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high office can command that we cannot be satisfied with "the uneasy calm of martial law" but must look for "a public order built on steady progress in meeting the needs of our people."

We believe that God is calling each of us to respond to this urgent challenge in terms of our religious faith and to do so with complete honesty and with a firm resolve to amend our ways and to make reparation for our past failures and past sins of omission.

#### NEEDED—UNDERSTANDING AND COMPASSION

We are obliged, as followers of Christ, to be ambassadors of reconciliation. We must bring to our disorganized and demoralized urban centers a healing ministry, a ministry of understanding and compassion.

We need to probe beneath the violence and destruction of the recent riots and to try to understand their underlying causes. We must do everything within our power to remedy, without delay, the long-standing injustices and festering grievances which are the natural breeding ground of lawless rebellion.

We must come to realize that riots, however senseless they may be, are the frenzied cry of alienated people who are trying to tell us, out of a sense of enervating despair and utter hopelessness, that they want to be heard and want to participate as full-fledged American citizens in the economic, social and cultural life of our cities and our nation. Riots are a way—a completely irrational way, if you will, but for some people, unfortunately, the only way they can think of—to get their message to the rest of us who have long since achieved the rights and benefits and privileges which they are now determined, after many generations of neglect and delay, to achieve for themselves and their children.

We Christians, following the example of our Lord and Master who had compassion on the multitude and showed a special predilection for the poor and underprivileged, must listen humbly and attentively to this desperate call from the festering slums of America and must repentantly strive to see the hand of God's judgment in the shattering events of recent days.

We must be willing to acknowledge our own responsibility for perpetuating a system which sooner or later, as the recent riots have tragically demonstrated, was inevitably bound to erupt in violence.

We must honestly recognize and admit that we have not done many of the things that we should have been doing and have too often done things which we ought not to have been doing in the field of social justice.

#### TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE

Our efforts to eliminate segregated slum housing have been feeble. Our support of desperately needed programs of job training and job opportunities for unemployed Negroes in our ghettos has been far less than adequate. Our education system throughout the nation moves at a snail's pace in its faltering efforts to readjust to the rapidly changing situation in our crowded urban centers and to provide the kind of education needed in the inner city. Our programs of urban renewal have not been designed primarily to meet the needs of disadvantaged low income families. Too often, to the contrary, these families have been the victims rather than the beneficiaries of urban renewal. Our welfare programs have too often been paternalistic, demeaning, and inadequate and have weakened family life.

We have tolerated the commercial exploitation of ghetto residents by excessively high prices, inflated credit rates, and inferior products. We have been too insensitive to the intimidation of inner city residents and too slow to develop appropriate community relations programs in our law enforcement and other governmental agencies.

We have too often taken it for granted, all

too paternalistically, that we, as outsiders, know what is best for people in the ghetto. We have not fully understood that they need and want—desperately want—to participate in the making of decisions which affect their lives; that they need and want to find a sense of dignity and human worth in responsibly working out their own destiny. We have too readily assumed that we have a "model" city, unmindful of the fact that for tens of thousands of our fellow citizens the nation's capital is a blighted ghetto.

#### INTERFAITH ACTION

I have already noted that I see some hope in the fact that so many Christians—and so many of our fellow citizens of other faiths—are approaching the current crisis in this spirit of honest self-examination and sincere repentance. This is a good beginning, but we must now be prepared to pay the price of our religious convictions. As the President has pointed out, "This is not a time for angry reaction. It is a time for action, starting with legislative action to improve life in our cities."

In response to this challenge, we should immediately adopt certain priority measures designed to meet the immediate crisis and must do so, in the words of the President, "not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience." At the national level, we need, at the very minimum, dramatic and far-reaching improvements in the anti-poverty program of the Federal government, whatever the cost of these improvements. We also need a far-reaching program of Federal public works to provide employment for the great mass of unemployed Negro youth and a vastly expanded health and welfare program, together with an adequate program of rent supplements.

#### LOCAL NEEDS

Here at the local level we need:

An adequate system of local self government.

An increased budget for our public schools. A Model Cities program.

A substantial increase in the number of low and moderate income housing units either at the Bolling Air Force Base or at the National Training School site.

All of these legislative programs will cost money and may call for an increase of taxes. Let us not selfishly reject them for this reason and, above all, let us not use the costly war in Vietnam as a feeble excuse or rationalization for postponing action on them in the Congress. We are not faced with a choice between guns and butter—between the tragic war in Vietnam and a vast program of domestic, social and economic reform. Whatever the cost of the war, we have no choice but to meet our responsibilities here at home. To refuse to do so and to rationalize our refusal in the name of the war, would be a tragic distortion of the meaning of true patriotism and might well result in a national disaster much worse than any defeat which we have ever suffered in a time of war.

Needless to add, the list of legislative reforms referred to above is not meant to be exhaustive, nor is it meant to suggest that legislation alone can be expected to solve the present crisis. On the contrary, private initiative is absolutely indispensable on many fronts. We therefore appeal to the business community, to organized labor, realtors, investors and every other influential group in the private economy to begin to look for new and imaginative methods of helping to solve the explosive problems of our blighted cities. In turn, we solemnly pledge the full support of the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of Washington in this common effort to make up for lost time and to develop "a public order built on steady progress in meeting the needs of our people."

Faithfully yours in Christ.

#### HEADSTART PROGRAM IN MINNESOTA

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, every Senator is familiar with the lengthy list of examples cited repeatedly by misguided critics who are not interested in getting all the facts on the overall national poverty effort before condemning it.

Gerold F. Chapman is not such a critic. Mr. Chapman, assistant to the publisher of the Marshall, Minn., Messenger, believes in getting the facts first, and his award-winning newspaper, the Messenger, is better for it.

In an editorial published June 24, Mr. Chapman reports on a visit to a Headstart program of the Western Community Action agency in Lyon, Lincoln, and Redwood Counties. It was a trip he could have avoided had he been content, as he puts it, "to sit back and call it another tax drain." Instead, Mr. Chapman is now convinced that "Headstart is well worth the money."

Mr. President, I commend this excellent column to the Senate and to other readers of the RECORD and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### HEADSTART: TAX DOLLARS WELL SPENT

According to Western Community Action, the Headstart Program in Lyon, Lincoln and Redwood counties cost the federal government \$33,599. If you would have told me that six months ago I would have labeled it "another giveaway".

With what little I knew about it, I couldn't figure out how W.C.A. would decide what children needed a headstart and how they would find them. Besides it was a lot easier to sit back and call it another tax drain.

Well, they did find the children and the program is going into its third week at six schools in the three-county area. This writer visited one of them Friday.

Imagine my surprise when I recognized some of the kids . . . children who I know are shy and who need the opportunity to get used to a group situation. These are the same kids who give kindergarten teachers fits when they start school.

Why? Because they're scared to death. For one reason or another they haven't had the opportunity to adjust to being all alone in a large group. That's why they cry for weeks when thrust into kindergarten. Headstart will change this.

Headstart has been going on nationwide for three years. This is the first class in Marshall. If you would like to see how the kids are responding to it, stop out to West Side Grade School some morning.

You'll find 40 happy, enthusiastic youngsters playing, coloring, listening and learning. Believe me, they are having the time of their life and it will pay off when they start school.

Without Headstart, some of these youngsters would be a long step behind in school. Without it, they could very well be the drop-outs of the future.

Now, about that cost, \$33,599 is a lot of money. But listen to what it pays for. Out of that sum, 200 children are transported to and from six different schools; 200 hot meals are served daily for six weeks; teachers, assistants, cooks and nurses are paid in all six schools; and every child gets a dental and physical examination.

In some cases, corrective work is done. In addition to all this, the salary of the project

director and a social worker are included in the budget.

If 200 youngsters can get the headstart they need, then our tax dollars are being well spent. After seeing the program in action, I think Headstart is well worth the money.

#### INTERNATIONAL DRUM CORPS WEEK

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it is a pleasure to salute the members of the drum and bugle corps on the occasion of the celebration of International Drum Corps Week during September 2 to 9.

The drum corps, with its music and pageantry, has a special appeal to teenagers. It is a fine outlet for their youthful energy and channels their high spirits and love of competition into a wholesome and worthwhile activity.

Everybody loves a parade, especially when it includes a drum and bugle corps. We thrill to their fine performance; the stirring music, the color and pageantry are enjoyed by performers and onlookers alike.

I am glad indeed to support International Drum Corps Week and am proud that New Jersey with about 20,000 participants is known as the "Drum Corps State."

#### THE CONSERVATION FOUNDATION NEWSLETTER ANALYZES AIR QUALITY ACT

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, on July 18 the Senate unanimously passed S. 780, the Air Quality Act of 1967. Of major importance to the Federal effort to control and abate air pollution, S. 780 is one of the most far-reaching and complex bills ever considered by the Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution.

Shortly after Senate action on S. 780, Marvin Zeldin, editor of the newsletter of the Conservation Foundation, wrote a concise and objective analysis of the legislation. I commend Mr. Zeldin for his excellent and clear analysis of the objectives and issues involved in this legislation and to call the article to the attention of the Senate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### UNITED STATES GETS NEW AUTHORITY, STATES LAST CHANCE TO ACT IN NEW AIR POLLUTION CONTROL BILL PASSED BY SENATE

The 90th Congress is going to concede the failure of state and local governments to prevent and control air pollution. It will do so by giving state and local governments one last chance, and a deadline, to act—and by empowering the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to take action if the states fail again. The result could be a cleaner and healthier environment.

From the first relatively weak legislation enacted in 1955, federal programs to deal with air pollution have been built on the premise that air pollution is a problem for state and local control. But after 12 years and millions of hopeful words:

Only 14 states have started to implement their authority to adopt air quality and emission standards.

Fewer than 100 local governments have air pollution control programs in operation. Only one-third of the 212 standard metro-

politan statistical areas in the nation are served by meaningful air pollution control programs.

There is not a single effective interstate air pollution control program in the nation.

Much of the technological know-how which we possess is not being applied to control air pollution.

Every major metropolitan area in the country has an air pollution problem—and it's growing worse virtually everywhere as tons of pollutants continue to pour into the air.

The new legislative approach was unanimously approved this month by the Senate Public Works Committee, after extensive hearings by its subcommittee on air and water pollution, headed by Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine. The bill (S. 780, as amended) then passed the Senate July 18 by a vote of 88-0. Its major provisions:

1. *The bill gives the federal government authority to seek an immediate court injunction to stop air pollution which presents "an imminent and substantial endangerment to the health of persons" if the appropriate state or local authorities have not acted.*

This provision empowers the federal government to act in such emergencies as last Thanksgiving Day's temperature inversion which trapped pollutants over metropolitan New York City. If the city or state failed to act, the federal government could, under the new language, get court orders to close down factories and incinerators, stop all open burning, shut down power plants burning high sulfur content coal or oil, and keep cars off the roads until the emergency passed. Also, this provision could conceivably allow the federal government to go to court to shut down a plan pouring noxious fumes into the air over any inhabited area, be there 100 or 1 million persons.

Would this provision be used? Muskie told a press conference he thought it unlikely. But he added that "sometimes threats are as valuable as anything."

2. *The bill gives the states 15 months in which to adopt air quality standards and a plan to implement and enforce the standards.*

First, the federal government will designate "air quality control regions"—those parts of the country with serious air pollution problems. Each state could be covered by one or more regions. Some regions could cross state boundaries. And portions of states not afflicted with significant air pollution could be left uncovered.

Then HEW will develop and send the states "criteria of air quality" for the "protection of the public health and welfare." It will also give the states data on "recommended pollution control techniques" necessary to achieve the air quality set forth in the criteria.

After receiving the criteria and recommended control techniques, each state will then have: (1) 90 days in which to file a letter of intent with the federal government saying that it will adopt "ambient air quality standards" for designated control regions, after holding public hearings. (2) Then, 180 days to adopt the standards. (3) And then, another 180 days to adopt a plan for the implementation, maintenance, and enforcement of such standards of air quality.

Both the standards and the enforcement plan will be subject to approval by the federal government. If a state does not file a letter of intent, or if the air quality standards it does adopt are deemed inadequate, the federal government could issue standards to cover all or part of the state. (Air pollution control is thus evolving as water pollution control did two years ago, when Congress gave states until June 30, 1967, to submit proposed water quality standards, subject to federal approval, for interstate waters.)

3. *The bill gives the federal government authority to take court action if a state fails to enforce air quality standards in designated control regions.*

After 180 days' notice, HEW is empowered to ask the U.S. Attorney General to bring suit to stop any violation of the standards. Until control regions are designated, criteria issued, and standards created by state or federal action, the old abatement machinery will continue to prevail. The new bill modifies this existing machinery to permit all "interested parties" to participate in the formal conference stage of the abatement procedure. Today only parties asked to participate by a local, state or interstate control agency can do so. The new provision gives alleged polluters, as well as conservation and other civic organizations, the right to present their views at the conference stage.

The abatement machinery in the existing law grinds slowly. Presumably the new emergency power outlined in item 1 above could minimize the frequency of critical threats to health while the new criteria and standards provisions are being implemented.

What the Senate Public Works Committee bill does not include—and what has drawn widespread emphasis in the press—is what the Johnson Administration proposed with great fanfare early this year: *national industrial emission standards.*

HEW spokesmen urged national emission standards as a way to end city-to-city and state-to-state differences in controls of industrial plants and as a way to remove the economic temptation for industry to play one area off against another, or even leave or avoid areas with stringent regulation of emissions.

At a press conference at which he unveiled the new bill, Senator Muskie explained why his subcommittee and then the full Public Works Committee rejected the national emissions approach: "The Administration itself did not propose uniform national emission standards but rather minimal national standards. Clearly, therefore, there would be local variations which would not eliminate economic disadvantages."

Muskie also noted that under his committee's bill, HEW "has authority to deal effectively with any industry which, by its nature, is a danger to health and welfare, in any location."

In addition, Muskie said, "national emission standards—relocation of pollution sources, fuel substitutes, etc.—which may be essential in serious problem areas in the absence of effective technology." Furthermore, "wise use of capital resources dictates that the first priority for the pollution control dollar is in those areas where the problem is most critical. National emission standards would give equal priority to critical areas and areas where no problem presently exists."

The bill does offer a sop to supporters of national emission standards; it directs HEW to undertake a two-year study "on the need for and effect of national emission standards for stationary sources."

#### CLEANER AIR AHEAD?

Air pollution control and legislative experts in Washington estimate that the Senate bill will result in enforceable air quality standards no later than 62 months after enactment—even if a state or local control agency or polluter used all procedural and due process delays inherent in the legislation. Cleaner air could thus be five years and two months away.

In its 1963 amendments to the Clean Air Act, Congress directed HEW to issue criteria on the harmful effects of air pollutants, singly or in combination, for the guidance of state and local control agencies.

Air quality criteria, as explained recently by an HEW spokesman, sum up known effects of pollutants in the atmosphere. They describe the effects of pollutants on health, vegetation, materials, visibility. Criteria reveal the lowest level of exposure at which specific deleterious effects have been reported. Criteria provide a base on which state and