

takes the form of a decent observance of the orderly process of change in a democratic society. If I may be permitted to turn around a famous quote, "Extension in the defense of liberty *is* a vice . . . Moderation in the pursuit of justice *is* a virtue."

For the better part of its history, the human race has struggled to devise means for achieving social change while still preserving social order. The Oresteian trilogy of Aeschylus is the greatest of all Greek dramas, precisely because it portrays in heroic form how the terrible anarchy of clan vengeance is a means of seeking justice was transmuted into the orderly process of community law. Athenian law tamed the Furies. They must not be let loose again. If they are, they will surely turn first on those who unchain them.

It is a hard counsel to tell those who have been denied so long that they should have patience with the deliberate pace of change under democratic processes. Indeed I take it as the mark of a civilized man of good conscience in these times that he is at war within himself—his sympathy for the plight of those who are demanding social justice warring with his judgment that oftentimes the means of demanding it are destructive of the democratic process. Yet it is precisely a blend of that sympathy and that judgment which can win us through.

Mr. PECHMAN. If you assume for one moment that we can keep military expenditures at \$60 billion, the present \$82.5 billion gives us \$22.5 billion. Then add to that the normal fiscal growth of \$12 billion a year, that is almost \$35 billion in the first year after the Vietnam war.

Senator PROXMIRE. I do not want to go on on this. I know you are very well informed in this area, but I just raised the point that on the basis of past experience and attitudes, and so forth. I think it may be difficult.

I would like to ask Dr. Hildebrand about the possibility that we might have the same experience here that they have under the English poor laws; that is, a tendency for employers to bargain with employees to pay a wage which will enable, especially if you eliminate the minimum wage, employers to reduce their wage costs very greatly without substantially decreasing the income of the employees.

Mr. HILDEBRAND. Because they can fall back on negative income tax?

Senator PROXMIRE. That is right, one way or another, they can fall back on it. They can use it as a supplement or use it to keep costs down.

Mr. HILDEBRAND. I suppose that would depend on the level of unemployment for that group, how loose or tight the market is, and also what the incentive or disincentive is on the negative income tax rate. If that is kept reasonably tight, I do not think you would create a permanently deprived class of workers who would stay at a subsistence level. I do not think so.

Senator PROXMIRE. I would like to ask Dr. Watts: How reliable are the measures of poverty-line income?

We now need different research on incomes of families in different circumstances to enable them to maintain comparable standards of living, do we not?

Mr. WATTS. I think the first thing to be said is that the levels at which poverty lines are placed are really arbitrary. There is a continuous gradation of incomes, and as one considers lower and lower ranges of income, fewer and fewer people have those incomes. One can, for the purposes of dramatizing the problem, set the line at one level, and say that anyone below that is poor, and anyone above that is not poor. But that is, to some extent, an artificial division.