

every other way, that isn't the direction some of us want to go. It is segregation in reverse. Some of us think that what the races need is more integration and more communication.

It seems to me that the thrust of the program—and I have your press release here in which you announced what you were going to do—is toward discrimination in reverse. It is a program that is directed at the minorities. It will make some people of the majority more upset than they otherwise would be when they see this article in the Post that an agency of Government is going to go out and direct its attention solely to minorities.

I would like to have your comment.

Mr. SAMUELS. First of all, I think we have covered that our effort is not certainly solely to minorities. It is an emphasis.

The second thing, Mr. Congressman, is that I would love nothing more than to face a country that was integrated and not segregated. And I would like to be part of any kind of positive program that we could do to bring that about. I think the reality is, they—the point that I have made and the point that I would like to emphasize is that we have a segregated inner city. And all the data indicates that this is a movement of the country, at least for a short period of time, that we are going to face. And building the apartments and the parks in the inner city without building the economy and the stores and the services in the inner city just does not make any sense.

And if you have been—and I am sure you have—in the inner cities of America like I have been, and you have seen the boarded up stores and the bombed out stores, I know you recognize that the reality is that they are not being rebuilt and they will not be rebuilt without more minority participation. I think the reality is that this has to be the first step in developing the country, and maybe the second step which the country may be more willing to face 10 or 12 years from now to move to a more integrated society.

Mr. BURTON. We can agree on the realities of the cities.

I recognize the problems. One can't drive through the streets of Washington and not recognize that there are problems.

I just want to say for the record that I have some concern about the direction of the program. If it is going to be a "segregated" program, I don't think it is good.

Mr. Samuels, I would like for you to repeat as best you can to the members of this committee the statement that you made before the present majority party platform committee regarding tax incentives for small business.

Mr. SAMUELS. Mr. Congressman, I am a great believer in incentive. I came to Washington as a great believer in tax incentives. I think we need incentives to move people where they should move and the economy where it serves the interest of the country. The differential is between tax incentives and grants. What worries me about tax incentives is that they don't show on one side of the ledger and they are just as expensive as if they were a grant on the other side. As a businessman I would like to see what I spend. And if tax incentives have the kind of controls in them to be sure that we know what we are spending and how effective we are spending it, I am for tax incentives.

Otherwise, I think a more effective tool very often is grants. And that is the only differential I made. I could believe that the Federal Gov-