

For lower middle-income families, with current incomes of about \$5,000 to \$8,000, the postwar years have seen only little new housing construction, with present rentals or carrying charges and taxes of about \$85 to \$135 per month. This is particularly true for large families, with three or more children, in this income range.

For the urban poor—families with current incomes of about \$5,000 a year and less—there has been hardly any new housing construction during the 22 years since World War II and there was very little of such construction in the preceding 20 years from 1926 through 1945. Almost a half century of rapid change in our cities—including the great Negro migration—has passed, with hardly any housing construction for low-income families.

Realistic rentals for poor families would have to be concentrated around \$40 to \$70 a month. Since the private market cannot provide such housing, public housing and public rehabilitation are essential. But, in recent years, the total number of new public housing dwelling units has been only about 30,000 to 40,000 per year.

Moreover, the urban renewal program, which has bulldozed city slum areas has concentrated on the construction of commercial buildings and luxury high-rise apartments. Relocation of families, displaced from the slums, has been neglected or ignored and there has been hardly any replacement of low-rental housing.

In addition, during the 1950's and early 1960's, the traditional conservative opposition to low-cost publicly subsidized housing for the poor was joined by many so-called liberals—the same coalition that debunked the impact of automation on unskilled and semiskilled factory workers and on industrial location as a trade union myth. As a result, the New Deal's beginnings to provide low-cost public housing nearly perished between 1952 and 1966.

At the same time, middle- and upper-income families have been moving to the suburbs. This movement has opened up older housing in the cities. But, combined with the movement of industry to the suburbs and countryside, it has reduced the tax base of the cities, when the demands on their financial resources for housing, welfare, education, and public facilities are mounting. Moreover, the change of industrial location has compounded the problems of inadequate mass transportation facilities for low-income city dwellers to get to the new areas of employment growth. And most suburban communities have rather rigid color-bar restrictions, as well as an absence of low-cost housing.

America now faces a complex of social problems that are related to rapid and radical changes in technology, urban growth, and race relations, as well as the history of the American Negro in the past 350 years. No city or State or private group can solve these problems in isolation or by themselves. Workable solutions require nationwide social measures, with adequate Federal funds and standards.

Instant adjustments and overnight solutions to this complex of problems are impossible. Gimmicks and slogans can achieve headlines, but hardly any positive results. Yet rapid forward strides are essential to the preservation of a free and democratic society.

Immediate measures are needed to provide jobs, decent housing, and adequate community facilities. Planned programs over the next decade or two are required to revitalize the fabric of American society.