

As you well know, there are many arguments for the exercise of power at the local level by not having the Negro community dispersed, but having it in a given ward or political subdivision, so there can be maximum use of "ghetto power."

Senator BAKER. And also, if I may interrupt, there would be maximum utilization and effectiveness of social services.

Mr. FREELAND. Yes, I think that this would be a relevant point, too. My own view, I have still not given up on the country in the sense that I still believe—and the National Urban League still believes that integration is a desirable goal, and that means housing integration as well as integration at other levels of operation.

I am afraid today that most of the people in America are convinced that this goal is not going to be attained very soon and, therefore, there must be some sort of short-term alternatives. There are dangers to a short-term alternative.

Senator BAKER. I wonder, though, if the short-term alternative, and I do not make my judgment at this point, but I wonder if the short-term alternative of responding to the desire to maintain, in effect, a black community identity, is not really potentially destructive of long-term objectives? I wonder if that is not the strongest argument against the relocation of replacees in one locality which so often, in fact, is the case?

Mr. FREELAND. Well, theoretically, I agree with you, Senator. The short-term alternative is probably very dangerous to America, but I am a pragmatist. You see, I am a Negro who no longer lives in a black ghetto, and I consider integrated housing to be a rather important part of American life and I would consider it a rather important part of American life for the person who rents as well as the person who owns.

But I know the practicalities and I know about the color tax. Unless we can deal with the practicalities, unless we can reduce the color tax, eliminate the color tax—and Government can exercise a role of leadership in this, so obviously in the private sector where the elimination must occur—unless we can do this, I think we are confronted with the only alternative, and that is mass removal or mass replacement in another ghetto.

Senator BAKER. All right, sir. On the question you touched, Mrs. Jefferies, it occurred to me in the course of your remarks that in the face of the color tax, increased rentals and the like, one general way of overcoming this is to put more emphasis on the assistance that might be given families to purchase rather than to rent. I wonder if you would agree that that is an area that we ought to give more attention to?

Mrs. JEFFERIES. I think so. I think if more could buy, this would help because homes that are for sale are more widespread, I would say, than homes for rent. In the little ghettos like we live, you have little clusters of homes one after another, that rent, or maybe someone owns the bottom flat and rents the top floor, just scattered about, you know, this type of thing.

Senator BAKER. Without getting too far afield, because it is not a legitimate part of this hearing, would you view favorably a program that generally either substantially lessened or eliminated the necessity