

EDITORIAL/OPINION

U.S. must share blame

The United States is deeply involved in Israel's actions against the Palestinians and Lebanon and must share with Israel the blame for the massacre of Palestinian civilians.

- There is evidence that the U.S. government was aware of Israel's plan to invade Lebanon and supported that invasion. Throughout the siege of West Beirut the U.S. repeatedly vetoed United Nations efforts to halt the invasion and even vetoed efforts to allow food, water and medicine to be taken into the city.
- The U.S. heavily finances and supplies Is-

rael's arms—supposedly for defense—and has refused to withdraw that support.

- The U.S. provides economic aid to Israel, without which that nation could not continue to exist, yet the U.S. has not threatened withdrawal of that support in light of Israel's expansionism.
- The U.S. guaranteed the safety of the Palestinian civilians left behind in refugee camps when the PLO agreed to leave Lebanon.
- The U.S. declined to send troops, requested by Lebanon to ensure that another massacre does not occur, unless approved by Israel—the invader.

Chamber chooses white men

The Portland Chamber of Commerce, although a private organization, represents the City of Portland and all its citizens in many ways. It projects an image of the city, encourages business, trade, and tourism.

The Chamber has come under criticism for its luncheon invitation to the South African Ambassador a few years ago and for the recent trip of the editor of its *Portland* magazine to South Africa and the resulting glowing report on that nation in the magazine's pages.

A little light can be shed on the Chamber's insensitivity by observing its board of directors. The new board members to be elected in November are all white and include one woman. The hold-over board members are all white men. The new president has the authority to appoint board members, and among them are the reap-

pointment of one black person, Dr. Matthew Prophet.

So we have a total board which includes one minority and two women.

A more diversified board might encourage the Chamber membership and staff to take a broader view of the world and to be more sensitive to those citizens who are not white male businessmen.

Editorial racism

Shame on the *Oregonian* for its reference, in its September 21 issues, to Indian "squaws." With its new format and new staff, the *Oregonian* is still not alert to the racism in its pages. We had hoped for more.

Quixotic search for economic alternatives

The black elite vs. Reaganism

by Dr. Manning Marable
"From The Grassroots"
Part One of a two-part series

The struggle against Reaganism within the national black community has sparked a rebirth of a wide variety of economic strategies to cope with unemployment, black business failures and accelerated urban decay. With the exception of the black reaganites (e.g., economists Thomas Sowell and Walter Williams, etc.), black opposition to the present Administration's policies is virtually unanimous. But the specific economic programs which the black petty bourgeoisie are now proposing are neither original nor very progressive. Few attack the root causes for black underdevelopment, and all are an expression of the theoretical and programmatic poverty which historically has plagued the black middle class.

The NAACP mirrors the economic contradictions of the black petty bourgeoisie. Since 1934, when W.E.B. DuBois left the organization when it failed to develop a radical program to deal with the Great Depression's devastating impact upon Afro-Americans, the NAACP had never proposed major economic initiatives to assist blacks. Under the direction of Benjamin Hooks, in the last five years, the NAACP has recruited 50,000 new members, 300 new branches and a budget \$1.5 million larger. With the recessions of 1981 and 1982, Hooks authorized the creation of an economics analysis unit and a task force to assist local branches to help black small entrepreneurs and black unemployed workers. In Kokomo, Indiana, NAACP members have responded to Reagan cutbacks in foodstamps by organizing a food cooperative. NAACP members in Galloway Township, New Jersey, pressured local officials to set aside half of all new municipal jobs for blacks, women, and handicapped people. In Memphis, NAACP leaders persuaded the Nissan Corporation to buy supplies for its local automobile plant from black vendors. At the NAACP convention of June 28-July 2 in Boston, delegates endorsed "Operation Fair Share," a campaign to hold nationwide boycotts against businesses that resist affirmative action efforts. Despite these new economic initiatives, however, the general thrust of the organization remains the same: support for liberal Democrats, voter registration, affirmative action, and other modest social democratic efforts.

Even with its new "anti-Reagan economic agenda," the NAACP still suffers from its traditional crisis of confidence. When William Perry,

the NAACP President of Miami, Florida, introduced a proposal for a "Black Monday"—a plan to have blacks and whites to buy exclusively from black business on June 28, 1982, national officers were furious. Local whites in the NAACP opposed the idea, and Earl Shinhoshter, Southeastern Regional director of the NAACP, sent a testy mailgram to Perry on June 23, suspending him "immediately and indefinitely." Perry's explanation that the Black Monday "was not intended to be a boycott, just a campaign to support black businesses" did not satisfy his authorities. Shinhoshter argued that "any unit of the NAACP is a subordinate unit to the national organization. Autonomy (of the local branch) only extends to issues that are within the scope of the organization." Hooks gave Perry "five days to explain what happened and why his suspension should not be made permanent." Meanwhile, Perry resigned as president, and promptly organized an Operation PUSH chapter in Miami. Perry informed the *Miami Times* that Jesse Jackson and PUSH "provide its local units with more autonomy than the NAACP gives its branches."

The Urban League has continued its role as the right wing of the black movement. When Reagan was elected, former League director Vernon Jordan made the most pathetic concessions to the conservative trend. Reagan deserved "the benefit of the doubt," and it was "dangerous" in Jordan's words to criticize him. Jordan was willing to wait and see whether "equality can be achieved by conservative means, to look at conservative approaches to see if they will help black people." Jordan's successor, John E. Jacob, has moved the organization only slightly to the left. Jacob denounced the recent draft report of the Department of Housing and Urban Development which called for an end to Federal aid to inner cities. He revived a 20-year-old proposal developed by League director Whitney Young which called for "massive federal efforts" combined with "local public-private sector efforts" to retard unemployment and urban decay. Jacob called for joint Democratic and Republican party efforts to encourage "investments in human capital, urban infrastructure, and economic resources needed to get the national economy moving again."

In Philadelphia, on June 9, 1982, the "Hire One Youth" Program was launched by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, chairperson of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OICs). The stated goal of "Hire One Youth" was to encourage the

private sector to hire 300,000 "disadvantaged young people" during the summer, and an additional 700,000 youths by the middle of 1983. "I am appealing to the patriotism of American companies, large and small, in this critical and urgent time of need to put the youth of America back to work," Sullivan explained to the press. "Immediate bipartisan action on the part of President Reagan, the Congress, and the private sector is necessary."

Behind Sullivan's appeal for jobs was an omnipresent threat of urban rebellion. "America must act now to put the unemployed youth in jobs before chaos and disorder erupt in our cities," Sullivan states bluntly. "The unemployed youth problem is social dynamite and it is about to explode." Sullivan reminded corporations that a \$3,000 tax credit was available to all employers who hired Vietnam-era veterans, cooperative education students, involuntarily terminated CETA workers, and teenagers from "economically disadvantaged" areas. "If every American corporation, business, school... puts just one [youth] to work, we can get idle youth off the streets and into the productive mainstream of the American workforce."

For all the media and political support, it seems unlikely that the effort will generate one-fifth of the number of permanent jobs it seeks. Sullivan's OIC is a product of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs. From 1964-1980, the OIC network of job training and industrial education programs received more than \$500 million in Federal funds. According to one source, only 13 per cent of those trained in the Philadelphia OIC were working in training related jobs. Many of the OIC's nationwide "suffer from mismanagement and poor program performance." Under heavy criticism since the mid-1970s, the Reverend Sullivan authored the so-called "Sullivan Principles" which provide loose guidelines to justify continued U.S. corporate investment in South Africa. Sullivan has been a useful tool for both the Republican Party and U.S. corporate interests in a number of ways. For example, in early 1981, Sullivan testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in support of former Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

Since the mid-1970s, Gulf Oil and other major corporations have funneled tens of thousands of dollars to Sullivan. It would appear, given Sullivan's history, that "Hire One Youth" is less a strategy to end black joblessness than a program to pacify the black ghetto while maintaining the process of capital accumulation within black America.

AFSC uncovers secret plans

PHILADELPHIA— U.S. companies are involved in a secret plan to help South Africa undercut international trade sanctions, according to a State Department cable released under the Freedom of Information Act to the American Friends Service Committee, it was disclosed today. The cable gave few details but indicated that U.S. companies in the white-ruled nation "have already made plans to camouflage their operation through subterfuges arranged with affiliates in other countries." The document was revealed in a new report on the arms embargo and computer exports to South Africa, released by the Quaker organization in Philadelphia.

The new AFSC study, *Automatic Apartheid — U.S. Computer Exports to South Africa and the Arms Embargo*, takes a critical look at the loopholes in U.S. controls on exports to South Africa and documents the use of U.S.-supplied computers by the white supremacist government. U.S. computer companies "virtually control the South African computer market, a function which allies them with the apartheid apparatus and involves them in the maintenance of white minority rule," according to the AFSC research team NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex).

"NARMIC has broken new ground with *Automating Apartheid* by ferreting out links between U.S. corporations and Pretoria that have never seen the light of day," wrote Rep. William Gray III, PA, in a foreword to the book.

The Quaker organization called

on the Reagan Administration to rescind export regulations which allow U.S. companies to do business with the South African government, police, military and arms-manufacturers.

"U.S. companies doing business with South Africa say they are opposed to the apartheid system. Yet our research has turned up numerous cases which indicate that advanced technology from the United States is available to Pretoria's government, security apparatus and military establishment," said Thomas Conrad, a staff researcher with NARMIC.

"Control Data, IBM, Perkins-Elmer, Sperry and Hewlett-Packard have supplied hardware to South Africa's largest state-run research facility which has been heavily involved in military work, including missile research, computerized target acquisition, and the development of poison gas, counter-insurgency vehicles and fingerprint storage mechanisms.

"Since at least 1970, the South African Department of Interior has stored details on seven million South Africans classified as 'Coloureds,' Asians and whites on a computer provided by IBM which serves as the basis for the 'Book of Life' identity document (details on Blacks for the passbook system are stored on a British-made ICL computer). IBM, NCR and Mohawk have also been helping computerize South Africa's white-controlled local government agencies.

"Several of Pretoria's arms-makers have computer installations based on U.S. hardware. Among

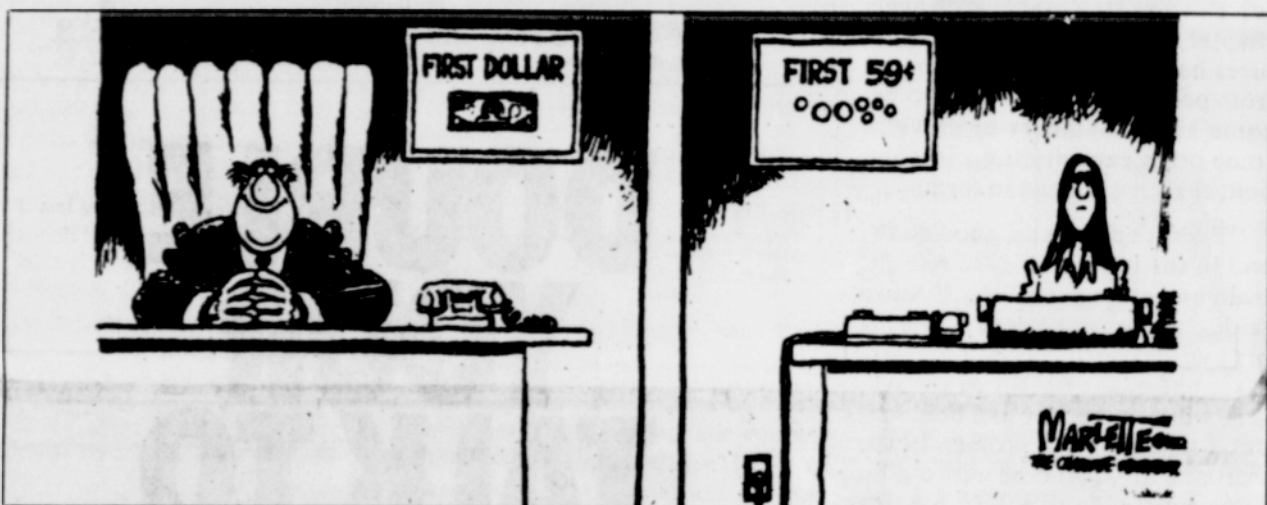
the suppliers: Burroughs, NCR, Data General, Hewlett-Packard, IBM and Sperry.

"A range of U.S. security gear is available on the South African market, including a Westinghouse microwave detector system, infrared surveillance equipment from Barnes Engineering and a computer-based system to detect clandestine radio transmitters made by Technology for Communications International of Mountain View, CA."

In addition to spotlighting the major U.S. computer companies in South Africa, and providing a list of the major known computer installations in that country, *Automating Apartheid* makes several specific recommendations for tightening and expanding U.S. controls on exports to South Africa.

These include: 1) a ban on sales to the South African military, police, government, and government front groups; 2) a ban on sales of all military-specification electronics and equipment on the U.S. government's Commodity Control List; 3) an extension of the export controls to cover sales to South Africa from U.S. subsidiaries in third-world countries; 4) a requirement prohibiting any export to South Africa unless the U.S. exporter can prove that the product has no potential military or repressive application.

NARMIC's research into the flow of high-technology equipment to South Africa has spurred investigations of several corporations by the State and Commerce Departments, including Control Data, Burroughs, IBM, Philips, Kistler and Telonic/Berkeley.



Letters to the Editor

Attack problem, not women

To the editor:

We have formed the group, Friends of Sisters On the Street (Friends of S.O.S.) to protest the callous treatment of the women on the street (prostitutes on Union Avenue) by the establishment, the media and finally by their own community. We hope to align ourselves with them against hypocrisy and bigotry.

Instead of attacking the economic and spiritual problems of society (unemployment, alcoholism, drug addiction, degradation of women, loneliness), these groups have attacked one of the most oppressed and exploited groups, the symptom rather than the problem. Little emphasis was put on the Johns who

leave their plush, secure homes to come to our neighborhood and window shop for a sister.

The main solution suggested was, as one official put it, to correct the problem of "inadequate female jail space," spoken as if cages were being added to the Humand Society.

To see a group with the stature of the Black United Front and other groups from the black community marching side by side with the same people who rehired the 'possum squad' was a shock.

The presence of churches was a surprise since Christ had the greatest compassion for women persecuted in this way.


Trying to have some of His compassion, let's look at her point of view. The average woman on the

street is not there because of lust. She does not love "turning tricks." She feels she must do it to survive. Usually she is the only victim in the crime, the hurt being done to her. No woman would risk rape, dismemberment and death (a fear she must face every time she jumps into a car) if she thought she had something better.

We hope the Black United Front and especially the Christian churches will find a better way to show compassion for their sisters than "adequate female jail space."

We hope we can together offer them an alternative: jobs, shelters, counseling, and above all friendship.

Friends of S.O.S.



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