

that have failed. Anyone who proposes no more than continuation and expansion of present measures, condemns the nation to marching in place rather than forward movement toward a new day.

The real urban problem is a problem of wretched, uprooted people caught in an environment which offers too few avenues of change or escape. It is the problem of poverty compounded by personal inadequacies and stifling surroundings that produce hopelessness and desperation.

Whatever may be said of the war on poverty elsewhere, in the urban slums it has so far been an unsuccessful holding action. I say this not in disparagement of the often valiant efforts made by government agencies and private groups. Praiseworthy as these efforts may be, a cold appraisal of results leads only to the conclusion that they have not succeeded.

The 1967 Manpower Report of the President recognized that "social and economic conditions are getting worse, not better, in slum areas." Every study made of slum areas substantiates this finding. In South Los Angeles median family income dropped 8 percent from 1959 to 1965. In the Hough area of Cleveland, median income declined by \$766 to \$3966 between 1959 and 1964. In the Bronx, spreading slums reduced median income by \$300 between 1960 and 1966.

This decline in our cities has taken place during a period when incomes have been rising sharply elsewhere across the nation. Even on the farms, striking improvement has been registered in reducing poverty — although administration ineptness has reduced non-poverty income levels. Between 1959 and 1965, the number of farm households below the poverty line decreased by 53 percent. In part this drop in poverty in farm areas reflects the effect of a migration which has transferred the problem from a rural to an urban setting, where it often takes on a more difficult and explosive form. The important fact from all this, however, is that the fighting front in any war on poverty is becoming more and more the urban slums where our trenches are still undermanned and our heavy artillery is not yet targeted.

We are woefully short of facts about conditions in the slums. Indications are, however, that there is accelerating deterioration on many fronts. Whereas nationwide the unemployment rate is about four percent of the labor force, unemployment in the slums is closer to ten percent, and underemployment affects a third of the working force there. On the housing front, too, there has been a retreat. The