

I notice in this article you said that the failure of all community action agencies to provide jobs, group housing, and tangible economic opportunities has led to a contamination and distortion of the services provided.

If my assumption is correct, even though this has happened to the action programs, you still support the idea. I would like to have you then explain how a community action agency ought to function and perhaps you could do this in two areas, one in the huge metropolitan center like New York where you are very familiar and, secondly, in some of the smaller cities which you must have observed.

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes, I would say although the model is not an exact fit, I would say that we should treat with the ghettoized areas, and I am mainly concerned with the cities—I don't know anything about rural poverty—but we should treat the ghettoized areas as we treat undeveloped countries.

I think this is a useful model to look at a place like Harlem or a place like the Hough district in Cleveland or the Watts district in Los Angeles as if, in effect, it was an underdeveloped kind of colonial situation and being to conceive of the kinds of programs that we would, in effect, mount if we were trying to develop this area.

This is why I put a particular stress on what I call economic development. I was very excited by the concept of economic opportunity. This was before I learned of the service emphasis that was rarely there, because I am convinced that the conditions of people in this impoverished area cannot be substantially altered by social services most of which focus on the individual, either the individual person or the individual family.

I believe that if we focus on the community as a whole, and I know that is a kind of global concept, but I think that we can spell it out a little bit. If we focus on the community as a whole, some things we are seeking directly in the service-type programs can be accomplished in kind of an indirect way.

One of the unfortunate consequences of the service approach is that many people in these areas just like other people do not like to be looked upon as cases, as a need of specialized sheltered-workshop-type programs and other manifestations that they are being stigmatized or set apart from the rest of us.

Mr. GIBBONS. I think I understand what you do not like and I would like to get to what you think specifically would work.

You described a program in Alabama that I am only vaguely familiar with from newspaper reports. Could you describe why you think this is a good program and why you think it will work and then let's go to Harlem and let's talk about what you think would actually work from a constructive point of view in Harlem.

Mr. MARSHALL. First of all, you are not talking about handouts to these people.

Mr. GIBBONS. Would you give a little background about the Alabama program and then explain how you think it will work.

Mr. MARSHALL. I have not seen the work program itself. I have seen only the newspaper reports of the program. As I understand it, it is going to allow the local farmers there to set up a variety of cooperative enterprises, income-producing enterprises which they, themselves, will run and manage.