

private investor deriving a private profit and even though black he would probably be taking it outside of the Harlem community because he would not be living there.

We are saying if this same enterprise were hooked in, it would be run as the usual commercial enterprise with all of the business procedures, but then the earnings, the profit, if you will, could then be turned into developing other local community enterprises, for example, day care centers, which are very greatly needed in this community.

Mr. GIBBONS. What you are talking about, then, is a closed corporation that would be controlled by the residents of the area that would take its profits and reinvest it in community services that were needed there?

Mr. MARSHALL. That is exactly it. The reason I say this is a tooling up for the big push ahead, I do believe that there is going to be massive rebuilding of these ghetto areas if only to keep the economy viable after the war spending ends.

Mr. GIBBONS. Do you believe fundamentally these ghettos in themselves are desirable? Should we move in America to make it possible to unghettoize people or should we attempt to keep them ghettoized?

Mr. MARSHALL. I would say without question we should move toward the breaking up of ghettos and work for the development of an open and free society.

I would add this is not going to happen simply because we wish it. I would add, also, that certain of the ghetto areas of our cities are very desirable areas in terms of their geography and other attributes and therefore we are not talking about the total dispersal of persons who are now ghettoized there.

This is a little subtle perhaps and I might be misunderstood, but I think there is a need for what you might call the internal development of the people in these ghettoized areas which probably can take place most effectively—I would insist on that—at the beginning if it were a kind of support itself, self-help operation.

I think a lot of the despair and powerlessness that people feel in these areas can best be assuaged if they have the opportunity to run their own affairs and really substantial and vital affairs.

I am not talking about sitting on community action boards. I am talking about running these enterprises, community service enterprises, local small foundations and the like.

The importance of this, I think, stems from a danger of what I call the possibility of the new colonialism, and that is conceivably that these massive new programs could come in, city rebuilding, and all kinds of new organizations from research and development corporations all the way down to management corporations that would run the new housing and what not and still the poor and the ghettoized could be excluded from parts of participation here.

So, although they would be getting the benefits of the new housing or might have some jobs at lower levels, they would still not be vitally participating in what I call the real American economy which is an equity economy where you have a feeling of participating by owning, by controlling, by sharing in the goods and resources of your community.

What I am saying right now is what we should be doing with the limited amount of money available is to begin to give people—and we