

EVALUATION OF ADMINISTRATION ON AGING AND CONDUCT OF WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING

JOINT HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING
AND THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AGING
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE
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EVALUATION OF ADMINISTRATION ON AGING AND CONDUCT OF WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING

TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 1971

U.S. SENATE,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING AND
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AGING
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The joint committees met at 10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 6226, New Senate Office Building, Senator Frank Church (chairman of the Special Committee on Aging) presiding.

Present: Senators Church, Eagleton (chairman of the Subcommittee on Aging), Prouty, Percy, Stevenson, and Pell.

Committee staff members present: William E. Oriol, staff director; David A. Affeldt, counsel; John Guy Miller, minority staff director; Patricia Oriol, chief clerk; and Peggy Fecik, assistant chief clerk.

Subcommittee staff members present: James Murphy, counsel; and Donna Wurzbach, clerk.

OPENING STATEMENT BY SENATOR FRANK CHURCH, PRESIDING

Senator CHURCH. The hearing will please come to order.

Senator Eagleton will be here very shortly but he has asked that we commence the hearing so that we can be sure to complete our business this morning.

We are combining today, Mr. Secretary, the legislative subcommittee that deals with the whole field of the aging with this committee, the fact-finding committee, so as to be somewhat saving on your time and to avoid the need for your appearance on two different occasions. This is an unusual gesture of accommodation on the part of the legislative branch to the Executive. We are very pleased to have you here this morning, Mr. Secretary.

My opening statement will be brief; I made a more detailed commentary when these hearings commenced on March 25.¹

First, I would like to thank Secretary Richardson for finding a mutually agreeable time for his testimony. As I said in my letter of invitation, Senator Eagleton and I believe that these hearings would be incomplete without an expression of departmental policy by the man in charge of the department.

A similar invitation to George P. Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, was extended. I will read from his reply, dated April 9:

¹ See pt. 1, pp. 1-6.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This will acknowledge with my thanks your letter with regard to the proposed hearings by the Senate Special Committee on Aging on the Administration on Aging and the White House Conference on Aging.

I respectfully defer to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as the spokesman of the administration on the questions you have raised. I am confident that the Department will continue to speak as the lead agency in this area for the executive branch.

It seems to me that I may have to ask Mr. Shultz to reconsider his position. Several witnesses have said that the OMB not only takes a direct role in determining funding levels for the Administration on Aging but also has a significant impact on other decisions involving fundamental AoA policies. In his testimony before a House committee on March 10, AoA Commissioner Martin alluded to such OMB actions.

We have no reason to believe at this time that that arrangement won't prove satisfactory. But if it develops, as the testimony is presented, that the OMB not only takes a direct role in determining funding levels for the Administration on Aging but also has a significant role in other decisions involving fundamental AoA policy, then we will have to reconsider and again extend an invitation for Mr. Shultz to appear.

Our hearing today will provide the administration with an opportunity to comment on several serious criticisms which have arisen in earlier testimony.

Each witness thus far has said, with varying degrees of bluntness, that the Administration on Aging has been submerged far down in the Federal bureaucracy. Among those who believe that an entirely new approach is necessary is the man who served as chairman of the President's Task Force on Aging in 1970.

Several witnesses have made serious charges about the conduct of preparations for the White House Conference on Aging. They said, for example, that authors of technical papers and members of the technical review committees have been subjected to intensive committee screening. I will read the following lead paragraph from a news release issued by the National Council of Senior Citizens about its testimony before us on March 25:

Political bias shown by the Nixon Administration in preparations for the White House Conference on Aging—scheduled next November 28 to December 3—has all but destroyed its real significance for the Nation's elderly, a top spokesman for older Americans charged at a Senate hearing today.

The entire news release will be included here in the record and made available to you, Mr. Secretary, because I think the charge is a serious one that you will want full and fair opportunity to comment on.

(The document referred to follows:)

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.,
Washington, D.C.

[For Immediate Release—Thursday, March 25, 1971]

National Council of Senior Citizens Charges:

POLITICAL BIAS SHOWN BY CONFERENCE PLANNERS IS WRECKING WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Political bias shown by the Nixon Administration in preparations for the White House Conference on Aging—scheduled next November 28 to December 3—has all but destroyed its real significance for the nation's elderly, a top spokesman for older Americans charged at a Senate hearing today.

Nelson H. Cruikshank, 68-year-old President of the 3,000,000-member National Council of Senior Citizens, told lawmakers:

"We hope the White House Conference on Aging will develop recommendations for use by Congress in determining aging policy for the future but the National Council of Senior Citizens is not optimistic as to the ability of the coming Conference to formulate non-partisan recommendations based on a realistic assessment of national needs and national efforts (to meet the problems of the elderly)."

The senior citizens' spokesman continued: "We of the National Council of Senior Citizens do not see how a Conference used by the White House for partisan political purposes can produce a national policy acceptable to a bi-partisan Congress or, for that matter, acceptable to a bi-partisan nation."

He continued: "The National Council of Senior Citizens has evidence of a pronounced partisan bias in the selection of so-called technical committees which are supposed to analyze problems of the elderly with the result that these committees have ratios of up to five Republicans to every Democrat on them," Cruikshank asserted, adding:

"There could be no complaint if members of these committees were chosen on the basis of their expertise and it just turned out that there were five times as many experts who were Republican as were Democratic.

"However, the first consideration in choosing members of these committees is that they be Republicans as any competent observer will see at a glance."

Few of those named to the White House Conference technical committees possess expertise or authority in the matters they are supposed to cover, Cruikshank declared, adding: "Most members of the conference technical committees are completely unknown to leaders in the field of aging and gerontology."

One consequence of the Administration's insistence on political clearance of Conference planners has resulted in long delays in the preparation of background materials expected of the technical groups, the senior citizens spokesman said.

This has prevented Conference task forces from getting on with the definition of issues to be presented for discussion at the Conference, Cruikshank stated.

"As a result, the Conference task force meetings had to be put off until mid-May, too late for findings to be of use in planning for the Conference at the State level," he said.

Cruikshank said the Conference task forces are intended to provide a voice for national organizations in pre-Conference planning but each of the more than 350 national organizations participating in the Conference is allowed no more than two representatives, the National Council of Senior Citizens spokesman asserted, adding:

"With this kind of planning, the voice of the 3,000,000-member National Council of Senior Citizens will be no louder than that of the Boy Scouts of America, the Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Inc., or the Sex Information and Education Council, all national organizations invited to participate in the Conference."

Even more noteworthy, Cruikshank said, is the fact that "the planners seem to see no difference between an organization set up simply to make money off the needs of the elderly (like managers of proprietary nursing homes) and a non-profit organization whose members are dedicated solely to advancing the welfare of the elderly."

Equally noteworthy, Cruikshank declared, is the fact that planning for the Conference allows New York City five delegates to the White House Conference and each of nine other areas of the State an equal number of delegates even though more than 1,000,000 men and women age 65 or over live in New York City or more than half the number of New York State citizens in this age bracket.

The Nixon Administration is phasing out the U.S. Administration on Aging, William R. Hutton, Executive Director of the National Council of Senior Citizens who followed Cruikshank as a witness at the Senate hearing, charged. He called a drastic 10 per cent cutback in funds budgeted by the Administration for the Administration on Aging "the latest dismemberment of this agency which will probably amount to a death blow unless Congress does something about it."

Both National Council spokesmen urged the Senate Special Committee on Aging to name a task force or advisory committee to recommend the type of Federal agency best calculated to promote programs to meet their special needs.

They called for renewed efforts by Congress to assure the low income elderly more governmental programs to provide training and employment for the elderly.

Also, they asked for Congressional action to provide an ombudsman representative of the elderly charged with responsibility for making Federal programs for the elderly available where the need is greatest.

"The National Council of Senior Citizens, along with other organizations that represent the elderly, look to Congress for worthwhile programs for members of the retirement generation," the National Council spokesmen concluded.

The hearing at which the National Council representatives testified was a joint hearing by the Senate Special Committee on Aging, headed by Senator Frank Church (D., Idaho), and the Subcommittee on Aging of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, headed by Senator Thomas Eagleton (D., Mo.).

Senator CHURCH. At this point, incidentally, Bill, you might make a copy of that news release available to the Secretary, one of the staff assistants, so that they may review it.

We have been told by scientists and educators that research and training cutbacks are causing great damage to promising projects. They feared that the saving of relatively few dollars will, in the end, result in costly waste.

We have called directors of service projects which, in one way or another, were working toward fulfillment of at least a few of the goals expressed in the preamble to the Older Americans Act. Those directors, and the people they serve, stand under a threat, a threat expressed in the proposed reductions of funds in the administration's budget for the AoA.

CONCERN FOR ADMINISTRATION ON AGING NOT PARTISAN

Mr. Secretary, the concern for AoA is not limited to Democrats. The ranking minority member of this committee, for example, worked vigorously for more adequate funding last year and is protesting the budget proposed this year.

Senator PROUTY. If the chairman will permit me to interrupt him, I appreciate his statement, and I want to explain very fully that I do share the concern and I am sure all minority members do as well.

Senator CHURCH. Thank you very much, Senator Prouty, because, as I say, this is a bipartisan matter with this committee. This congressional concern, in my view, springs largely from the fact that Congress struggled during the 1960's to deal with several of the most urgent problems encountered by our older citizens.

When we passed the Older Americans Act almost 6 years ago, we hoped we had established an agency which would provide a broadening Federal mechanism for adequate attention, not only to problems but to better lives for the elderly.

It is therefore ironic, in this year of a White House Conference on Aging, to hear from witness after witness—as we did on March 25, 29, 30, and 31—who gave persuasive testimony to the effect that the AoA seems to be in retreat rather than in charge of anything.

This is reflected in the original cutbacks in the budget requests for the various programs administered by the AoA, and it is reflected also in the proposed transfer out of the AoA to the other agencies of programs heretofore administered by that agency.

So these are the ingredients of the concern that the committee has about where we are going with AoA and what we should do about it. I know that you will have some helpful comment to make this morning

and I am hopeful that it will reflect the concern the committee has already expressed about the various proposed reductions in the budget for those programs that relate to the elderly citizens of the country.

Without further delay, Mr. Secretary, I would like to invite you at this time to make your opening statement, after which, I am sure, we will have questions.

STATEMENT OF HON. ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE; ACCOMPANIED BY STEPHEN KURZMAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATION; JOHN TWINAME, ADMINISTRATOR, SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE; JOHN B. MARTIN, COMMISSIONER, ADMINISTRATION ON AGING; AND HOWARD A. COHEN, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATION (WELFARE)

Secretary RICHARDSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. I appreciate very much the accommodation which permits me to testify with my colleagues both from the U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging and the Subcommittee on Aging of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

I am pleased also to have the opportunity to discuss today with you the issues regarding the Administration on Aging and the White House Conference on Aging raised in your letter inviting me to this hearing and to which you have just referred in your opening statement.

It is significant, I think, that these proceedings are being conducted jointly by two committees of the Senate of the United States. This demonstrates the concern which is felt in the Congress for the problems which face our aging citizens and the desire to move toward solutions to those problems. This administration and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare share that concern and that desire.

Accompanying me today are Mr. Stephen Kurzman, newly appointed Assistant Secretary for Legislation; Mr. John Twiname, Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service; Mr. John B. Martin, Commissioner of the Administration on Aging; and Mr. Howard A. Cohen, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation (Welfare). In addition to being the Commissioner on Aging, Mr. Martin was appointed in 1969 to serve as President Nixon's Special Assistant on the Aging. This, I think, is a measure of the depth of this administration's concern for the problems of the aging.

As you may already know, three of the four gentlemen with me testified before the House Select Subcommittee on Education last month to discuss some of the issues which bring us together today. We will, of course, be happy to respond to questions after I complete my statement.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I propose to expand our discussion beyond the three principal issues raised in your letter of invitation to me, because those three issues alone might convey an incomplete and perhaps misleading picture of the Nixon administration's total effort on behalf of our older citizens.

I should like to take this opportunity, therefore, to give you a brief description of the overall effort. I believe that this perspective is essential if our strategy for older Americans is to be fully understood.

PRESIDENT'S STRATEGY FOR PROBLEMS OF OLDER AMERICANS

The core of the President's strategy in approaching the problems of older Americans, as Commissioner Martin indicated in his March 10 statement, is to provide our aging population with an adequate income. But, income alone is no panacea for the complex and varied problems of older Americans. Even with sufficient financial means, the aged would still find many problems which they cannot completely solve by individual action.

However, income is basic—without it all other problems are compounded and solutions are more difficult to find. Also, without an adequate income, anyone—old or young—finds his freedom in the marketplace severely limited.

AN ADEQUATE INCOME

The major Federal effort in providing an adequate income for older Americans is the payment of social security benefits to 17.5 million of the elderly citizens of this country. The administration is continuing to work with the House Committee on Ways and Means putting the finishing touches on H.R. 1, which includes proposals to improve Social Security benefits and cash assistance to the aged, blind, and disabled.

The two increases in Social Security benefit amount of 15 percent and 10 percent which the President signed in 1969 and 1971, respectively, have already substantially enhanced those benefits as a stable income base to be supplemented by private pensions, continuing work, or other individual arrangements.

Inclusion in H.R. 1 of the President's proposal for automatic cost-of-living increases which would maintain the purchasing power of Social Security benefits is, I believe, the best way to relieve our senior citizens of the worry and delay they now suffer in times of increasing prices.

I was gratified to note in "Developments in Aging—1970" that the Special Committee on Aging favored what I considered to be one of the most far-reaching aspects of the administration's welfare reform proposal—a federally financed minimum income for all older Americans. This measure would assure a basic floor of income for all older Americans, regardless of the State in which they live, because the program would be guided by national eligibility standards and administered by the Federal Government.

Individual States could, of course, add supplemental income maintenance to the base provided by the Federal Government, and, in this way, regional variations in the cost of living could be taken into account.

Even if assured of a basic floor for income which maintains its relative purchasing power, each of our older citizens has traditionally been faced with the specter of a possible serious illness which could wipe out any savings which may have been accumulated during more productive years or burden him with a debt from which the individual or his family can never recover.

This fear has been alleviated in part in recent years by the Medicare system. The Medicaid system supplements that protection for those older people not adequately covered by Medicare, and, in many States, assists with the cost-sharing features of Medicare if the individual cannot meet them.

RECOMMENDS CONSOLIDATION UNDER MEDICARE

One objection which has been raised regarding the Medicare program, however, is that part of its coverage requires participants to pay a current premium which to many may represent a rather substantial percentage of their total income. Therefore, we have recommended the consolidation under Medicare of the financing of the hospital insurance program (part A) and the supplementary medical insurance program (part B). Supplementary medical insurance, which primarily covers physicians' fees, is now a voluntary program with one-half paid from general revenues. The other half is paid by monthly premiums by the beneficiary himself or herself.

Under our proposal the individual's share of the premium payment of the medical insurance program would be financed through employer and employee contributions, just as is presently the case with Medicare hospital insurance (part A). The contributions from general revenues would continue. Coverage would begin automatically at age 65 for those insured under the Social Security and Railroad Retirement programs. This change would mean the equivalent of a benefit increase averaging 5 percent to most Social Security beneficiaries aged 65 or older.

Another proposal which could have a far-reaching effect is the authority requested by the President to enable actuarially based Medicare and Medicaid payments to be used to enroll the beneficiary in a comprehensive prepaid group plan. These plans are, as I am sure you know, commonly referred to as health maintenance organizations. They are capable of providing increased services to their enrollees without additional costs because of increased efficiency, including the use of modern business techniques and utilization review.

For our older Americans these prepaid group practices will be able to identify potentially serious and complicated illnesses before they physically manifest themselves and come to the attention of the would-be patient.

SOCIAL SECURITY PAYMENTS TO AGED WIDOWS

The bill is also expected to include the President's proposal to increase Social Security payments to aged widows and widowers based on the accounts of their deceased spouses. This is a crucial improvement because such a large proportion of our older people are widows with no Social Security records of their own and their average per capita income is now substantially less than that of the aged population as a whole.

Another improvement which has been proposed by President Nixon and is now being considered in the other body is a change in the retirement test to increase the amount a Social Security beneficiary may earn and still receive supplementation in the form of benefit payments.

This provision would result in additional payments of about \$450 million to approximately 1 million beneficiaries, including 380,000 who now have their payments reduced to nothing because of the amounts they earn. The retirement test would also be improved by tying it to cost-of-living increases in a way similar to that proposed for benefit payments.

Even with these significant improvements, however, there probably will always be many aged people who receive small amounts of Social

Security benefits and are unable to supplement their incomes by work or other individual means. Indeed, there are a relatively few older Americans who, for one reason or another, receive neither Social Security payments nor any other substantial income. For these people, an equitable and efficient system for providing public assistance in a dignified way is a must.

I would like to report, however, that we do not consider an adequate income, protected against the ravages of inflation and large medical expenses, to be a solution for all of the problems which beset older Americans. Sufficient means to purchase or rent adequate housing, for example, avails an older person nothing if there is not housing appropriate for his needs available. Ability to pay for transportation does not increase his mobility one bit if he is unable to drive an automobile and no public transportation is available. Even affluence will not improve his nutrition if there is a feeling of isolation and the individual is not motivated to seek or prepare wholesome meals.

FOCAL POINT—THE ADMINISTRATION ON AGING

It is in areas like these—areas in which the individual cannot do for himself—that Government properly should act to initiate and organize the programs and resources needed to improve the circumstances of our older citizens. The focal point for Government action is the Administration on Aging, and the basic authorization for this action is the Older Americans Act of 1965 and its subsequent amendments.

This administration's efforts on behalf of the aging cannot, however, be discussed only in terms of programs which are provided under the Older American Act authority or which are directly in the jurisdiction of the Administration on Aging. I have already spoken of some of the income maintenance and health benefits programs which are at the core of this effort.

Even beyond that, however, we have, within HEW, programs of services which directly affect older citizens in the Office of Education, the Health Services and Mental Health Administration as well as in the other components of the Social and Rehabilitation Service.

Outside HEW, a wide variety of agencies engage in activities directed toward the needs of the elderly. For example, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has acted to strengthen and extend services, opportunities, and participation of older people in the Model Cities program; the Department of Transportation is directly involved in seeking ways to meet problems of mobility which face this segment of our population; the Department of Labor attacks the problem of age discrimination in employment; the Office of Economic Opportunity is involved in an impressive list of programs for the elderly as noted in the recently issued report "Developments in Aging—1970."

I would now like to turn to a discussion of the Administration on Aging itself. There has been speculation that the Nixon administration is in the process of emasculating the Administration on Aging. This is a disturbing reaction, especially because the very decisions which are cited to support the proposition that the Administration on Aging is being weakened are decisions which will strengthen it.

PROPOSED PROGRAM REORGANIZATION WILL STRENGTHEN . . .

We can all agree that the only real measure of an organization's effectiveness is its performance, and in the case of the Administration on Aging the only realistic standard for that measure is in the quality of life which accrues to older Americans. I think our proposed program reorganization will strengthen rather than weaken the effectiveness of the Administration on Aging. The newly proposed ACTION agency will now administer the Foster Grandparent and the Retired Senior Volunteers programs, and the functions of research, development, and training will be improved by being centralized in SRS.

The Administration on Aging will continue to be the major guiding force in coordinating these programs and functions. This is somewhat akin to the delegation of authority which good executives in business and Government must always exercise to magnify the effectiveness of their personal expertise and judgment.

It is a difficult thing for many leaders to resist the temptation of doing everything themselves, but we all know that the most effective are those who successfully orchestrate the productive efforts of a great number of other people. If the Administration on Aging is to achieve its full potential as a leader in its field, it must act in a similar fashion.

In this context, perhaps a further discussion of the particulars of these organizational changes will help create a better understanding of their intended effect.

The Social and Rehabilitation Service, which includes the Administration on Aging, is the major Federal agency for promoting the delivery of needed services to our citizens in a coordinated manner. Through this integrated approach, linking together a number of otherwise independent social service and rehabilitation programs within this agency, a more coordinated and comprehensive approach can be taken to the problems which face all our citizens.

Under the Social and Rehabilitation Service, the programs authorized by such laws as the Older Americans Act, the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, and the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act, maintain their own administrative integrity while utilizing the services and expertise created by the other acts. It was in this context that recent actions were taken to strengthen, not weaken, our research, development, and training programs for older Americans.

All research technicians in SRS, including those of AoA, have been transferred to the Office of Research and Demonstration. A Division on Aging is an important unit in that Office. The director of the division remains the research liaison for the Commissioner on Aging to the Research and Demonstration Office.

The major function of this central office is to take the expressed program problems and objectives from each administration and develop a coherent research and demonstration strategy that accounts for overlapping interests. Thus, AoA will have a direct input not only to the Older Americans Act title IV activity but also, more directly, on all other research activities that affect the aging, including research and demonstration projects for Medicaid, income maintenance, social services, and rehabilitation.

The research professionals specializing on the aging will have a better opportunity to interchange ideas and knowledge with other researchers and to stimulate thinking concerning the application of other SRS programs to the needs of the aging.

With respect to training activities under title V, the relationship of AoA to the Office of Manpower Development and Training in SRS is similar to that in research except that the training specialists are retained in AoA to manage directly those grant programs unique to AoA's interest.

TRANSFER OF PROGRAMS TO ENHANCE BENEFITS

The organizational decision which has prompted the greatest reaction, however, is the projected transfer of the Foster Grandparent program and the Retired Senior Volunteers program to the new volunteer agency—ACTION. Let me assure you that this move, too, is designed to enhance the benefits which the participants in these programs will receive from them.

By developing a common Federal administration for the recruitment, selection, and training of full-time volunteers, ACTION can achieve substantial economies and improve the overall efficiency of its component programs. All volunteer programs will benefit from this enhancement of economy and efficiency, and they will receive the attention of an agency whose prime focus is voluntarism as such.

President Nixon has spoken of this new agency as one part of a design to "forge an alliance of the generations." He further described how a coordinated volunteer agency could help to achieve this goal when he said, "Let us work together to seek out those ways by which the commitment and the compassion of one generation can be linked to the will and experience of another so that together we can serve America better and America can better serve mankind."

This new agency—ACTION—will have \$130 million from existing program money in its first year and an additional \$20 million will also be requested. This level of funding, applied to a coordinated effort, should be much more effective than it would have been if dispersed throughout a number of agencies.

The matter of funding title III Community Project grants and the Foster Grandparent program has also been the subject of much concern lately. There has been widespread criticism by members of these two committees, as well as in other quarters in which there is particular interest in matters concerning the aged, about recent budget decisions affecting these programs.

I am pleased to announce that the AoA budget will be amended so that Community Project grants and the Foster Grandparent program continue at the current fiscal year funding level. In addition, the administration will request that funds for research and development and training be restored to the fiscal year 1971 level and the areawide model projects be increased by \$1.2 million above the amount originally asked for fiscal year 1972.

ADMINISTRATION REVERSES POSITION—ADDS \$10 MILLION

Senator CHURCH. If I may interrupt there, this represents a real reversal, does it not, because originally the requests in the budget were below previous levels for these particular programs; and this was one of the reasons why this committee commenced a series of hearings to inquire into the effects of the proposed budget hearing reduction.

I welcome the news, but I think it ought to be pointed out at this juncture that it represents a reversal of position on the part of the administration; does it not?

Secretary RICHARDSON. It does represent a recognition by the administration that the concerns that had been expressed as reactions to the original budget reductions were concerns that should be heard, that they were valid in their recognition of the potential consequences of reductions in these programs.

I think all those who expressed concern deserve a share of credit for the action that I have just announced and, not least of those whom, I think we should credit is the Commissioner on Aging, Mr. Martin himself, who has been a very effective champion of the programs in his area.

Senator CHURCH. Well, I certainly welcome this news. I think it is what we on this committee have been urging and what the earlier testimony tended to underscore. I congratulate you for responding in this very constructive way.

Senator Eagleton.

Senator EAGLETON. I would like the record to show at this juncture that I, too, welcome this news and this announcement, however belated.

Senator PROUTY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to do likewise, and I congratulate the administration for taking a second look; I think it is a tremendous development, and we are all very happy.

Secretary RICHARDSON. Thank you. I might just add, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that it has been my position with respect to the budgetary process generally that although we submit a budget, as we are required by law to do, in January, we are engaged with the Congress in a collaborative process of determining relative claims and priorities on Federal funds. I have sought, for example in the position we present to Senate committees, to take into account what has developed out of a House hearing.

I don't feel, in other words, that the budget, as we submitted it initially, represents necessarily the ultimate judgment. It sometimes can be improved after there has been opportunity to consider budgetary decisions in the light of the criticisms, comments, and suggestions of others, and I think this is a case in point.

Senator CHURCH. Well, Mr. Secretary, as I say, we are pleased that you bring us this news, because the committee was very much disturbed at the earlier proposed reductions in the budget—and I commend you for the action you have taken. Certainly you show the proper sensitivity toward the legislative process.

STILL \$65 MILLION SHORT OF CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORIZATION

But lest we go into a toe dance of exultation about the amounts, even the restored amounts to previous levels fall about \$65 million short of what Congress authorized for the AoA, so that I think this should be viewed as the very minimum, simply to hold the line against reductions when the budget falls so far short of implementing the amount that Congress itself authorized for the program.

Secretary RICHARDSON. These budget amendments, coupled with the originally scheduled increases for the Retired Senior Volunteers program, will increase proposed spending for the programs affected by \$7.5 million as compared to fiscal year 1971. They represent an increase of \$10 million above the amount initially requested for fiscal year 1972.

At the time the original budget decisions were made, it was anticipated that some areawide model projects would already be funded

and in operation by the time the 1972 budget began to have an impact.

However, our work in developing the most effective method for implementing this program has taken longer than expected. Therefore, because of the delay and since the replacement programs are not yet in place, we need to restore the budget cuts. This administration does not think the delays in achieving these new goals should result in any disadvantage to older Americans and therefore we are preparing a budget amendment to fund fully the title III projects.

Our plan to ask for restoration of funds for the Foster Grandparent program was prompted by the announcement of the new agency, ACTION. This agency offers a potential for expanded services and we think that a fair test of that potential demands that ACTION assume the operation of the Foster Grandparent program with funds equalling the amount available prior to the transfer.

The restoration of funds which we will request for research and development and for training results primarily from the diligent efforts of Commissioner Martin to preserve the existing level of effort for these functions. The vital importance of this was recognized at the outset, and even in the original 1972 budget decision the decrease in funds for research and development and training with respect to aging was proportionately less than the corresponding decrease for other components in SRS. Continuing evaluation of the total picture has enabled us to eliminate altogether the decrease for these functions with regard to the aging.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING

I would like to turn now to the White House Conference on Aging. One of the things I have been asked to discuss is plans for the Conference and the pace at which preparations are proceeding.

Within the past week, the White House Conference has been greatly strengthened by the appointment of Dr. Arthur Flemming, a former Secretary of HEW, as chairman. Dr. Flemming, who has already served well as chairman of the Conference Planning Board, has agreed to assume his new position on a full-time basis. He will work closely with Conference Director John Martin in a strong team effort to make this Conference a landmark even for the Nation. This combination of expertise will help to assure an effective conference which will provide useful recommendations for action.

I am looking forward to this Conference as an opportunity to bring the collective wisdom of many individuals and organizations to bear on the problems of the aged.

The plans have contemplated maximum participation by older people at the grass-roots level to make certain that their needs are adequately considered. This was the reason the three-level conference process began with 6,000 community forums at the local level. This is the reason several hundred community conferences are being held and the reason nearly all the States will hold State white house conferences prior to the national Conference in Washington in November. In all these activities stress has been put upon the inclusion of representation from all segments of the older population.

This Conference covers a 3-year period; involves tens of thousands of citizens; requires a great deal of study and preparation for technical committees and policy papers; and warrants the close attention of local, State and Federal Government personnel. If anything worth-

while is to come out of all this activity, a well organized, carefully structured plan is absolutely essential. This does not mean that the conferees are in any way limited either in the subjects they may cover or the conclusions they may reach. The national Conference and those which precede it are to be open conferences, at which all problems of the aging are open for consideration. We expect the conferees not only to develop statements of national policy but to indicate in each area of concern those action steps which they consider of maximum importance to be taken in the near future, and the order of importance of those steps, if the policies they recommend are to be implemented.

The principal task of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging is to arrive at a carefully weighed, comprehensive set of national policies which will give direction to real action on behalf of older persons throughout the United States.

The recommendations of the 1971 Conference on Aging will, I expect, be well thought out and carefully weighed for possibilities of implementation; and we believe that they will create the climate for highly constructive action on behalf of our older citizens. The President is looking forward to the recommendations he will receive from the Conference and these recommendations will be closely studied for possible indications of needed improvements in the Older Americans Act.

It is clear that the 1971 White House Conference on Aging is a serious and a difficult task. There have been delays and problems. There were bound to be some obstacles and difficulties in an undertaking of this size and depth. But I am satisfied that the Conference is on target, that it will contain wide representation from all segments of our older population and that it is set upon a course which will produce valuable recommendations for the President and the Congress to consider. These recommendations can be the substance for executive and congressional action for many years to come.

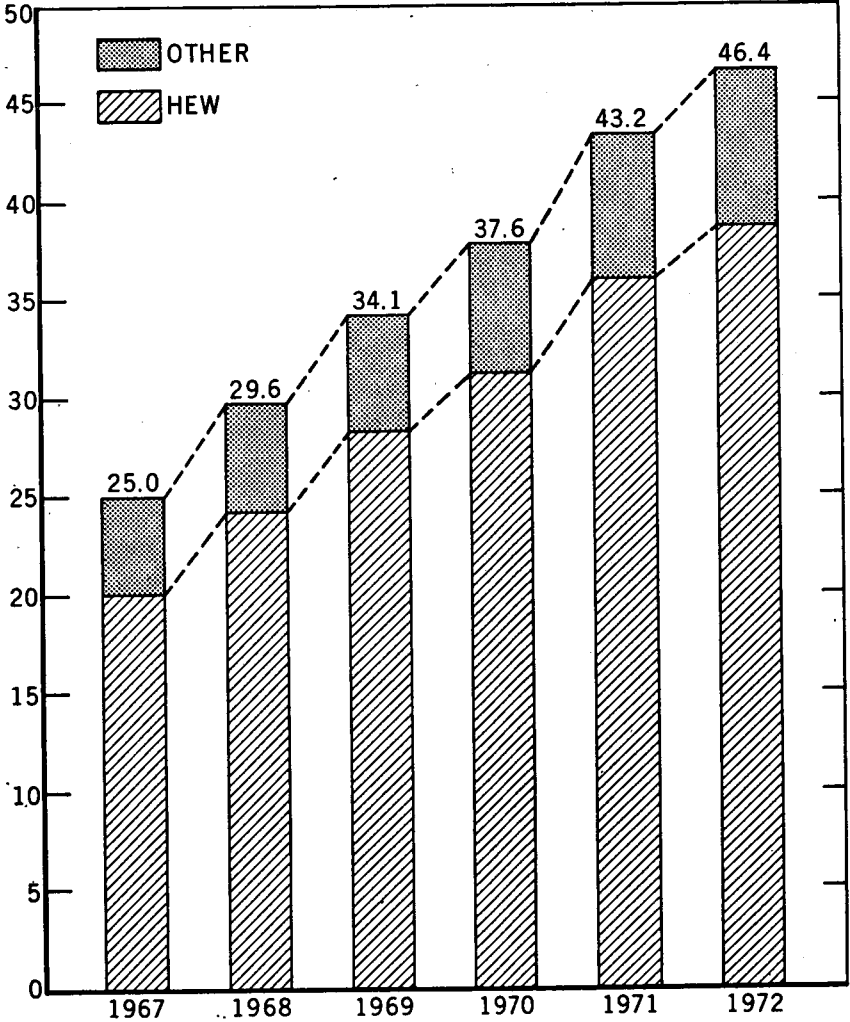
ADMINISTRATION ON AGING BUDGET

(DOLLARS IN THOUSANDS)

	ORIGINAL FY 1972 BUDGET	REVISED FY 1972 BUDGET	NET INCREASES
COMMUNITY PROGRAMS	\$5,350	\$9,000	\$3,650
PLANNING & OPERATION	4,000	4,000	—
MODEL PROJECTS	4,000	5,200	1,200
FOSTER GRANDPARENTS	7,500	10,500	3,000
SENIOR VOLUNTEERS	5,000	5,000	—
RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT	1,800	2,800	1,000
TRAINING	1,850	3,000	1,150
TOTALS	\$29,500	\$39,500	\$10,000

TOTAL FEDERAL OUTLAYS IN AGING FISCAL YEARS 1967-1972

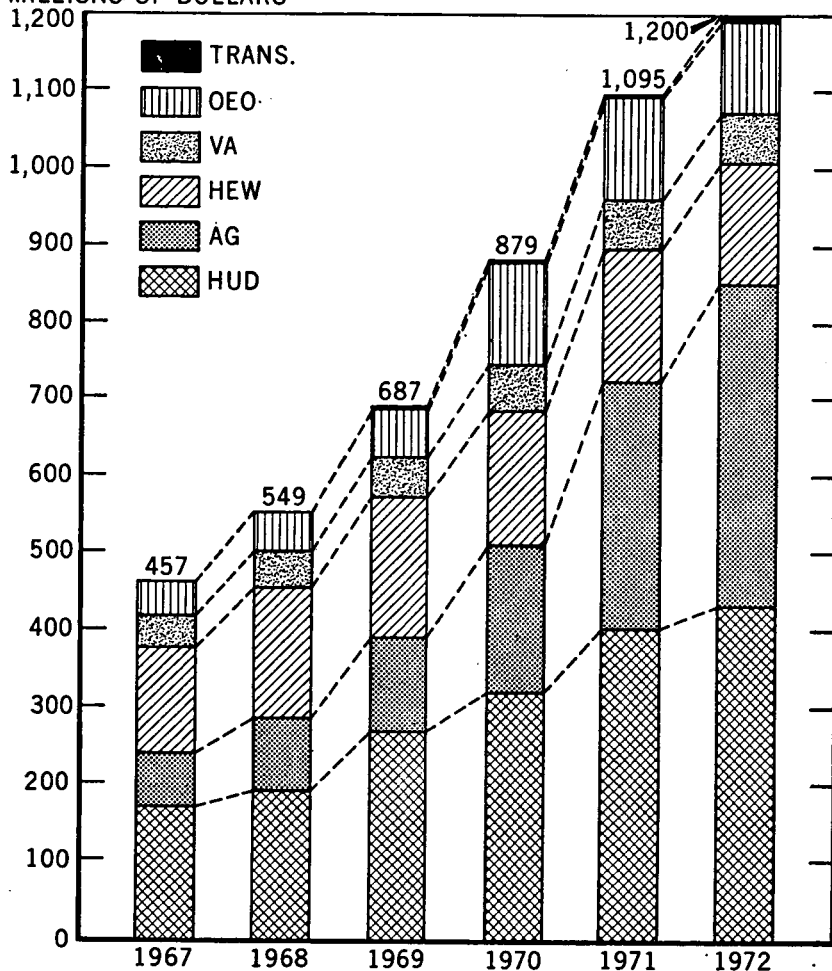
BILLIONS OF DOLLARS



FEDERAL OUTLAYS IN AGING IN "DISCRETIONARY" PROGRAMS

FISCAL YEARS 1967-1972

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS



Secretary RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, with your permission, this might be an appropriate point for me to ask Commissioner Martin to give you a brief presentation on the chart showing exactly what the budgetary actions are.

Senator CHURCH. Yes. Mr. Commissioner, if you would wait for just a moment, Senator Eagleton has an opening statement he would like to make for the record. He says it is a short statement. Then we will ask you to proceed with your testimony.

**STATEMENT BY SENATOR THOMAS F. EAGLETON, CHAIRMAN,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AGING**

Senator EAGLETON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As I said in my statement at the opening of this series of hearings, the Subcommittee on Aging has a direct and immediate interest in the Older Americans Act and the effectiveness of the Administration on Aging.

With the scheduled expiration of that act in 1972, the subcommittee has the responsibility to consider various proposals that will be forthcoming to amend and extend the Older Americans Act and/or develop other means of focusing the Federal Government's efforts to meet the needs of the aging.

In this connection, I am hopeful we can have the administration's recommendations at an early date.

As Senator Church has indicated, our previous days of hearings have spotlighted an unhappy series of facts. Among those are the following: The drastic reduction in funding originally proposed for the most successful and popular programs under the Older American's Act—though I am pleased with your announcement today of the administration's intentions to seek additional funds—the downgrading of the Administration on Aging and the transfer of functions to other agencies, and an almost total lack of confidence in the ability of AoA to act as advocate for the aging or coordinator of programs for the aging.

In short, I think the testimony we have heard in our joint hearing leads inevitably to the conclusion that the interests and needs of older Americans just do not have a very high priority in this administration.

Senator CHURCH. In that connection, the staff has just provided me with an enlightening calculation which shows that the new funding levels just announced by the Secretary amount to 37.6 percent of the amount authorized by the Congress for the AoA. So I do think the point is well taken concerning spending priorities.

Secretary RICHARDSON. I would like to add, Mr. Chairman, it is not uncommon for an HEW appropriation to lag behind the authorizations. In this also the executive branch and the legislative branch, through the appropriation process, also collaborate.

But we would be glad to present to you what the effects of these actions are. We think they are at least positive in correcting what we can agree, in the light of information now available, were undesirable cuts.

Senator CHURCH. We would like to see those charts, Mr. Secretary.

Secretary RICHARDSON. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY JOHN B. MARTIN, COMMISSIONER, ADMINISTRATION ON AGING

Mr. MARTIN. This chart ² shows the Administration on Aging budget by program and compares the original fiscal year 1972 budget with the revised 1972 budget and indicates the net increases.

Senator EAGLETON. Could you read into the record, as you go down that line by line, what the congressional authorization is for each of those items, if it be a line item authorization?

Mr. MARTIN. We will include that. In this connection, all references will be to sections of the Older Americans Act of 1965, as amended.

For the Community Grant program, the congressional authorization for fiscal year 1972 in section 301 is \$30 million. The original budget was \$5.35 million. The revised budget request is for \$9 million, which is the same as the fiscal 1971 appropriation. The revised figure represents a restoration of \$3.65 million from the budget cut.

The 1972 authorization in section 304, the section on "planning, coordination, and evaluation and administration of State plans" is \$5 million. The original budget item is \$4 million; the revised item is \$4 million. There is no change in that.

The so-called areawide model projects are authorized in section 305 at \$10 million for fiscal 1972. The original budget figure is \$4 million, which was an increase of \$1.8 million over the 1971 appropriation of \$2.2 million. The revised budget request further increases it to \$5.2 million, or a total increase over the original 1972 budget request of \$1.2 million.

The Foster Grandparent program, which is authorized by section 614 for fiscal 1972 at \$25 million, was originally budgeted at \$7.5 million; it will be increased, under the budget amendment, to \$10.5 million, an increase of \$3 million.

Senior Volunteers was authorized by section 603 for fiscal 1972 at \$15 million, and the original fiscal 1972 budget was set at \$5 million; the revised amended budget will be set at \$5 million; there is no change in that. But that is an increase of \$4.5 million over the 1971 appropriation.

The 1972 authorization in section 703 for research, development and training is \$20 million. The original fiscal 1972 budget for research and development was \$1.8 million. The revised budget figure is \$2.8 million, which is the same as the fiscal 1971 appropriation.

Senator CHURCH. May I ask a question about that particular item, Mr. Martin?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

ONE MILLION DOLLARS APPROPRIATED—NEVER SPENT

Senator CHURCH. I understand \$1 million of the amount that was appropriated for research and development for fiscal year 1971 has never been spent; it has been, in effect, impounded. Will that money be released and spent?

Mr. MARTIN. You were talking about fiscal 1971?

Senator CHURCH. Yes; \$1 million which was appropriated and never spent.

² See p. 295.

Mr. MARTIN. The final decisions on fiscal 1971 have not been made, and there is still a considerable period of time for that to be determined.

Senator CHURCH. No; we are approaching fiscal 1972, are we not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; but we are still in fiscal 1971.

Senator CHURCH. I am talking about money that was appropriated for this year for research and development, made available and appropriated by the Congress but impounded by the executive branch and left unspent.

If I am correct in that information, my question is: Will that money be released and is that money over and above the amount of the projected increase or would it form a part of the projected increase for the coming year?

Secretary RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, may I comment briefly on that question? There has been no money withheld or impounded of the 1971 appropriation for R. & D. for the Administration on Aging. There have been delays in the obligation of the funds as a result of a review in the Department, particularly within the Social and Rehabilitation Service, of the effective management and use of research and development funds.

We expect that the money will be obligated before the expiration of the fiscal year; but I was struck, in the week's following my return to HEW in June of last year, by the enormous amount of money that has been expended in the last decade for research and development in all kinds of social problems with remarkably little tangible results. It seems to me, therefore, we should institute in the Administration research and development fund some new requirement that would help, in the first place, to assure a rigorous assessment of such results and, where they did appear valid or useful, to assure also that they were adequately disseminated.

This process has been ongoing and will continue for some considerable time. It has forced a reassessment of the effectiveness of the use of all the moneys for research and development in the whole range of social services, from Foster Grandparents through foster care for children, and from nutrition through problems of dependency and so on.

Senator CHURCH. Well, I have no objection to raise to the process of reappraisal and to whatever new standards you think should be imposed to make certain that the research and development money is wisely spent.

My question is: The \$1 million that has not been spent which was appropriated for this purpose for this year—do you contemplate that will be spent this year or will it be left unspent and carried over, in which case does it form a part of the projected increase in the budget for next year?

Secretary RICHARDSON. It will be obligated this year and does not form a part of the projected increase for next year.

Senator CHURCH. Thank you.

Senator PROUTY. Is it correct that the 1972 revised budget amount for model projects is an increase of \$3 million over the 1971 budget? I believe it is.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; it is an increase of \$3 million, from \$2.2 million to \$5.2 million.

Senator PROUTY. What do you regard as the advantages of this areawide project approach?

Mr. MARTIN. The major advantages as we see it, is that under a project of this kind, we could avoid having just a one-product project—that is, a meals-on-wheels or a senior center or whatever it may be, in a community. Instead, this approach will enable us to take a comprehensive look at a community in an area—whether it is a county or a city or maybe two or three counties—look to determine first of all what the needs of the aging in that area are and, secondly, what the resources in that community are, whether they are governmental or private. On the basis of that kind of analysis, we would then develop a comprehensive plan which would deal with all of the needs and make use of all of the resources of the community.

That is our understanding of what Congress meant by that phrase “areawide model,” when the areawide model project was added to title III of the 1969 amendments to the Older Americans Act. That is the kind of program we are hoping to develop. It would be a larger, more comprehensive program, and it might include a number of title III programs in its comprehensiveness.

Senator PROUTY. Thank you very much.

Senator CHURCH. Mr. Commissioner, on that very subject of model projects, it is in that category that the areawide projects will be carried, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, it is.

Senator CHURCH. We had some testimony earlier by the president of the National Association of State Units on the Aging; I think it was on March 29. He was sharply critical of the emphasis that has been placed by the Administration upon area or regional projects, and he had some specific criticisms to offer, and I would like to raise them with you and hear your reply. He said that these areawide or regional projects would not reach many people, that they would require large staffs and that individual cities and communities would probably not have matching money for such projects.

DO NEW GUIDELINES LIMIT PROJECTS TO MODEL CITIES?

The committees have been informed that new guidelines now being prepared would limit these projects to model cities and only one would be authorized for each HEW region. Is that correct, and can you comment also on these criticisms that were raised concerning the projects?

Mr. MARTIN. First of all, they would not be limited to model cities. They would be provided for any community, any area, and that, as I say, covers several different possibilities—counties, combination of counties, combination of cities or villages or metropolitan areas.

They would require a 25-percent matching on the part of the State or community. This is provided for by statute and, of course, we have to comply with that.

They would not necessarily involve a large staff. However, we contemplate there will be some staff, because without any staff at all there will be very little action in the community.

In the initial development of these projects, we would expect that perhaps as many as eight or 10 different types of proposals would be made. We had in mind that from the first \$2.2 million we might be able

to fund the development stage of 10 projects in 1971. Then for 1972 these projects could anticipate funds for operation.

In 1972 we would take a look at the projects that had been developed and we would make some judgment then as to whether those were projects that ought to be expanded or whether additional projects ought to be added. That was something we couldn't tell in the initial determination of sites because these areawide model projects are, in a sense, experimental. To begin with, they will be, in a sense, demonstrations. In our understanding, of course, the Areawide Model program is much more than that; it is a long-term proposition. We have to start somewhere, and we think we need to start with projects that are at least large enough so we can demonstrate what we think Congress meant by the areawide concept, the comprehensive planning concept.

If, for example, the projects affected the metropolitan area of Los Angeles or Chicago or Detroit or whatever it would be, they would affect large numbers of people. Probably more people would be involved in even the limited number of areawide projects than would be involved in all of the title III projects which we now have. That doesn't disparage the title III projects in any way, but we estimate that about 1 million people are affected by them, and the areawide concept is capable of affecting millions of people rather than just a million.

Senator CHURCH. Under your new figures, Mr. Commissioner, will the expansion of the areawide projects be financed without prejudice to the title III community projects or will one expansion take place largely at the expense of the other?

Mr. MARTIN. I think it is not entirely possible to determine that at this stage. I think that is one of the purposes of carrying on the title III projects at their existing funding level—so we can see whether the areawide projects pick up some of those projects, as we hope they will. There are many communities where there might be eight or 10 title III projects that can all be picked up as part of a comprehensive project. So I don't think we are making any judgment on what should happen to the title III projects at this time. We are simply trying to develop this new concept and then see what it looks like.

Secretary RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, could I interrupt again to add another point that bears on the broader setting within which this kind of project is being undertaken? One of the things that I think any of us who have worked at the State level or with volunteer agencies in the field of human services are most concerned about is that there is so much fragmentation among projects and programs. We waste resources, not only financial but especially human resources, as a result of duplication, competition, jurisdictional jealousy, and infighting, and so on.

PLACES PREMIUM ON INTEGRATION OF SERVICES

So we have placed within HEW a very high premium on the development of models for the integration of services. This is an objective that has very real significance with respect to services to the aging in particular.

Just to give you one illustration of this, from Commissioner Martin's own State of Michigan, the city of Flint has been a pioneer in

the development of what they call "community education." It means, really, the utilization of the school as perhaps the one public facility that helps to create a neighborhood. They use this facility as a center for the community, incorporating, as most schools do, adult education programs. Other kinds of activities are also based there, including activities for older citizens which have the advantage of not only providing recreational services to them but providing them in a setting that brings them in a relationship with other people of other ages in the community. This is just one example of a kind of effort to pull resources together that we would like to encourage.

My own city, Boston, for example, now in the belated design of new schools, is seeking to incorporate in the very structure of these schools settings within which this kind of integration of services can be accomplished.

So we will probably come back to this again. But this leads me to one further point that is central to the whole question of whether we are upgrading or downgrading the Administration on Aging or just moving it laterally. We have got to develop in HEW and throughout the Federal Government the capacity of agencies that are charged with the concerns of a particular group in the population to act as catalysts and entrepreneurs in assembling the resources of programs which they do not administer, and which under no circumstances is it conceivable they could administer.

Take an example remote from this one, drug abuse. You couldn't design an agency in the Federal Government that would be solely charged with responsibility for all action of the Federal Government to combat drug abuse and to rehabilitate drug-users. You must start with the research and psychopharmacology conducted in the National Institutes of Health on one end and you must be concerned with the role of education on the other.

What we need, therefore, is to create a kind of status for the Administration on Aging or the Office of Child Development or for a unit charged with leadership in combating drug abuse that is capable of operating across jurisdictional lines and has therefore a greater total impact through bringing to bear in a comprehensive and integrated way the resources of other agencies and programs.

This essentially is the kind of role that we conceive of as being strengthened for the Administration on Aging, irrespective of what is done in terms of its directly administered programs.

CAN AO A HAVE INFLUENCE WITH PRESENT STATUS?

Senator CHURCH. How do you expect, Mr. Secretary, the Commissioner on Aging to have this kind of influence on other agencies and other programs if he is buried down the ladder of bureaucracy to such a degree that he dare not even speak to another Secretary of Cabinet rank, though I assume he can speak to you within HEW? How can this objective, which I judge to be a good one, be achieved, given the present status of AoA within the framework of the bureaucracy?

Secretary RICHARDSON. Well, I think there are two points to be made in answer to that very valid question. One is that he isn't all that far down. He is at the same level, for example, as the Director of the National Institutes of Health, the head of the Health Services and Mental Health Administration, the head of the whole Federal or-

ganization which administers our end of the welfare program or Medicaid. He is at the same relative level as people in HEW who have responsibility for billions of dollars and thousands of employees.

Secondly, however, and in order to give him greater influence within the Department—

Senator CHURCH. Before we go to the second point—I don't want to interrupt your thought or sequence, but just so we cover the first point adequately, the legislative history of the Older Americans Act, we had occasion in this committee to go back and review it very carefully. It is replete with congressional direction that the Administration on Aging be a high-level agency providing Federal focus for the elderly.

For example, the House Education and Labor Committee report on the bill that created the agency in 1965 had this to say :

The Administration on Aging, headed by a commissioner appointed by the President, would have co-equal status with the Social Security and Welfare Administration. The proposed Administration on Aging would establish a specific high-level agency with power and responsibility to take action.

Now, in your judgment, does the Commissioner today have a co-equal status, say with the Social Security Agency within the bureaucracy?

Secretary RICHARDSON. He has the same rank; he is a level 5. He has a higher level in the Federal system than the Commissioner of the Assistance Payments Administration does, for example. In addition, in order to create greater visibility for his role and to give him a stronger footing on which to exercise his coordinating function, he has been appointed, as I pointed out in the beginning, Special Assistant to the President on Aging.

This is a way of placing an agency in an appropriate setting within the total structure but at the time making clear that the head of it also has functions extending beyond those which he directly administers.

IMPACT OF OTHER PROGRAMS MORE IMPORTANT

I think it is fair to say that however important the projects and programs funded with the money that is shown on that chart, nonetheless in terms of the relationship of the Federal Government as a whole to the needs and problems of the aging, the aggregate impact of other programs is substantially more important.

This, for example, is like what we have done in the case of the Director of the National Institute of Mental Health. He occupies the same relative position in the Federal hierarchy and HEW that the Commissioner on Aging does. But, for the reason I have mentioned earlier, I have appointed him as special assistant to me for problems of drug abuse. This gives him a status in dealing with other agencies across jurisdictional lines that can and I think does help to bring the pieces together.

In any event, what we have got to try to do is create the understanding that it is possible to give an individual direct administrative responsibilities that are located at an appropriate point in the system while also giving responsibility throughout the department or agency where his charge is to try to create a greater total impact in the area of his responsibility as affected by other people and their programs. This is the direction in which we are seeking to move.

Senator CHURCH. Senator Eagleton wants to approach this same point from a little different direction.

Senator EAGLETON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First, to complete the record, as to Mr. Martin's going down the chart, he had gotten as far as research and development, where, under the original fiscal year 1972 budget, \$1.8 million was requested, and under training, the next item, \$1.85 million, for a total of \$3.65 million. The total authorized figure for both of those items—that would be research and development and training—was \$20 million.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

UPGRADED TO \$5.8 MILLION OUT OF \$20 MILLION

Senator EAGLETON. So, out of the \$20 million authorization, the fiscal year 1972 budget request was originally \$3.65 million and recently upgraded to \$5.8 million out of \$20 million. I just read that into the record.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator EAGLETON. I would like to pursue with the Secretary the same point that Senator Church was pursuing but, as he pointed out, from a different angle, so to speak. Back some years ago when the Older Americans Act was originally being considered by Congress, then Secretary of HEW Celebrezze opposed the creation of the Administration on Aging and sought to prove that it would not be able to fulfill the expectations that some people held for it.

Let me quote to you what one of your predecessors had to say, indeed a Democratic occupant of that office, and get your comment in light of your experience and Commissioner Martin's experience since the creation of the office:

In my opinion, it would be practically impossible for a Commissioner of Aging or an Administration of Aging under a commissioner to coordinate and pull all of these departments together. Even if you appoint a commissioner, he has no authority under this to tell other departments what to do. The commissioner could not tell the Secretary of Labor what to do. You could appoint a Commissioner of Aging or call it anything else you want to call it, but the true test is: What does it accomplish?

Now, Mr. Secretary, could you comment on that observation of Secretary Celebrezze at the time this office was being considered, as to whether his prediction has been borne out, or have the burdens or impediments he envisioned been surmounted?

Secretary RICHARDSON. I think there is a very solid base of concern that prompted the testimony you quoted. It is a way of saying it is exceedingly difficult to create a status and role for someone in government which has the objective of building a greater total impact from a combination of programs than the sum of the parts alone would produce.

But I think it is the other part of my answer that we have to find ways of doing this, since otherwise we would fall short constantly, in such areas as I have already given you examples of, in creating as effective an impact as we could.

So while it is true that there is really no way in which one could imagine giving the Commissioner on Aging the ability to tell the Secretary of Labor, for example, what to do, nonetheless, we can build up his role as an effective advocate for the needs of the aging

so as to make sure that the Labor Department programs are developed and administered in such way as to maximize their contributions to the needs of the aging. The Commissioner can have a valuable input to that Department in its efforts to overcome age discrimination in employment, for example.

In a like manner the Commissioner on Aging can be and has been an effective spokesman with the Department of Transportation for the needs of the aging in terms of their mobility and so on.

There has been underway for some time a Domestic Council review of all executive branch agency roles and responsibilities in the field of aging with the idea of identifying expanded opportunities. The Commissioner on Aging has had a key role in this, in calling attention to the needs and opportunities.

So what I am saying really is: The problem Secretary Celebrezze identified is a real one. This is by no means a unique example of it. It is a problem we must learn how to overcome. I think some gains have been made in this, and I hope they will continue to be made.

STATEMENT OF JOHN TWINAME, ADMINISTRATOR, SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE

Mr. TWINAME. May I add one thing to what the Secretary has said, coming back to the areawide model illustration. I think this is an example of where we are trying to vest some real clout in the Commissioner on Aging in order to use this seed money to develop a comprehensive service to the aging in locations where the Department of Labor, OEO, HUD, or other agencies' resources would be mobilized. He not only performs an advocacy role here but has some glue money to make these other resources perform.

Operationally it is an illustration of this role as we are trying to enhance it.

Senator EAGLETON. I have only one other question to propound, if I may, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CHURCH. Well, let me say the way we are proceeding here may not be a model of regularity. We have the Commissioner on his feet, and he has gone eight-tenths of the way through his chart and we haven't let him finish. I wonder if we could let him finish and he might resume his chair. Then, I think, the members should feel free.

There is no reason in my mind that we should be too rigid in procedure; the members should ask questions whenever they feel like it. Don't wait until the rest of us finish our questions before you ask yours.

Now, Mr. Commissioner, will you complete your standing testimony.

Mr. MARTIN. I am just about through here. As Senator Eagleton commented, the combined 1972 authorization in section 703 for research and development on the one hand, and training on the other, was \$20 million. The two figures in the original budget were \$1.8 million and \$1.85 million. The revised total will be \$5.8 million. That is an increase of \$1 million in research and development and \$1.15 million in training.

The totals then show that the increase of the amended budget over the original budget will be \$10 million and will give us a figure of \$39.5 million.

I call attention also to the fact that this will be \$7.5 million more than the 1971 appropriations, which is about 23 percent more than the 1971 appropriation. This is a fairly substantial increase, but that is just a slightly different way of stating the same thing.

Secretary RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, the further charts³ might help to illustrate the point we were just discussing, the role of the Commissioner as it applies to other areas of the Government.

Senator CHURCH. If you don't mind, before we go to that, I have some questions relating to this one, and Senator Eagleton has another hearing at which he must testify, and I want to oblige him by permitting him now to ask the question that he has in mind.

WHAT IS FUTURE OF FOSTER GRANDPARENT PROGRAM?

Senator EAGLETON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I will confine myself basically to one question and one area that I am very much interested in. I spoke last week before a senior citizens group in Kansas City and received more questions on the Foster Grandparent program than any other single facet of the aging programs.⁴

The administration, Mr. Secretary, has proposed that the Foster Grandparent program be transferred to the new Voluntary Action Agency. Based on that proposal, can you tell us what the future of the Foster Grandparent program would be as a part of this agency? Would it maintain its separate identity, would it be exclusively for the low-income elderly, and would participants still receive a stipend for their services?

If you want, I will tick those off one by one. First, what is the future of it as part of the overall agency? What separate identity would it have?

Secretary RICHARDSON. I think Commissioner Martin could give you a better-informed answer.

Mr. MARTIN. We have been working closely with Mr. Blatchford, who is the designated director of the new agency. The identity of the program will be maintained in the new agency if the reorganization plan becomes effective.

Of course, in the initial instance, all of the current statutes apply to the combined units. In other words, the Foster Grandparent program, unless there is a change in legislation, has to be operated under the legislation now applying to it as part of the Older Americans Act. So, the identity of the program will be maintained.

It is contemplated that there will be a separate branch or division in the new agency labeled "Older Americans Services," where the Foster Grandparent program and the Retired Senior Volunteer program will be located.

Senator EAGLETON. Taking the \$10.5 million figure from your chart, the revised fiscal year 1972 budget, will that \$10.5 million be earmarked identifiably for the Foster Grandparent program?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, it is my understanding that it will be identified.

Senator EAGLETON. Will this be for low-income elderly?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; under the statute, it would have to continue to be for low-income elderly.

³ See pp. 296, 297.

⁴ See p. 329 for response to Foster Grandparent questionnaire.

Senator EAGLETON. Would the participants still receive a stipend for their services?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, just as they do now. They get what is, in effect, a minimum wage of almost \$1,680 a year.

Senator EAGLETON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Commissioner; thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Senator CHURCH. Senator Prouty.

Senator PROUTY. I would like to return to the question of the subordinate role that many feel AoA is going to play in the future. Would it not be wise for you to reexamine this whole question in consultation with representatives of older persons themselves?

Secretary RICHARDSON. I am glad you gave me further opportunity to comment on this issue. While I talked about the role beyond that of direct administration that we hope to expand for the Commissioner as such and as special adviser to the President, I didn't mean to imply that I had any irrevocable views as to the organizational placing of the Administration on Aging.

RECEPTIVE TO WAYS TO INCREASE AoA'S IMPACT

I think I am very receptive, and I am sure Mr. Twiname and Commissioner Martin also are, to alternative ways of increasing the impact and visibility of the Administration on Aging. We certainly will be very much interested in the recommendations of the White House Conference on Aging itself; and, between now and the Conference, I will seek the opportunity to hear the views of various interested people.

Senator PROUTY. I think that would be most helpful.

I do have three subcommittee meetings in addition to this one going on at the present time; I have to leave. One of them involves education, in which you are very much concerned.

In your statement, you do suggest that perhaps the major concern of all elderly people today is a certain financial security. Now, as you perhaps know, I have introduced bills for the last several years providing a floor for elderly people, those 65 years of age and older, whether they are on the Social Security program or not, which would provide benefits for a single individual sufficient to assure \$1,800 a year minimum income and \$2,400 for a couple. Any other income they might have from other sources would be deducted from that.

The amount proposed is certainly too low but at least it is a starting point, and I hope you and other members of the administration will give very serious consideration to that proposal, because I think it is one of our crying needs in this country today.

Secretary RICHARDSON. I agree with you, Senator, that the objective you state is one that should be carried out and is consistent with the recommendations originally made by the President, although it would go beyond it somewhat in the minimum level of income provided.

The question of going further and more nearly achieving what you propose is very actively under consideration in the Ways and Means Committee now. The administration has been participating affirmatively in this process. I hope that you will feel that the result goes a substantial way toward the objective you have stated.

Senator PROUTY. I hope so; and just one other observation before I leave, Mr. Chairman. We have been talking a lot about authorizations. Obviously this committee does not authorize funds for the programs; we make certain recommendations. They are authorized by other committees.

But beyond the authorization, we have to rely on the appropriations committees themselves to recommend the money. So I think it is incumbent on all of us on this committee to do what we can in persuading members of the appropriations committee to appropriate funds which we think are adequate for the various purposes involved.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Secretary RICHARDSON. Thank you, Senator Prouty.

Senator CHURCH. Thank you very much, Senator Prouty.

IS AoA FULFILLING DUTIES?

Coming back, Mr. Secretary, to the question of AoA and the intent Congress had in originally passing the Older Americans Act, the bill itself, section 202, sets out the duties and functions of the Administration on Aging. Among the duties and functions listed by the bill are the following:

Serve as a clearing house for information related to the problems of the aging; assist the Secretary in all matters pertaining to problems of the aging.

As to these two functions, I see no difficulty. But the third:

To administer the grants provided by this act.

And the fourth is:

To develop plans, conduct and arrange for research and demonstration programs in the field of aging.

Now turning your attention particularly to this statutory language, that the AoA "shall administer the grants provided by this act" and that the AoA "shall conduct research and demonstration programs," I call your attention to the administration proposals.

First of all, the Foster Grandparent program, which is a part of AoA, is to be transferred out of AoA to this newly proposed agency of volunteer services. The same thing is to be done with Senior Volunteers program. As to research and development, that has been transferred out of AoA to SRS.

How do you reconcile these administrative moves with the language of the statute which says these are the functions of the AoA, not other departments and divisions of the Government?

Secretary RICHARDSON. Well, I think the point to be made in answer to that question, Mr. Chairman, is that the Commissioner on Aging does administer the grants provided by the act; he does develop, plan, conduct, and arrange for research and demonstration programs that deal with aging.

What has been done is simply to seek to get more mileage, more impact from the expertise and knowledge of personnel by giving them a location in the Social and Rehabilitation Service in association with others who are concerned with the development and support of research in the area of human needs.

It is fair to say that the most difficult problems in the conduct of research and the development of demonstration projects in these areas

is in the basic design and in the incorporation of effective control and in the evaluation of results. These are problems common to the so-called "soft sciences."

It was the judgment of those of us who considered this question in HEW that since the Social and Rehabilitation Service R & D people were wrestling with this problem, their ability to succeed was likely to be greater if they did it together.

Now, I don't believe that this has had the consequences of reducing the responsibility of the Commissioner on Aging for the utilization of funds that are appropriated to the Administration on Aging for research: and I think, therefore, that as a legal proposition, he can be said still to administer them.

"LOW PRIORITY" ATTENTION FOR ELDERLY

Senator CHURCH. Let me say this, Mr. Secretary, it is not a question so much of a responsibility. The concern of this committee is that research projects relating to the elderly will get lost and that more attention will be given to other types of research. Habitually there has been a downgrading in the Government of the programs that relate to the problems of the elderly.

I can see the same danger in transferring the Foster Grandparent program and the Senior Volunteer program out of an agency set up by the Congress to give its full attention to the problems of the aged to a new agency of the Volunteer Services that extends over the whole spectrum. It includes VISTA, Peace Corps, and many other types of volunteer services.

Our fear is that because the elderly have consistently been given low-priority attention, that when we take these particular programs out from under the agency which Congress created for the purpose of attending to the needs of the elderly and sprinkle them out to other agencies that are not primarily concerned about the problems of the elderly, that we won't correct the very inattention to the plight of the elderly which led Congress to pass the Older Americans Act in the first place.

That is why these charges have been made—that the AoA is being emasculated. I don't know whether it is true or not. I would like to know, for example, how many—one indication, I think, of the activity of an agency is its size—how does the staff of AoA compare, let us say, between 1969 and 1970 or 1971? Can you give us some figures to indicate how this is moving, in what direction? That is one indication of activity. Can you give us some specific figures on it?

Secretary RICHARDSON. I ask Mr. Twiname, the administrator of SRS, to respond to this, since he and Commissioner Martin have worked together on the administrative actions that are in issue here and he is also familiar with the staffing patterns.

Mr. TWINAME. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate several points you raised around this concern, and I think I should point out initially that there is an equal and opposite danger surrounding the Administration on Aging or other advocate agencies, and that is that they become isolated and become subject to what I might call "the pedestal syndrome" in which we set them apart to be responsible for limited programs and thereupon other agencies with many resources

capable of serving the elderly population abdicate that responsibility, saying "Someone else is taking care of it."

Taking this very point, it seemed to me as administrator of SRS that, limited funds in aging research, \$2.8 million and not all of that new start money, that we could extend the influence of the Commissioner on Aging if we gave him a surveillance and influence over the total amount of research we have in the Social and Rehabilitation Service that might impact on older people. We have 10 times this amount of research money available in various areas which have potential impact on the aging.

So, therefore, what we have constructed is a way in which the Commissioner can still plan, sign off, and monitor the research program under title IV, but at the same time have administrative influence over medical services research and rehabilitation research that influences the aging.

So we have in no way taken away that management or administrative control but tried to place it in such a way that he would have an extended influence. I think this will bear fruit.

Following the time of the congressionally imposed Revenue Expenditure and Control Act, in which we were held to a ceiling, I can say that the end-of-year employment for the Administration on Aging has increased from the 1969 level. If you just count the central office, direct employees increased from 64 in 1969 to 78 in 1970, with 82 projected for 1971.

But if you add those in the field who are the direct counterpart professionals who serve the aging and the other direct support people—I am not talking now about personnel and the like—we have an overall total AoA and direct support moving from 110 in 1969 to 116 in 1970 and 133 in 1971. These contract, as you would recognize, versus, let us say, the agency administering welfare, which you were concerned about before, which has a budget of \$6 billion. That agency is roughly comparable in having not many more employees. It is our intent to have aging staff that can influence programs and resources beyond this immediate budget of some \$40 million.

ADVISORY COUNCIL TO BE ANNOUNCED

Senator CHURCH. Well, I think we could perhaps sum this up—inasmuch as your answers have been reassuring, I think, to the committee in the main—we could sum it up by reminding you, if that be necessary, that a little over a year from now the Older Americans Act, will be up for renewal. We want to begin to examine the question of how should it be renewed; and, what we have learned from the previous administration of the act, what changes should be made in it, whether the approach we have taken should be radically altered or whether—in the main—the present setup should merely be extended. In this, we need, Mr. Secretary, the recommendations of your Department. We would like to have them as much in advance of the event as possible so that we can give them a careful assessment.

I think it might be timely to announce that I intend, with the concurrence of the committee, to appoint an advisory committee* of prom-

*On June 29, Senator Church announced the appointment of an advisory committee to consider improvements to the Older Americans Act, or an alternative. See appendix 2, p. 330, for announcement and list of Advisory Council members.

inent citizens in the field of the elderly and gerontology to focus upon this question, too, and to give us the benefit of their recommendations concerning where we should go from here, and that committee will be formed sometime soon and they will have an opportunity to review the whole question and come forth with recommendations in a timely way.

But I do hope, Mr. Secretary, we can have the cooperation of your Department as we look ahead to the extension of the Older Americans Act and that we can have those recommendations well in advance of the time that the act expires.

Secretary RICHARDSON. We will be very glad to cooperate in this, Mr. Chairman. I will say frankly that I have been in some doubt as to the relative wisdom of the short-term extension on one side of the act more or less as it is, or waiting until we do have the recommendations of the White House Conference before submitting recommendations that may include some modifications of the act.

While I don't suppose we need to resolve the matter now, it would be helpful to know as much in advance as possible when you believe it is appropriate to act, because we run into the problem, of course, of expiring legislation, and it would be desirable to be able to submit legislation, say, by midsummer. But if we did that, we would be doing so without having had the benefit of the White House Conference recommendation.

At any rate, I am not in a position today, since we haven't resolved this question, of saying which course we will follow. We will be influenced partly in this by the committee's own plans.

Senator CHURCH. We will be in close liaison with you on that, Mr. Secretary; we will see if we can work it out together.

Secretary RICHARDSON. Thank you.

Senator CHURCH. I have a number of other questions that I want to put to you, but there are other members of the committee who just arrived and I want to defer to them so they will have a chance to ask questions. Senator Stevenson has been here for some little time now. Senator, do you have any questions that you would like to ask at this time?

Senator STEVENSON. Not now, Mr. Chairman. Thank you.

Senator CHURCH. Senator Percy.

Senator PERCY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to say I am sorry I wasn't here at the beginning, but we are holding hearings upstairs. I received with great enthusiasm the announcement of the \$10 million supplementary increase. I think this is an indication of right priorities and I am particularly pleased with the \$3 million allocated to the Foster Grandparent program, which has been so successful.

I also was very pleased with the appointment of Arthur Flemming as the chairman of the White House Conference on Aging. I think he is ably suited for this responsibility and will work closely with my friend John Martin in this respect.

I am happy also that three out of the four colleagues you have with you are men that I worked with for years in the past; I have great confidence in them and commend you on the quality of your staff. I know the former colleague of Senator Javits offers a great deal to your panel of experts and administrators.

That doesn't prohibit me at all from needling them; in fact I can do so better since they are friends. They will understand I have a deep-seated feeling—and I have had it for many years, since I worked with the elderly—that this is the most neglected minority in America today.

Senator Stevenson and I have participated in hearings held by this committee, and Senator Moss and I helped get underway the hearings on the Chicago nursing home situation. It tears your heart out to see the way we are treating many of the 20 million older Americans in this country.

POSSIBLE REVIEW OF HEW POLICY TOWARD AoA

Mr. Secretary, I understand Senator Prouty questioned you on the status of AoA as to whether it is in too subordinate a position. I won't repeat that questioning at all; I will read the record. But I wonder if any consideration has been given or could be given to establishing a special committee or task force with adequate representation from all interested groups to review HEW's policy toward AoA?

Secretary RICHARDSON. This will be considered, Senator Percy. I think the question of what we do on that score needs to be approached in the light of the fact that there is a pending conference that will be broadly representative of the people concerned with the needs and problems of the aging. We will be, in anticipation of that conference, of course, seeking to think through some of the things that have emerged from the statewide and community conferences.

This has brought into the foreground the question of how best to organize our own internal review of these things. Certainly a task force such as you suggest would be a constructive way to approach this.

Senator PERCY. Thank you. My only other question relates to the nutrition project for the elderly that terminates as of June 30 of this year. It has been an experimental project. I have personally talked with about 12 of the directors across the country who have administered this program. I spent a good deal of time with them at the recent conference held by the National Council on the Aging and talked with them about the effect it is going to have when that program terminates. I can literally describe it as nothing less than disastrous.

I wonder, Mr. Secretary, if either you or John Twiname, who recently wrote me about this in response to a letter I had sent, have had an opportunity to read the letters that have come in from across the country by human resources departments of cities, by directors of the Nutrition Program for the Aging that I inserted in the Record April 22, 1971.

Secretary RICHARDSON. I think Commissioner Martin could answer that more knowledgeably, Senator Percy.

Mr. MARTIN. Senator Percy, the projects which you are speaking about are all coming to the end of their 3-year demonstration grant period. Basic to the concept of such demonstrations is that at the end of a demonstration period, there should be a pickup by the local community, and every effort is made to bring that about.

The problem that we have encountered with these projects is that many of the communities have made some effort, some of them a great

deal of effort, to fund these nutrition projects and have not been able to do so. In some instances therefore, projects will terminate. We have not asked for funds in the budget for the continuation of this grant program following our usual course with respect to demonstration programs.

DISAGREEMENT WITH DEPARTMENT'S POLICY

Senator PERCY. Mr. Secretary, I received the letter from John Twine on April 15 with great regret. I respectfully disagree with the position taken by the Department in this respect. It would cost \$1.7 million to continue these programs for another year.

This is really a symbol as to whether we care to thousands and thousands of people—not just the thousands of people affected directly by the program. I was interested that most of the project directors were young people—absolutely aghast that we would let these programs falter. Many of the projects are matched by city funds.

But I think we need only refer to the testimony of mayors that have been down here recently to recognize that they are bankrupt right now. They don't have the money to add new programs. They are talking about laying off essential firemen, policemen, and firing teachers in schools across the country because they can't fund existing programs.

We have a long-range program brilliantly developed for revenue-sharing to help these cities. But it doesn't help the person 86 or 90 years old who now has been getting a meal for 45 cents for 3 years; I am awfully sorry. When revenue-sharing comes, the cities will be able to help fund these programs again, but this will not be until such time as we are able to pass the revenue-sharing proposal. We have a demonstration program, we have proven it successful, and yet we are going to have, for a year, or 2 years, to drop the program, stop the machinery, break the whole organization down and say our priorities have to come from somewhere else.

There is a letter from HEW that indicates you are forced to make a hard choice but apparently other programs are more important. I would like to know what other programs could possibly be more important.

As these letters pointed out, in the city of Chicago, there are 31 different sites now. The city is putting in half the funds; the people themselves pay for these meals; they pay 45, 65, or 80 cents, depending on their income. But the director of the Department of Resources for Senior Citizens concludes by saying, "If we drop this program, it will contribute to the bitterness of the elderly, who are well aware of the low priority generally assigned to them."

I have other letters that have been sent in by senior citizens and project directors. One of them said:

The Food Nutrition for Aged Program operating under title IV provides a daily meal at 10 cents per person for 200-plus aged black poor persons. In this area the average income of the aged poor black is \$650 or less per year, or \$54 per month. These aged poor black subsist mainly on welfare or private donations as being mainly tenant farmers in their working years. They have not qualified for social security. The evaluation shows our goals have been successfully reached. However, without Federal funding, the meals would cost close to \$1—and already some of the projects have to seek private donors for the present 10 cents per meal payment.

You can go through Idaho or Mississippi; there is eloquent testimony to the success of this program. If this program is dropped the project directors feel it would be a disaster—not to mention the despair and bitterness that would be felt.

I intend to push my legislation to save this program forward; I would hope to do it with the support of the Department, as always. But if the Department can't see fit to provide this priority in its budget—I don't know what it is, but it runs \$17 or \$18 billion—certainly I will ask the Congress to separately fund this.

But I think it is an important symbol at this time, and time is of the essence; otherwise the program will be just emasculated. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MAKE UP OUR MINDS TOWARD RESPONSIBILITY

Secretary RICHARDSON. Senator Percy, I see a great deal of force in the concern you expressed with respect to continuity in a program like this in an interval in which it is important to decide on what basis to follow through with the initial demonstration. I think it is probably true of a great many activities in which HEW is engaged where we are funding in a spotty kind of way services to rather limited numbers of people in the name of demonstration and pilot projects. We really ought to be making up our minds whether the Federal Government has a broad continuing responsibility towards all people similarly situated or whether the program or responsibility is one that should be carried out by States or local governments. This is one of the situations in which the initial funding of these projects was designed for demonstration purposes.

We hoped that we would be in a position sooner than this, through new social services legislation, to deal with the question of funding this kind of service on a permanent basis. Because of all of our efforts in rethinking how best to encourage integration of social services, the initiation of this legislation has been delayed. Action that would substantially improve the income level of the people like the elderly citizens of Mississippi to whom you refer is also in the legislative process as I mentioned in the discussion with Senator Prouty. This will be a part of the Social Security amendments in H.R. 1 and will get early action.

But all of this is a way of saying I think you are right that we should re-examine the question of how we respond to needs between the existing demonstration projects on the one side and some broader approach to dealing with this on the other.

Senator PERCY. I hope for the support of the administration—and I think this administration has done a great deal to feed the hungry in this country. Senator McGovern, who is the chairman of the Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, has stated no administration has done more to feed the hungry.

The problem is that with dishing out food stamps to the poor person, the elderly living in a furnished room without cooking facilities, it doesn't provide anything but just what is necessary to keep the body going.

The testimony that I put in the record from all over the country indicates the great value that this program has proven to have. Through it people have regained their spirit, regained a sense of

wanting to live. They have regained a sense of importance in themselves with the communal-type feeding available to them. Some of this testimony that people have given would indicate that this has proven to be extremely important.

Now, as you know, I introduced 12 bills to help the aged; it is the most comprehensive program I could find. It is a very expensive program, I realize that. It almost seems not worthwhile to talk about a million dollars. But it is the little things sometimes that prove the big symbols.

I also pledged I would never put a bill in without trying to eliminate a lower-priority item that went beyond the budget. It is sometimes hard to do that.

In earlier testimony, you referred to research and development programs in fiscal year 1971. Couldn't this \$1 million excess be used to refund it?

Secretary RICHARDSON. I already assured the chairman that we would obligate the research fund. But I think the points you made are very well taken, and I can assure you that the subject will get very full reconsideration.*

Senator PERCY. Thank you, Mr. Secretary, very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator CHURCH. Mr. Secretary, I am going to first ask Senator Pell if he has any questions that he would like to ask, since he has asked none. Then I would like to get into the question of what you call the basic consideration of income, the income strategy, particularly as it relates to some new proposals for extension and expansion and improvement under the coverage of the Social Security system.

Finally we want to get into the question of the upcoming White House Conference on the Aging before we conclude today.

With those points in mind, I turn now to Senator Pell.

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF AGED POOR INCREASING

Senator PELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. That is a pretty full menu in the next half hour, so I will confine myself to one question. As a new member of this committee, I am curious as to the Secretary's thinking. What is the reason why both the absolute number and the percentage of older aged poor are increasing rather than decreasing? I still cannot clarify in my mind the reason for that.

Secretary RICHARDSON. Of course, there is an increase in absolute numbers because of an overall increase in the size of the aged population.

Senator PELL. Both in the absolute numbers and, as I understand, the percentage, too. I was wondering what the reason for it is.

Mr. MARTIN. The reason for it is probably inflation, Senator. The number of older poor on the borderline or below the poverty level is substantial, and inflation doesn't have to be very severe in order to drop them below that poverty line.

The problem is that they have a very limited capacity for recouping or catching up, particularly if they don't have Social Security or have very low Social Security payments. So they suffer more from inflation than even those who are in relatively poor circumstances but who are in the work force and who can supplement their income that way.

*See statement, p. 306.

Senator PELL. In one word, the answer is inflation, is that right?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, I believe so.

Secretary RICHARDSON. In that connection, Senator, I think we can certainly look forward to the alleviation of that problem to a significant extent by the inclusion in the Social Security Act of an amendment proposed by the President that would automatically adjust Social Security benefits upward proportionately to the increase in the cost of living and without, therefore, the lag that has developed from time to time.

Furthermore, I hope that the Congress will act on a substantial increase in minimum payments for those who do not receive Social Security. The administration originally proposed uniform national minimum payments of \$110 for each individual in the adult categories of public assistance. It is a question of increasing that minimum and transferring the administration of these programs to the Social Security Administration. This is now pending before the House Committee on Ways and Means, and I hope they will be able to report out a bill soon.

Senator PELL. Thank you.

Senator CHURCH. Let us get the figure in the record. The figure reported to us is that from 1968 to 1969, apparently the latest available figure, poverty for persons 65 or older increased in this country by about 200,000, reversing a long-standing trend.

So, as matters stand now, we are not even treading water, so to speak, we are not even keeping up with the problem; more older people are moving into poverty, which, I think, underscores the extreme seriousness of the plight of elderly people in this country and the need to do something far more dramatic in coping with their problem than we have been willing to do to date.

Secretary RICHARDSON. I think it would be useful to have current figures, Mr. Chairman, because 1968-69 was one of those intervals in which there did develop a kind of lag in adjustment of Social Security benefits that we have just been talking about.

Since then, as of January of 1970 and June of 1971, there will have been aggregate increases in Social Security benefits of 25 percent. I don't have the figures and I don't know, but that could well have a net result in the opposite direction.

ADMINISTRATOR . . . A "RELUCTANT DRAGON"

Senator CHURCH. I hope it will have that impact, but since you have emphasized the importance, Mr. Secretary, that the administration attaches to an income strategy, I am led to suggest that the record shows that the administration has been something of a reluctant dragon when it comes to improving the income of elderly people under the Social Security program.

Back in 1969, for example, the administration was willing to settle for 7 percent and later increased to a 10-percent increase in Social Security benefits, although the rise in the cost of living since the last Social Security raise would have outdistanced this proposed increase.

When the Congress voted for a badly needed 15-percent raise, the President threatened to veto the measure because of the inflationary effect, and then this year the benefit that Congress finally approved was larger than the original administration recommendation, yet

both taken together do very little more than make up for the rise in living costs.

So I don't quite see, in view of that record, how the administration can claim to be so very much concerned about income strategy as the basic concept of its plan to help elderly people. Hasn't the Congress been leading the way in this with regard to improving the incomes of the elderly under Social Security?

Secretary RICHARDSON. The administration in each case proposed Social Security increases that would have caught up with and somewhat gone beyond the increases in the cost of living to that point. And the Congress has, at least in the case of the recent increase, gone beyond the administration recommendations. The President has, however, signed the legislation.

But there have been several other measures, that I touched on earlier in my testimony, that also need to be reconsidered as part of the total picture. One is the provision for automatic adjustment of Social Security payments. Even when the Congress does, after a substantial interval, enact legislation catching up—take the 15-percent increase, which was mostly for inflation, though not all—a lot of people had been doing without for a long time. There had been four intervals since 1935 when the Social Security Act was passed, that this developed.

Senator CHURCH. We fully agree with that; in fact, it was this committee that first recommended that automatic increases of this kind be given, based upon the cost of living. This recommendation goes back quite a little time. I am glad that you adopted it and that you endorse it.

But it seems to me that, on the record, the most that can be said for the administration is that it has sought a program of income maintenance to at least catch the elderly up with rising cost in living. But certainly not based upon the record of recommended increases could it fairly be said that the administration has as its basic premise the improvement of the income for the elderly. I just don't think the record bears you out in that.

CITES THREE ITEMS IN ADMINISTRATION'S DEFENSE

Secretary RICHARDSON. I can't agree with that, Mr. Chairman. I think there are three administration initiatives that would increase income for millions of older people, apart from catch-up increases in benefit levels under the Social Security system. One is the provision that would amend the retirement test under Social Security so as to allow older people who have some earnings to continue to receive a greater proportion of their Social Security benefits.

Historically, as you know, under the retirement test, for each dollar of earnings above a certain amount, the benefits received under Social Security were reduced by a dollar. Under this proposal, without limit in the total amount of earnings, benefits would be reduced by only 50 cents per dollar. That is item 1.

Senator CHURCH. You know the Senate voted last year for a \$2,400 retirement test.

Secretary RICHARDSON. I believe we proposed an increase—it is now in Ways and Means. I didn't cite that because it would seem to me you would say that was just catching up with inflation. But the proposal

to permit for the first time the retention of earnings at any level without a matching reduction of benefits, is a new administrative initiative that does benefit income for older people.

Item 2 is the proposal I also mentioned which would relieve older people of the obligation of paying out of pocket, month by month, a premium charge for physicians' services under part B of Medicare. This in itself would be equivalent to a 5-percent increase in benefits in terms of cash available to the beneficiary. It has a total value in dollar terms for beneficiaries of about a billion and a half.

Item 3 is the legislation we have touched on from time to time which would establish a minimum income for all aged people without regard to whether they receive Social Security. This would have a significant impact, particularly in the States where welfare payment levels have been in the range of \$40 or \$50 a month. This was initially proposed 2 years ago as a \$110 limit. The administration has been supporting in Ways and Means a substantial increase in that minimum for all old-age assistance beneficiaries and their spouses.

So these are three items that occur to me at the moment in which we have proposed and supported improvements in the income status of older people.

Senator CHURCH. Of those three, it seems to me, Mr. Secretary, that the one that has the potential of greatly improving things for the elderly is the third. That is going to take a large measure of cooperation between the Congress and the administration.

Just yesterday I introduced a bill, and other members of this committee will soon join in it, which would alter the Social Security program in the following ways; and I would like your comments upon the concept. I think it is generally in line with the thinking that the House Ways and Means Committee seems now to be processing in connection with Social Security.

Now, the bill would do these things: It would increase the benefits at the lower part of the income scale. One of the problems in the past is that straight percentage increases have benefited those who receive the larger retirement benefits, while those who are greatest in need are benefited the least.

So it would alter the present formula in such a way as to pass the major benefit to those on the lower part of the scale to the extent that the fund itself can stand the increase and remain actuarially sound.

Then it would provide for the abolition of old age assistance as we now know it—administered through 50 different State agencies with 50 different standards—and authorize the Social Security System to make supplementary income payments in lieu of old age assistance to those whose income falls below, from all sources, the present levels of poverty as defined by the Government.

In other words, it would be possible, under this arrangement, not only to do away with welfare for the elderly but to guarantee that the Social Security System—which was originally intended to provide at least a decent level of retirement income and has failed always to do so—would accomplish that objective by combining the Social Security benefit with an income supplement, for those who are presently forced to endure poverty.

Now, those are the major objectives of this legislation, and I would like your comment concerning this proposal, your estimate of it and whatever light you can shed upon the administration's position with respect to such a proposal.

INCREASED BENEFITS AT LOW END OF SCALE?

Secretary RICHARDSON. Well, I think, Mr. Chairman, it might help to give you a clearer response if I take the second proposal first. I think this is a thoroughly valid and constructive proposal. In fact, it is essentially what we have been working with the Committee on Ways and Means to accomplish.

One facet of it, the elimination of 54 different jurisdictional standards and so on, would have been partially corrected by our original welfare reform proposal insofar as they did establish a minimum level of benefits.

The second part of it, the takeover of administration as to determination of eligibility nationwide by the Social Security Administration is a step which I hope will emerge in H.R. 1.

So I think it is fair to say on that point we are in full agreement. That step, however, has implications for the first suggestion you make—namely, utilization of a larger ratio of money collected under the Social Security tax to increase benefits at the lower end of the scale. I would not agree with that as a proper use of employer-employee contributions in a contributory system under which benefits are intended to be, on the whole, wage related. It is a social insurance system and, to that extent, benefits are proportionately greater for individuals who have contributed for a limited number of quarters of coverage and at very low rates of taxable wage base.

Senator CHURCH. What is minimum being paid now after these latest two increases in benefits under Social Security?

Secretary RICHARDSON. \$70.40 a month.

Senator CHURCH. For the person who has no other income, this would be way below the present poverty level as defined by the Government, would it not?

Secretary RICHARDSON. Yes, it would. But the reason I wanted to answer the question dealing with the establishment first of minimum levels of income for all individuals over 65 is in order to be able to point out that insofar as an individual does not qualify for Social Security benefits adequate to support, he could then receive supplementary payments on this other basis.

So the question, then, is really whether a flat-rate payroll tax should be used to finance the minimum benefits for an individual whose length of employment or wage level wouldn't otherwise support it. You are, in effect, reducing the range of the benefits and reducing the wage-related character of the system if you do this.

Senator CHURCH. Isn't there already, Mr. Secretary, a bias in favor of a somewhat larger benefit being paid to those whose income is very low? In other words, it isn't a straight return based on contribution alone?

Secretary RICHARDSON. That is true. As I said a moment ago, to that extent, it is a social insurance system, it does tax the higher contributors to the benefit of the lower ones.

The question, however, is whether it is desirable to skew the benefit scale still further in that direction.

You used the phrase, in propounding the question, of doing this for the lower range of benefits, to the extent that it can be actuarially justified or to the extent the system can stand the increase. There is no

increase in benefits that can be proposed at this stage without some increase in the rates of contribution.

Taking together the contribution rates for cash benefits and for Medicare, the Ways and Means Committee is going to have to propose another increase in the wage base and some long-term increase in the tax rate. So that you couldn't do this out of the system without some increase in taxes. The question then is whether to do it on an essentially flat-rate tax applicable to all wages up to the limit of the wage base or to do it as by establishing a minimum level of benefits, as you also proposed, through general revenue.

These are the factors involved, and I think it is sounder to maintain the present range.

There is one exception to this—that is, it has been considered recently, and I think it is meritorious—that is to provide a higher minimum level of benefits for individuals who were in the system for a long period of time although perhaps intermittently and at low rates of wages. Here is a way of doing it which, I think, is considered and may well be in the bill.

Senator CHURCH. Well, whichever method is used, we come up pretty much at the same place, do we not, Mr. Secretary?

Secretary RICHARDSON. Yes.

OBJECTIVE—TO LIFT ELDERLY OUT OF POVERTY

Senator CHURCH. We came out with the objective, sir, which is to lift the elderly out of their poverty.

Secretary RICHARDSON. Yes.

Senator CHURCH. And to do this through the mechanism—

Secretary RICHARDSON. And take them off welfare, remove the humiliation of a process which involves a social worker going down their budgets and asking how much you spend for carfare and how much you spend for entertainment and "Do you really need another pair of shoes?"

Senator CHURCH. Right, exactly so.

I want to say to you in this regard, with regard to this proposal, I am very strongly in sympathy and support and I want to do everything I can as chairman of this committee to see that it is favorably received and considered in the Senate. I think there would be no one step that we could take that would have greater immediate impact on the condition of life for the elderly than to eliminate welfare and to provide them with a retirement income that is adequate, at least to maintain them above the level of poverty as defined by the Government.

So I strongly commend you on the position you have taken in this connection.

Wouldn't this also have the effect, Mr. Secretary, of relieving the States of the contribution that the States now make to welfare, the one-third contribution that the State governments make to welfare, at least insofar as the elderly are concerned?

Secretary RICHARDSON. It would in a great many States. It would help all States. I don't think we would want to create the impression that there was no remaining need or justification for State supplementation. What we are proposing, in effect, is a uniform national minimum, and that minimum in terms of relative standards of living,

of course, would be substantially more in the Southeastern part of the country than it would in the Northeast or the Northwest.

But States would be enabled, in effect, to do this—that is, to supplement if they choose to do so and still achieve some significant savings.

Senator CHURCH. Well, I should think for many States, depending upon the level established, it would mean that the money now being directed into Old Age Assistance would be saved; for other States, it would mean it would be reduced.

This is one way of achieving some revenue-sharing—by releasing substantial amounts of money that the State governments can then put to other use.

Secretary RICHARDSON. At least in its fiscal effect; I am not sure as a matter of semantics.

Senator CHURCH. Well, it achieves the objective of making money available that is now tied down to Old Age Assistance.

Secretary RICHARDSON. Yes, and that is a significant further justification for the proposal.

Senator CHURCH. Well, I think that is good news, Mr. Secretary, and I wish you much success with the effort in the Ways and Means Committee and in the Senate when the time comes for it to be taken up here.

I have just one or two final questions, about the White House Conference on the Aging.

Secretary RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, excuse the interruption, but may I ask to have the balance of my prepared statement included in the record as if read. It does deal with the White House Conference.

Senator CHURCH. The balance of your statement will be included as though read at the appropriate point in the record.⁵

Secretary RICHARDSON. May I also have the charts⁶ shown at the end of my testimony? What they do is to show increases in Federal expenditures on behalf of the aging under all of the programs of the Federal Government that touch on this.

Senator CHURCH. They will be so inserted in conformity with your request.

At the beginning of the hearing this morning, Mr. Secretary, I furnished you or one of your assistants with the charges that Mr. Cruikshank had made concerning the upcoming White House Conference on the Aging,⁷ and if I can quote directly from his charges and ask you to respond, he contended that

political bias shown by the Nixon Administration in preparations for the White House Conference on Aging which is scheduled November 28 and December 3 has all but destroyed its real significance for the Nation's elderly.

Then he goes on in that statement—I think you may have my copy—as I recall, he goes on in that statement to particularize the charges, first by saying that those who have been appointed to serve on the various committees are in the ratio of about 5 to 1 Republicans over Democrats, and of those chosen, he says, many of them are unknown to those who have been in the field of the elderly and prominent in the field.

⁵ See p. 287–297.

⁶ See p. 295–297.

⁷ See p. 284–286.

Finally, he charges that the way that various organizations will be represented fails to reflect the interest and concern of organizations that deal primarily with the problems of the aged, so that the composition of the conference will not properly reflect the elderly but will be uniform with respect to all organizations, many of which are connected with the elderly only in a peripheral way.

Now, that is the best I can do in summarizing the charges without the actual paper before me. But I think that pretty much covers the various criticisms that Mr. Cruikshank makes. I wish you would reply to those criticisms.

GRATEFUL TO REPLY TO CRITICISMS ABOUT WHCA

Secretary RICHARDSON. I am grateful, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to reply. First I would like to emphasize the point that no one appointed to any position having to do with the White House Conference on the Aging was accepted or rejected or appointed or not appointed simply on a political basis. Primary consideration in every case was either expertise in the field of aging or genuine interest in the problems and needs of the aging.

We sought and we think we have achieved, a balanced representation. There is certainly no basis whatsoever for the allegation that there is a ratio of five Republicans to every Democrat in any body or advisory committee or anywhere else.

Senator CHURCH. Are you testifying, Mr. Secretary—so I can understand you, and I think we should be clear on this; it is a rather delicate issue—that there has been no political screening process for Arthur Fleming's technical papers, technical review committees, task forces, and the overall conference planning committee?

Secretary RICHARDSON. I think in the case of the nontechnical personnel or planning committee, there was an attempt made to be sure there would be balance politically, and in that sense, there was an inquiry made as to the political affiliation of the individuals. But the overall objective has been to achieve a balanced and representative group of people, representative not only of political points of view but of all of the agencies and organizations that are concerned with the needs and problems of the aging. We think an effort has been made also to include adequate representation of minority groups.

I think finally the concern and the interest of the administration in making the Conference not only an effective sounding board for the aging but more effectively a source of significant and useful recommendations is highlighted by the fact that the President did just appoint my former boss, Arthur Fleming, as chairman. He was, as you probably remember, the Secretary of HEW at the time of the organization of the first White House Conference on Aging held in early 1961, and he has retained a deep interest in the subject since then. Most recently he has served as chairman of the Planning Board.

Senator CHURCH. You are satisfied, then, that the selection of personnel, to date at least, has been balanced and that there has been no undue political consideration in the selection of personnel?

Secretary RICHARDSON. I am so satisfied. Perhaps Commissioner Martin might like to supplement my statements.

Mr. MARTIN. I would add only that Mr. Cruikshank is serving on the Planning Board, and serving on the Executive Committee of the

Planning Board, and has been given every opportunity to participate in deliberations of that board and that executive committee, and many of these ideas have been accepted. I am sure none of them have been rejected on a political basis.

There has been no discussion on a political basis on that board. It is solely the question of what steps can we take to have an open conference where people would have an opportunity to be heard, have an opportunity to have their problems presented.

We have gotten the best people we know of to write the background papers. We held 6,000 conferences or forums around the country, where older people did all of the talking; we are having some 500 committee conferences, 50 State conferences; there is absolutely no political management of this conference.

Senator CHURCH. That is what we would expect.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Senator CHURCH. Let me ask you this question. According to present accounts, an attempt was made to have an accurate cross section of the Nation's young people at the White House Conference on Youth, and I think the director of that conference said, at the commencement, that he was satisfied that the young people represented there were as accurate or typical a cross section of young people as it was possible to assemble—all of which made the latter, on their part, the more interesting.

But what I would like to ask you is: Are you endeavoring to get the same kind of accurate cross section of the elderly represented at this Conference?

ATTEMPTING ACCURATE CROSS-SECTION OF ELDERLY

Mr. MARTIN. I would like to insert in the record the criteria⁸ that has been established by the planning board for the appointment of delegates in the States which will amply demonstrate the kind of conference that we intend to have, including not only minorities but a large and heterogeneous group of older persons reflecting the diversity of the citizenship from each State.

I am sure every effort will be made to assure that. We want this Conference to be a landmark. We want it to be a productive Conference and to have it produce carefully thought out recommendations that will be assured of implementation.

In the 1961 Conference, we had 600 recommendations. Nobody knew what was priority No. 1. When we come to this Conference, we ought to know what the older people and the experts and everybody else think ought to be done immediately following the Conference.

Senator PERCY. I think the line of inquiry is very good, because there could be some feeling that there may be hand selection and political motivations here, or what patsies for the administration could possibly be selected. I think it is a very good thing to get on the record that this is absolutely not being done.

I have participated now with this administration on three White House Conferences. The White House Conference on Nutrition was a wild session; I went over there and addressed the delegates and worked in some of the conferences, and listened to some of the demands made

⁸ See appendix 3, p. 332.

on behalf of the hungry. Even some of the top industrialists in the food industry found themselves brought along with this whole feeling.

There was no political selection of any kind that I could see in that conference; it was brilliant.

The White House Conference on Children was also extremely well done. So was the one on youth, all we have to do is look at the conclusions they came up with—and even out in Estes Park. That is the record of integrity that we had.

Senator CHURCH. It made a convert out of me.

Senator PERCY. That is right. I thought your comment was absolutely right, and that sets, then, a standard for being certain that the people at that Conference will be the advocates of the deep-down feelings of the elderly in this country, because that is the way we really work.

There must be strong advocacy for the elderly, and the White House Conference can prove to be a strong voice for the Nation as to what our national conscience should be. I support fully the chairman's viewpoint that we want a balance, and I know this is the intention of the administration.

Mr. MARTIN. I can add to that only that we expect to have 3,000 advocates—vigorous, active advocates of the aging at that Conference, and there isn't any question but what they will express themselves fully and freely.

Senator CHURCH. For the record, then, I wonder if you could provide the committee with the names and a brief description of the qualifications of the authors of the technical review papers and the chairmen of the technical review committees.⁹

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, I will be glad to do that.

Senator CHURCH. Good. Senator Percy, do you have any further questions?

Senator PERCY. I wouldn't want to hold our panel any longer other than for this one comment: I intend to be working closely with your staff in the 12 bills for the elderly that I put in. But I would like you to understand that I put them in with a great deal of humility and desire to only orbit ideas subject to intensive study and modification.

I put in these bills, and I was alarmed when every single group representing the elderly—the National Council on the Aging, the American Association of Retired Persons, the National Retired Teachers Association—endorsed this legislative program, without adding anything when they so enthusiastically supported it, I was concerned. I might have put much too much in. I might have become too strong an advocate.

For 25 years, I have been the chairman of our retired persons group, which has thousands of people. So I have worked with retired people for many years, and I have tried to walk in their shoes. But it is possible I have far too much in my legislative package. But I would rather have it subjected to moderate cutting back in some areas where it might be unrealistic—for instance, in the area of prescription drugs at no cost to the consumer.

I am certain that the Department can find a way to make this particular bill less expensive, perhaps through a dollar surcharge or something like that.

⁹ See appendix 4, p. 333.

I would call upon the expertise in the Department to suggest ways that I can modify and make more realistic my own legislation. Certain aspects of it do not get into your Department; for instance, I have asked for an amendment of the Internal Revenue Code to permit the deduction for medical care. As their income goes down, their expenditures on medical attention goes up and become an unduly high portion of the family budget.

But I would welcome the assistance and help that I could have from the Department.

In the area of transportation, I have encouraged the city of Chicago's Mass Transit System to experiment with half fares for elderly citizens during nonrush hours. This experiment has worked out well for the mass transit system; it has given them added revenue, and it has given mobility to people.

I am aghast at how immobile people are. They lose their driver's licenses, and even when they are 65 and can keep a driver's license, some insurance companies discriminate against them just because they are over 65. I want to make it a criminal offense for a company to do that if they are able to pass a State driver's test. They should not discriminate against a person solely because of age just in order to blanket-cover them and remove some risks. We ought to be able to take some risks to keep them mobile.

I am asking for reduced fares for transportation in interstate transportation—all buses and airlines. Why can't we do it for the elderly? We have so much going for the young in this country through the help of Federal funding:

We haven't done much in the housing area for the elderly. I am asking for money for demonstration projects, to find better housing for the elderly.

So I would welcome the scrutiny of the Department. I intend to vigorously pursue this area, but I want to do so realistically and with the cooperation and help of the Department. I have never once failed to find that cooperative attitude when I have gone to the Department with the right facts, and I want to assure you I appreciate all the help I have had. In this case I approach it in the same spirit. My legislation is by no means perfect; it can be improved, and I hope it will be subjected to careful analysis.

Secretary RICHARDSON. We welcome and appreciate your initiatives, Senator, and we certainly want to work with you in the spirit you have described.

I might add one further thought reinforcing what you have said, and that is that we have perhaps, as a society, particularly those of us in government, failed to look closely enough at the potential savings to be achieved in long-term care and hospitalization and in the support of dependent older people by greater emphasis on the kinds of things that can keep older people interested and vigorous and wanted and that can overcome the barriers of loneliness.

STUDIES CORRELATE FACTORS THAT INCREASE COSTS

I know there are studies than tend to show correlation between isolation and poor health, which, in turn, lead to admission to some sort of long-term care facility, often at great cost to the general public.

If we were willing to do a little more to overcome the barriers of isolation, we would not only contribute to the happiness and productivity of the older individual but we at the same time would avoid many of these heavy, long-term costs.

Senator CHURCH. I just want to say that we appreciate Senator Percy on this committee because of his very genuine and deep-seated concern for the problems that face the elderly in this country which he has demonstrated again and again for years.

Mr. Secretary, I want to thank you for coming. I will close with this rather sobering allusion to the way governments tend to spend or misspend money. It has been called to my attention that the foreign assistance we are going to give the Greek Government this year amounts to nearly twice as much as the budgetary requests for the full implementation of the Older Americans Act. The amount of money we spent on the war in the past 2 weeks could finance this budget for the elderly for the rest of this century.¹⁰

I really do think it is time we start to find a better priority and make this society what it should be, and I don't think we would have too much to worry about with respect to the influence and prestige that we would enjoy in the world at large.

I promised you we would get through at 12:30. It is 10 minutes to 1, which sets an alltime record for punctuality on the part of the Senate committee.

The joint committee is in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:50 p.m., the joint committee recessed, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

¹⁰ See "Some Facts on Funding and Priorities," appendix 5, p. 335.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1

FOSTER GRANDPARENT QUESTIONNAIRE ¹

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Questionnaires were sent to 68 projects. Replies were received from 39 project directors—for a 57 percent response rate.

RESPONSES

1. How will the proposed \$3 million funding cut affect your projects?

All 39 respondents said that the proposed funding level would hurt their projects, in most cases quite seriously. The projected loss of positions ranged from 3 to 40, with an average of 14.

2. What is the attrition rate for your project?

- a. Average attrition rate—about 7.5 persons per year.
- b. Average percentage attrition rate—10.3 percent.
- c. Average median percentage rate—8.5.

3. What is the basic motivation for an elderly person's participation in the Foster Grandparent program?

- a. Find useful roles—2.
- b. Provide needed services—1.
- c. Income supplement function—23.
- d. Combination of all three—13.

Of those choosing among the three primary roles for the Foster Grandparent program, 23 out of the 26 respondents—or 88 percent—said that income supplement function served as the basic motivation factor for participation in the program. And 92 percent—36 out of 39 of the respondents—said that the income supplement function was either the primary or a major contributing factor for participation in the program.

4. Would you support transferring the Foster Grandparent program and RSVP to the proposed new volunteer agency?

- a. Favor—1.
- b. Conditional Favor—2.
- c. Opposed—28.
- d. Conditional Opposed—2.
- e. No Opinion—2.
- f. Lack of sufficient knowledge to make a judgment—5.

Of those taking a direction position on the question, 97 percent—or 28 out of 29—opposed transferring the Foster Grandparent program to the new volunteer agency.

5. Will the elderly participants be able to locate alternative employment, if there is a reduction in the number of enrollees?

- a. Will not be able to locate other employment—39.
- b. Will be able to locate other employment—0.

¹ See Senator Eagleton's remarks, p. 307.

Appendix 2

APPOINTMENT OF ADVISORY COMMITTEE ²

[From the Congressional Record, June 29, 1971, p. S10268]

APPOINTMENT OF ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER IMPROVEMENTS TO THE OLDER AMERICANS ACT, OR AN ALTERNATIVE

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, a little more than a year from now, June 30, 1972, is the deadline to act on legislative proposals to continue or replace the Older Americans Act. Equally important, the Congress must decide what type of an advocate the elderly should have to represent them in the highest councils of government. Additionally, other issues must also be considered:

Should the Administration on Aging be continued as it is presently constituted?

Should it be changed and given new responsibilities?

Or should it be replaced with a successor agency?

These important questions take on an added meaning during this year, the year of the White House Conference on Aging. Moreover, recent reorganization moves have raised widespread concern about the future role of the AOA to serve as the focal point for the aged.

Research and training programs, for example, have been assigned to the Social and Rehabilitation Service regional offices. And the administration's reorganization plan has placed the foster grandparent and the retired senior volunteer programs in a new volunteer agency.

In the view of many experts in the field of aging, these reorganization moves have been contrary to the legislative intent of the Older Americans Act. In addition, this action has raised serious questions about the capability of AOA to function as a strong force for improving and enriching the lives of older Americans.

A few weeks ago the Senate Committee on Aging, in conjunction with the Subcommittee on Aging of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, conducted 5 days of hearings on this issue as well as other related questions affecting the elderly. At these hearings, Nelson Cruikshank, president of the National Council of Senior Citizens, urged that a task force be appointed to determine:

"What kind of organization could best serve as a visible and articulate Government spokesman for the elderly, commanding the respect and wholehearted cooperation of all our Federal agencies."

This is an important task with potentially far-reaching implications for our Nation's elderly. Without effective organization and leadership, our efforts on behalf of older Americans will continue to be fragmented and haphazard. Therefore, the naming of this panel takes on an added dimension.

For these reasons, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Aging, it gives me great pleasure to announce the appointment of an advisory committee to consider proposals for the most effective advocate to represent the elderly. In addition, the advisory committee will report out its recommendations, at the earliest possible date, to the Committee on Aging.

The appointment of such a task force at this time, I believe, is advantageous from many standpoints. First, the Congress would have the benefit of the input of many renowned experts in the field of aging before acting on the Older Americans Act. Second, the advisory committee will provide a helpful service for delegates to the November White House Conference on Aging.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of this advisory committee be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the names were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

² See Memorandum: Special Committee on Aging, Vol. III, No. 3, April 28, 1971.

ADVISORY COUNCIL MEMBERS

Walter M. Beattie, Jr., Dean, School of Social Work, Syracuse University.

William D. Bechill, Chairman, Social Policy Sequence, School of Social Work, University of Maryland.

Dr. Blue Carstenson, Director, Green Thumb, Incorporated, National Farmers Union.

Mr. Charles H. Chaskes, Executive Director, Michigan Commission on Aging and President, National Association of State Units on Aging.

Nelson H. Cruikshank, President, National Council of Senior Citizens.

Dr. Wilma Donahue, White House Conference on Aging Staff and former Director of Gerontology University of Michigan.

Mr. William C. Fitch, Executive Director, National Council on the Aging.

Mrs. James H. Harger, former Director, N.J. Division on Aging and former President, National Association of State Units on Aging.

William C. Hudelson, Director, Division of Services & Programs for Aging, Prince George's County Department of Community Development, Md.

J. R. Jones, Director, Office on Aging, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Dr. Jerome Kaplan, President, Gerontological Society.

Mr. Garson Meyer, Chairman of President's Task Force on Aging (1970) and former President, National Council on the Aging.

Dr. Woodrow W. Morris, Institute of Gerontology, University of Iowa.

Mr. Bernard E. Nash, Executive Director, American Association of Retired Persons/National Retired Teachers Association.

Mrs. Kay Pell, Director, Idaho Department of Special Services.

Mrs. Margaret Schweinhaut, Chairman, Maryland Commission on Aging.

Dr. Harold Sheppard, Staff Social Scientist, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

Clarence M. Tarr, Vice-President, National Association of Retired Federal Employees.

Bernard S. Van Rensselaer, Director, Senior Citizens Division—Republican National Committee.

Frank Zelenka, Associate Director, American Association of Homes for the Aged.

Appendix 3

CRITERIA FOR DELEGATE NOMINATION³ WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING 1971

1. That the diversity of population in each State be reflected in the composition of the State delegates, and that due recognition be given to ethnic, minority, and economically disadvantaged groups of older persons in each State population.
 2. That delegates be selected on the basis of demonstrated interest, personal effectiveness and leadership in the field of aging, with special weight being given those who participated in local and State conferences, studies, and other activities preparatory to the White House Conference on Aging, and who best represent the points of view of the participants in those preparatory activities in the States.
 3. That a wide interest in programs for older persons be favored over specialized or exclusive interests.
 4. That the individual's capacity to undertake follow-up action in his State and community, subsequent to the National conference, and his leadership potential be given weight. (Insofar as possible, State legislators with responsibility for matters affecting the aged should be considered.)
 5. That the delegation as a whole provide representation from rural, small towns, and metropolitan areas and from all age groups, *especially* older persons.
 6. That the delegation from each State should, insofar as feasible, include persons assigned to a section within each of the subject-matter groups, in order that the State may have broad coverage at the Conference.
 7. That persons with a professional identification in the field of aging should not exceed one out of every four delegates appointed by the States.
- Persons may be regarded as "professionally identified" with the field of aging if more than 50% of time for which they receive compensation is devoted to programs or services to the aging.

³ See Mr. Martin's remarks, p. 324.

Appendix 4

TECHNICAL REVIEW COMMITTEES FOR WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON AGING 1971 ⁴

<i>Needs and Needs Meeting Areas</i>	<i>Technical Committee Chairman</i>	<i>Authors of Background Papers</i>
Income	Roger F. Murray, S. Sloan Colt Professor of Banking and Finance, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University	Dr. Yung-Ping Chen, Associate Professor of Economics, Univ. of Calif. at Los Angeles
Health and Mental Health	Dr. Edward J. Lorenze, Medical Director, Burke Rehabilitation Center, White Plains, N.Y.	
Physical Health		Dr. Austin B. Chinn, Former Chief, Gerontology Branch, Public Health Service
Mental Health		Dr. Alexander Simon, Chairman, Department of Psychiatry, Univ. of Calif. Medical School
Housing	Noverre Musson, F.A.I.A., Architect, Tibbals-Crumley-Musson Architects, Columbus, Ohio	Ira S. Robbins, Housing Consultant, Law Firm of Vladeck, Elias, Vladeck, and Lewis, New York, N.Y.
Nutrition	Dr. Donald M. Watkin, Acting Chief, Spinal Cord Injury Center, Veterans Administration Hospital, West Roxbury, Mass.	Dr. E. Neige Todhunter, Professor of Nutrition, Vanderbilt University
Education	Dr. John W. McConnell, President, University of New Hampshire	Dr. Howard Y. McClusky, Emeritus Professor of Education, University of Michigan
Employment and Retirement	A. Webb Hale, Director, Recreation Center, Space Division, North American Rockwell Corporation	
Employment		Dr. Irvin Sobel, Chairman, Department of Economics, Florida State University

⁴ See Senator Church's remarks, p. 325.

*Needs and Needs
Meeting Areas*

Technical Committee Chairman

Authors of Background Papers

Retirement

**Roles and
Activities**

Transportation

**Spiritual Well-
being**

Planning

Training

**Research and
Demonstration**

**Behavioral/Social
Science Research**

**Biological/Medical
Research**

**Facilities, Programs,
and Services**

**Government and
Non-Government
Organization**

Dr. Walter C. McKain, Professor of Sociology, University of Connecticut

Thomas C. Morrill, Vice President, State Farm Mutual Automobile Insurance Company

Hess T. Sears, Secretary, Equitable Life Insurance Co. of Iowa

William L. Rutherford, Administrative Vice President, Forest Park Foundation

Dr. George G. Reader, Professor of Medicine, The New York Hospital, Cornell Medical Center

Dr. Alfred H. Lawton, Acting President and Dean of Academic Affairs, University of South Florida

George K. Wyman, Commissioner, New York State Department of Social Services

Dr. W. Fred Cottrell, Professor, Departments of Political Science and Sociology and Director, Scripps Foundation for Population Research, Miami University

Dr. James H. Schulz, Associate Professor of Welfare Economics, Brandeis University

Dr. Gordon F. Streib, Professor, Department of Sociology, Cornell University

Joseph S. Revis, Consultant on Transportation Planning, Institute of Public Administration

Dr. David O. Moberg, Chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Marquette University

Dr. Robert Binstock, Associate Professor of Politics and Social Welfare, Brandeis University

Dr. James E. Birren, Professor of Psychology and Director, Gerontology Center, University of Southern Calif.

Dr. George Maddox, Jr., Professor of Sociology, Duke University

Dr. Edwin L. Bierman, Chief, Metabolic Service, Veterans' Administration Hospital, Seattle, Wash.

Dr. Robert Morris, Professor of Social Planning, Brandeis University

Dr. W. Fred Cottrell

Appendix 5

SOME FACTS ON FUNDING AND PRIORITIES ⁵

On the Indochina War (Based on the cost for fiscal 1970)

- One and a half month's cost of the war would fully fund the Older Americans Act at its present authorized level (\$105 million) through the end of this century.
- What we spend for the war during a two week period would enable us to fund the Older Americans Act through the end of the century at the present funding level (\$29.5 million) requested by the Administration.

On Foreign Military Aid (Fiscal 1970)

- Foreign Military assistance for Greece amounts to \$59 million, twice as great as the budgetary request (\$29.5 million) for the Older Americans Act.
- U.S. Foreign Military assistance to Korea (\$160 million) is nearly 30 times as great as the amount the Administration wants to spend on the Title III Community programs on aging (\$5.35).
- Foreign Military assistance for the Philippines (\$18 million) is more than twice as great as the proposed funding level for the Foster Grandparent program (\$7.5 million) for this coming fiscal year. Yet, nearly 6 million persons 60 and over fall below the poverty level.
- Foreign military aid for Ethiopia (\$11.5 million) is nearly 7 times as great as the budget request for Title V training (\$1.85 million) under the Older Americans Act.

On Priorities

- The amount we spend for a carrier (about \$1 billion) would fully fund the Older Americans Act at its present authorized level for the next 10 years.
- The cost of one bomber (\$25 million) would fully fund the Foster Grandparent program and lift approximately 9,000 more elderly persons out of poverty.
- Our financial outlay for one destroyer would enable us to fund fully the community programs on aging for three years. Moreover, this could provide an estimated 2,500 additional projects to meet the special needs of the elderly.
- Research and training under the Older Americans Act could be fully funded for 8½ years if we spent as much on these programs as we do for a submarine. However, the budgetary request for research and training (\$3.65 million) is only 1/47th of the cost of a submarine (\$170 million).

PROPOSED FUNDING CUTBACKS FOR OLDER AMERICANS ACT ⁶

Proposed funding for the Older Americans Act has been trimmed back sharply in the Administration's budget for fiscal year 1972 (July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1972). The budget recommendation of \$29.5 million represents a \$2.5 million decrease compared with the fiscal 1971 appropriation of \$32 million, and constitutes only 28 percent of the authorized funding level of \$105 million.

Program	Authoriza- tion	Budget request
Title III:		
Community programs on aging.....	\$30,000,000	\$5,350,000
Planning and coordination.....	5,000,000	4,000,000
Area-wide model projects.....	10,000,000	4,000,000
Titles IV and V.....	20,000,000	3,650,000
(Title IV, research and demonstration).....		(1,800,000)
(Title V, training).....		(1,850,000)
Title VI:		
Retired senior volunteer program.....	15,000,000	5,000,000
Foster grandparent program.....	25,000,000	7,500,000
Total.....	105,000,000	29,500,000

⁵ See Senator Church's remarks, p. 327.

⁶ See Memorandum: Special Committee on Aging, Vol. III, No. 2, March 4, 1971.

Appendix 6

RESOLUTION OF LOUISIANA COMMISSION ON THE AGING

WHEREAS, the Congress of the United States enacted into law the Older Americans Act of 1965, which was duly signed into the law by the President of the United States on July 14, 1965, and,

WHEREAS, the purpose of this Act (Public Law 89-73) was to provide assistance in the development of new or improved programs to help older persons through grants to the States for community planning and services and for training through research, development, or training project grants, and to establish within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare an operating agency to be designated as the "Administration on Aging," and,

WHEREAS, from inception of Public Law 89-73 through fiscal year 1968-69 many thousands of older persons in the State of Louisiana and many millions of such persons in the United States of America received assistance, services and benefits accruing as end products from the action taken by the Congress, and,

WHEREAS, The Congress, prior to the end of fiscal year 1969 recognized the good that was being done for senior citizens throughout the Nation as a result of Public Law 89-73 extended the provisions of the Act for an additional three-year period with passage of Public Law 91-69 signed into law by the President on September 17, 1969, at the same time, authorized increased federal appropriations for the several titles included in the Act, thus making it possible to continue and expand programs designed to assist senior citizens, and,

WHEREAS, the proposal now before the Congress of the United States to appropriate funds to implement the Older Americans Act as amended, during fiscal year 1971-72 is considerably less than that authorized by the Congress which requires the several states to lessen the work that is being done for senior citizens throughout the Nation by less than 20% of the authorization in Title III of Public Law 91-69, and,

WHEREAS, the State of Louisiana is scheduled to receive \$88,309 to conduct Title III project programs in the State during the ensuing fiscal year as compared with \$148,646 during the present fiscal year and further compared with \$263,379 for fiscal year 1969, and,

WHEREAS, this continued decimation of a program authorized by the Congress works hardships upon many thousands of older people in the State, depriving them of needed services during their latter years,

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Louisiana Commission on the Aging, assembled in regular meeting in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on February 27, 1971, does hereby express its regrets and dissatisfaction of action taken by the present National Administration to reduce Federal funds authorized by the Congress to provide services for older people through Public Law 91-69 thus working a hardship upon the older people of our society who were instrumental in creating the great State and Nation in which we live

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Louisiana Commission on the Aging hereby calls upon each member of the Louisiana Congressional Delegation to use his influence in the Congress of the United States to rectify this nefarious arrangement, and cause the Congress to appropriate not less than the amount authorized by the Congress for the purposes in Public Law 89-73 and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to all members of the Louisiana Congressional Delegation, to the Governor of the State of Louisiana, and to the members of the Louisiana Legislature.

CERTIFICATION:

I certify that the above is a true and correct copy of an excerpt from the minutes of the Louisiana Commission on the Aging meeting held on Saturday, February 27, 1971.

ARCHIE E. ROBINSON,
Executive Secretary,
Louisiana Commission on the Aging.

LOUISIANA COMMISSION ON THE AGING, COMMISSION MEMBERS

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Appendix 7

HISTORY RELATING TO CREATION OF ADMINISTRATION ON AGING

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., March 19, 1971.

To: Special Committee on Aging.
From: Education and Public Welfare.
Subject: Administration on Aging—Issues Relating to Organization and Administration.

This is in response to your request for information on various aspects of the administrative arrangements of the Administration on Aging. This memorandum gives a brief administrative history of the Administration on Aging, deals with various recent developments in the administration of research and demonstration and training grants under the Older Americans Act and the Foster Grandparents program, and, finally, includes a number of excerpts from the legislative history of the Act which may give an indication of what Congress expected of the Administration on Aging.

I. *History Leading to the Creation of An Administration on Aging*

In 1950, as you know, President Truman called what was to become the first National Conference on Aging. One of the recommendations of this conference was a call for all government and voluntary agencies to accept greater responsibility for the problems and welfare of older people in the United States.

In response to this recommendation, the Federal Security Agency (forerunner of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare) created a small staff known as the Committee on Aging and Geriatrics. This Committee was later formally established in the Office of the Secretary as the Special Staff on Aging. In 1963, the Special Staff was renamed the Office of Aging and transferred from the Office of the Secretary to the Department's newly created Welfare Administration. Other Federal departments continued their interest in the subject of aging through the Federal Council on Aging created by President Eisenhower in 1956.

Legislation later sponsored by Representative John Fogarty and adopted by the Congress provided funds for a National White House Conference on Aging which was held in January of 1961. The conferees recommended in their final report that a Federal coordinating agency in the field of aging be set up with:¹

- A statutory basis and more independent leadership;
- Adequate funds for coordination and other assigned functions through 'line item' appropriation;
- Responsibility for formulation of legislative proposals for submittal to Congress; and,
- Responsibility for periodic reviews and reports on the various Federal programs, departments, and agencies working in behalf of older people to achieve effective coordination and operation.

The first major push for legislation along the lines of the later-enacted Older Americans Act was made at the Conference. Both Representative Fogarty and Senator Pat McNamara proposed creation of such an agency to coordinate Federal aging programs. In testimony before the House Select Subcommittee on Education in 1963, Representative Fogarty explained:²

¹ "The White House Conference on Aging: Basic Policy Statements and Recommendations," *Committee Print of the Special Committee on Aging*, United States Senate, 87th Congress, 1st Session; p. 165.

² "Administration of Aging," *Hearings before the House Select Subcommittee on Education on H.R. 7957 and Similar bills*; 88th Congress, 1st Session; September 17, 1963; p. 9.

Fully aware of the implication of such a report and acting on the suggested recommendation for a Federal organization necessary to implement a program in aging, Senator McNamara and I introduced identical bills on January 31, 1962, for the establishment of an independent U.S. Commission on Aging. The programs affecting older persons cut across the responsibilities of many departments and agencies. It was our recommendation that the independent commission would recognize the importance of each of these many vital programs and give them proper focus without the influence or control of any one department . . . Opposition came only from those with vested interest in continuing the existing organization dominating the field and programs in aging. I am convinced that the administration's best interests were not properly represented and the legislation thereafter has been stalemated ever since . . . One other unfortunate development that was consummated in January of this year was the reorganization within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that downgraded the program on aging by removing the special staff on aging from the Office of the Secretary and placing it under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Welfare, as an Office of Aging . . . I object and indeed I believe every one of America's 18 million persons over the age of 65 has a right to resent this official action by the Federal Government announcing to the Nation that—the independence, dignity and usefulness of our older Americans will herein after be regarded as welfare problems.

Representative Fogarty's 1963 legislation was known as the "Older Americans Act of 1963" and would have created within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare an agency equal in stature to the other major agencies in HEW. The administration on Aging would be headed by a Commissioner for Aging who would be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Specifications of the Fogarty bill basically parallel the provisions later incorporated into the Older Americans Act of 1965.

The Congressman was asked why he was now prepared to establish an agency in HEW, rather than support the independent commission concept. Representative Fogarty replied:³

I am just giving in. The Department opposed the independent agency last year and due to their opposition, nothing has been done for a year now, so I am just giving in on that for the time being. I just think the independent commission is the best thing but to get action I am willing to cooperate with the Department and hope they will support this kind of legislation.

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare followed Mr. Fogarty in presenting testimony on the proposal. While endorsing the objectives of the legislation, the Secretary made it clear that he opposed the creation of an Administration on Aging of the kind envisioned in the Fogarty bill. The following excerpts from the Secretary's testimony give his reasons:⁴

H.R. 7957 calls for the administration of the proposed grants by a new unit to be created within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—an Administration of Aging under the direction of a Commissioner of Aging. I would like to discuss the question of administration of aging programs with you in some detail.

Shortly after becoming Secretary in July of last year, I carefully reviewed the Department's program on aging, considered various types of administrative organization for the strengthening of these programs, and, after careful study, made a major reorganization creating a new administrative unit designated as the Welfare Administration.

In this Administration were grouped a number of related programs previously separate. To head this Administration we appointed Dr. Ellen Winston, who is here with me this morning, an administrator who is known both nationally and internationally as an outstanding leader and program expert in the field of social welfare and aging. As part of the reorganization, the Office of Aging (formerly Special Staff on Aging) was transferred from the Office of the Secretary to this new Administration. The Office of Aging was thus placed in an operating agency whose head is able

³ *Ibid.*; p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*; pp. 24-30.

to give it greater leadership and personal attention than was possible in the Office of the Secretary.

I think this committee must appreciate that I have 138 separate programs going and everyone wants to be in the Office of the Secretary. Likewise, every agency which has any program at all wants a commissioner, a commissioner on water pollution, and so on. Every agency wants status. I think that our reorganization program did much to lift the Office of Aging from the stagnation it was in when I became Secretary.

As part of the Welfare Administration, the Office of Aging enjoys a closer relationship with other bureaus dealing with the problems of the aged and aging. We feel that this new organization will permit the Department to discharge most effectively its responsibilities in the field of aging, and we feel the Office of Aging should be given an opportunity to develop within the Welfare Administration.

This reorganization occurred only slightly more than 7 months ago. During this brief period, as those who would take time to examine the record would agree, the results have been very encouraging.

The relocation of the Office of Aging was brought about to strengthen the operating potential of the Office, to underpin its broad responsibility and concern with, and activity for, the well-being of the older men and women in the Nation. The director and his staff have available major resources in the Welfare Administration to draw upon to help promote an expanding and accelerated program and also the active support of the Commissioner of Welfare, who gives time that the Secretary could never make available to this major field of departmental activity.

In view of the gains that have been made in recent months, and again I want to emphasize to this committee that this reorganization took place just 7 months ago, under existing arrangements stemming from this reorganization that I effected last winter, it is my strong feeling that it would be unwise to alter the administrative structure at this time.

If the programs authorized under the several bills before Congress were enacted, the know-how acquired in large and varied grant-in-aid programs, now under the Welfare Administration, which have been operating since 1935, could be of great benefit in inaugurating these new grant programs on a sound basis.

H.R. 7957 vests responsibility for the administration of titles III through VI of the bill in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. To carry out this responsibility, the Secretary would have to take into consideration the relationship of the programs in the bill to several other aging activities in the Department. To carry out effectively the aging programs in the Department, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare should have the administrative flexibility necessary for executive control of the Department's affairs and to make administrative changes from time to time as circumstances warrant. Establishment by statute of the internal organizational arrangement of the Department would deprive the Secretary of the control and flexibility, and, accordingly, I recommend that section 201 of H.R. 7957 be deleted and deferred for further consideration.

In concluding, we believe that the needs are so great for the type of grants authorized by H.R. 7957 that we strongly urge the committee to report a bill that contains these grant programs, with authority for administration vested in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare as most similar authorities are. He can then delegate his authority to operating agencies of the Department according to the administrative arrangements that will best serve all the programs for which he is responsible. If it becomes advisable to create an Administration of Aging the Secretary already has the executive power to do so.

Following three days of hearings in 1963 on the Fogarty and other bills dealing with the creation of a new agency in the aging area, the Select Subcommittee favorably recommended to its parent Committee on Education and Labor adoption of a bill creating an Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In turn, the full Committee approved the bill, but failed to obtain a rule on the measure before the conclusion of the 88th Congress.

In 1965, the measure was again introduced and brought to the floor of the House (without additional hearings) on March 31, 1965. The Chairman of the Select Subcommittee, acting as manager of the bill, explained:⁵

⁵ Congressional Record—House; March 31, 1965; p. 6139.

Mr. Chairman, at the aforementioned hearings it became clear—particularly after testimony by Secretary Celebrezze of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Congressman Fogarty—that the major point at issue was the creation of an operating agency within HEW, headed by a Commissioner, as opposed to the continued vestige of authority in HEW, under the Commissioner of Welfare, as an Office of Aging. During the hearings, 17 witnesses placed themselves on record as being in favor of creating a new operating agency in HEW to be known as the Administration on Aging. It is significant that 17 of the 18 witnesses who testified favored such a proposal. These witnesses came from local, State, and National organizations on aging, and they included representatives of unions, voluntary and professional organizations, and religious organizations.

In fact, the only dissenting witness favored the complete bill, but opposed only the necessity for creating the new agency—this was, of course, Secretary Celebrezze. At that time, the Secretary quite naturally was partial to the administration bill for the aged and aging—a bill introduced in the House by the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills] and a bill which involved the expenditure of millions of dollars more than did the Fogarty bill. It is significant to note, however, that this same administration bill was not introduced in this Congress, and that in fact, the administration is no longer offering an alternative solution.

Mr. Chairman, if I may, I would now like to address myself to some of the criticisms which have been directed at this legislation. As aforementioned, the hearings showed that the central sources of controversy was the creation of a new Administration on Aging in HEW.

Mr. Chairman, the problem is basically one of planning and coordination so as to maximize the contribution which all agencies of Government, as well as those in the voluntary segment of our society, can contribute to the development of services and programs for older people with a minimum of duplication, overlapping, and confusion, and with a maximum contribution of their own resources and activities, not necessarily engendered by a great amount of additional money but a genuine and committed concern for doing something to bring older people back into our society and into our community and to provide for them a meaningful plan and a meaningful role.

Mr. Chairman, in this context, the question or organization becomes extremely important. It must be recognized that there are many facets of Federal and State programing and local activities which are not in the welfare context and which cannot respond well to leadership which generates basically from the concept that public welfare is the central coordinating point around which these activities should be conducted. I submit that attention to the aging is one of these facets, and one that should be completely divorced from the welfare concept.

Mr. Chairman, we must remember that the organization of this program on the Federal level will set a pattern which the various States will tend to follow. If we acknowledge the older American as a welfare case on the national level, can we expect the States and communities to do otherwise?

Mr. Chairman, attempting to administer this program under the auspices of the Welfare Administration, and therefore inevitably in most places through the State welfare department, will mean we will be very seriously limiting the range and scope and effectiveness of the utilization of the total resources available to serve these people.

Mr. Chairman, an alternative solution is for the Secretary of HEW to establish an Administration on Aging within his Department—by Executive order—alike that called for in this bill. This would truly accomplish the same administrative purpose as would the bill. We must remember, however, that the next Secretary may have different administrative ideas about the older American, and with another Executive order, put the organization back under welfare.

This is why it is necessary for the Congress to meet this issue head-on. This is why a legislative authority must be created in this instance. We do not propose to go into every executive department to organize the department the way we think best. The departmental administrators are far more familiar with the peculiarities and subtleties of their individual departments. What we do propose, however, is to recognize a great need and provide for that need when it is not properly being met. In this context, it is not the right, but the responsibility of the Congress to act.

The House passed the bill on March 31, 1965 and sent it to the Senate. The bill was considered and passed by that body on May 27, 1965 with amendments that do not bear on the issues discussed in this memorandum. On July 6, 1965, the House concurred in the Senate amendments and the enacted legislation was signed into law by President Johnson on July 14, 1965.

II. *Administration of grants for research and demonstration (title IV), training (title V) and foster grandparents (title VI, part B)*

The Older Americans Act established within the Department an Administration on Aging and stated that one of its duties and functions was "to administer the grants provided by this Act" (Sec. 202(3)). In 1969 the Congress extended the Older Americans Act and its grant programs through fiscal 1972 and added statutory authority for the Foster Grandparent program which had previously been under the Economic Opportunity Act. The House report on the 1969 amendment indicates that the administration of the grant programs in these titles would continue to be in the Administration on Aging. As to Foster Grandparents the report states:

H.R. 11235 amends the act by making the foster grandparents program an integral part of this organic legislation. The poverty focus on this very important program is preserved, and the only significant change which this amendment makes is the language which will be section 612(a)(3)(C) of the act, and requires that a State agency on aging have 45 days notice of AoA's intent to launch a foster grandparent project in the State, with opportunity to review the project application and make recommendation with regard to it.

And as to the research, development, and training, the House report stated:

This amendment enables the Administration on Aging to enter into contracts with profitmaking organizations in those cases where the purposes of the research, development, and training programs could be carried out at less cost, more expeditiously and more effectively by contracting with a corporation organized for profit rather than a nonprofit agency.

This change would bring the provisions of titles IV and V into line with corresponding provisions of other Federal legislation. This proposal does not change the present law as it relates to grants. Grants would continue to remain restricted to public and private nonprofit agencies.

(H. Report No. 91-285, pages 7 and 8.)

The Senate report on the 1969 Amendments repeated the language of the Act that the Administration on Aging "was given the responsibility to—administer the grants provided by this act;" (Senate Report No. 91-340, p. 2.)

It appears that the administration of these grants, however, has become progressively less the exclusive province of the Administration on Aging and who has the real authority for grant approval and administration is much less clear than when the agency was first established. The latest regulations on grant authority for research and development and the training projects have added a requirement that grant applications be "sent to State agencies on aging and to SRS regional office for review and comment." These regulations, however, do not reflect the full extent of divided authority in grant approval and administration. In answer to a question of the Chairman of the Select Committee on Education, House Education and Labor Committee as to why research and training components have been transferred from the Administration on Aging to the Office of the Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service, the Commissioner on Aging, John B. Martin, stated that "only some of these responsibilities have been assigned to the Office of the Administrator." He amplified this in the following manner:

With respect to the central Office of Research and Demonstration, all research technicians in SRS have been transferred to that Office, including those in AoA. A Division on Aging is an important unit in that Office. The Director of that division remains my research liaison to the Office. The major function of this central Office is to take the expressed program problems and objectives from each Administration and develop a coherent research and demonstration strategy that combines overlapping interests. Thus, AoA will have a direct input not only on Title IV activity, but on all other research activities that affect the aging, including research and demonstration projects for Medicaid, income maintenance, social services, and rehabilitation. The research professionals specializing on the aging will have a better opportunity to interchange ideas and knowledge with other re-

searchers and to stimulate their thinking concerning the application of other SRS programs to the needs of the aging.

With respect to training activities under Title V, the relationship of AoA to the Office of Manpower Development and Training is similar to that in research except that the training specialists are retained in AoA to manage directly those grant programs unique to AoA's interest. Overall manpower development strategy and standard setting for SRS-related State agencies will be coordinated by the SRS Office of Manpower Development and Training.

As to awarding of projects grants under Foster Grandparent, we understand that this function has been carried out by the SRS regional offices since February of this year. The regulations on the Foster Grandparent program do not reflect this procedure but the Department presumably justifies its action on the wording in the regulation which states that "the Secretary will award a grant or contract to those applicants whose proposals will in his judgment best serve the purposes of the Act and this part." (Sec. 907.4)

Perhaps, particular attention should be paid to Commissioner Martin's concluding remarks as to "what is the future of the Administration on Aging?" He told the House Committee:

How do we at the Federal level assure that the needs of older persons for improved transportation, for more recreation, for useful activities in which to serve the community, for group dining programs, for alternatives to long term care, are met? We believe that part of the answer is found by having a strong advocate in the Federal government with an across the board responsibility for input into all programs affecting aging people. There is a good case to be made for the proposition that the advocate must not be burdened with the administration of individual programs after they have become established. After all, the individual programs by themselves, are only, at best, small pieces of a much larger picture.

Advocacy can, of course, take many forms. It means strengthening the capacity of the Administration on Aging to develop programs for operation by others, to furnish technical advice on how to improve the circumstances of the elderly, to call to the attention of policy makers the implications for older persons of proposed policy changes, and to design the best possible models for the delivery of specific services for the elderly.

The Commissioner's statement emphasizes what are essentially staff functions. These staff functions are included in the Administration's statutory duty of assisting the Secretary in matters pertaining to the problems of the aged. However, the House Education and Labor Committee report on the original enactment (89-145) states that the Administration on Aging will be "an operating agency." The Commissioner's statement, and the current assignment of duties, appears to minimize, if not contradict, that legislative direction.

III. Selected References

The quotations listed below pertain to the creation and the establishment of the Administration on Aging within the Department of Health, Education and Labor. These quotations were taken from various sources including hearings on the Older Americans Act of 1963, the House and Senate debates and Committee reports on the Older Americans Act of 1965, and relevant materials relating to the 1967 and 1969 amendments to the Older Americans Act. We have separated the quotations into three categories, (1) those emphasizing general need for coordinating Federal programs at the Executive level, (2) those expressing reasons for not having an Office of Aging under the Welfare Administration and (3) those emphasizing the need for a strong agency which will look after the interests of the aging.

Quotations relating to the general needs of the elderly

1. McNamara, Patrick, Congressional Record, January 28, 1965.
Senate S. 1428

When Senator McNamara introduced the Older Americans Act of 1965, he inserted a statement from the Senate Special Committee on Aging, Developments in Aging, Report No. 8, February 11, 1963. The statement expressed the need for effective organization of Federal programs in aging as follows: "The measures taken with respect to coordinating, highlighting, and giving drive to a multiplicity of Federal programs in aging, have been sporadic, spasmodic, piecemeal, hesitant and futile."

2. *Ibid.*

Senator McNamara also inserted a statement from the House Committee on Education and Labor, Report No. 1477, 88th Congress which said, "It was readily apparent from the initial field of hearings in Sacramento, California through our final hearings in Washington, that there exists confusion and frustration in this field. The need for coordination at the Federal level as well as at the State level is acute. The need for dynamic leadership was quite apparent."

3. Martin, Dave. Hearings before the Select Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor. House Representatives. 88th Congress, 1st Session on H.R. 7957 (to Provide Assistance in the Development of New or Improved Programs to Help Older Americans) September 17, 1963 :

"We have a social security program—also have a public housing program and a program relative to discrimination in regard to labor under the Labor Department and so forth and so on. It seems to me, you have an all-inclusive bill with a great deal of overlapping with programs."

4. U.S. House of Representatives, 89th Congress, 1st Session, Report Committee on Education and Labor. Report No. 145 to accompany H.R. 3708 (Older Americans Act of 1965) March 9, 1965 : 2, 3.

"The White House Conference on Aging convened during the week of January, 1961. The Conference made 20 specific recommendations. The Section of their report, 'Federal Organizations and Programs,' which is most pertinent to this legislation, recommended that a Federal coordinating agency should be established, as follows :

- (a) The agency should have a statutory basis and more independent leadership.
- (b) Adequate funds for coordination and other assigned functions should be furnished through a 'line item' appropriation.
- (c) It should have responsibility for formulation of legislative proposals.
- (d) It should have responsibility for periodic review of and reports on the programs in behalf of older persons to achieve more effective coordination and operation.

"As a followup to this Conference, there was established in May of 1962, by Executive Order, the President's Council on Aging. The Council was charged with the task of reporting annually to the President and of making available information of interest to private and public organizations which are concerned primarily with the problems of aging."

5. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

"The report of the Senate Special Committee on Aging 'Developments in Aging,' Report No. 8, dated February 11, 1963, expressed its views on the need for effective organization of Federal programs in aging—

"Responsibility for developing programs to serve the needs of older persons is, of course, a shared responsibility. It involves the Federal government, the States and their communities and voluntary agencies—

"Our committee's recent field hearings provided ample evidence of the desire of the States and communities to carry out their vital roles in this partnership. Effective performance of those functions which are the responsibility of the Federal partner. And our hearings made it clear that we lack anything even approaching effective performance on the part of the Federal partner."

Quotations emphasizing reasons for not having the Office of Aging under the auspices of the Welfare Administration.

Before 1965 there was an Office of Aging under the jurisdiction of the Welfare Commissioner within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

1. McNamara, Patrick ; Congressional Record. May 27, 1965. Senate: 11923.

The following quotation was given during the Senate debate on H.R. 3708 (Older Americans Act of 1965) "An important result of this Act will be to erase the stigma of welfare from the Welfare Administration of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and giving coequal status as a separate Administration."

2. Dent, John, Congressional Record. March 31, 1965. House: 6369.

The following remarks were made during the House floor debate on H.R. 3708 (Older Americans Act of 1965). "—that the major point of issue was the creation of an operating agency within HEW, headed by a Commissioner, as opposed to the continued vestige of authority in HEW under the Commissioner of Welfare, as an Office of Aging. During the hearings, (1963 Hearings) it is significant that 17 of the 18 witnesses who testified favored such a proposal." (The Secretary of the Department of HEW, (Anthony J. Celebrezze) was the one witness who opposed the establishment of the Administration on Aging.)

3. *Ibid.*

"The problem is basically one of planning and coordination so as to maximize the contribution which all agencies of government, as well as those in the voluntary segment of our society, can contribute to the development of services and programs for older people with a minimum of duplication, overlapping and confusion, and with a maximum contribution of their own resources and activities, not necessarily engendered by great amounts of additional money but a genuine and committed concern for doing something to bring older people back into our society and into our community and to provide for a meaningful plan and a meaningful role.

"In this context, the question of organization becomes extremely important. It must be recognized that there are many facts of Federal and State programming and local activities which are not in the welfare context and which cannot respond well to leadership which generates basically from the concept that public welfare is the central coordinating point—"

4. *Ibid.* p. 6370.

"Attempting to administer this program under the auspices of the Welfare Administration, and therefore inevitable in most places through the State welfare department, will mean we will be very seriously limiting the range and scope and effectiveness of the utilization of the total resources available to serve these people.

"An alternative solution is for the Secretary of HEW to establish an Administration on Aging within his Department—by Executive order—like that called for in this bill. This would truly accomplish the same administrative purposes as would the bill. We must remember, however, that the next Secretary may have different administrative ideas about the older American; and with another Executive order, put this organization back under welfare.

"This is why it is necessary for the Congress to meet this issue head-on. This is why a legislative authority must be created in this instance. We do not propose to go into every executive department to organize the departments. What we do propose, however, is to recognize a great need and provide for that need when it is not properly being met. In this context, it is not the right, but the responsibility of the Congress to act."

5. Powell, Adam C., Congressional Record. March 31, 1965. House: 6373.

"Removing the program on aging from the welfare setting would create a more favorable attitude toward appropriate action that would not be regarded as public assistance on the welfare level. Private industry as well as public agencies have indicated their reluctance to be associated with welfare agencies."

Quotations relating to making the Administration on Aging a strong agency to look after the needs of the elderly

1. Donahue, Wilma. Hearing before the House Select Committee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor. 88th Congress, 1st Session, on H.R. 7957 (To provide assistance in the development of new or Improved Programs to Help Older Americans) September 18, 1963: 162.

The following statement was made by Dr. Donahue, Chairman of the Division of Gerontology Institute for Human Adjustment, the University of Michigan, Member of Michigan Commission on Aging. "In April 1962, I made a statement before the General Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education relative to H.R. 10004 calling for the creation of a permanent U.S. Commission on Aging. I did not favor a permanent U.S. Commission on Aging. Technical advice obtained from professional public

administration experts, led me to believe that such a Commission would, at best, be only a makeshift solution to the problems. The usual and theoretically proper role of a Federal Commission is that of planning, advising and regulation and not that of administering an operating program. Further, a small agency with a relatively small operational program charged with responsibility for coordination of all governmental programs for older people would, I believe, have put the Commission in the position of competing with the larger agencies that already have well established and successful programs in aging, which at the same time trying to coordinate their efforts. Finally, a review of the accomplishments of the Special Staff on Aging, accomplishments made at great odds and without the benefit of an operating program, indicated that this staff, if given proper financing and authority, could carry on the kind of functions envisaged for the U.S. Commission on Aging. And it would have the advantage of remaining within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, where most of the agencies with major programs affecting older persons are already concentrated, thus affording easy coordination and cooperation between these units. I felt that the older people of this country deserved the advantage of representation at Cabinet-level, thus insuring that their interests would have the broadest consideration. I therefore spoke in favor of continuing the Office of Aging as a part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare but assigning to it the grant provisions for States, and for research, training and demonstration projects proposed under this bill."

2. *Ibid.*, McNamara, Patrick. September 17, 1963. 9.

"At the present time, we are without a central core of direction and coordination in the field (aging). The Administration of Aging would constitute that core. The Administration of Aging would establish a specific high-level Agency with power and responsibility to take action."

3. U.S. House of Representatives, 89th Congress, 1st Session, Committee on Education and Labor. Report No. 145 to accompany H.R. 3708 (Older Americans Act of 1965). March 9, 1965. p. 7.

"This legislation—First, it would establish a high-level agency—an Administration on Aging—that would devote its full attention to the developments of solutions to their social and economic problems. This agency would function not only as a sympathetic and respectful ear and voice for the elderly, but would function positively in terms of serving as a clearing-house of information on the problems of the aged and aging; assisting and advising the Secretary on the manifold matters affecting the elderly; administering the grants provided by the act; developing, conducting, and arranging for research and demonstration programs in the field of aging; providing technical assistance and consultations to State and local governments and private organizations; preparing and publishing educational materials dealing with the problems and potentials of older persons; gathering statistics in the field of aging; and stimulating more effective use of existing resources and available services."

4. Powell, Adam. Congressional Record, March 31, 1965, House, p. 6373.

This statement was made during the Senate debate on the Older Americans Act of 1965.

"The appointment of a Commissioner on Aging would give the Federal program a statutory basis that would make it possible for it to work with Congress and other Federal agencies at an administrative level that would prevent or eliminate the bureaucratic stalemates that exist under the present organizations."

5. *Ibid.*, Bell, Alphonzo. p. 6374.

"Since the problems to be dealt with in this area are as complex and as significant as those dealt with by the other agencies within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Administration on Aging should be on a co-equal basis with these other agencies. Thus, the Administration on Aging must have co-equal status with the Social Security Administration and the Welfare Administration so that the older population can be meaningfully represented in the upper echelons of the Federal government.—

"In the words of the Committee on Education and Labor:

"The proposed Administration on Aging would establish a specific high-level agency with power and responsibility to take action. It would have

full-time responsibility, backed by professional knowledge and ability, and the strong desire to represent effectively in the Federal government our 18 million older Americans.”

6. *Ibid.*, Fogarty, John, p. 6376.

“The new Administration on Aging will give prestige, balance, strength, continuity, and visibility to Federal activities in aging. It is intended to stimulate more effective use of existing resources and available service both within and without the Federal government.

“An Administration on Aging will at long last establish a focus and organization that will not be dominated or overshadowed by programs assigned higher priorities or lower interest. The renaming, revitalizing, and reviving of units, committees and councils on aging have been the history of such programs to date.”

7. *Ibid.*, Dent, John, p. 6379.

“The purpose and the main thrust of any legislation designed such as this is, to give continuity to the activities within the agency. As you know, Secretaries change at the will and the whim of the Executive. You can say that a commission does, too, but there is that entity and singleness of purpose in a commission designed strictly for this purpose. If a Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare at this moment has a feeling that there ought to be many activities in the field dealing with the problems of the aged, then he would select the type of agency that he would want that would follow that line. However, if the next Secretary happens to be one who does not believe that the problems of the aged and aging are paramount and important, then he could name somebody to head that agency who would take exactly the opposite point of view and the programs and all of the studies and work that have been done heretofore would go for naught. We believe we are creating an agency that will have a continuity to it and which will have some substance to it and become recognized by all of the aged people as the place which they can apply to for redress of any wrongs they may fancy they have or actually may have done to them or any problems that arise.”

8. Perkins, Carl. Congressional Record. June 19, 1967. House. p. 7408.

The following statement was made during the House debate on H.R. 10730, 1967 Amendments to the Older Americans Act of 1965.

“The bill (referring to bill introduced in 1965) set up an Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare headed by a Commissioner, to be appointed by the President, and confirmed by the Senate. The Commissioner has co-equal status with the other Commissioners in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. For the first time, emphasis was placed on coordinating the work of the various departments of government which were trying to solve some of the problems of our older Americans.”

9. *Ibid.* Bingham, H. p. 7410.

“I am convinced that the creation of an Administration on Aging concerned solely with the needs of older people, has given a visibility to the needs and problems of this age group which was never before possible. Its role as a clearing house for information on problems of older people and as a source of technical assistance and consultation is firmly established.”

FREDERICK B. ARNER.

EVELYN HOWARD.

GLENN R. MARKUS.

Appendix 8

LETTERS AND STATEMENTS FROM INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS

LETTER FROM STANLEY A. FISHLER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, TARRANT COUNTY COMMUNITY COUNCIL, FORT WORTH, TEX.; TO SENATOR FRANK CHURCH, DATED MAY 4, 1971.

TARRANT COMMUNITY COUNCIL,
Fort Worth, Tex., May 4, 1971.

DEAR SENATOR CHURCH: It is my understanding that you chair the Senate Committee on Aging. I have sent a letter to the Honorable John B. Martin regarding the White House Conference on Aging with the hope that the 1971 Conference will be the most meaningful and significant ever held. I have enclosed a copy of that letter for your information with the hope that the Conference on Aging will not be besieged with the type of problems that have beset other conferences. I do offer this in a positive way.

* * * * *

If I or any of my colleagues can provide any further information please ask.
Sincerely yours,

STANLEY A. FISHLER, *Executive Director.*

Enclosure.

MAY 4, 1971.

Hon. JOHN B. MARTIN,
Special Assistant for the Aging to the President, 1971 White House Conference on Aging, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MARTIN: I recently attended a meeting in Austin which had as its purpose the planning of the Governor's Conference on Aging. I have the honor to serve on the Governor's Steering Committee and will chair one of the fourteen groups at the Governor's Conference on May 26-27. During the process of the meeting, several people raised questions and expressed great concern as to the role and relationship between the State Conference and the White House Conference. This concern was based on prior results of the two White House Conferences on Nutrition and on Children. I was on the Governor's Steering Committee and Executive Committee for the W.H.C. on Children, chaired one of the State Task Forces, and was one of the Texas delegation to the White House Conference. As you probably know, there was strong feeling on the part of the delegates as to the significance of their input and whether national goals had been set before the meetings were actually held. The reasons for this conclusion were several. First, while the local communities and states held their meetings and made their recommendations, national committees were formed who made their recommendations—most of the national participants had no contact with the state meetings nor utilized the results of the states. Second, the content of the W.H.C. itself was not geared toward development of recommendations and their implementation. Much time was spent in discussing causative factors, seeing films, tours, giving statistics, participating in sensitivity training (rubbing elbows), etc. Third, there was not a realistic balance of youth and adults. While one-third of the state delegates were supposed to be youth, the representatives of national agencies outnumbered the state delegates. Thus, since the national agencies did not send youth, there were only about eight percent of the participants who were youth.

I could go on, but this may suffice to indicate that if there is to be meaningful input into the national picture, the procedures should be such that will allow

for input rather than to stifle such involvement. There have been some incidents at the area and the proposed state meetings that indicate some possibility that these concerns may be justified.

Please do not think that I am impugning your intentions regarding the conference. I participated in the first conference on aging and have high hopes as to what we can accomplish in regard to 1971. I would hope we could guard against the problems that beseged the other conferences.

Sincerely yours,

STANLEY A. FISHLER, *Executive Director.*

STATEMENT OF STANLEY B. GALE, ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

My name is Stanley B. Gale, and I am an elderly citizen, 75 years of age. Without sounding egotistical, I feel I can contribute a new perspective to the evaluation of the White House Conference on Aging, for which my name has been submitted as a delegate.

Mr. Chairman, I have prepared a detailed statement setting forth my own feelings and I hope the feelings of many other elderly citizens. I also sincerely hope that I will in some small way help to evaluate and help in the conduct of the White House Conference on Aging.

It is with great ambivalence, that I submit this statement to this committee. I am tired of people with ethnocentric views and am also tired of the cacophony sounds that are uttered by various heads of organizations. To me it is a complete parallel to the perspectives that were used before the Paris Peace Talks, as to what kind of table should be used. I hope you gentlemen will see what I mean because that is what has prevented many months of real negotiations between governments. Also I have seen and read the imposition of pecksniffian views which definitely will obfuscate the conference before it is initiated. In the words of Hemingway, "I was always embarrassed by the ways 'sacred', 'glorious', 'sacrifice', were used in vain. I had seen nothing sacred and the things that were glorious, had no glory, and the sacrifices, were like the stock yards in Chicago, if nothing was done with the meat except to bury it."

We have found all these words and I have expressed some of them, purposely with the view that the people are tired and sick of words being used instead of actions being performed. Various associations have come out to project themselves as saviors of the poor people of this country. As I mentioned before that the miasmal results of the past cause little hope for the future. But if we do not have any hope, then we die in despair, therefore I for one believe that it is time for the renaissance to begin, to express itself and wipe away the disgusting effects of the Pentagon Papers and the deteriorating faith in our slow and cumbersome form of government.

If the only thing that is accomplished, at the White House Conference on Aging, that the results will not be relegated to the dust of the Archives, but will be dealt with immediately so that the majority of the older persons will be able to envision a new America before they die, it will restore their faith in the government. We can call it Socialism, Communism, or any other label, such as left of center, right of center, moderate, those words today believe me, are as I mentioned before words initiated to be used as a means of obfuscation of the real person or the real issues facing this conference.

I have criticized the associations, who so profess themselves to stand up for the poor. Yet where are they and where is their position on the poor people who cannot pay dues, who cannot have their views expressed at the meetings of these organizations?

We have many organizations for the affluent which I hope will have little room or right to project themselves as the real advocates of the elderly poor at this conference. While I know that the delegates have got to be limited to a degree, it does seem disgusting to me the jockeying of positions simply for prestige. Most of you have heard the phrase, "Let us sit down and reason together." There is no room for political considerations, nor is there room for national organizations to take the right upon themselves of total responsibility for speaking for the poor. There is no one representative of the poor only the poor themselves.

This brings me to my suggestion that should be vitally discussed at the White House Conference. I believe a lot could be accomplished by what I call the prevention of extreme poverty which, as far as I have known, has never been discussed. Neighborhood associations were started, but I am sorry to say

they have become effete and torpid. Most of them have dissipated. Believe me at this juncture I would like to impress upon you that I am not trying to be pragmatic or egotistic, and I hope that you will not find any obloquy in this speech of mine. What I would like to suggest very strongly, is that a main cure for this problem will not be found at the higher level of government. They have formed fragmentation services which have simply proved to be sources of revenue for bureaucrats with well appointed offices. Quoting from page 31 of the Report on the Resolution Authorizing the Study on the Developments on Aging, Report No. 92-46. "Despite the passage of the O.A. Act, five years ago, services for the elderly still continue to be fragmented and some face the prospect of wholesale termination." Further quotes on page 126, by Commissioner of Aging, John B. Martin, "There can be little doubt in my judgment that older people need a spectrum of services. Nor do I doubt that government, voluntary, and private agencies must be combined with their resources to provide them." On the other hand I strongly resent the statement on page 146, "The enjoyment of the later years depends on one's preparation earlier in life." Will any of you gentlemen tell me, using the word denouement if you like or the word karma, or by looking into a crystal ball, tell me just what will happen to anyone, even to yourselves in the future, therefore how can you provide with any real assurance for something you have no control over. Obviously this statement was made by someone who has never known need or want.

The OEO in many towns provide many good services for poor people. This has not been enough, and the most peculiar thing that I have encountered here in Florida is that the officials of government including Congressmen don't even know the meaning of those letters, OEO or POC.

Also what gives me very great concern is that very few officials realize that a man or woman does not become a different person on the day he or she retires. They talk of expertise in regards to the White House Conference. What more expertise is necessary than the older citizens themselves who have had good educations and have held top jobs in industry and government, the so called layman??, a word I thoroughly resent. These are some of the people who need help today, because of the economic situation at the time of their retirement and or financial reversals since then. If anybody wants to challenge my expertise, I would certainly love to debate in public with these so called professionals and consultants. When they have the gall after the complete exposure of the volumes dealing with professional consultants and the CIA, they should hide their heads in shame instead of talking about the so called layman. This country has been brought to the brink of disaster by these so called intelligentsia. While the elderly people of yesterday were the ones who fought and built and bailed out the sinking ship of America that was sabotaged by these uninformed intelligent people that we are now talking about to help us as far as the expertise so often quoted for this conference of 1971. Why is it no one ever seems to realize that time waits for no man and cannot be stopped no matter how high their position or financial status. How many times has it been proven how tragedy can bring any family to the brink of poverty. This fact really amazes me, we are all human, not Gods, even the smallest germ can incapacitate and many times kill us.

I have done a great deal of studying in local, state, and national problems and have come to the conclusion that nobody expects to change the hearts of men over night, but at least let it be said, America tries; that like that which Cervantes said so well, "We dared to dream the impossible dream, etc." I do not wish to quote completely Mr. Longfellow (in Morituri Salutamus), but the following excerpt might suffice. "Nothing is too late, till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate. Cato learned Greek at eighty. Oedipus and Simonides bore off the prize of verse from his comperes when each had numbered more than four score years." I am seventy five years old, that may be the reason I tell a lot of people, grow old along with me, the best is yet to be. The reason I have deviated a little is to try to inculcate into the minds of the committee that we older people if given a chance and financial support could really start at the bottom like every house that is built, upon a concrete foundation of thought. I have suggested many things to Mr. Hutchinson of the OEO, and intend to develop this matter further.

I just want to give one illustration of a condition that I was involved in against a City Council mandate. The wording of the mandate was partially untrue. I dealt with the removal of the old fashioned curb mail boxes, of which the majority were embedded in concrete. This enabled the homeowner to put a flag

up which would guarantee his mail being picked up regardless of any delivery. This mandate from the city said in effect that these mail boxes were to be removed entirely, and that a pathway be put from the house to the curb, and a mail box installed on the house, or no mail would be delivered. It also stated that even if all these provisions were met, no mail would be picked up unless there was a delivery. I personally took this matter up with Mr. Blount, who wrote me a letter and even sent his general counsel to my home to explain the wishes of the postal department in this respect. The outcome was that the post office declared in writing that the old mail boxes did not have to be removed entirely, but only had to be moved off of the easement belonging to the city. Also a pathway was not necessary as the council mandate ordered. The result of this was that before I could get this information relayed to the people that could ill afford a new mail box, that did not understand the situation, we now have in St. Petersburg some with old mail boxes, some with new, some can have their mail picked up by the flag as usual, and some elderly people that cannot have their mail picked up, because the mail man now has to walk up to their front door. Let me close this one of many items that are done by the city authorities because of lack of communication, by presenting a picture of older persons trying to dig up their old mail boxes and perhaps dying in the process. I use this incident to express the fact that the city, county, can do anything they like effecting the real poor without any expectation of recrimination because of the lack of counsel for this facet of our society.

In order to develop what I consider an organization which could solve many if not all the problems of the poor in all cities, I have given great consideration to the wonderful way in which the Veterans Administration looks after all the problems of the veterans of this country. There is no need for the American Legion, V.F.W., or any other organizations, except as social clubs, while the V.A. is the only organization that can administer the real needs of the veteran in the long run. Because of the study I have made of the benefits given by the V.A. and because of their variety, and the expertise, the same pattern could be used to help the aging, thus eliminating all the factional organizations that prevent the benefits reaching those who need it most.

Before this could be set up, I would like to feel assured that the counties and cities could get together and form the nucleus run exclusively for the poor and by the poor, because as I have stated previously. I am sure we have the expertise and with a little help, legally and financially, we could begin a new era of life for the aged which all you people cannot escape, and eventually it could be you seeking help. Something should be done immediately to inform the indigent whose inability to understand Social Security regulations is evident. Food stamps may be available, but what good are they if the indigent is not aware of their existence and eligibility. The roll of OEO should be expanded immediately by financial and other sources to give enough publicity and help to achieve desired results as explained above.

I would like to differ with a letter I received from the Governor of Florida, in which he states, "That solutions can be found only with the cooperation of all citizens working together with the confidence that they can solve the problem." This to my mind has been proven time and time again that people are impossible to correlate their problems and to put their trust in any organization that might mean a help to their many needs. I am very pleased he has taken my ideas into consideration to make decisions.

I sincerely hope the forthcoming conference should not and will not be a euphemistic ointment or to be hyperbolic in its administration. Why I say this is because the insouciance shown by our public officials simply obfuscate the people who have no one to turn to. We have plenty of political representation, but the hiatus in communication has been getting wider instead of closing. I say deliberately that this lack of communication between even the lowliest district counselor and the people who put him there, I would call comotose, dormant, numb, inactive, and apathetic. I wonder is this fact known, that you cannot expect to get any information, if you cross the "taboo line," from one county to another regardless of party affiliation. This same thing I understand prevails at the State and Federal levels too. It is surprising to know that this exists when we read the Constitution of the United States.

The Congress is composed of all the elected representatives and is supposed to represent all the people regardless of the State they reside in.

Quoting from Senator Prouty, Congressional Record E7929 August 26, 1970, "The solution is not education, the solution is not job training, the solution is not

make work. The solution is ample cash income." To paraphrase Winston Churchill, never before have so few words, done so much for so many. This would at least prevent a lot of vultures feeding on the homes of the aged for non-payment of taxes, providing this type of solution was arrived at. I would plead for emergency legislation to help these people right now, before we start to squabble at the White House. At least I am going to take it up with the OEO to see if something cannot be done in that direction, but I hope you gentlemen will take this emergency problem and deal with it at least on a pilot basis.

I am surprised that some organizations are quarreling over jurisdiction, do they want to wait for a possible change of administration in 1972 at the expense of the poor that they claim to be in sympathy with. Half a loaf is better than none at all. Why spend time with citations and pats on the back. This will not put food in the mouths of the hungry. Do any of the members of this committee remember the story of Bruce and the spider, or of the patience of inventors in times past. They did not worry about expertise or jurisdiction.

I would like to incorporate into this speech a request for the committee to read the Congressional Record E2314, March 24, 1969, an article by Ake Sandler, Ph.D., Professor of Government, California State College, and his terrific ability and knowledge that he has conveyed in many books. This article I think could be well read by all the committee and the delegates to the forthcoming conference at the White House.

The most affluent country in the world the USA, spends proportionately less on its older citizens than any other western country. France devotes 7% of its GNP, England 6.7%, yet in our great country, the percentages are a lowly 4.2%. Quoting Senator Goldwater, Congressional Record, S9645, "Under all existing Federal programs only one dollar per person was spent on our citizens over 65."

To reiterate, the process of aging is far too complex, complicated and varying to be divided into separate agencies. There are as many problems to aging as there are varieties of flowers or birds, therefore it can only be handled properly if all these complexities are gathered under one roof as we have with our V.A. system, which cares for all the veterans in war or peace. We all serve our country in one way or another and we all make it a force to be reckoned with. The elderly have brought progress and modernization which is the finest in the world and have accomplished this with hands, minds, and hearts, for a country which in their time of need is dragging their feet for lack of understanding of their problems. Go to them, they can tell you, without any education at all, they can speak for themselves and let you know just what they need.

Last week the President requested Congress to bail out the Lockheed Corp., and in his words, that this would provide a precedent to assist any other large corporation from going bankrupt. This seems to be a sad epitaph to a dying private enterprise. It is so tristful to me that our President forgot to request of Congress at the same time to bail out the elderly citizens who had fought and built this country and produced a GNP of a trillion dollars which he is so proud of. Would there have been any greater investment to insure the countries gratitude and make him one of the greatest Presidents who laid the cornerstone of building a new era in this country's history by fulfilling the hopes and dreams of the elderly.

Having met, known, and admired Bertrand Russell, the great philosopher, I have tried to pattern my life after his, and as this may not be relevant permit me to include the following of his motivations in life. "Three passions, simple but overwhelmingly strong, have governed my life: the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and the unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind. This has been my life, I have found it worth living, and would gladly live it again."