

the liberty of stating, as I see it, the problem that faces your distinguished committee—I should put it this way: How can the Government mitigate the penalties of failure and misfortune without undermining the incentives to effort and success? I do not wish to underrate the importance of the first half of this problem, but it seems to me that the second half deserves much more earnest attention than it has recently received.

Thank you.

(See vol. II, app. 16, for additional material subsequently submitted by Mr. Hazlitt.)

Representative GRIFFITHS. Thank you very much, Mr. Hazlitt.

Mr. Theobald, you may put your paper in the record if you choose, and spend your time defending yourself against Mr. Hazlitt, or you may read your paper, or do whatever you choose.

**STATEMENT OF ROBERT THEOBALD, NEW YORK CITY, AUTHOR,
"THE GUARANTEED INCOME"**

Mr. THEOBALD. I think I shall do a little bit of both, Madam Chairman.

Representative GRIFFITHS. All right.

Mr. THEOBALD. It seems appropriate to start my testimony by reminding us how far the issue of the guaranteed income has come in the last 5 years. In May 1963, I appeared before a Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower and argued that "adequate income must be available to those unable to find conventional work in an automated world and to those unable to secure adequate incomes for other reasons." The arguments for this proposal, as developed for my book, *Free Men and Free Markets*, were read into the record of the hearings.

It was made quite clear at this time that such an idea was not acceptable and it was also obvious that there were few Senators or commentators who expected it to become feasible in their lifetimes. These political judgments were obviously wrong. We are clearly moving toward the introduction of a guaranteed income which is now supported, according to the latest Gallup poll on the subject, by over a third of all Americans and by some two-thirds of those in minority groups.

Even more significant for the future progress of the idea is the immense coalition stretching from left to right which unites interest groups which are normally implacable foes. The potential power of this coalition has most recently been demonstrated in the decision of the mayors to lobby for a guaranteed income and by the development of a Citizens Committee for a Guaranteed Income.

As is inevitable, the practical necessities of the situation are triumphing over outworn ideological stances. The society is coming to realize that it is intolerable to permit some people to go hungry, ill-clothed, and ill-housed when we have the ability, as a society, to create enough food, clothing, and shelter for all the population. In effect, therefore, we have already taken a commitment to prevent everybody in our society from starving.

This commitment, however, has grown like Topsy rather than been planned. The methods we have adopted are totally haphazard provid-