...And the pursuit of national health: the incremental strategy toward national health insurance in the United States of America
Kooijman, J.W.

Citation for published version (APA):
Kooijman, J. W. (1999). ...And the pursuit of national health: the incremental strategy toward national health insurance in the United States of America Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: http://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
No research can be done without the necessary financial support. I thank the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), and the Roosevelt Study Center (RSC) in the Netherlands, for their generous support, both financially and in kind. The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, Hyde Park, New York, provided me with a FERI Grant to do research at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. The Lyndon B. Johnson Foundation, Austin, Texas, provided me with a Moody Grant to do research at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library. I am grateful that both these American institutions have faith in the scholarship of international scholars in American studies.

During the academic year 1991-1992 at the University of Minnesota, I took two courses that inspired me to focus on American health care policy: the social welfare course of professor Clarke Chambers and the social policy course of professor Larry Jacobs. When I began to think about studying national health insurance, both professors helped me to get on the right track. I particularly remember the advice given to me by professor Chambers: 1) start with the exclusion of national health insurance from the Social Security Act, and 2) read *America's Welfare State* by Edward D. Berkowitz. I did both.

Back in the Netherlands, I wrote a thesis entitled "Condition Critical: The Exclusion of a National Health Insurance Program from the Social Security Act of 1935," based on research I did at the National Archives in Washington, DC. I thank Aloha South for helping me with the papers of the Committee on Economic Security and for giving me a personal tour of the National Archives downtown building. Professor Ali de Regt of the Sociology Department of the University of Amsterdam made constructive comments on my original thesis and also on my later work. Professor Rob Kroes of the American Studies Department of the University of Amsterdam has been my mentor since 1989 and my supervisor since 1994. I am grateful for the intellectual guidance and academic counseling he has given me over the last decade.

From 1994 to 1998 I worked at the Roosevelt Study Center, located in the beautiful abbey of Middelburg. I very much appreciated working with RSC director Kees van Minnen and my colleagues Hans Krabbendam, Mieke van Thoor, and Erik van den Berg. Of course, life in Middelburg would not have been so much fun and pleasant without the marvelous Joosse sisters: Leontien, the first lady of the Roosevelt Study Center, and Diana, the first lady of De Bommel. I’ll come back and visit soon.

I have been both a student and a teacher at the America Institute of the University of Amsterdam. It is always a pleasure to share a coffee break with the staff: Ansy Jensen, Christine Capel, and Eduard van de Bilt. In particular I would like to thank Gerrit Visser, who, ten years ago, convinced me to join the American Studies program — undoubtedly not realizing that I would keep
coming back. No department can thrive without its students, who always ask those fundamental questions we sometimes wish to forget. Teaching my course on the American welfare state in the twentieth century continues to be a learning experience for both my students and myself.

Several people have read my papers and/or parts of the manuscript, advising me both on the content and on my English. Gene Moore never fails to change my "stonecoal" English into beautiful prose. David Thelen has given me constructive feedback on the first two chapters of this study. A special "thank you" to Daniel Fox, president of the Milbank Memorial Fund. His honest criticism of my earlier work has drastically changed my perspective on American health care policy.

I am particularly grateful to professor Ed Berkowitz, who took the time to discuss my work each time I visited Washington, DC. He generously helped me to find the right direction in my studies and also invited me to a meeting of the National Academy of Social Insurance, where I had the pleasure to hear the "original" social security policymakers Robert M. Ball and Robert J. Myers speak about their memories of working at the Social Security Administration. The executive director of the National Academy, Pamela Larson, provided me with great hospitality each time I visited the academy. The same can be said of Larry DeWitt, the historian of the Social Security Administration, who gave me access to his Medicare and health insurance files. I thank the staff and research assistants of the National Archives and the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland, the Yale Library in New Haven, Connecticut, and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York. I particularly would like to thank Harry Miller and the staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison, and Linda Hanson and the staff of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas, for their excellent assistance.

Parts of Chapter II and III of this study are based on the article "Soon or Later On: Franklin D. Roosevelt and National Health Insurance" that I wrote for the Presidential Studies Quarterly (June 1999). A shorter version of the article will appear in The Roosevelt Years (Keele University Press), a collection edited by Robert Garson and Stuart Kidd. I have also presented parts of this study at the 1995 annual conference of the Netherlands American Studies Association, the sixth international colloquium of the David Bruce Centre for American Studies, Keele University, held in Middelburg in June 1997, the 1997 annual meeting of the American Studies Association in Washington, DC, the 1998 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in San Francisco, and the 1999 annual meeting of the American Politics Group in Cambridge, Great Britain (where I was in the pleasant company of Marja Roholl and Frits van Holthoon). I am grateful for the constructive comments that I received during these meetings.

In May 1997, the University of Amsterdam was visited by two American first ladies: Hillary Rodham Clinton and professor Theda Skocpol. Fortunately
I was able to participate in professor Skocpol’s masterclass, organized by the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research. I thank Theda Skocpol and my fellow participants for the constructive criticism and discussions. A few of us still meet regularly to discuss our work: Duco Bannink, Inge Bleijenbergh, Marcel Hoogenboom, and Monique Kremer. I hope I am still welcome even though my dissertation is finally finished.

Lyndon B. Johnson once wrote to Aubrey Williams: “I sometimes think that if I am superior in any respect it is simply because I have superior friends who have stood by me over the years.” I could not have completed my studies without the support and advice of Machteld Boon, David Eldridge, René van der Heijden, Bas Heijne, Laura “Lesswood” Minderhoud, Gus Reuchlin, Ditke Schwartz, and Diederik Stapel. My fellow players of the Amsterdam Tigers basketball team helped me to get my mind off my dissertation, at least once every week. I cannot express my gratitude enough to my friends in the States, who time after time have put up with me when I crashed their apartments: Fran “Nicky” Parling and John Stueland in Minneapolis, Theresa Kimm in New York City, and Neal Guthrie and Margaret Gonglewski in Washington, DC. Also mucho gracias a mi amigo Eduardo Contreras for showing me the fun side of DC during the 1997 American Studies Association conference.

My sister Annelies Kooijman has voluntarily edited parts of the manuscript and taught me to be more attentive to what I write. My friend Annette Neervoort was always willing to watch Melrose Place with me on Sunday evening, right before I took the night train to Middelburg. In addition to all the encouragement and (sometimes unsolicited) advice he has given me, my best friend and buddy Maarten Vervaat has spent hours on the computer to take care off the lay-out. MTV, this book is as much yours as it is mine.

I dedicate this study to my parents, Aat Kooijman and Sonja Langeveld, for all the obvious reasons and much, much more.

Jaap Kooijman
Amsterdam, June 1999
In May 1997, the University of Amsterdam was visited by two American First Ladies, Hillary Rodham Clinton and princess Beatrix of the Netherlands. Fortunately,...