

A guaranteed income program, therefore, must be related to employment opportunities. Even more, it might well be harmonized with a guaranteed employment program. Any consideration of guaranteed income must give serious attention to this companion guarantee.

The importance of this consideration is multiplied by the expectations of the general public. People are probably far more ready to accept the idea of guaranteed employment than they are to accept a guaranteed income apart from any consideration of work.

A dual guarantee might be the ultimate solution: guaranteed employment opportunity for those able to work and guaranteed income for those who cannot or should not be employed.

5. *Another major issue which must be resolved is the question of full participation by all members of society in the decisions affecting their lives*

There are many dynamics of social change operating today and drastic change is taking place. Within this current of social unrest and change, it would seem to be more crucial than ever to involve as many people in our society as possible in the decisions and actions for change. The motivation, the drives, the incentives, and the needs are there for the full participation of all of our citizens in these societal changes. Our next failure with the poor and the dispossessed will occur when we make the decisions for them on the burning social issues of our time. An effective plan for avoiding this error of self-righteousness is a guaranteed minimum income. Economic independence is essential before the disadvantaged will be able to participate fully and equally in the decisions of the communities and society in which they live.

There is a crises confronting the United States which stems from the demand of the powerless to control their own lives. The basic debate must not, therefore, be permitted to drift into concerns about the details of how we set up devices to provide incomes to the poor; this is primarily a technical question. The fundamental question is whether we will, or will not, concede the right of each man to participate in the decisions which determine his destiny. It would seem that a democratic society cannot escape this responsibility.

6. *Serious attention must be given to the cost of a guaranteed income system*

We are not prepared to estimate the financial outlay for the various plans which have been proposed. This will vary from plan to plan. It would be advisable to develop demonstration projects which would test the different plans and provide a basis for determining cost.

Fundamentally, the question of cost is a question of commitment and conviction. If we as a nation are committed to the elimination of poverty and opening opportunities for decent living for all citizens, and if we are convinced that a guaranteed income system is the best way to accomplish this, then we will be willing to commit our resources to finance it.

While there must be much more study and experimentation before the solutions to poverty are found, it is primarily in the methodology where the weaknesses or strengths of the program will be reflected. We propose the following criteria as guidelines in the further development of a guaranteed minimum income: