

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
ENVIRONMENT, AND RELATED  
AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS  
ACT, 2006

SPEECH OF

**HON. DENNIS J. KUCINICH**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, May 19, 2005*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration on the bill (H.R. 2361) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior, environment, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2006, and for other purposes:

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Chairman, the idea behind environmental justice is simple. People of color and people of limited means bear more than their fair share of environmental problems—like exposure to pollution—and are denied more than their fair share of environmental benefits—like access to natural areas or clean water.

It is also important to point out that if you were to look at both race and poverty to see which one would best predict locations of environmental contaminants in the air or water, you would find race to be the better predictor, according to studies dating back to 1987.

Here's another way to look at it: Many studies have found that middle-income people of color live near more contamination than low-income white people. Enforcement of environmental laws is also less prevalent and weaker in communities of color. Penalties for hazardous waste violations were found to be roughly 500 percent higher when those violations happened in mostly white communities than when they happened in communities of color.

In 1992, then President Bush created an Office of Environmental Justice in the EPA precisely to begin to deal with this problem. In 1994, President Clinton expanded the directive's scope and applicability, again, in recognition of the seriousness of the problem.

But now, the Executive Order and the EPA's Office of Environmental Justice are being ignored to death by the Administration. The National Environmental Justice Advisory Council is withering away. The EPA Inspector General in 2004 found that the EPA failed to comply with the Executive Order and changed their interpretation of the order to avoid an emphasis on people of color and low-income people. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found in 2002 that federal agencies did not incorporate environmental justice into their core missions as directed by the Executive Order. Congress must step in to restore these efforts and take them to the next level.

The Hastings amendment would do exactly that. Every community, every person deserves equal access to clean air, clean water, natural areas, and healthy food. I urge my colleagues to support the Hastings amendment.

UNDERSTANDING THE LIFE AND  
TIMES OF MALCOLM X

**HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, May 23, 2005*

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise again today to draw the attention of this Chamber to the importance of this day in African-American history. Today marks what would have been the 80th birthday of Malcolm X, one of the more revolutionary and controversial leaders of the Civil Rights Movement.

Malcolm X was born on May 19, 1925. It was a time in American history where the opportunities of African-Americans were limited due to segregation and racial intolerance. He nonetheless was born to parents that were, not only proud of the black race, but instilled that pride in their politics, actions, and, most importantly, their children. He learned at an early age about the challenges that black men would face just because of the color of their skin and found ways to rise above those obstacles.

Too often, historians, social scientists, and the American public have attempted to pigeon-hole Malcolm into a singular character. When they do so, they miss the true man, his life, and his experiences. Malcolm X's personal story is a tale of many challenges, many conflicting events, many goals, and many aspirations. He was not simply the young son of a slain Black Nationalist or the young black student discouraged by his white teachers in the 1930s. Neither would he only be the street thug and hustler of 1940s nor the incarcerated felon of the 1950s. Nor was he just the influential minister of the Nation of Islam or the worldly Muslim of the Organization of Afro-American Unity who loved his white brethren. He was all of these persons and more.

Malcolm Little, Detroit Red, Malcolm X, and El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz were the same individual, seeking a goal of racial justice for himself, his family, and his people. He walked his journey in life in the same way that many blacks of his time have and as many do today. The education, radicalism, determination, and sense of justice that Malcolm fought for in his life represented the thoughts of blacks throughout the world then and today. To box him into any one of those personas would be a failure to understand his life and experiences and those of his time.

We should all take time this day and in the days to come to reflect on the challenges and accomplishments of Malcolm X. To this goal, I would like to alert this august chamber to the perceptive exhibition at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture at the New York Public Library in Harlem. This new exhibit, "Malcolm X: A Search for Truth," opened in commemoration of the birthday of Malcolm X and provides insight into his personal story, development, and journey.

I would like to submit in the RECORD the following New York Times review on the value

and insight of this exhibition to understanding Malcolm X. On the occasion of his 80th birthday, it is a fitting tribute that we honor this extraordinary individual and realize the significance of his life journey.

THE PERSONAL EVOLUTION OF A CIVIL RIGHTS  
GIANT

May 19, 2005—In the 1940's, Malcolm Little a k a Detroit Red (and, later, a k a Malcolm X, a k a El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz) wanted to impress co-conspirators in petty crime with his ruthlessness and daring. He loaded his pistol with a single bullet, twirled the cylinder, put the muzzle to his head and fired. The gesture demonstrated that he was unafraid of death and therefore not afraid of much else. And when he recounts the story in his 1965 autobiography ("as told to" Alex Haley), the reader is also impressed—though evidence of his brilliance, fury and self-destructiveness is, by then, hardly necessary.

A new exhibition about Malcolm X opens at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture today (which would have been his 80th birthday). And though it doesn't mention this theatrical gesture in its survey of one of the most significant black leaders in American history, Malcolm's public displays of passion and position sometimes seem as courageous, dangerous, and even, yes, foolish, as his game of Russian roulette.

The exhibition, "Malcolm X: A Search for Truth," seeks to map out the major themes of his life in a "developmental journey" reflecting his "driving intellectual quest for truth." It offers evidence that has been unavailable: personal papers, journals, letters, lecture outlines—rescued from being sold at auction in San Francisco and on eBay in 2002.

Those papers, which the Shabazz family had lost control of when monthly fees for a commercial storage facility were left unpaid, were returned to them, and then lent for 75 years to the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center in Harlem. The documents are lightly sampled in this first public showing, but they will eventually offer greater insight into Malcolm X's developmental journey: from child of a Black Nationalist father murdered in his prime, to a star elementary school pupil in a largely white school; to a hustler and criminal; to a convert, while in prison, to Elijah Muhammad's eccentric brand of Islam; to a radical minister who built Muhammad's Nation of Islam into a major national movement, declaring the white race to be the devil incarnate; and finally, to a political leader who, cut off by Muhammad, turned to traditional Islam and was rethinking his views, just as he was assassinated in New York's Audubon Ballroom in 1965 at the age of 39.

His brief life stands as a challenge no matter one's perspective, an overweening presence in the roiling currents of American racial debates. After all, Islam is a force in the American black community partly because of Malcolm X (who, after his 1964 hajj to Mecca, changed his name to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz). Advocates of reparations for slavery echo his arguments. Less radically, so do believers in the encouragement of black-run businesses and schools. And by seeking to internationalize race, particularly in the mid-1960's, Malcolm X helped set the stage for the doctrines of Third

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

Worldism, which asserts that Western enslavement of dark-skinned peoples is played out on a world scale.

Even those who dissent from such views can recognize in Malcolm X's fearsome intelligence and self-discipline a kind of developmental quest, ultimately left incomplete. The exhibition, which also includes material from the Schomburg and other collections, tells that story chronologically, using textual summaries and photographs to create a context for the personal papers.

Those papers include letters from Malcolm to his brother, Philbert Little, describing his first embrace of the Nation of Islam, as well as a disturbing sequence of letters about his final embrace, suggesting how Muhammad tried to rein him in. And above the display cases, the walls are lined with photographs chronicling the life: an elementary-school photograph of Malcolm, glimpses of the bodies of Nation of Islam followers killed by Los Angeles police in 1962, views of halls packed with devoted listeners, and finally, glimpses of the fallen chairs and stark disorder of the Audubon Ballroom after Malcolm X was murdered. An epilogue to the exhibition displays court drawings of the trial of the accused assassins, along with objects found on his body, including a North Vietnamese stamp showing an American helicopter getting shot down.

But, despite the new personal documents, there is something familiar about the exhibition, which does not offer new interpretations and misses an opportunity to delve more deeply into the difficulties in Malcolm's quest. In his autobiography, Malcolm X spoke of the importance of speaking the "raw, naked truth" about the nature of race relations. He also recognized one of the tragic consequences of enslavement: the erasure of the past. The name "X" was provided to initiates as a stand in for a lost original name. Names could also be readily changed because they were little more than expressions of newly formed identities.

In fact, invention became crucial. For Malcolm X, it was a matter of control: mastering one's past, determining one's character and, finally, controlling one's future. Documents describe how members of the Nation of Islam were expelled for any backsliding, including adultery. In one letter, Malcolm almost provides a motto for his kind of charismatic discipline:

"For one to control one's thoughts and feelings means one can actually control one's atmosphere and all who walks into its sphere of influence."

But this also means that the truth can seem less crucial than the kind of identity being constructed, the kind of past being invented. After reading the autobiography, we learn from Alex Haley's epilogue that Malcolm actually confessed that his story of Russian roulette was not what it seemed: He had palmed the bullet. Everybody had been hustled, the readers included. The adoption of Nation of Islam ideology, with its invented history and its evil scientist named Yacub breeding the white race, is another kind of hustle.

Curiously, the exhibition itself doesn't make enough of such distinctions. In a wall display, labeled "Messengers of Hope and Liberation," major figures like W. E. B. Du Bois have no more stature than such figures as Wallace D. Fard. Fard was the greater influence on Malcolm X, since he created the Nation of Islam mythology, but he may not have had any African heritage at all and, as Karl Evanzz argues in his recent book, "The Messenger: The Rise and Fall of Elijah Muhammad," he had even encouraged the practice of human sacrifice.

As if reluctant to be too judgmental, there is also not enough explanation of the quarrel

with Elijah Muhammad, though the photographer Gordon Parks quoted Malcolm X saying, just before his death: "I did many things as a Muslim that I'm sorry for now. I was a zombie then—like all Muslims—I was hypnotized, pointed in a certain direction and told to march. Well, I guess a man's entitled to make a fool of himself if he's ready to pay the cost. It cost me 12 years."

That kind of statement is too blunt for this exhibition, which makes suggestions but seems reluctant to draw too many distinctions. But even the differing interpretations of Malcolm's final transformation might have been outlined with more clarity. It is intriguing to read, in one 1964 letter from Malcolm's office to Martin Luther King Jr., an expression of apology for "unkind things" said in the past. And the trial of the accused assassins from the Nation of Islam merits more explanation, particularly because a conspiracy theory of F.B.I. involvement has long simmered, even as Muhammad was known to have encouraged threats against Malcolm X and had already sent one disciple to kill him. The quest for truth, surely, goes on, but part of it means facing squarely the extent of certain kinds of hustle.

"Malcolm X: A Search for Truth" is at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 515 Lenox Avenue, at 135th Street, Harlem, (212) 491-2200, through Dec. 31.

#### 24TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

HON. PETER J. VISCLOSKY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, May 23, 2005*

Mr. VISCLOSKY. Mr. Speaker, it is my distinct pleasure to announce that the Indian Medical Association will be celebrating their 24th year of establishment by hosting a gala dinner and banquet on Friday, June 3, 2005 at the Halls of St. George, in Schererville, Indiana.

The Indian Medical Association was created 24 years ago to promote goodwill and bonding friendships among local physicians through an exchange of medical knowledge and other healthcare related issues. They are dedicated to providing affordable and quality health care. The Indian Medical Association is also actively involved in patient care, health care delivery, charitable work, hosting educational seminars for physicians, and health fairs for the general public in the Northwest Indiana region.

In 2004, the Indian Medical Association offered scholarships to medical, nursing, and high school students. In January 2005, they raised more than \$100,000 for the Tsunami Relief Fund. The Indian Medical Association is a great asset to Northwest Indiana. This organization has committed itself to providing quality service to the residents of Indiana's First Congressional District in the medical community and has demonstrated exemplary service in its cultural, scholastic, and charitable endeavors.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that you and my other distinguished colleagues join me in commending the Indian Medical Association for their outstanding contributions. Their commitment to improving the quality of life for the people of Northwest Indiana and throughout the world is truly inspirational and should be recognized and commended.

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*Thursday, May 19, 2005*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 2361.

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Chairman, more than ever before, our wastewater treatment systems are failing. Effluent from wastewater treatment plants is contaminating our rivers with chemicals like Triclosan—a germ toxin added to countless consumer products; hormones such as the active ingredient in estrogen therapy; the insect repellent DEET; and an anti-epileptic drug (Environmental Science and Technology, 36 (6), 1202–1211, 2002 <http://pubs.acs.org/cgi-bin/jtextd?esthag/36/6/html/es011055j.html>).

As these chemicals are released from treatment plants into our rivers, lakes and oceans, they are finding their way into the natural resources on which we heavily depend. New studies show that they are starting to show up in our drinking water ("Pollutants in New Jersey's Drinking Water," Environmental Science and Technology, December 8, 2004 ([http://pubs.acs.org/subscribe/journals/esthag-w/2004/dec/science/pt\\_nj.html](http://pubs.acs.org/subscribe/journals/esthag-w/2004/dec/science/pt_nj.html)); "Pharmaceutical Data Eludes Environmental Researchers," Environmental Science and Technology, March 16, 2005). A Baylor University study in Texas found a prescription drug in fish tissues ("Frogs, fish and pharmaceuticals a troubling brew" November 14, 2003 (<http://www.cnn.com/2003/TECH/science/11/14coolsc.frogs.fish/>)).

At the same time that these new challenges are emerging, we are still trying to overcome the well-established wastewater contaminants from aging and broken sewer systems that continue to contaminate water with E. coli and other water borne diseases. By EPA's 2003 estimate, the need for sewer upgrades alone is so great and so widespread that the funding required to alleviate it is \$181 billion ("Wastewater Treatment: Overview and Background," Congressional Research Service, February 7, 2005). In fact, the infrastructure is so old in many places that when it rains, wastewater treatment plants can't handle the increased volume. The result is that untreated or poorly treated sewage flows into our waters, causing our beaches to be closed in order to protect public health. Forty three percent of the communities dealing with this are on the Great Lakes, which holds 20% of the world's fresh water supply.

So what is the solution proposed by this Administration and Republican leadership in Congress? Reduce funding for wastewater infrastructure by \$350 million. Ohio alone would lose \$20 million in revenue and roughly 650 jobs from FY 05 if the proposed cuts to the Clean Water State Revolving Fund come to pass.

While the need to upgrade our wastewater infrastructure to deal with emerging problems increases, the proposed cuts in this bill take us in the opposite direction. Lets improve our health and the environment, not make it