

been confronted with bigotry and racist doctrines which have not only denied him equality of opportunity but, also, adversely affected his self-image and his incentive and motivation. Finally, it must be noted that the Negro community, by reason of its segregation and adverse accompanying conditions, experiences higher incidences of family disorganization, families with female heads, larger numbers of children, children living without both parents, males economically and socially emasculated and, in general, higher incidences of personal and social pathology, all of which are associated with and contribute to the high incidence of poverty.

*Implications for Anti-Poverty Programs.*—In general, two broad categories of persons can be distinguished among the poor. One category comprises those persons who for a variety of reasons have fallen by the wayside in their efforts to make their way in our competitive order. The reasons include chronic or acute physical or mental disabilities; families broken by death, divorce, separation or desertion; and similar personal, familial or community misfortunes. The second category includes millions of persons who cannot be described as having fallen by the wayside. They are made up disproportionately of minority groups, not only Afro-Americans but, also, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and Appalachian whites, "hillbillies." These people cannot be described as having fallen by the wayside. They have never had the opportunity to get under way. They have been denied equality of access to the American economy and to American society.

Prior efforts to deal with poverty in this nation, as in other countries, have included the establishment of the social security and welfare systems. These programs have made it possible for the vast majority of our citizens to earn "rights" to income maintenance in old age, or under conditions of disability, and to receive aid under specified conditions of need. The tragic fact is, however, that a disproportionate number of present welfare clients are not persons who have fallen by the wayside but are, rather, persons who have never had the opportunity to get under way. A number of the present anti-poverty programs such as Head Start and the other educational and job training programs recognize this fact.

Poverty in the United States cannot, therefore, be eliminated through revision of the social security and welfare systems. What is needed to eliminate poverty is what might be termed an "equal opportunity program." Such a program can be visualized as consisting of two parts: short-run and long-run.

The short-run anti-poverty program must consist of two elements for Negro-Americans and for all of our minority groups subject to prejudice. The first is provision for income flow—preferably for work performed under conditions of human dignity on jobs suitable to their present educational and skill levels. The second is provision for symbols of acceptance—to overcome prevalent doctrines of racism and bigotry.

To provide income flow two programs are needed. One is a program to provide employment to absorb the "hard-core" unemployed. This requires considerable increase in the allocation of public funds aimed at this objective. Priority should be given to the increase of employment in the private sector, as is now being done in the program headed by Henry Ford II. But, there can be no doubt, that after the private sector has absorbed all of the hard-core unemployed it can, there will remain substantial numbers of Afro-Americans and members of other minority groups, still unemployed. For such persons the government, through, in effect, an extension of the Employment Act of 1946, should become "the employer of last resort" as advocated by the Urban Coalition. Even in such programs the government could operate through private industry but, unless adequate resources are allocated for public services with explicit provision for labor intensive programs, the hard-core unemployed are not likely to be employed. The list of additional public services needed by the American people is long enough to be quite adequate for the purpose. It includes, among many things, more adequate roads, expressways, and airports; schools; recreational facilities; hospitals and other medical facilities; improved postal service; and air and water anti-pollution programs.

The absorption of the hard-core unemployed would not, of course, resolve the income flow problem of the families without workers, especially those with female heads and young children. For such families adequate income flow should be provided through a system of family allowances, or, perhaps, the negative income tax.