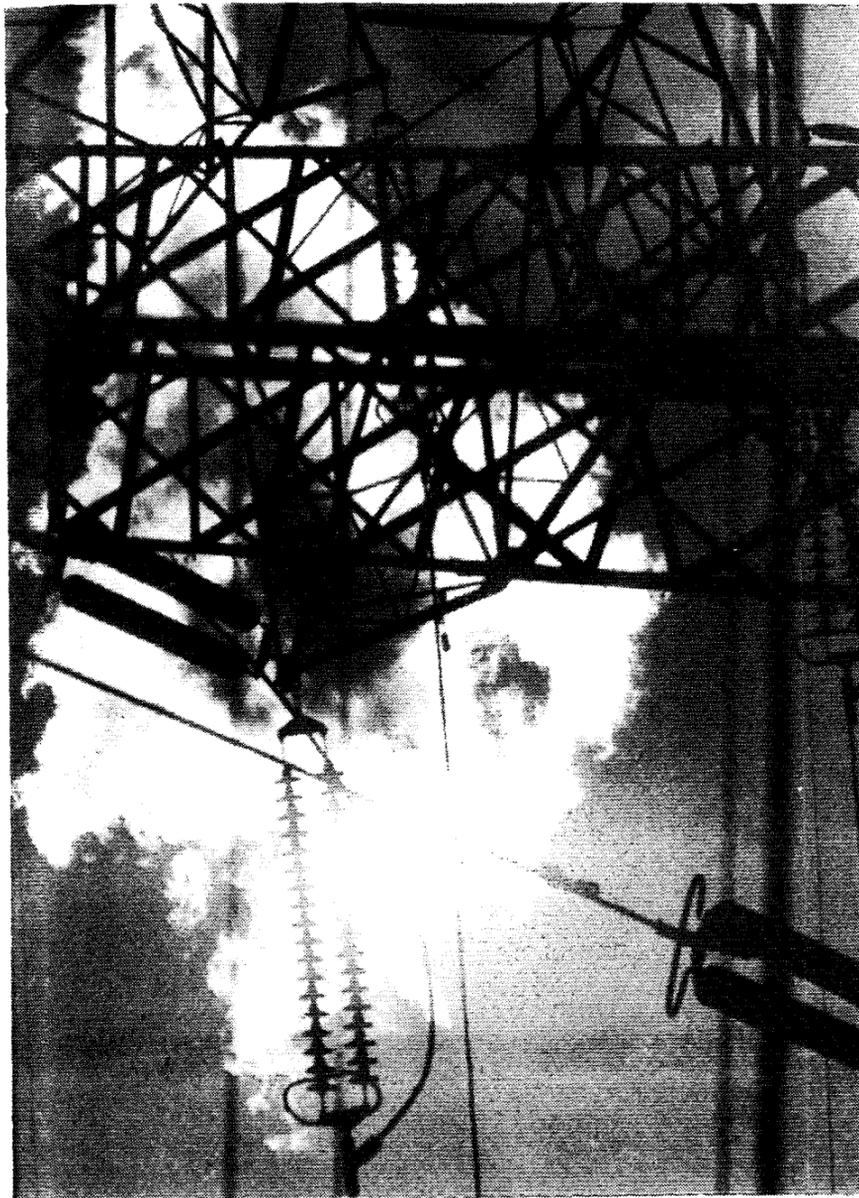
Congress modified this power when it passed the Department of Energy bill last May, but Carter has been lobbying to get it back when the two Houses meet to re-

## NAACP's major thrust.

The major priority of the NAACP has been pursuing school desegregation through slow, grinding litigation. But under the Burger court, this will meet with even more limited success. And, even if achieved, the NAACP and its allies are hard put to demonstrate the long term value of "statistical-formula" desegregation in which a judge orders the percentage of white and black students to attend a school.

Further, whatever the outcome and value of pursuing desegregation, the vast majority of black school children in cities, towns and villages across the country will never be touched because they will always attend predominantly or all-black schools.

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Jane Meinicke

concile differences in conference.

For oil the major question will be whether to retain taxes on crude oil now selling for three different prices—\$5.25, \$11.28 and about \$13.50. Carter proposed an ascending tax to equalize these prices at the OPEC level, so refiners would all pay the same price for their crude oil, no matter where it came from. But the energy companies would rather not have a tax and get the money from higher prices themselves.

The Senate Finance committee, which will decide this, works under the guidance of Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana, a gentleman with a long-standing (and high-yielding) interest in the oil business.

A proposal to allow companies to keep some of the tax they collect (it would amount to at least \$8 on a barrel of \$5.25 oil) if they use it for further exploration was defeated in the House Ways and Means committee, and an amendment by Andrew Jacobs (D-IN) to use the revenues to pay off part of the national debt was adopted in its stead.

## Already policy.

But the major lines of the energy policy will remain the same—even if Congress were to take the unlikely step of rejecting

This leaves the vast majority untouched by the NAACP's major thrust—now and in the future.

So are the major problems of black people untouched by the preeminent civil rights organization. The NAACP has never seriously addressed the problems of prison conditions or of young blacks struggling for existence and dignity once they get out of the "joint." As serious and structural as the problem of high unemployment is among young blacks, 16-21, the NAACP and its allies have no program except to advocate passage of the Humphrey/Hawkins full employment bill.

The liberation struggle needs more than

the Carter plan in its entirety.

Prices for oil would increase by virtue of existing legislation, and decontrol could occur, by law, in April of 1979.

Natural gas prices went from \$.56 to \$1.44 last year, and the Federal Power Commission is working on a higher price at this very moment. The Department of Transportation is preparing new standards for auto "fleet" efficiency for 1980.

The recently created Department of Energy puts the authority for pricing oil and gas into the hands of the Secretary of Energy—and he will no longer need legislation to establish prices in fulfillment of his policy aims.

The Energy Research and Development Administration budget contains \$4 billion for this year alone, and most of it goes to fossil fuel research and development, research into methods of getting more oil from old reservoirs, and nuclear power (\$2 billion). \$161 million is devoted to conservation, and a total of \$345 million to solar and geothermal research. The rest is for traditional fuels and nuclear fission and fusion.

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a reformed NAACP. It needs energizing forces that will look and act beyond its limited vision. New energy will probably come from some of the black elected officials who are growing in numbers—if not always in power. What the struggle needs is a "dual thrust"—from the liberals who are comfortable within the NAACP or Urban League, and from progressives and socialists determined to push further and harder for more basic change. At the moment, there is only discernible national action by the liberals.

Being alone among national civil rights organizations is a source of Ben Hooks' delight. For the rest of us, it should be taken as a warning.