

Mr. GIBBONS. The gentleman raised a very interesting question. There was mention of this dissolution of the ghetto and you come right back and what we really have to do is strengthen the viability of the ghetto.

It seems to me it is conflicting. Maybe I don't thoroughly understand it. You say strengthen the institutions of the ghetto to make the ghetto hold together more and yet you have the subculture aspect.

Would you explain that a little bit?

Mr. MARSHALL. The guy who would run one of these organizations would not do so indefinitely. He may qualify more to run into a middle management job for General Motors or one of the other ordinary business organizations at which point more likely than not he would elect to move out of Harlem and could afford to move into nonsegregated suburban areas.

As I see it, we are not now offering effective opportunities to enable people to move out of the ghettos, to develop the skills on the large scale; of course, there is always a trickle of persons like myself who were fortunate to get a good education and can move out.

I think that is probably only about 10 percent. I am thinking of new areas where it would make it possible for a great number of people. There are almost 500,000 blacks in Harlem. Harlem is one of the best areas in terms of the topography. It is the only area where the granite goes down several hundred yards and so forth.

It is really the best area in the city left for development. What I am saying is that even if we wanted to, we are not going to disperse all of the blacks out of Harlem.

I think there is a vital role now for the people in Harlem to begin this process, which is not locking them in but giving a substantial number of them skills which are marketable not only in the local community enterprises but in the largest society.

So, in that sense, this approach is not locking people into the ghetto but in effect making the ghetto more desirable as an area conceivably so that others might desire to move in and also at the same time developing skills for people that makes it possible for them if they wanted to leave the ghettoized Harlem area.

I live in Harlem and have no intention of leaving but some people may want to leave.

Mr. GIBBONS. You are talking about starting work with people who already have some pretty good skills and backgrounds and education.

You are talking about making managers and middle managers. You are talking about somebody who already has something to sell, are you not? For instance, you are not really talking about a person who has attained a 6th grade or 4th grade performance.

You are probably talking about somebody who has already graduated from high school.

Mr. MARSHALL. We are definitely talking about them, sir, but I would add another category and I base this from my experience on the so-called fighting gangs in New York back in the 1950's.

When I worked for the New York City Youth Board at that time there was a problem with these bopping or fighting gangs. The last time I testified before a congressional committee it was before the Senate Juvenile Delinquency Committee.