

Editorials

A Strategy For Warren County

While we sympathize with Warren County residents faced with the burial of 60,000 tons of roadside dirt laced with cancer-causing PCBs in a dump in their county, we also see that the demonstrations will continue to be fruitless.

The PCBs are going in the dump site. We don't believe there is much that can be done to stop that. Consequently, once the emotion, born of fear and uncertainty, dies down, and when the well-intentioned, but mostly publicity conscious civil rights leaders leave for another cause, Warren County's newly elected county commissioners should develop a more workable strategy to deal with the problem.

Realistically, why are the PCBs in Warren County? The technical people say because the soil conditions there are ideal. The citizens of Warren County say the dump site is there because their county is poor and predominantly black.

Chances are both of them are partially right.

But we suspect that the basic criteria had much more to do with money than with either technology or race.

Where else in the Piedmont area, within reasonable trucking distance of the 210 miles of polluted roadsides can you find 140 acres of land that is not only undeveloped, but with no concrete plans for industrial, commercial or residential development?

We daresay that one would be hardput to find that particular condition any place in this area other than in Warren County.

Thus the state took the federal government's \$1.52 million and put the toxic dirt in a place where there is no apparent economic loss to the state as a result of this selection.

Thus, the Warren County Commission, with its newly elected black majority, and the county's recently elected state legislator — Frank Ballance — must put their heads together immediately to develop an ongoing strategy for the county and how it will handle this dump once it is sealed.

In the final analysis, the county government faces but two important questions regarding the toxic waste dump. These questions are: what can be done to protect the county's citizens from potential hazards associated with the dump site? also, how can the local government use the dump to enhance its industrial and commercial development position?

We suggest the following:

- * The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) officials say they will monitor the test wells on the site twice annually once the landfill is sealed. The County Commissioners should propose that EPA train a couple of county employees to test the wells more often than that.

- * The county owns 120 acres of the 140 acre tract, and the Commissioners should put together a package that calls for the federal and state governments to help finance the construction of a toxic waste management research facility on that 120 acres. The rationale is simple. North Carolina is the nation's 11th highest generator of industrial toxic wastes. In many respects, there is still much to learn about how to manage and dispose of these wastes. A research and testing management facility in Warren County would not only serve the people of Warren County, but would serve well the state and the nation.

- * Finally, we suggest that the county commissioners develop a rating system that shows what impact the PCB dump has on the county's ability to attract industry and commercial interests to locate in their county. If it can be clearly shown that the dump has cost the county some money in industrial and commercial development, then the state and federal governments should be held liable for that.

....And Furthermore

In addition to what we have mentioned above, we believe the Warren County residents should take other steps as well to minimize the impact of the PCBs.

The new County Commissioners, as soon as they take office in December, should direct the County Health Department to develop a proposal to have every resident within five miles of the landfill site given a complete, free, health examination.

The purpose of the examination will be to have a specific health profile of the people living immediately adjacent to the landfill.

Thereafter, each of these residents should get free, annual medical examinations, and at the first hint of any deterioration of their health, a series of precautions should be moved into place, to make sure the PCBs don't cause a cancer epidemic.

We believe such a health monitoring and evaluation program should be planned for a minimum of ten years.

Finally, we also believe that the new Warren County Commissioners should move quickly to make sure their county cannot easily become a toxic wasteland. They should:

- * Adopt an ordinance that makes it illegal to sell property for toxic waste disposal without adequate public hearing and possibly a referendum. This ordinance should cover sales to private entities as well as to public agencies.

- * Adopt a resolution that allows the board of commissioners to automatically challenge any effort by the state to condemn Warren County property for this purpose, and to take the matter to court.

- * Instruct the county manager to begin putting aside a sum of money in each county budget to help finance the effort to protect themselves from further toxic waste intrusion.

We believe if all the citizens of Warren County take a positive and sustained approach to this problem, they can not only turn it around so that the PCBs are not terribly detrimental, but they can also set an outstanding example of how to take lemons and make lemonade.

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who propose to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean's majestic waves without the awful roar of its waters.

Frederick Douglass

To Be Equal

What's Behind "The New Federalism"

By John E. Jacob
Executive Director, National Urban League

The Administration's push for its "New Federalism" continues. Having modified its original proposal to meet some of the misgivings of the governors, it is pushing ahead with its plan to turn federal programs over to the states.

Despite the jockeying on issues such as medical costs and welfare, the real guts of the "New Federalism" lie in turning more mundane programs to state control, programs like job training, transportation aid, and many others.

This would be accomplished in two steps. First, the programs would be taken over by the states but financed by Washington initially. Then the federal money would be phased out and the states would have to finance those programs — or simply drop them.

It doesn't take much imagination to figure out what will happen. Some states will try to carry essential programs; others will be only too happy to end them and let their beneficiaries — typically the poorest citizens — fend for themselves.

The ideological underpinnings of the "New Federalism" include a belief that the national government should play a far smaller role. This is often cloaked in the fiction that when decisions and programs are confined to the local level, citizen participation is greatest.

That is a fiction because the real world outside the old civics books just does not work that way.

Federal programs mandate citizen participation, allow for wide discussion of proposed regulations, and are subject to oversight by Congress and the executive branch. They have proved more responsive to public needs than locally-run programs typically have been.

Rather than having wider citizen participation, local programs generally are controlled by narrow and powerful local interest groups. While on the national level such powerful blocs often cancel each other out, on the local level the group with the greatest financial and political clout dominates.

That means poor people and cities often wind up with the short end of the stick when states run programs instead of the federal government. And even on the city government level, in most cases funds and programs are managed for the benefit of just about everyone except the poor.

So the rhetoric about strengthening local democracy has very little to do with the real world where poor neighborhoods don't get the police protection, the transportation facilities, or the health care facilities enjoyed by the more affluent areas.

The presence of federally-financed and controlled programs helps redress the balance. The New Federalism would reverse that and lodge all power with the state and local elites that have always sacrificed the poor to other interests.

The New Federalism is really about the elimination of programs in transportation, health, job training, and many other areas, not just the transfer of those programs to state control. Its authors are fully aware that many states will simply drop those programs when the federal funds disappear.

The New Federalism then, virtually invites the states to compete with each other to pressure the poor to migrate to the few remaining states likely to attempt to preserve some sort of civilized standards of aid to the poor.

It is strange that this "New Federalism" should emerge at a time when it has never been more clear that our major national problems transcend localities and regions. Poverty is not an Atlanta problem; transportation is not a Los Angeles problem; job training, not a Boston problem — they are all national problems transcending specific cities and regions.

To substitute fifty state policies, standards a bureaucracies for single, unified national programs seems to be the opposite of enlightened conservatism.

Make no mistake about it — the "New Federalism" is no abstract reshuffling of authority between the states and Washington. It is a disastrous new phase of a war on the poor and a new means of dividing a nation that should be striving for greater unity and common purpose.

An Independent View From Capitol Hill

U.S. Complicity In Massacre In Lebanon

By Gus Savage
Member of Congress

In response to the massacre of more than 1,000 defenseless Palestinians in the refugee camps at Sabra and Chatila, on the outskirts of Beirut, President Reagan ordered U.S. troops to return to Beirut, with French and Italian peacekeeping soldiers, to encourage the Israeli army to withdraw.

According to generally accepted reports, Israel invaded the West section of this capital city of Lebanon, contrary to its agreement which secured the withdrawal of PLO forces, and with Cabinet approval permitted Israeli equipped and trained "Lebanese militiamen" to travel the some 35 miles from the Lebanese-Israeli border and enter the camps with knowledge of their intent for a murderous rampage which lasted more than 36 hours.

According to a *Los Angeles Times* report, Israeli soldiers "ringed the camps with armor and sealed off all escape routes... The uniformed (Lebanese) militiamen wore Israeli helmets, were armed with Israeli guns and were taking orders from the Israelis... Entire families were slain... Mothers died clutching their babies... All men appeared to be shot in the back... Israeli soldiers stationed less than 100 yards away did not respond to the sound of constant gunfire or the sight of truck loads of bodies being taken away from the camps."

The assassinated Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel and Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon had previously indicated their intent to "eliminate" the re-

maining-PLO supporters.

An on-the-scene UPI report moaned, "Some looked no older than 6 or 7... They were murdered... Everyone who was in the camp when the killers moved through was simply mowed down... in civilian clothes... They were victims of pure hatred."

This is one time that I substantially agree with the Reagan Administration's reaction. However, it should have been taken as part of a United Nations force in order to reduce its risks, to increase its stability, and in respect for existing East-West world differences.

Indeed, our government should have discontinued military assistance to Israel upon Israel's invasion of Lebanon three months ago. We should not aid or condone aggression.

The most sophisticated fighter-bombers, the latest missiles, and the most destructive weapons used by Israel to kill and maim thousands of defenseless old men, women and children in Lebanon are provided by our government with our tax dollars — \$2.5 billion this fiscal year alone. These funds could have been much better spent at home, to promote constructive employment for our jobless, education for our youths, and security for our elderly and needy.

I have consistently spoken out and voted with the distinct minority in Congress which has sought such a change generally in our federal priorities. In fact, I am proud to be one of the few co-

sponsors of a resolution proposed in Congress last June calling for Israeli military forces to withdraw then from Lebanon, although my colleagues have not had the courage or conscience to even consider it.

Moreover, it is to the shame of the so-called organized peace movement in America that it has not vehemently expressed its support for such demands upon Israel and our government in the face of the atrocities we all have seen on our living room television screens almost nightly for 15 long weeks. It is further evidence of the moral bankruptcy of America's racist white liberal and organized labor movements previously expressed in their opposition, neutrality or efforts to weaken black goals in the Bakke case, school busing for integration and extension of a strengthened Voting Rights Act.

Justice and equality demand that we back the Palestinians' insistence upon the same right to a homeland with secure borders, within the former Palestinian/Jewish area that we support for the Israelis. America must recognize the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people, the PLO, just as we do the Begin government of Israel — and no longer give to the 3 million Israelis more economic aid than we do to the over 300 million starving black people of the 47 sub-Saharan nations of Africa combined.

We must become more even-handed and fair-minded in our Middle East policy.

Business In The Black

Minds Awash In Blood

Watch White Male Unemployment

By Charles E. Belle

The U.S. economy is beginning to hemorrhage. Having seen the look of hunger and hopelessness among young black Americans, it's a shame and a pity in a nation of plenty. Poverty is their only current prospect. At least for the next 12 months. Many people are hoping the economy will eventually turn around by year's end. Evidently they are unaware of our elephant-like economic direction. It's down — as in deep. Do not believe for one moment that the end is in sight. It is questionable whether or not the administration will be able to even identify the tea leaves.

A touching quote is that "a mind is a terrible thing to waste." But then again if you are mindless or one minded, maybe you do not care. Consider that unemployment is now growing in white America's ranks, reaching almost nine per cent for white males. Make sure you keep an eye on the movement of a more pointed nerve cell, that is the unemployment figure of white American married males (WAMM). When this WAMM unemployment rate runs into double digits things will get done in the White House and Congress.

Cries for help are already being heard around the White House. Weidenbaum, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers has been banished to the midlands. Martin Feldstein, Harvard University economics professor and captain of the capital formation theory, is to be the new chairman of the President's Economic Council. Another crack in the ultra conservative encasement of the White House.

When it doesn't work, it hurts. Half of the White House goals have gotten bogged down. Disseminating its theoretical thoughts to promote more savings and investments, in hopes of its leading an economic revitalization and new wave of

entrepreneurship in America.

Instead, high unemployment is leading to record child abuse. A cynic might observe black American youth beat up on others while white American kids get beat up. Alas, by their own parents. In some states where unemployment has risen rapidly, cases of child abuse have more than tripled. Taking out the fading myth of middle class on their own children. Considering "a mind is a terrible thing to waste" compare the dual effect on body and soul. Some quick review of family finances find that after adjustment for inflation, median family money income declined by 3.5% between 1980-81. American households have been marching back in time. Indications are that 1982 will reveal and even faster regression for the American household. Help is not on the way, in fact, it is stumbling to a stop.

The American economy is composed of a large number of small businesses and a small number of large businesses. General Motors can barely generate a profit on \$60 billion in sales. Saving grace for the black American group has got to be small businesses. A total of almost 11 million small businesses provide nearly 38% of all the goods and services produced in the economy, the Gross National Product, GNP. Small businesses are getting smaller in numbers and sizes, especially in retail trade and manufacturing.

Small businesses must fight to overcome continual high interest rates, inflation and foreign imports. Today's small businesses have but a 37% chance of being around four years and a less than 10% chance of surviving ten years. It will take time, quite a few more months and a 10% unemployment figure for white American married males to reach the mythical minds of this administration that there is blood in the streets.

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