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Mr. Chairman, it is a great pleasure to have the opportunity to testify before you and the distinguished members of the Committee on Resolutions. I am grateful for the opportunity to present to you some of my views about the Republican Party's commitment and approach to the solution of domestic problems. America's greatest resource is its people. We must pursue a greater measure of real equality for and among all our citizens. And we must help all Americans find meaning, identity and force in their lives rather than leave them feeling powerless and insignificant, submerged in a featureless, homogenized mass.

Let me begin by making three summary comments.

1. Our society is being restored to balance; but for still too many individual lives the balance is precarious--at best. For these individuals, health, education and welfare policy attempts to restore and stabilize the balance. And because it so often touches individual lives at their weakest, it is--in a profound sense--a measure of our society's strength. I trust that in your deliberations and formulations you may agree that compassion toward those who are in need, less fortunate, or different is essential to that strength. For it is only as we show a greater generosity toward each other that we will build a greater faithfulness in the society as a whole. This purpose has guided us in the past--as it must in the future.

2. It is particularly disheartening that the failure of the Democratic leadership and now the Democratic Platform to deal creatively and responsibly with resource limitations helps sustain one of our era's great ironies. Faced with scarce resources a Republican Administration has consistently committed itself to concentrate available resources on that segment of the population most needing assistance, the poor and disadvantaged. Yet this commitment has been consistently undermined not so much by those who would do nothing as by those who would do everything. Again and again practicable reform proposals advanced by this Administration--proposals to reform the disgrace we mistakenly call a welfare system, proposals to concentrate educational resources on the disadvantaged, proposals for a national health insurance partnership--have been stalled before the Congress, stalled not by those who would ignore our national obligation, but by those who lose themselves in dreams of impossible schemes and leave painful realities unchanged.
3. The health, education and welfare policy of this Administration shares with its foreign policy two principal characteristics which account for success: a transition in tone from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation--we have lowered our voices; and a transition in substance from policies which were characterized

by high promise, hasty conception, high price and heartbreaking performance to policies which are now realistically oriented toward humane and orderly progress--policies which are comprehensive in scope, thoroughly analyzed and practicable.

Mr. Chairman, I should like now briefly to outline some of the major components of our health, education and welfare strategy, and then to focus attention on the problem of resource limitations--for it is fundamental. It will be with us not only in the coming campaign, but in the distant foreseeable future--regardless of the outcome of the November elections.

ADMINISTRATION STRATEGY

I shall attempt only to sketch the outlines of the Administration's strategy, for I know you are examining it in detail through the work of your sub-committees.

At the most general level, the strategy is intended: (a) to help individuals lead healthy, dignified, independent lives to the maximum extent possible; and (b) to ensure that the institutional means to accomplish this objective are efficiently considerate of and responsive to individuals' needs. The effort to prevent dependency responds to the deepest instincts of a society which affirms the ultimate worth and dignity of each individual. As one of the founders of The National Association for Retarded Children once said, "We learn (many of us

perhaps only subconsciously) that if our way of life is to survive, every individual...must be counted an individual and accorded his place in the sun."

The strategy approaches reform and renewal by building upon the traditional strengths of our society: values of equality of opportunity and work; institutions of community and democratic general purpose government. It has, of course, been comprised of several sub-strategies.

The strategy for reforming the welfare system has emphasized five requisite components. There must be: uniform nationwide eligibility standards; a minimum Federally-financed income floor; strong incentives for people to work; training, job opportunities and child care; and coverage of all needy families--including the working poor. In 1970 and again in 1971, the House endorsed this strategy in the bill known as "H.R. 1." The President has consistently referred to welfare reform as his number one priority. But although it has been three years since the President first proposed welfare reform, we must again urge the Senate to act promptly. If the Senate does not act, it will not only perpetuate the welfare disgrace; it will also threaten to bring disgrace upon the Senate itself.

The strategy for reforming and renewing the education system was advanced dramatically by enactment of the Education Amendments of 1972--the most sweeping education legislation in history. This legislation

authorizes implementation of the President's major recommendations for reforming higher education, improving educational research and development (through the new National Institute of Education), and providing Emergency School Aid to school districts in the process of desegregating. Progress is also being made with regard to the objective of ensuring that all Americans have the benefit of the "Right to Read," and the objective of encouraging the greater relevance and utility of education through "Career Education." It remains imperative, however, that we take necessary steps to: (1) preserve the pluralistic quality of the American school system--by providing tax credits to parents of children in private and parochial schools; (2) reduce tensions associated with busing and improve access to quality education--through prompt enactment of the President's proposed Student Transportation Moratorium Act and Equal Educational Opportunities Act; and (3) relieve the financial crisis of our public schools--by reforming the antiquated and unjust system by which education is financed.

Progress has been made in implementing pieces of the President's comprehensive National Health Strategy--particularly in areas of drugs, heart disease, sickle cell anemia, cancer, product safety, and health manpower. But two major components remain before the Congress, those intended to ensure all citizens equal access to health care through an adequate financing system, and to assure that the system is organized

efficiently--that it preserves cost consciousness and emphasizes health maintenance. As the President has stressed, the health strategy builds on strengths and avoids the temptation which any complex problem presents--the temptation to say, "Let's wipe the slate clean and start from scratch."

The strategy for improving the quality of life for older Americans is the most comprehensive ever formulated by the Federal government. It is comprised of five major elements: improving long term care; helping older persons live dignified, independent lives in their own residences--by expanding and reforming service programs; expanding opportunities for older persons to continue their involvement in the life of the country; improving government organization; and protecting income. With regard to the latter I should note that since 1969 social security benefits have increased by 51.8 percent--the greatest rate of increase in the history of the program.

The President has proposed three pieces of legislation to advance the strategy of organizing for greater institutional responsiveness in areas of health, education, and welfare. (1) To reduce the fragmentation of Federal responsibility, the President has proposed the creation of a Department of Human Resources. (2) To avoid the stifling effect upon creativity and initiative which the present maze of categorical education programs induces, we have proposed a flexible program of Education Revenue Sharing. (3) And to reform the inefficient, inflexible labyrinth of

Federally funded categorical service programs, we have proposed the Allied Services Act. The Congress has acted on none of these.

Clearly much has been done to advance the Administration's overall strategy. But regrettably, many of the most important components remain before the Congress, awaiting action.

RESOURCE LIMITATIONS

Let me turn now to the problem of resource limitations.

It is curious that so many of the advocates who have most vigorously helped to raise the public consciousness of complexities and resource limitations with regard to the natural resource system are apparently least able to recognize complexities and resource limitations with regard to the human resource system. Yet these are none the less obvious.

Surely the evidence which suggests the disappointing performance of the programs proliferated in the decade of the 60's--launched often with the best of intuition and intent--should suggest also the limitations of our present understanding of the system we seek to improve.

But even if one were to assume, as the Democratic Platform seems to, that present understanding is adequate, and that only a massive Federal infusion of money is needed, it is clear that resources necessary for the fulfillment of Democratic promises are not available. To fulfill

only two promises of the Democratic Platform--to "ensure each family an income substantially more than the poverty level" and to establish a "system of universal National Health Insurance which covers all Americans with a comprehensive set of benefits...federally-financed and federally-administered"--would require an increase in Federal expenditures which, it is roughly estimated, would itself exceed the entire budget for national defense! And even if one were to assume that such massive increases in Federal financial resources were available, there would remain a severe resource constraint: an inadequate supply of trained manpower to provide the promised services.

It is clear that such promises are but illusory and simplistic panaceas. Our limitations--knowledge, financial and manpower limitations--are limitations which no responsible or even irresponsible squeezing of either the Federal budget or the American taxpayer will allow us to escape. Approaches which fail to recognize these limitations cannot but prove as disappointing as did the "war on poverty."

The President's domestic reform strategy has been carefully developed with full awareness of these limitations. As a result it is not only conceptually sound and progressive, but also honest, feasible, and fiscally responsible. We must continue to press the Democratic-controlled Congress for enactment of the President's legislative program. And we must seek more effective and efficient remedies for persistent ills.

CLOSING THE PERFORMANCE GAP

To close the gap between hope and reality--the performance gap--there is needed, in my judgment, a coordinated seven-point program:

--First, we must develop more efficient manpower technologies--with expanded roles for paraprofessionals. Just to provide HEW services equitably to those in need--under present approaches to service delivery--would require more than twenty million additional trained personnel. It is obvious that unless we develop new manpower technologies, we will not get the job done.

--Second, we must transfer developments in capital technology to the human service sector. Although we face every day some of the unfortunate consequences of the industrial revolution, in the provision of human services we often act as if we were living in the Middle Ages--hardly making use of the telephone, not to mention more advanced technologies.

--Third, we must develop a more integrated system of service delivery, built around individuals and families not programs. To this end, the proposed Allied Services Act must be top priority business of the next Congress.

- Fourth, we must make decision-making more manageable and government more responsive to people--by simplifying the Federal role, decentralizing decision-making insofar as possible, and increasing consumer participation.
- Fifth, we must strengthen our capacity to evaluate approaches to the solution of problems. In allocating scarce resources--in making the difficult choices--we must know what works.
- Sixth, we must organize research more imaginatively and disseminate its fruitful results more effectively--to benefit, for example, from the diversity which the American political system allows, treating States as laboratories.
- And seventh, we must encourage "truth in legislation." We must stop the cruel pretense that passing a law--especially a redundant law--will necessarily solve a problem. We must make clear in advance the true cost of proposed programs--in order to break the authorization-appropriation dynamic by which some politicians are led to promote and publicize authorizing legislation which could not possibly be funded fully by those who must take responsibility for the inescapable choice among competing claims. This perverse dynamic--which yields only disappointment--must be exposed for what it is: a political shall game.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, let me say that I hope the several points which I have made will be of value to you in the very important work which lies before you--shaping the Republican Platform.

A Senator from Massachusetts, filled with ocean winds, recently came ashore to note "a new wind rising over the land" in which could be heard "promises, anguish, hopes for the future, echoes of the past." Senator McGovern--tacking here and there, searching for the wind--would have us come home by coming about. We need no stale wind from the past, nor erratic puffs, nor even Cape Cod airs. Our wind is steady--relieving the anguish of vacuous promises echoing unfulfilled. It is a Republican wind. Home is before us, and we are well under way--with course well charted.

Thank you.