

restrictive rules in the administration of welfare programs which discourage economic initiative and impedes family stability;

2. That the Secretary of Agriculture assure equal employment opportunities in agriculture programs and extend full and equal participation in Department programs;

3. That Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 be extended to cover public employment;

4. That "freedom of choice" school desegregation plans be accepted only where the school district shows that significant school desegregation actually is being achieved;

5. That the Attorney General assign examiners under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to all political subdivisions where black registration is disproportionately low.

We continue to urge action on these recommendations. It has become increasingly clear, however, that even if all of these recommendations were to be enacted into law the cycle of poverty and dependency in Black Belt Alabama and similar regions would not be broken. Bold new programs and approaches are necessary. Before the system of economic bondage which exists in Alabama can be ended it will be necessary to develop programs to assure every family a standard of living adequate to provide at least a reasonable chance in life. Many have suggested that this only can be accomplished by some form of income guarantee. Whether it is a negative income tax, a guaranteed annual income or whether the government guarantees a job to every person and assumes the role of employer of last resort are questions about which we have not yet reached any firm conclusions.

While we are continuing our investigations and plan to make further reports with more specific recommendations, we do want to suggest now several principles which we believe should govern any effort to deal with the problems of race and poverty.

The first is that the Congress must recognize in law that every American citizen is entitled to certain basic necessities *as a matter of right*. These should include the right to an adequate and nutritious supply of food, to full health care, to an education that prepares an individual to be a productive member of society. It is clear that to make these rights meaningful, the Federal government must be prepared to devote far more resources to programs of food, welfare, health and education than it is now allocating. It is also clear that this must mean an end to systems which allow local authorities to determine whether the citizens will receive the benefits of these programs. The underlying theory of local control of education and other programs is that it provides diversity and choice. Where, instead, local control results in deprivation and provides a breeding ground for ignorance, it can no longer be rationalized.

Second, we must find ways of assuring that these programs are implemented through structures and institutions which are responsive to the people the programs are designed to serve. This means that it is not enough merely to shift the focus of dependency from a plantation owner to a government agency. People must be given some measure of influence or control over programs and decisions which affect them. It also means that as difficult as this may be, we must find ways to assure that the policies and practices of people who administer the programs are in absolute accord with the purposes the programs are designed to serve.

Third and finally, we must build into our social and economic development programs the crucial element of choice. One of the things which was at least mildly surprising to us during the hearing was the extent to which Negro citizens in the rural South, young as well as middle aged and older, told us that given a *meaningful* choice they would prefer to remain in the areas they now live. They are suffering all kinds of indignities in these areas now, but they also are aware that the big cities are not centers of opportunity either. If given the chance for a decent job and a modicum of dignity, they said they would prefer to stay where they are. If choice is to be made meaningful, efforts to increase spending in urban areas must be coupled with investment in rural areas and guarantees that Negro citizens will be able to share in the opportunities created by these investments.