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For those who would see, the evidence grows of the consequences of our delays in spending. As Harold Groves has graphically put it, "the smell of the city ghettos blows ever stronger in the suburbs" that wealthy citizens have walled in to defend their abdication of responsibility for the problems and costs of urbanization. Wittingly or unwittingly growing numbers of citizens have taken from the city, but have made elaborate defenses against giving. Every metropolitan area in the country suffers from these attempts at insulation and the resultant alienation and burdens of other citizens. There has been a cumulative effect of these actions that has produced a vicious circle of slum growth; poor education where great educational effort is required; and inadequate city services of garbage collection, trash collection, park development, and policing.

Once we prided ourselves on our public education from kindergarten through University. We emphasized that democratic government required it. Today we readily acknowledge the necessity of education for our technological society. Yet we are little by little undermining our public schools. Private schools for children of the economically secure are growing. "We can't take the responsibility for handicapping our children in college preparation," says each parent in turn. What the parents seldom say is that they either have not tried to improve the public schools or have tried and given up. And they do not make the further admission, "Once my child is in a good private school, I do not need to worry about the public schools." The impact of the shift to private schools in fact is even more cumulative. As citizens place their children in private schools, they not only care less about what happens in the public schools but may well resist tax increases that would improve public education. This is on the part of parents who might otherwise be in the forefront of the battle for better local schools. The final irony comes with the request for public moneys for the private schools on the grounds that the superior quality of these schools must be guarded!

This is a plea for the public schools, not an attack on the private ones. We can not afford substantially inferior education for any of our children. In some cases this may mean expanding Headstart programs. It may also mean a higher ratio of teachers to pupils and changes in methods for disadvantaged children. Schools can not carry all the burdens of the society; but without adequate education, many children will never be enticed to develop and use their potential ability.

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The belief that we are not today living as well as we desire or can publicly afford is paired with the assumption that many of the states and major cities, without further aid, cannot do the job demanded. It should be made clear that the several 1970 or 1975 "projections" of state and local government expenses and revenues, whatever *aggregate* balance or imbalance they happen to show, are based on expenditure assumptions of population growth but on few assumptions of significant improvement in the quality of public living. *Aggregate* ability to meet public desires does not give sufficient resources to many states, to many core cities, nor to the Appalachias of the nation. Yet even the states that represent the high part of the economic resource scale in the nation often do not meet their acknowledged responsibilities. The issues of interstate competition, benefit spillover, the presumed limits in the height of particular taxes or their impact on groups that are supposed to be aided all make elected state and local officials politically vulnerable to suggestions for increased taxes.

Our state and local tax systems do not match the service demands made upon them nor the equity standards some of us would wish. We are pushing our state and local taxes in an ever more regressive direction with attendant burdens on those we seek to aid through national, state and local Poverty Programs. Progressive states such as Minnesota and Wisconsin have bowed to the pressures for a sales tax, a less burdensome variety than in many states but nevertheless a sales tax rather than an increase in state income taxes. A one time leader in income taxes, New York has scarred its escutcheon and scuttled the value of its prestige for many earlier supporters first with sales taxes in the City, then a state sales tax, and finally adoption of a lottery system for educational revenues. States, old in the sales tax field, have pushed rates up and coverage out. Pennsylvania and Rhode Island now have general rates of 5%. In many communities Illinois taxpayers will pay a combined sales tax of 5% beginning August 1. California has a state 3% levy and authorizes additional local levies of 1%. Michigan