

fifth obtained only 5 percent, the lowest two-fifths only 17 percent, and the lower three-fifths only 35 percent. Among unattached individuals in 1947, the highest fifth enjoyed 59 percent, while the lowest fifth obtained only three percent, the lowest two-fifths only 8 percent, and the lower three-fifths only 20 percent. In 1966, the respective figures were 52 percent, 3 percent, 11 percent, and 24 percent.⁸

Social equilibrium involves the public sector

Adequate programs in the public sector are equally relevant to any meaningful war against poverty, and indeed to the life and living of the preponderant portion of the total population. And it is here that the trends in public expenditures at the Federal level become so disturbing. During the fiscal years 1947–1953, Federal spending for all domestic programs came to 6.92 percent of GNP (despite the Korean war during 3 years of this period), while during the fiscal years 1954–1968, these domestic programs came to only 5.64 percent of GNP. The figure of 6.10 percent in fiscal 1968 compared with 8.17 percent in fiscal 1947 and 6.13 percent as late as fiscal 1959. There is no legitimate explanation of these domestic-spending trends in trends in defense and other international spending, for total Federal spending declined from 16.52 percent of GNP during fiscal 1947–1953 to 16.23 percent during fiscal 1954–1968.

With respect to fiscal 1969, the President's Budget initially projected total domestic spending at 10.91 percent of GNP. But this figure cannot validly be contrasted with the ratios for the earlier years. Beginning with fiscal 1969, the Federal Budget included immense trust funds, which in the main are not supported by Federal outlays (for example, the payroll taxes under the social security program).

The relative starvation of the public sector must also be taken into account, toward realization that a meaningful definition of poverty in America must go far beyond the 13 percent or less of the people of the United States who are below poverty-income ceilings as of now in 1969. At least one-sixth of our people are ill-housed. At least one-third cannot afford adequate and modern medical care. Perhaps 90 percent of the children in our public schools go to schools where the teachers and para-professionals are grossly inadequate in number and still grossly underpaid; and perhaps a majority are in overcrowded classrooms, a large portion of which are either fire-traps or in other respects unsafe. As the public schools are increasingly becoming the habitation of the poor and deprived, a very large portion of those who go to these schools—are drop out—go home to parents who live in slums, do not enjoy an American minimum decency standard of income, suffer excessively high unemployment, and altogether too frequently are alienated and restive, if not rebellious. Many of our transportation systems are obsolete. Air and water remains poisoned, with at least the air getting worse. Our central cities are deteriorating if not already decayed, and are increasingly unable to meet the rising costs of education, police and fire protection, and other essential public services.

In its most recent issue, *Fortune* magazine, a distinguished business publication, contained a vivid article reiterating what so many other individuals, research organizations, and special commissions have been

⁸ See chart 9, following text.